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BY

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## Arthur J. Eddington

BY the death on June 9th, 1946 of Arthur J. Eddington, the Friends' Historical Society has lost its president and a devoted worker for many years in the field of Quaker history and record. He prepared a presidential address on some Quaker contacts with the wider world in a period before the middle of the nineteenth century. The principal source of material is the *Gurney Manuscripts*, a collection of some 2,000 family letters, most of them belonging to Mr. Quintin Gurney of Norwich, who placed them on loan in the Library at Friends House in 1931. Others now belonging to Mr. Joseph John Gurney have since been added to them.

Arthur Eddington's great interest in Quaker history is commemorated for the help of future students in a series of remarkable compilations from Norfolk records and in a number of articles, as well as in his published history of early Quakerism in Norwich. He gave generously of his time, and presented the fruit of his work, in six well-bound typescript volumes, to the Library at Friends House, of whose committee he was an active member from 1929 to 1938. These digests of the minute books of Norfolk Quarterly Meeting enable the student to survey the corporate business of a representative body of Friends over a period of a century and a half. In the minutes of Norwich Monthly Meeting from 1701 to 1800 the reader may follow the action of the meeting in each of ten principal kinds of business, from the days of William Penn,

George Whitehead and Thomas Ellwood, until those of Elizabeth Fry, Stephen Grellet, and William Allen.

A list of Arthur Eddington's principal works, both published and unpublished, is given below :

*The First Fifty Years of Quakerism in Norwich.* With indexes. Limited edition, typelithographed, 299 pp., 1932.

*Minutes of Norwich Monthly Meeting.* Selected and arranged under ten subjects, with index. Typescript. 1701-1775, 2 volumes, 334 pp., 1935. 1776-1800, 2 volumes, 318 pp., 1936.

*Minutes of Norfolk Quarterly Meeting.* Selected, with index. Typescript. 1708-1784, 203 pp., 1938. 1784-1850, 282 pp., 1943.

*The Gurney MSS. Synopsis of the Contents.* With index of writers. Typescript, 192 pp., 1933.

*Extracts from the Gurney MSS.* With index. Typescript, 124 pp.

*Supplementary Extracts from the Gurney MSS.* With index. Typescript, 170 pp.

The following are some of his articles in periodicals.

In the *Friends Quarterly Examiner* :

*The Forsters of Bradpole and Norwich* (1933).

*William E. Forster as a Quaker* (1935).

*Quakers of long Ago* (1937).

In the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* :

*The Gurney Manuscripts* (1932, 1933).

*The Quarterly Meeting of Norfolk* (1936, 1937, 1938).

In the *Journal of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society*, Vol. xxii (1924) :

*The Norwich Case. Particulars relating to the Sufferings of Quakers in Norwich, 1682-1683.*

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## Editorial Note

WITH the present number this *Journal* resumes the series interrupted by the war. The last was volume xxxvii for 1940.

Of particular personal interest to many members is the article on Neave Brayshaw by Geoffrey Nuttall. The *Luke Howard Collection of MSS.*, given to the Library, Friends House, in 1943, quite the most interesting addition of MSS. in recent years, are fully described.

There are signs of an increase once more of historical research and contributions for the pages of the *Journal* are invited by the editor, who will also be glad to have particulars, whether from the authors or otherwise, about any Quaker historical work in progress.



## Neave Brayshaw and Quaker History

CHARACTERISTIC of Neave Brayshaw was his combination of intensity with manysidedness. To this latter quality may be attributed the slightness of reference, in the memoir of him published in 1941, to his contribution to Quaker history. In amount this was not large : his two well-known books, his articles on George Fox and the Society of Friends in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edn.), and occasional information in the notes of standard works like *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, comprise the bulk of it. For quality, however, still more for influence, his contribution is fully worthy of grateful record and of study as a whole. Few denominational histories run into three editions in twenty years, as did *The Quakers* (1921, 1927, 1938).

*The Personality of George Fox*, now a familiar title, was a daring title to choose, both for its deliberate narrowing of the book's scope (" a picture of the man, not a consecutive account of his life nor an exposition of his teaching "), and for its assumption that the " personality " of one living three centuries ago might be known. Anyone unacquainted with the author might be forgiven if he expected some semi-romantic account, after the manner of Miss Manning's *More*. To such a one it must be a salutary shock, on opening Neave Brayshaw's book, to observe the quantity of quotation and the detailed notes, with full references to contemporary sources. Undoubtedly some readers thought the amount of quotation excessive, complaining with some justice that it interrupted the author's style and deprived his writing of any flow ; but Neave Brayshaw was not writing for stylistic effects, and later met the objection by modestly asserting his inability " to summarize in my own words the language, often quaint and beautiful, in which our fathers in the faith still speak for themselves ". Again, with the instinct of the true historian, who, though writing of the past, wants to make his labours at once usable by those who come after him, he would take the trouble, where careless pagination made it advisable, to refer to " the latter of two pages numbered 157 ". I remember his using a note in his

*Personality* to point out to me, in a railway train in Normandy, the value of Routh's "verify your references"; Howgill had bidden his daughter, "Learn in thy youth to read and write a little," an exhortation from which Sewel had omitted the words "a little".

The same exactness of scholarship may be observed in Neave Brayshaw's use of historical imagination. A good example of this is his description of Fox's behaviour at Lichfield, an occasion over which Neave Brayshaw was specially concerned because of the wrong impression which, taken alone, it gives of Fox's career. "I lifted up my head and saw three steeple-house spires," says Fox, "and they struck at my life." "As a matter of fact," Neave Brayshaw comments, "Fox did not see the three spires because the central one had been knocked down in the early part of the Civil War." Further, in explanation of his act, Fox tells how he learned afterwards that "a thousand Christians were martyred in Lichfield"; Neave Brayshaw suggests rather that Fox was "under the subconscious influence of a horror of the city acquired in his early years" from his mother, who, being "of the stock of the martyrs", "must have told him" of the recent burnings for heresy at Lichfield. The book's title was not chosen inadvertently.

The fact is, Neave Brayshaw *lived* his Quaker history, so that it seemed almost as if he had been one of Fox's contemporaries. You could not be with him for long without his introducing Fox to tell some joke or to give some exhortation. How he loved to tell the story of Fox's silencing Judge Glynne on the matter of hats!

"Come," said he, "where had they hats from Moses to Daniel; come, answer me: I have you fast now," said he. I replied, "Thou mayest read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on."

Or a schoolboy discussion of feminine inferiority would call forth Fox's reproof of those who asserted that women had no souls, "adding in a light manner, 'no more than a goose'." But . . . Mary said, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord.' " I remember once, when some of the party were complaining that an inn at Evreux was less comfortable and clean than

they thought it ought to be, they were silenced with an oracular "Laddies, William Penn said of George Fox, that he was 'civil, beyond all forms of breeding'; laddies, you try to be like him".

It would, however, be mistaken to think that the *Personality* is in any narrow sense limited to Fox. The booklet is, in effect, a compendium of the Quaker faith, with historical illustrations. Fox's central principle, "that of God in every one", receives early attention, and from this the rest may be observed to flow. As regards oneself, it means that there ought to be no place for yielding to temptation, but a spirit of triumph over evil, of what Neave Brayshaw, with a wealth of quotation from Fox about "being above", "coming over" and "keeping atop", liked to call Fox's "overworldliness". As regards others, the same central principle must prevent us equally from harming them, whether by fighting, by retaliation, or by capital punishment, and from dealing falsely with them, whether by swearing, by inaccurate speech, or by hat-honour; all six of which "testimonies" also are abundantly illustrated in Fox's life.<sup>1</sup>

When the *Personality* is read in this way, the larger work, *The Quakers*, becomes its natural sequel. All the same fine characteristics reappear over a wider area, though the latest edition is disfigured by a distressing number of misprints. The sub-title, *Their Story and Message*, at once indicates the double purpose of the book: Neave Brayshaw was unable to tell the Quaker story without treating it as a bearer of the Quaker message. This did not mean, however, as it might have done in a lesser man, that he saw his subject through coloured spectacles or was blind to the Society's weaker periods. Specially valuable are the chapters on Friends' ministry, a matter which to Neave Brayshaw was perhaps dearer than anything else, chapters in which the quietism, lethargy and over-cautiousness of eighteenth century meetings for worship are sharply contrasted with "the glowing conception of the seventeenth". Another outstanding chapter is that describing the extent of some plain Friends' scrupulosity, as of the one who would tear up

<sup>1</sup> Neave Brayshaw gave his approval to a paper on the lines of this paragraph which I sent him in 1929 in appreciation of the *Personality*.

a penny stamp<sup>1</sup> whenever he sent a note by hand, "in order to be above suspicion to himself of defrauding the Post Office", or of the earlier Friend who gave up music, "but once a year he went to the top of the Monument in London and there, where his action could do no harm to anyone, he played his flute". To have recorded these pathetic details must have called for some courage as well as honesty; but, as Neave Brayshaw justly says, "we shall think less of the eccentricity and more of our indebtedness", for "the indifference of Friends to the world's censure trained them to step out as pioneers of worthy causes without waiting to make sure of any large band of followers".

This willingness to take one's stand in a minority, "amongst the knights forlorn", was the other thing which Neave Brayshaw had most deeply at heart. He used to lament sometimes that Quaker schools were not fulfilling their specific task of breeding the martyr spirit. His admiration for such a spirit, and his conviction of the continued need of it, runs through both his books, and certain phrases in them may well inspire their readers in this direction. He would ask, I think, no greater reward for the writing of them.

It needs great wisdom and great love at one and the same time to foster the refinement, the culture, the graces of life, and, along with them, a mind heedful of the call, *Take thy part in suffering hardship as a good soldier of Christ Jesus*.

In fact, the Christian, whether Quaker or another, is ever called on to bear himself in the world of men as a citizen of the heavenly country, not in the isolation of indifference to the world, and still less of scorn, but in the isolation of love continually misunderstood.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

<sup>1</sup> "At that time the stamp on a letter was a penny," adds Neave Brayshaw characteristically.

# Quaker Books in the 18th Century

## From the point of view of a Country Quarterly Meeting

**I**N many counties of recent years there has been a quite new realization of the value of local history, and much of interest has come to light as local records have been studied with a view to finding out how the laws and decrees made by the higher authorities in London actually worked out and affected the ordinary folk of the day.

The same principle can be applied with usefulness to our early Quaker records. The Epistles and Minutes drawn up in London, whether by Yearly Meeting or Meeting for Sufferings, complete from the earliest days, are well-known to Quaker historians. It is therefore of further interest to find out how country Friends of the time, the rank and file of the Society, received these numerous documents from London and acted upon them.

The following study deals with one aspect only of Quaker activity, the distribution of Friends' books. The time is the second period of Quakerism, from the closing years of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth. The county is Gloucestershire, and the material drawn upon is the Book of the Quarterly Meeting which dates from 1670, and the almost untouched library of early Quaker books which still exists at Cirencester.

The first reference to Friends' writings in the Gloucestershire Minute book occurs in 1691. George Fox had died in January, and the Quarterly Meeting held at Cirencester in June "Agreed that friends doe take care to bring in an account of what bookes are in their meetings of George Fox, his wrighting, with the first and last words of them and also the date thereof."<sup>1</sup> It is significant that the Minutes give no word of lament, or of eulogy, for the departed leader, but instead record the care taken that his many messages shall be preserved.

In 1694 George Fox's *Journal* was published, and before

<sup>1</sup> This enquiry was made all over the country; its results are to be found in the MS. volume in the library at Friends House, London, called *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*. An abridgement of this was published by Henry J. Cadbury, in 1939.

the year was out Penn's full *Preface* had appeared, printed separately for insertion in the folio volume, and also as a small book.

Gloster, 26.xii.1694. Agreed yt William Penn's Preface be added to G. Fox his Journall that were given to ye severall meetings of this County.

Not long afterwards came a reprint of the book which rivalled in fame even Fox's *Journal*.

Gloster, 27.xii.1699. We Received a letter from the Meeting of Sufferings and Second day Morning meeting, Concerning particular friends subscribing to take of Robert Barclay's Appoligy, (they being now to be reprinted) for the servis of Truth. Agreed that Every particular meeting take Care to Subscribe . . . and send the number with all speed to London.

Until adequate subscribers were found the reprinting could not begin. The edition appeared in 1701 and, possibly owing to heavy sales, Gloucestershire Friends did not receive their consignment until the Spring of 1703, the year of yet another reprint.

Naylsworth, 25.iii.1703. We Received from London 70 of Robert Barclay's Appoligies, and also 5 books New England Judg'd,<sup>1</sup> Coms to £11-4-0.

In order to pay for these the Quarterly Meeting funds were literally exhausted, and after the Scribe had recorded the disbursements, another hand, evidently the Treasurer's, added a somewhat anxious note: "which was the Ballance and Nothing now Remaines in Stock." By a "double Colection", however, when each particular meeting faithfully contributed just twice its normal amount, the bill for the books was finally met and the stock replenished. The matter of the Apologies was still not ended. Due care must be taken to see that they were really used.

Cirencester, 29.xii.1703/4. Agreed that every Monthly Meeting bring in an Account how they have

<sup>1</sup> *New England judg'd by the Spirit of the Lord*. Published in 1661 by George Bishop (d. 1668), ex-army Captain and leading Bristol Friend, exposing the Massachusetts persecution of Quakers. 2nd edition 1702, with a "Postscript of the judgements of God that have befallen divers of the Persecutors".

disposed of Robert Barclay's Appologies and the names of those persons they have given them to.

A further large consignment of books was ordered by Gloucestershire within three months, in spite of the previous strain on their common fund.

Naylsworth, 30.iii.1704. We Received a letter to know how many of Charles Marshal's Journall books and Epistles<sup>1</sup> we will take of. Agreed to send for 100.

At times the records reveal a certain anxiety felt in London lest the publishers of Friends' books should become discouraged through inadequate sales, and an emphatic Minute was sent down to the counties from the Yearly Meeting of 1711.

It being represented to this Meeting that ye quantity of Bookes agreed on by some meetings will be no way Encouraging to ye Press but Rather an apparent Loss which is contrary to ye Desire and mind of this meeting. . . . We doe therefore Recommend to ye Consideration of Each Quarterly Meeting yt their Representatives come up prepared next year not only to discharge all their former Contracts and Agreements for Bookes Delivered But also to give encouragement by Entering into Some new ones with ye Printer.

The Quarterly Meeting Minutes note similar requests on various occasions.

Gloster, 29.xii.1704. We Received a letter from the Second day morning meeting at London to know how many of George Fox's Doctrinall Books<sup>2</sup> we would take of to Incourage the Printer. . . . Agreed to take of 13.

At first sight, such a number would not appear to be an over-generous encouragement to the printer, but there is another side to the picture. One of the thirteen books thus ordered by the Quarterly Meeting in 1704 is still at Cirencester. "George's Doctrinalls," someone who may well have known

<sup>1</sup> Charles Marshall (1637-1698) convinced by Camm and Audland, Bristol 1654, extensive preaching tour 1670-2, attending 400 meetings. Collected writings published under the title *Sion's Travellers comforted, and the Disobedient warned*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gospel Truth Demonstrated, in a Collection of Doctrinal Books Containing Principles Essential to Christianity and Salvation, held amongst the People called Quakers* (1706).

Fox personally has written familiarly upon the fly-leaf. "Cost 18/-. Purchased for Robert King and Edward Robinson." This was a high price even for a leather-bound folio, and what the sum actually meant to Friends of the day can be appreciated by a reference to current values. In Gloucestershire at about the same period a weaver was earning from 10/- to 12/- a week, and a considerable number of Quakers in the Cotswold area were engaged in this particular employment. A carpenter's wages were approximately 9/-, weekly, and a farm labourer's the traditional 9d. a day. Bread was 1d. a lb., beef 3d., and cheese 4d. It is not surprising therefore that the country Quarterly Meetings could only take a limited supply of these high-priced books, and that the sensible plan existed of two Friends sharing a purchase.

The central place which such volumes would take in the Quaker household of the past is readily seen, and a homely example from Cirencester well illustrates this point. Among the still earlier books upon the shelves is the Collection of Edward Burrough with the arresting title: *The Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder and Consolation . . . Printed for the Good and Benefit of Generations to come in the year 1672*. This volume has been put to the use more frequently associated with the family Bible, and records upon its last page the marriage of the owner and the births of his children. There is also added the family "Recipe for ye Cholick", an interesting assortment of medicinal herbs and roots "infused in three quarts of ye best brandy, to be taken three spoonsfull att a time or more".

Even the medium-priced books would be something of a luxury in the average Quaker home when privately purchased. The second edition of Fox's *Journal* (1709), in two volumes, cost 10/-. Barclay's *Apology* was 4/- in English, and 1/- more in French, Spanish, or Latin, "for the Information of Strangers". Friends of Nailsworth meeting in 1709 ordered ten copies of Ambrose Rigge's collected works *Constancy in the Truth*,<sup>1</sup> "ye price being 2/6 per book." Most of the well-known Journals, substantial 8vo volumes such as those

<sup>1</sup> Ambrose Rigge, of Westmorland (c. 1638-1704/5), settled at Gatton, Surrey, as a schoolmaster, to the indignation of the parish priest. "He thinks' to roost here, and impudently presumes to teach youth in his house.' *Second Period of Quakerism*, p. 527.



written by William Edmundson and Thomas Chalkley, ranged in price from 3/- to 4/6. The best-seller of the period among Gloucestershire meetings was Anthony Pearson's *Great Case of Tithes*,<sup>1</sup> for as many as 400 copies were ordered in 1731. The tithe question was always a burning one, and this book, costing only 1/- in paper wrapper, could be widely distributed.

Penn's many writings were sold at varying prices from 30/- which bought the two magnificent folios of his *Collected Works* (1726), down to 4d. the price of his *Key*. The subtitle of this extremely popular booklet was *How to distinguish the Religion professed by the People called Quakers from the Misrepresentations of their Adversaries*," and it proved so useful that before the author's death it had reached twelve editions in English and had been translated into Welsh, French, and Danish. Penn appears to have been the only early Friend honoured by his publishers with a bibliography, and the *Compleat Index* to his works could be had for 6d.

To Quakers of the mid-eighteenth century, one of the most interesting publications of all must have been the autobiography of Thomas Story, for he had travelled the length and breadth of the land and was well known even in remote country districts. The book was published at a time when Friends could remember the actual visits to their neighbourhood to which he alludes, and he had stayed in many of their homes. In 1745, the Quarterly meeting recorded: "We have Received an Advertisement of an History of the Life, Convincement and Travel of Thomas Story deceased, to be printed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne." Thomas Story had left a legacy for the widespread distribution of his book to Friends' meetings, but it was thought that even more copies would be needed to meet the great demand. Isaac Thompson of Newcastle accordingly printed a further supply of this expensive folio volume "at his own risque". Only seven Friends in Gloucestershire afforded it for their own homes, but the meeting-house copies, still in so many cases available to-day, must have been among the most borrowed of any in the early libraries.

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Pearson (1628-c. 1670), Justice of the Peace in the northern counties, convinced by Nayler in 1653. Wrote "the standard book against tithes" in 1657, of which a fourth and enlarged edition was printed in 1730.

The production of Quaker books was not confined to England. Holland had been the stronghold of a small group of Friends from early days with a Yearly Meeting set up by Fox, and an Amsterdam printer had been the first to give Barclay's *Apology* to the world in its original Latin form, two years before it appeared in English. In 1720 the translation was planned of another famous work, Sewel's *History*, which had been first published in the Dutch capital in 1717.

Tetbury, 30.vi.1720. We Received some papers of Proposals for Printing ye History of the Christaine People called Quakers in English, done from ye Dutch . . .

These proposals materialized two years later in the English edition of 1722, *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers, Intermixed with several Remarkable Occurrences. Written in Low-Dutch by William Sewel and by himself translated into English.* The price was 14/-. This weighty volume was evidently regarded with respect by local Friends. "This Book belongs to the Meeting," they wrote in the Cirencester copy, "and It's desired that it be kept clean and brought to ye Monthly Meeting once every Month."

When 1733 the first part of Besse's *Abstract of the Sufferings of Friends, 1650-1660*, was printed, Gloucestershire subscribed for 18, one for every particular meeting. The second part appeared five years later, and the counties were invited to correct it locally before publication.

Cirencester, 26.ix.1734. We Received from ye Meeting for Sufferings ye Abstract of Sufferings of Friends, 1660-1665, for our Perusall, in order to Rectifie any mistake we can apprehend with Respect to Names of Places or Persons.

The early volumes of *Sufferings* thus corrected still remain at Cirencester. It is comparatively rare to find them now in a Meeting-house library, for soon after, in 1753, there appeared his larger and more complete *Collection of Sufferings*, which entirely superseded the earlier work. This was not the first time that the co-operation of local Friends in the production of historical material had been suggested. In the opening years of the century they had furnished reports for the *Collection* which, preserved among Quaker archives, was

published by the Friends' Historical Society in 1907 under the title *The First Publishers of Truth*. The request from London for this information which was to prove so valuable to future Quaker historians was noted thus :

Naylsworth, 29.vi.1704. We Received a letter from the Second day Morning Meeting at London desiring an account of what faithfull labourers in the Gospell came first amongst us, if any dyed the place where, and their dyeing sayings with any other remarkeable things.

The official gathering together of death-bed testimonies began in 1701 with the publication of *Piety Promoted*, first edited by John Tomkins. The counties received a note from the Yearly Meeting of 1710 that "John Field hath now undertaken to Collect (in order to be printed) the dyeing sayings of faithfull friends as John Tomkins had done before, to whom you may send them." In his preface to the first volume in 1701 John Tomkins states quite simply his reasons for the work : Having in the course of my reading, met with many excellent sayings of our dying friends, that afforded me much satisfaction of mind, I have collected some of them together for the benefit of others : knowing that usually the words of dying persons make deeper impression on the minds of men, than words spoken at other times." It is this simplicity, allied to a genuine devotion, which redeems the narratives from morbidity, and it is to the credit of Friends that at least they turned to worth-while religious uses the tendency to dwell upon death-bed scenes so general in eighteenth century literature.

It is clear that the books were widely read up and down the country, for each Part as it appeared went through two, three, and sometimes four, new editions.

Quaker youth was even encouraged to study the work intensively, for in 1737 a translation into Latin was made by William Massey, a Wandsworth schoolmaster : *Pietas Promota . . . Studiosæ Juventiis latine reddita*. The influence of the publication was extended in 1770 by the translation into French of Seventy-two of the earlier narratives, the translator being Claude Gay, a native of Lyons resident in London. An interesting detail is that while the general narratives were in French only, "the expressions of

the dying Friend were in parallel columns of French and English".<sup>1</sup>

The young people of the Society were brought up on them and towards the end of the century the narratives concerning the deaths of children were collected into one volume: *Examples for Youth in remarkable instances of Early Piety*. Selected by William Rawes, Junr., 1797.

It must have been an encouragement to the more remote meetings to know that if any of their members produced writings of particular merit, these might be printed in London for the edification of the whole Society. The Gloucestershire Minutes give one such example from the period.

Thornbury, 28.vi.1716. This meeting appoints . . . (6 Friends) . . . to Inspect into the writeings of Mary Edwards deceased, In order to see if they may be thought fitt to be sent to London to be Printed.

Mary Edwards had been a Minister of power among the first generation of Gloucestershire Friends. She had interviewed the Justices of Assize in 1685 on behalf of those imprisoned in Gloucester Castle. The report on her writings was favourable—"they may be of service to be printed"—and they were therefore sent to London to be submitted to the Second-day Morning Meeting. Over three years passed before the reply came back.

Gloster, 23.xii.1719/20. We Received two letters from London concerning some papers, or Epistles, of Mary Edwards of this County, (which was sent to London some time agoe in order to be printed) in which friends of London desires to have some short Testimony of the life and Service and Example for the Truth among friends of the said Mary Edwards . . . An Account being brought Into this meeting It's agreed that Thomas Loveday should take care to send it up to London to be printed with ye said Epistles,<sup>2</sup> and that this meeting should take of 150 more than is usually sent down by the Printer.

<sup>1</sup> See the valuable historical introduction to *Piety Promoted, Tenth Part*, by Joseph Gurney Bevan, 1810.

<sup>2</sup> *Some Brief Epistles, Testimonies, and Counsel of Mary Edwards*, published with a preface by George Whitehead, 1720.

The desire of local Friends that their books should be read widely by the general public is clearly evident.

Naylsworth, 29.vi.1732. Agree'd we should send for 18 Books more of *Ye Answer to Patrick Smith*,<sup>1</sup> for one to be sent to every particular meeting, and ye other six to be put in ye Bookseller Shops at Gloucester and Cirencester and ye Care alsoe of advertiseing ye said Book in ye Gloucester Journall<sup>2</sup> is left to William Humphris.

This experiment with the local booksellers led to a concern from Gloucestershire being laid before Yearly Meeting a few months later.

Tetbury, 4.iii.1733. Agreed that a Proposition be made to ye Yearly Meeting in London to Consider if It may not be of Service . . . yt Friends Books yt are sent down, may by Friends of ye severall countys be sent to severall or all ye Booksellers in this Nation, and Friends to allow ye Booksellers good Profit for what they sell, which we think may be of Service in Spreading of Truth.

The Yearly Meeting responded favourably to this idea, for soon after there is mention of "A Minute of ye Last Yearly Meeting wherein we find it advised for ye Spreading of Truth yt some Friends should be appoynted to treat with ye Booksellers of the County to know if they are willing to sell our Friends Books with good allowance for what they sell, they to Return them as cannot be sold." The ambitious suggestion that Friends' books might find a place in the shops of "all ye Booksellers in this Nation" lends point to Neave Brayshaw's comment: "The 18th century was not so destitute of attempts to spread a knowledge of Quakerism as is often supposed."<sup>3</sup>

The printers whom the Yearly Meeting of 1711 were so anxious to encourage were the Sowle family, the leading

<sup>1</sup> Patrick Smith, Vicar of Great Paston, Hunts, published in 1732 *A Preservative Against Quakerism*. This was answered the same year by Joseph Besse in *A Defence of Quakerism*.

<sup>2</sup> The first Gloucestershire Weekly Paper, founded 1722, and of considerable influence in the West Midlands because of the position of Gloucester on the main coach-roads.

<sup>3</sup> Introducing an account of the Circular Yearly Meetings of the Midlands. *Handbook for Birmingham Yearly Meeting*, 1908.

publishers of Friends books over a considerable period of time. Andrew Sowle, the founder of the firm, had been frequently involved in the persecution of the later seventeenth century. His presses were smashed, and at one time about a thousand reams of printed books were taken from him. He seems to have submitted with cheerful courtesy, for it was his custom "when his persecutors had done their work and seized upon all, to set meat and drink before them". He was evidently a man of attractive personality, and held in high esteem by the many well-known Friends whose books he had produced. "The night before he died (in 1695), William Penn came somewhat late to visit him . . . and prayed that the Lord would give him the reward of his labour; for through him many blessed truths had been brought into the world."<sup>1</sup> Apparently Andrew Sowle had no son, for his wife Jane and his daughter Tacy successively followed him as heads of the firm. "She is both a printer and a bookseller," wrote a fellow publisher of Tacy Sowle in 1704; "she understands her work very well, being a good compositor herself."<sup>2</sup> Most of her books were produced from White Hart Court, Gracious (Gracechurch) Street, her premises adjoining the historic Meeting-house.

The books issued by this firm were of a very high quality. They used a particularly fine binding with a pleasing design stamped upon the leather, and it is possible at a glance to select their productions from many old meeting-house shelves. It was their custom to bind their trade lists into the back of the books they had printed, and these give valuable information as to the status of the firm, and the general books they were publishing in addition to those of largely Quaker appeal. The house was interested in medical works from its early days, and a proof of its reputation outside the Society was the publication, in Andrew Sowle's time, of a treatise by one of the highest doctors of the land. *Queries relating to the Practice of Physick, with Remarks upon some of them. Modestly Proposed to the Serious Consideration of Mankind . . . for their Information how their Lives and Healths may be better preserved.* By H. Chamberlen, Physician in Ordinary to the Late King Charles the Second. The treat-

<sup>1</sup> *Piety Promoted*, 1789 edition, Vol. 2. Account of Andrew Sowle.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquarian Researches among the Early Printers of Friends' Books.* Published anonymously in Philadelphia, 1844.

ment of this particular King at the hands of his doctors in his last illness has become proverbial, and it is good to know that at least their intentions were better than their practice. A medical work which appeared in the succeeding generation is worthy of note as indicating a very advanced view for the early eighteenth century, and it is interesting that it should have been sponsored by Quaker publishers: *The good House-wife made a Doctor . . . Being a Plain way of Nature's own Prescribing, to Prevent and Cure most diseases . . . by Diet and Kitchin-physick only.* By Thomas Tryon, Student in Physick.<sup>1</sup> A companion volume attempted to explore the significance of dreams and the causes of mental illness. *A Treatise of Dreams and Visions . . . the Causes Nature and Uses of Nocturnal Representations To which is added A Discourse on the Cause and Cure of Phrensy, Madness, or Distraction.*

These book-lists, new from the London press, must have been studied constantly by the entire Quaker family when laying down Barclay's *Apology* or Sewel's *History*, and they doubtless served in small measure to keep country Friends in touch with the thought of the day. Every member of the household could find something of interest. The Quaker business man might buy, for 2/—, *A New Discourse of Trade . . . with several Weighty Points relating to the Companies of Merchants.* His children of school age could acquire, for 6d., *Instruction in right Spelling and Reading and Writing True English, with several Delightful things, very Useful and Necessary.* The word "delightful" could not often be applied to educational productions of the period, and it may be permissible to think that the Quaker publishers were pointing the way to the more attractive teaching of a later age.

Students of the early Quarterly Meeting Minutes cannot fail to be impressed with the close connection which existed between London and the provinces in Quaker circles, at a time when this was far from being the case in the general social life of the day, at any rate for those of humbler rank. The practical plan of appointing Friends in the city, as Correspondents who could be approached at any time, must have

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Tryon (1634-1703) was a writer also on mystical philosophy and vegetarianism and has been described as a link between Jacob Boehme and early Friends.

helped greatly to strengthen this connection, and their addresses, carefully copied into the Quarterly Meeting Book, of Gloucestershire, bring with them the atmosphere of eighteenth century London.

For 1731. William Clark. At ye Pensilvania Coffee House.

Daniel Weston. In Wapping. Winecooper.  
Jos. Wood. Of Whitechappel. Cheese-  
monger.

Thos. Jackson. At White Lyon Inn, Corn-  
hill.

Thos. Smith. In Lombard St. Banker  
and Jeweller.

At the Gloucestershire end the Correspondents were usually Friends of a similar substance. Daniel Bowly of Cirencester, Maltster: Thomas Loveday of Painswick and Stephen Wilkins of Nailsworth, both mill-owners in the Cotswold cloth trade. And among the many items of business dealt with by these representatives of Quakerism, whether in town or country, not the least important must have been the ordering and dispatching of the bales of Friends' books sent down so frequently by the carrier's eight-horsed waggon.

RUTH G. BURTT



# The Earliest National Meeting of Friends in Ireland

## New Evidence as to its Date

IN *The Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland* the date of the first General Meeting for all Irish Friends is given as Third Month (May) 1670. This statement is based on Dr. Rutty's *History . . . of the Quakers in Ireland*, published in 1751, in which he says (p. 130), "The General Meetings, consisting of some from each Province, were concluded to be held Half-yearly, on the third and ninth months, the first appointed meeting of which sort was in the third month 1670." The minute book dates from May 1671.

Rutty based the earlier part of his work on the manuscript compiled by Thomas Wight at the end of the seventeenth century, which was seen and corrected by William Edmondson, the first Quaker in Ireland. Wight himself did not come among Friends till 1670.

Evidence has now come to light which indicates that the first National Meeting, as these meetings were called, was held in November 1669. In William Penn's *Irish Journal* under date 5.ix.1669 he records, when in Dublin: "All friends mett at my Lodging to keep ye Nationall meeting, W[illiam] E[dmondson], W[illiam] M[orris] & G[eorge] G[regson] spoak; the sufferings of Friends came before us, Munster & Linster, but Ulster were return'd. A Paper was sent to all ye Provinciall men's-meetings to advise them to be more punctuall in ye regestering of all sufferings; & to transmitt them in briefely to ye nationall meeting. A paper, by way of Adresse was carry'd by W[illiam] M[orris] & W[illiam] P[enn] to ye Mayor who abus'd them, but did not releive ye Prisoners of ye Citty."<sup>1</sup>

A confirmation of Penn's account is found in a small book belonging to the long-discontinued Bandon meeting. The title on the cover is *Summary of General Minutes of the National Meeting in Dublin. Collected by order of Munster*

<sup>1</sup> *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 40, 1916, p. 49.

*Province<sup>1</sup> Meeting, 1704.* On the first page is a much longer title followed by the words, *In an alphabetical way, beginning with the first half year's meeting, which was in the 9th month 1669.*

Under A the first minute is dated 1669, and is as follows : " Applications to Justices of the Peace or Judges of Assizes with their answers and the effects of the same, also all material passages upon Friends' personal addresses to be taken in writing as well as an account of sufferings and brought to half-years' meetings." Turning to S one reads, also under date 1669<sup>2</sup> : " Sufferings of Friends throughout the nation to be kept an exact account of, whether by magistrates, priests, or tories.<sup>3</sup> Especially that in the case of distraint for tythes, priests' dues etc. (so called), the persons' names that distraint be noted, their offices, the sums demanded, the value of what they take away, the names of the persons and for whose use, the time when taken, with the language and expressions of the persons that do it, and whether any be restored that Friends lose nothing of their testimony, and that the cruelty, covetousness and wickedness of the priest may be made manifest to the whole world."

From this it appears that the first National Meeting met in November, 1669. It continued to meet regularly half-yearly until 1797, after which the autumn meeting was discontinued and the gathering became known as the Yearly Meeting.

ISABEL GRUBB

<sup>1</sup> The province meetings were similar to the Quarterly meetings.

<sup>2</sup> And other later dates.

<sup>3</sup> Tories were dispossessed Irishmen seeking by robbery and murder to regain the lands which had been taken from them.

## Elizabeth Fry at Newgate

We are indebted to Isabel Grubb for the following account and the note on its writer. The account is extracted from a letter by Melesina Trench [*see* D.N.B.] to her son, Charles Manners St. George, dated London, May, 1820, printed in *The remains of the late Mrs. Richard Trench, being selections from her journals, letters, and other papers. Edited by her son, the Dean of Westminster, (1862), pp. 428-431.*

Melesina Chenevix was granddaughter of the Bishop of Waterford, with whom she passed her early childhood. At eighteen she married Colonel St. George who died four years later. In 1802 when about to visit one of her Irish estates she wished to stay at the inn then recently opened by William Leadbeater at Ballitore Hill. The inn was full of Friends going to Yearly Meeting, so the Leadbeaters brought her to their own home. She stayed there a fortnight, and thus began a life-long friendship and correspondence between her and Mary (Shackleton) Leadbeater. Mary Leadbeater helped her in her plans for the improvement of conditions on her estate and she was useful to Mary Leadbeater in her literary work. In 1803 Melesina St. George married Richard Trench and thereafter resided mostly in England. Their son (later Archbishop) Richard Chenevix Trench published the work mentioned from which the following is taken.

I WENT yesterday to Newgate, to see Mrs. Fry's performance. I by no means wish to underrate her merits by the phrase. The same lips which said, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth," have also said, "Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick;" leaving the heart at liberty to follow either precept, as it conscientiously judges one or other most useful at the time; thus proving in this instance, as in so many others, that the Gospel is "the law of liberty."

Miss Hewitt, Lady Jane Peel, and I set out at ten for Newgate; where a stonework of fetter over the door told us we had arrived after a twenty minutes drive. Two fat and jolly men received us in a sort of office, and civilly consigned us to a maid-servant, who led us up two narrow and steep flights of stairs to a small homely room, in the middle of which, her back to the door, Mrs. Fry sat at a table, with books and papers before her. The female convicts, I suppose about sixty in number, faced her on rows of benches, raised as in the gallery of a theatre. Opposite to these were two or three rows for the visitors, and a single row on each

side, all as full as possible. As we entered we were slightly named to her, and slightly acknowledged. The smell was oppressive, and the heat unpleasant, but this was instantly forgotten in the interest of the scene. The convicts first drew my attention. They were of decent appearance and deportment, habited like the lowest class of servants. They were singularly plain, but most of them in the prime or vigour of life, not one very old woman ; and two had children, whom they nursed. Among the visitors I saw a few of my acquaintance, and some persons of note.

After a short silence Mrs. Fry read, in a soft, low, silvery tone the fourth chapter of the Ephesians, with perfect intelligence and expressive sweetness. She then paused, and explained what she thought wanted elucidation in a few simple well-chosen words. Two men of the Society of Friends spoke a few words of exhortation. She then read a Psalm, and, I think, did not say anything in explanation ; but she knelt down and commenced a prayer for comfort to the unhappy convicts, and spiritual blessings for them, for us, and for all. This prayer was chanted in a way, I am told, peculiar to the Society of Friends. I did not like it, with all the advantages of Mrs. Fry's sweet voice and musical skill. It is not a regular tune ; the words rise a few notes in the scale in regular progression, and fall again in the same place, but never descend lower or change their order. Many words, of course, sometimes are given to one note, and the long-drawn emphasis sometimes laid on " and ," and other equally insignificant words, was disagreeable to my ear. On the whole, it affected my nerves unpleasantly, and wanted the solemn unction of the human speaking voice. Music ought to be very fine when we address the Deity ; even then it seems more suitable for repeating, or dwelling on, our petitions, or for praise and gratitude, than for humble, deep, deprecatory prayer.

The convicts now left the room. A subscription followed ; and Mrs. Fry offered to show us the jail. I went part of the way ; but as we seemed to walk through narrow, dark and winding passages cut out of the cold rock, my courage failed. Thought dwelt intensely on those that went in that way, never to return but to death or banishment, and I felt that I was exposing myself perhaps to illness, when uncalled on by any duty. I prevailed on a good, kind Quaker friend to be

my Orpheus, and was very glad to see the light of day once more.

It was a fine lesson of humility and gratitude. The doubt whether in similar circumstances one might not have been more guilty than the worst of these women, the reflection how deeply they might have been assailed by the temptations of want, added to every other infirmity of our nature, and how bitterly they might expiate in this world the offences of which they had repented, all pressed on the mind at once.

## The Testimony of Joshua Sprigge

**J**OSHUA SPRIGGE (1618-1684) is best known as the author of a history of the English civil war and is by some described as a chaplain under Sir Thomas Fairfax the parliamentary general. He was a thorough advocate of toleration, publicly protested both by word and pen against the decision to execute King Charles I, and when James Nayler's case was before parliament, he headed a deputation to petition for his release.

Theodor Sippell of Marburg has written in English a book about him, which he is anxious to publish, and which he has dedicated to the memory of William C. Braithwaite. *It is entitled Joshua Sprigge. A help to a better understanding of Early Quakerism.* It is based on three rare tracts, all published in 1649 by Sprigge, which Theodor Sippell has very generously given to the Library at Friends House. They are :

1. *A Testimony to an Approaching Glory.*
2. *Christus Redivivus.*
3. *A Further Testimony of the Glory that is Near.*

The first of these tracts contains three sermons printed before, viz. *God a Christian's All, Himselfe Nothing*, 1640; *The Dying and Living; Christian and Solace for Saints in the Saddest times.* The following extracts from Sprigge, and comments, are contributed by Theodor Sippell, and are printed as a welcome contribution from an old friend.

The passage below is taken from *A testimony to an Approaching Glory*, 2nd edition, corrected, London, 1649. The first sermon in this work *God a Christian's All, Himselfe Nothing* (Genesis 5,24), shows that we must date his conversion before 1640.

**I**F so be it might be no offence, I should give you my own experience for the confirmation of this point, (for we can speake nothing, but what wee have heard, and what wee have seen :) Now I must confesse, and professe unto you, that God hath made reall this truth unto me, not by study, not by notion, not by outward discovery, but by an inward experiment : for this I have found, and I trust more have found it besides my selfe, though it may be they cannot tell what to call those things that work within them, nor how to expresse it, (it may be) but this I have found, that all outward administrations hath been weake, and unable to produce those fruits and effects which the Scripture makes mention of : it hath been as the Law ; *What the Law could not doe, in that it was weake*, etc. And look into your selves, whether you have not *found* it so in your selves, that you have

had some corruption that hath troubled you : Some masterfull lust you would be glad to get the victory over, and ye would account him a Messenger, one among a thousand, that could shew you how to effect your desires.

I am sure, it hath been so with me ; and when I have seene such word as these in the Scripture ; *Sin shall not have Dominion over you, for you are not under the Law but under Grace*, I have considered with my self, and have done as I have been directed to doe, and I have told my selfe thou art under grace, and I have pleaded this to God, Lord I am under grace, I am under the Gospel, and why should sin have dominion over me : and thereupon I have studied the promises, because 'tis said : *There are given to us exceeding great and precious promises, that by them, we might be made partakers of the divine nature.*

I have looked upon Jesus Christ dying for me, because the Scripture saith *The love of Christ constraines us*, etc. When all this while I have been like *Siseras Mother*, wondring in my selfe, why doe his Chariot wheels stay etc. ? Why am I not set free from my lusts ? Is the Gospel a broken Reed ? Doth it tell us things that wee make up by imagination, rather then feel the real operation, and experiment of them within us ?

The last Scripture, I was much exercised in, in relation to these things, was this, in the Epistle of John ; *He that abideth in him sinneth not.*

Hereupon I inquired what this is, to abide in Christ, and sought to make it out to my selfe by my own Reason, and to finde it out by the Letter of the Scripture, and all the account I could give of it, did relate to the Creatures action : I thought we must be still commanding our selves, and putting our selves on to abide in Christ ; and wee must call upon one another to abide in Christ. And thus was I exercised in a carnall toile and perplexity, and never could see my desires all this while. I could not finde my corruptions slain by all these means, till God was pleased to hold forth this discovery to me, which I doe now desire to hold forth to you, *viz.* that it is not the flesh of these things, it is not the historical knowledge of these things, it is not *the saying* you are under grace ; it is not being under the forme of the Gospel that can change your hearts, set you free from sin ; but it is the Spirit that when he comes, doth chase

away all clouds, as the Son [Sun] on the earth. It is Christ in the Spirit, who is the truth within you, represented by that History without you ; and yet all these things are [not] the making out of God to you ; they are not your happinesse, or your life ; for our happinesse lies not in any action, be it in the greatest action ; not in the *mortification* of sin, nor in *vivification*, but our life lies in Union, that hidden principle within us, that is God. And if ever you would have this Union, and that which is your hope made out to you and would have the enjoyment of it in this life, you must wait upon that Jesus that came downe from the Father's Bosom, and lived in the flesh ; I say, you must wait upon him, to come and live in your spirits, not onely to bring you *forth* in the participation of his nature, but to fil you with the fulnes of God ; for so we have warrant to expect, that you may be filled with all the fulnes of God ; Now this the Lord shew you to be a truth : there is a twofold truth ; there is a *mediate* truth, and an *ultimate* truth ; there is a truth manifesting, and a truth manifested : Now the Truth manifested, is Union ; *That they all may be on[e] as we are one*. This is the truth that God would manifest to us by these things ; by coming to us in the flesh of Christ, and in the Spirit.

The Truth manifesting, is the Appearance of Christ in the Spirit, sutable and conformable to that outward Appearance of Christ in the flesh without us, for our sakes : you will never have the Love of God, and your Union with God, manifested to you, unless it be manifested to you by the Spirit ; except God Worke the same workes in you, that he wrought in Christ. And thus I have discharged my selfe of this same Testimony. .

The coincidence between this testimony of Joshua Sprigge and the religious experiences of early Friends is remarkable. We must, however, not overlook the difference. He never joined Friends. He never came under the personal influence of George Fox. *His views on election and predestination—how much soever attenuated—would not have been approved by Friends, to say nothing of his speculations about the angels and the angelic nature.* Perhaps his latest book of 1676 (*News of New World from the Word and Works of God compared together*) which is not accessible for me, would reveal other points of distinction.

So much the more we must lay stress on the fact that nobody else before had a deeper sense of that which William C. Braithwaite calls "the central experience out of which the Quaker message sprang". Just in the same way as George Fox, Joshua Sprigge "found in his own



spirit the place where a seed of Divine life was springing up, the place where the voice of a Divine teacher was being uttered, the place that was being inhabited by a Divine and glorious presence." Whereas John Everard and other mystics of the most advanced type are leaning far too much to neoplatonist speculation and are in danger to annihilate completely human personality, Joshua Sprigge, in deep unity of spirit with early Quakerism, remains on scriptural lines. He will not give up his *personal* communion with Christ in all eternity.

Sprigge avoids the use of traditional theological terms, the *notions*, as he calls them. His terminology is scriptural, not formed by dogmatic controversy. For his person, he chooses that form of "Scripture cognisance" which conforms to his own personal experience. It is in the main the mystical religion of St. Paul, St. John and of the Epistle to Hebrews. He uses the texts of the Scripture only as far as he can adjust them to this personal type of his and leaves the other texts alone, because he judges them to be rudiments of a lower administration.

Sprigge and early Quakerism hold the same position in as much as they are both expecting the imminent second coming of the Lord in the Spirit and in the Truth, beyond and in spite of all scholarly forms and definitions. "The kingdom and government of Jesus Christ", says he,

is not outward, formall, and shadowy, but inward, reall and powerfull. It is in Spirit, and within you, not in the person of men or ministers without you : it is that that shall destroy sin out of the world, and all the fruits of sinne, and shall replenish the subjects of it with holinesse and happinesse.

And this kingdome comes not with observation, how else should it come as a snare on all those that dwell upon the earth ? The first and second appearance of Christ are not so much distinguished in time as in excellency and glory. And that of Christ's second appearance, which is now but as a cloud of a handbreadth, shall cover the heavens . . . . The Lord Himselfe will shortly preach Himselfe with clearnesse and authority, and all that cloud of envy that is upon his appearance, shall not hinder him. Even so come Lord Jesus, Amen.

*Just at that time began the sending of George Fox !* The affinity of thoughts between Joshua Sprigge and Early Friends is so great that it is not astonishing to find the same coincidence in their religious language, floating between the temporal and eternal view. Here and there Quaker expressions, only interpreted by Sprigge, receive their peculiar meaning ; for instance the Quaker term "truth", interpreted by Sprigge as "the true sense", contrasted with the shadow and parable of the outward letter. Many abrupt and rhapsodic utterances of Early Friends, which scandalized the

hearers, escape any misconstruction as soon as they are interpreted according to the teaching of Sprigge. So we may call him *the first apologist of Quakerism*, although his early tracts were published before he had any knowledge of the message of George Fox.

THEODOR SIPPELL

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## Parish Registers

HAROLD W. BRACE of Gainsborough has kindly supplied the following notes on parish registers which may serve as guide for Friends engaged in local or genealogical research in this wide and too little-used field.

GENERALLY speaking, parochial registration commenced with Thomas Cromwell's Injunction of 5.ix.1538, although there are a very few registers containing entries before that date. There are several parishes in Lincolnshire whose registers begin in 1538, the nearest being Belton in the Isle of Axholme and Broughton near Brigg. Under Edward VI the Injunction to keep registers was repeated, almost word for word in 1547, and again by Queen Elizabeth in 1559. The Gainsborough registers commenced soon after this in the year 1564.

Lord Treasurer Burghley, in 1590, propounded a scheme whereby general registration by counties would have antedated the censuses which only came 200 years after. Nothing came of the scheme then, but in 1597 incumbents were ordered to send to their Diocesan Registry a copy of the register entries each year. These copies are called Bishop's Transcripts and for the Archdeaconry of Stow they commence generally in 1599. Many of them still survive and have proved to be of great use in supplying deficiencies where registers have subsequently been lost, destroyed or become illegible.

Unfortunately, both registers and transcripts are frequently missing or incomplete during the Civil War period. Systematic registration begins again with the appointment of lay officers called "Parish Registers" pursuant to an Act of Parliament passed in 1653. The same Act instituted marriage before a justice of the peace, and it was the date of birth not baptism which was recorded. The following examples taken from the register of the parish of Marton, will illustrate these points :

William Kimson and Anne Pinder was married the first of December before Justis Mounton in the yeare 1656.

William the son of William Kimson was borne the 12th of Sept., 1657.

The clergy officially resumed registration at the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, but had in fact usually regained their registers before the end of the Commonwealth.

What has been described as a "Whimsical Act of Parliament" forbidding burial "in any shirt, shift or sheete other than shall be made of wool onely", was originally passed in 1666 and re-enacted in 1678 with a requirement of an entry in the register, of which we can quote from Lea thus :

1695, Apr. 5 Thomas Swift, bur. his burial in woolen was certified by Mr. Mason, Rect. of Springthorpe."

Under William III taxes, graduated by social position, were imposed on the occasions of births, marriages and deaths. The Bishop's Transcript for the parish of Gate Burton for the year 1701 refers to this :

" Apr : 16 Eliz : daughter to Geo : Moody a Husbandman was buryed, to pay 4/-

Apr : 20 A child unbaptized was borne to Wm. Stow a Husbandman, to pay 2/-

Apr : 22 The same child buried, to pay 4/-

May 2d Geo : Inger a poor labourer and Mary Wilson a widdow were marryed, to pay 2/6."

Perhaps Geo : Inger might solace himself with the thought that had he been a duke, he would have had to pay £50.

In order that dissenters might not escape this tax (their entries not being in the parish registers), incumbents were required in 1695 to keep a separate list of such events for nonconformists. This was very generally neglected, but there is a solitary list for one year only (1700) in the Gainsbrough registers, thus :

" Aprill 19 Joseph Potter Butcher and Mary Simpson wer joyned

Novemb 29 Susannah Plant widdow was brought to bed of a Child named Mary

Jan. 27 Isaac son of Wm. Hornby was putt in the ground."

Clandestine marriages had become so scandalous by the time of George III that a special Act of Parliament, known as Lord Hardwicke's Act, was passed to stop such traffic, and, *inter alia*, it introduced printed registers in a prescribed form, for marriages, including the publication of banns.

The Stamp Act of 1783 imposed a duty of 3d. per entry in a parish register, and made the incumbent responsible for the collection of the tax. Extreme poverty was allowed as a ground for exemption, which explains the following quotations from the Marton Register :

“ Christenings 1785 : June 12 Mary daughter of Thos. & Susanna Milns. Poor

Burials 1785 : May 28 Sarah Scott of Cotes. Poor.”

This very unpopular impost was repealed in 1794.

Great interest in returns of population, and hence registration, was aroused in the early part of the 19th century, and Rose's Act of 1812 substituted a more rigid procedure and printed registers for the older manuscript books in respect of baptisms and burials. A quarter of a century later, on July 1st, 1837, registration became a civil matter and parish registers lose their genealogical importance after that date.

No account of registration would be complete without a mention of various non-parochial registers which are in existence. Such are the registers of the Chapels Royal, those of the Walloon and Huguenot churches and of burial grounds such as Bunhill Fields in London.

Large numbers of irregular marriages took place in such places as the Chapels of the Fleet and other prisons and in nearby alehouses. Registers of these are at Somerset House but they are not accepted as legal evidence, though from a genealogist's point of view there is little doubt that the marriages did, in fact, take place. These are perhaps too distant to have any local significance, but the student of local history in the Midlands cannot afford to overlook the registers of the Chapels at Dale Abbey and Peak Forest, both in Derbyshire, where many similar irregularities happened, the Clerk at the latter place marrying all comers for a fee of 1/-.

Practically all dissenting bodies kept registers of their own, the local examples being those of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends (1657-1837), the Beaumont Street Chapel and the Roman Catholic register of Market Rasen (1640-1840).

## The Luke Howard Collection of MSS

This valuable collection was given by Lucy Violet Holdsworth to the Friends House Library in 1943. It contains autograph MSS. by George Fox and other leading 17th century Friends, besides a part of John Woolman's diary of his voyage to England. The MSS. were collected by the donor's great grandfather Luke Howard, F.R.S. (1772-1864), who published facsimiles of several of them in his periodical *The Yorkshireman* (1833-1837). He acquired some of them from Thomas Thompson of Liverpool, another collector of Friends' books and MSS. From Luke Howard they descended through his daughter Elizabeth, wife of John Hodgkin, and her son Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L. to the latter's son, her grandson Thomas Edward Hodgkin. His widow, Catharine Hodgkin, rediscovered them in an attic in 1942 and gave them to Lucy Violet Holdsworth, daughter of Thomas Hodgkin.

In a letter now at Harvard College, Mass., dated York, 1873, Thomas Thompson's son Silvanus, says that Thomas Shillitoe brought from America the original journal of John Woolman's voyage to England and presented it to his father. For this information we are indebted to Henry J. Cadbury. Woolman's sea diary is in two parts. The earlier part is now at The Mount School, York, to which it was presented by Elisabeth Brockbank, great-grand-daughter of Thomas Thompson. The second part is No. 27 in the Luke Howard Collection.

In view of the great interest of the collection a detailed account of it with the full text of the principal unpublished items is printed here.

### I

GEORGE FOX. Scripture Notes. No date.

Leve : 19. 15. Thou shall not respect the person . . . .  
2 Cora : . . . . in Christ stead be reconciled to God.

[endorsed by George Fox] Noates of Scriptuers how Christ died for all. [and by another hand] G. Fox's own hand writeing.

Autograph MS. Printed, with part in facsimile, in *The Yorkshireman*, vol. 5 (1837), p. 240, except the last four lines, as follows :

2 Cora : 2.10 I forgave in the person of Christ  
Exo : 4.16 Thou shalt be to him in Godes stead  
Job : 33.6 I am acording to thy wish in Godes stead  
2 Cora : Wee pray you in Christ stead to reconsiled to  
God.

Supplementary entry in H. J. Cadbury, *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*, p. 206, entry 77 H.

## 2

GEORGE FOX to FRIENDS. *Hertford*. 7.xi.1666.

My Deare freindes Bee dilligent & lett It bee your buisines to serve ye lord & his Truth & to keep up your mens meetinges monthly . . . in these meetings you doe Com into ye practis of ye peure Relidgion which is to Vizit Cherrish & preserve &ca. & hee that disobeys this peure Relidgion disobeys ye Lord. G : F.

Contemporary copy.

Listed in *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*, 18, 13E.

Copies also in Swarthmore MSS. vii.169; Audland MSS. 71; Richardson MSS. 53.

## 3 and 4

GEORGE FOX to FRIENDS. 15.iv.1670.

The Truth of God Mind and his pure holy power . . . my Love to the holy seed of God that is over all.

To be Red in all Friends meetings. G F

[dated] the 15th [*No. 3 dated, 5th*] of 4th Month.

An amended version with postscript is printed in *Epistles of George Fox* (1698), Epistle No. 281 (pp. 315-316). 2 contemporary copies.

## 5

JAMES NAYLER. Against false prophets. No date.

All who say they are ministers of Christ but have not the everlasting word . . . he that can receive it shall no longer be deceived. J.N.

[endorsed] who are sorsersers & wiches.

Autograph MS. Printed, with part in facsimile, in *The Yorkshireman*, vol. 3 (1835), pp. 146-148.

## 6

JAMES NAYLER [*in Bridewell prison, 1658*].

Christ Jesus the eternal and Emmanuel, him alone I confess . . . dayly findeing it to be my worke to seeke peace in sooth with all men in that Spiritt.

James Naylor.

[endorsed] James Naillor little paper. A 17th century copy of his paper delivered to the Parliament from Bridewell. Printed in *Naylor's Works*, 1716, xxxv.

## 7

WILLIAM DEWSBURY to GEORGE FOX. *Leicestershire*.  
1655.

Deare Brother,

With the rest of the brethren who labour for the freedom of the seed of God . . . . [account of his recent travels in Yorkshire and the north Midlands] Amongst frinds hear away I mett with on Humfrey oulrudge [Woolrich] it wear with me for to go from amongst frinds and go to his Callin and labor with his hands ; and ther to wait on ye Lord Not to move from it but as hee is Led in ye life as ye Lord Calls he is retturned to his Callin Esabell Hacker . . . . is at this time prichous in the lif of truth in which your Brother W D.

[addressed] For Gorg Fox theis or E B or any other  
faithfull Brother.

[endorsed by George Fox] W D to G F abought 1655  
read over indrosd.

Autograph MS. Printed in *The Yorkshireman*, vol. 2 (1834), pp. 268-269.

## 8

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE to GEORGE FOX.

*Wimslo in Cheshire* I.viii.1659.

G.F.

Deare brother, those meetings which I mentioned unto thee . . . . [mentions a serviceable meeting at Liverpool with soldiers present, a large meeting at Manchester in the town hall, the keys having been given to Friends by officers for a meeting of soldiers and Friends, many reached. Meetings in prospect next day at W[illiam] G[andy's] in Cheshire, and at Nantwich for Francis Howgill.] . . . .  
Thy dear brother,

R. Hubberthorne

From Wimslo in Cheshire

ye 1 of ye 8 m. 59.

[addressed] To George Fox deliver

[endorsed by George Fox] R.H. to G.F. from Chester  
1659.

An autograph letter, printed in full in *The Yorkshireman*, vol. III (1835), pp. 150-151. With part in facsimile.



## 9

WILLIAM PENN to GEORGE FOX. *Walthamstow.*

4.i.1676.

Very Dr G : F :

And eternally beloved, yea all Ages shall bless thee & Magnify the Power that has guirded, does guird & Crown thee over all envy, pride, darkness ; & thy kingdom is not of this world, nor has the spirit wisdom & lusts of it any part therein, for I feel thee to Raign over all such things & spirits, & thy place is very neer ye lamb, whos life & Blood takes away ye sin of the world ; & the not seing thee in thy true place, nor haveing a sense of thy heavenly commission & Authority, foolish shortsighted & pufft up spirits Intrude & smite & Rebell, & this has been & I fear will be the Loss of many. Such, whatever may be ye outside of ye platter, have inwardly departed from ye liveing god, & live loose from ye Cross in the mind, & being carried with a Tempest of dark stubborn thoughts, withstand & roughly run over the tender shootings of ye Immortall Power & day. Well, my soul is in full Confidence of its downfall, & I hope to behold it.

Now Dear G[eorge] I have thy last to me of the 18th 12 mo ; I have given order about the books for R. Fretwell. But some yt saw ye letter wondered first yt thou shouldst be so sharp w<sup>th</sup> ye J[ohn]s & so kind to him yt is, say they, an odd spirited & imperious man ; 21y that thou shouldst Reflect on J[ohn] W[ilkinson] for goeing down with J. Scafe, when, Harwood & Murford were thy companions : thus they fling of thy words & they have little place with such. G. W[hitehead] is at Bristol & has prevaled with J[ohn] S[tory] to goe down, upon ye time apointed to be in ye North. W. R[ogers] accompanys them, It had been well if this had been 4 months agoe, but better late than never. He writes of good service there, & yt there is some tenderness. T. Curtis went down with him ; ye Reading Friends are out of Goale, ye D[uke] of Y[ork] was as good As his word in yt matter. I desire & earnestly beseech thee to be at ye Meeting ; & Because Poor Margaret is so much smitt at, & run upon (as I beleive never woman was, for which God the righteous Judge will Judge, & plead with them) as if she was ye Cause ; & of an Implacable temper without bowels, or ye spirit of Reconciliation, to show them yt she can pass by

all yt past between them yt concerns herselfe ; & to make ye most of ye good or the tender thing, if it arise never so little in either of them, this would be a deadly stroak upon yt backbiting spirit, & so Confound ym yt smite, yea so stop their mouths, yt there would be no place for them to hide in ; & then would this dark serpent's head lye so fair for ye Blow. Well I leave it, but earnestly desire it in my own spirit. And so George, it would be well to have some very weighty friends of yt County there, yt may keep down the Reasoning Spirit, for yt pragmatistical spirit will doe noe good ; that soe ye Power may in ye Ancient dread of it Arise & determin. I hope to be present with some from these parts. Dear : J. Burnyeat goes out 2<sup>d</sup> day y<sup>e</sup> lord willing, A. P[arker] today, W. Gibson is gone The Lord of heaven & earth determin this thing clearly among us. Thy Book committed to me to get fitted & Printed is out, a precious thing, as are all thy papers, friends have great Regard to many of thy late papers & Books, deep & heavenly openings, & great variety of them. That Book was to such as Profess Christ in words & deny him in works ; it is Titld Possession above Proffession, also Another calld Cain gainst Abel yt T.R. brought to ye meeting, for N. England Proffessors. Mathew Hide a long opposer is dead, & has left a blessed Testemony To Truth & Friends which is gone to ye Press, well Attested. At present I have enough to doe ; Persecution is coming too, and its an ill time to leave London destitute. Ye Mayor has sent to Friends to come to him, tis to warn them not to meet. I think to have some of thy Dantsick letter delivered among them. W<sup>m</sup> Rogers and I are in a close combat about things, he is very high indeed, & neare ye brink, ye Lord keep him from falling. N. Colman yt saw ye vision of ye Angel ready to cutt him off &c, about womens meetings, has recanted it, condemned it, calls it the effect of thy threats & my Insinuations, and is exceeding high, threatening me with Judgements & I know not what. And I have cleared my conscience at our 2[nd] days morning meetings about ye J's staying thereaway thus to stagger & defile, though I have suffered hard for it, yea more then ever I had from ye greatest Princes of ye world before I knew Truth. But ye Lord blott out all, sweeten all, & cement all, if it be his blessed will. I adjourn much till I see thee, which I shall rejoyse to doe & yt famely to whom

is my Dear love, with my Dear wife's, but beyond all words to thy selfe who art in our hearts above all upon earth in ye Eternal ; for we know thee ; so with unfeined never dying Love to yee & Dear Margaret I rest

Thy Faithfull

Lover

W P.

I desire yt Jo[hn] Blaickling & Robert Barrow may have notice. Dear T[homas] L[ower] thyn I had with Dear George Fox's, thy love is Dear to me, & mine salutes you all in ye blessed Fellowship of ye light. I will not say any more till we meet, yt I know of ; hoping to have a time to ease my self shortly ; we are all well, take kindly your remembrance & return you our faithfull greetings.

Thy true friend & Brother in truth

W P.

[endorsed by George Fox] W pen to G F.

I : mo : 1675

Autograph letter, 4 pp. Has not been found printed elsewhere.

10

THOMAS ELLWOOD. No date.

George Keith in his *Deism*, p. 17, objects to W. Penn yt in his *Serious Apology* [1671], p. 146, he saith " That that outward Person that suffered at Jerusalem, was properly the son of God we utterly deny " . . .

The paper is devoted to answering Keith's charge of theological heresy against William Penn, Ellwood quotes Penn more amply, and also Beza on Heb. vii.3, Wilson's *Christian Dictionary*, and Cradock's *Apostolic History*. The argument enters intricately into a distinction between the outward manhood of Jesus and his inward divinity, and between various meanings of the word 'son', one of which is not properly applicable to the outward person of Jesus. Ellwood complains that although Penn had effectively answered the charge, Keith has repeated it in several pamphlets, ignoring the answer. He is challenged to a refutation . . . " before he Cuckows his charge again ".

Autograph MS. Not signed. 3 pp. Not found printed.

At the end is a note by Thomas Thompson who collected autographs, offering this specimen of Thomas Ellwood's hand ; dated Liverpool 17.x.1835, signed " Thy affectionate Friend T. Thompson ", addressed " Luke Howard, Ackworth, near Pontefract, Yorkshire."

## II

HENRY FELL. A pass to Ulverston. *Thetford*. 28.iii.1660. Burrow of Thetford. Henerye Fell an Idle vagrant person, & a seducer of the people, a very suspitious Jesuited deluder, & one who denyeth y<sup>e</sup> Oath of Allegiance & Supremacy, a man of midle stature some of thirty yeares of Age, with browne Curled haire. . . . [was openly whipped on 28 May, 1660, in Thetford, for a wandering Rogue and assigned to pass to Ulverston within twenty days at his perill].

[signed] John Kendall, Mayor.

[addressed] To the Constables of Croxton & to all other Constables, . . . for the due execution hereof.

[endorsed by George Fox] A v en cry [hue and cry] after H Fell.

Note by Morris Birkbeck concerning the endorsement. I believe this is George Fox's Hand Writing MB.

Printed in facsimile and with transcription in *The Yorkshireman*, vol. I (1833), p. 326.

## I2

Copy of No. II, made by Morris Birkbeck.

## I3

ROBERT BARCLAY to SARAH FELL. *Urie*. 9.i.1679  
Dear S F

Having receaved none from thee since I writt last to thee by post and that the bearer can largely informe thee of all that thou might expect to know from me relaiting to frinds here ; I shall have little accesse to enlarge at this time, I have sent for thy use & thy sisters a cobby of my English Apology & a book of G.K laitly printed, let my dear love be remembered to all of them as if particularly named, my circumstances are such at present, that albeit I could have been glad to have seen you all yet I have not so much as in view my stirring out of this natione in hast. So with my love to you all

Thy affectionat frind RB.

[addressed] For Sara Fell att Swarthmore These

[endorsed by Sarah Fell] Rob : Barclay to S : F : the  
9<sup>th</sup> of 1<sup>st</sup> mo<sup>th</sup> 1679.

Autograph MS.

Printed in *The Yorkshireman*, vol. 2 (1834), pp. 193, 200.

## 14

JOHN ROUS to his son. Bra[dford.] no date.  
 [hopes to be at Leeds meeting on First day with John Boosteed  
 who wishes a meeting appointed for Third day at Pontefract  
 where they hope to arrive on Second day ; family news and  
 greetings]

[addressed] For David English  
 Grocer

this  
 in Pontefract

[Note by Morris Birkbeck] from Bradford I suppose. M.B.

## 15

JOHN BOWNE. Testimony concerning Hannah Bowne.  
*London.* 2.xii.1677. The TESTIMONY of John Bowne  
 Concerning his Innocent Wife and Faithful Yoke-fellow  
 HANNAH BOWNE.

My dear Friends (for so I can truly call you)

The desire of my heart is that every mind may sink  
 down inwardly. . . . Your Friend and Brother in the  
 Truth J. Bowne. of Long-Island in New-England.

2 pp. Copy by Mark Swanner.

Printed in *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, Philadelphia,  
 vol. II, (1908), pp. 62-65. The last nine lines of the text of this MS.  
 are there printed at the beginning.

## 16

MARGARET FAWCETT and RICHARD RICHARDSON  
 to GEORGE BEWLEY. *Cockermouth.* 29.ix.1680.

G.B.

After my love remembred unto thee and the Rest of  
 Friends, This is to let thee understand as Concerning my  
 Husbands suffering Itt was only for a Hen that Hee suffered  
 nine years Imprisonmt under George Fletcher which thing  
 that hee suffered for was given in Longe before, And  
 likewise Wm. Richardson upon The same account suffered  
 well neare seaven yeares Imprisonmt and died Prisoner.  
 No more but our Love which Remains wee Rest Thy Friends  
 Margrett Fawcett Rich. Richardson.

Cockermouth. 29th. 9<sup>ber</sup> 1680.

[endorsed] A Cobby of the Letter to Georg Bewley about Margtt Fawcetts husbands suffring 9 : yrs Imprsonmt for a Hen &c. Cumberland 29. 9mo. 80. Regd.

## 17

Frind since I was with you in searious thoughts I have Considered of what was sayd and in that way thou Calest herecie I dessier to worship god. . . . [quotes scripture for his belief in Christ, the Bible and its interpretation by the spirit as against the reading by the letter and the formal doctrines of Professors. Of himself and his search for Christ he says :] I have sought throwgh maney hongring affter him, but now in my latter dayes I have found him neare even knocking at the door of my hart somtimes. And he hath left A tinktur behind him, and now I see myselfe to be exceding vile, and my dutie is to wayte and lerne of him that is meeke and louly and this I find to be the hardest worke I ever knew. . . .

2 pp. Opening passage of a paper. Doctrine, and a testimony of personal experience.

## 18

GENERAL EPISTLE from a meeting at Ellis Hookes' Chamber. *London*. 12.iv.1677.

Our Dear freind & brethren, The Lord who is ye antient of dayes, ye unchangable and holy one of Israell. . . . We are unanimously Your dear & faithfull brethren in ye labour, travell, tribulation, patience, hope, & rejoyceing of ye kingdome of Jesus our Lord.

Against the dividing spirit exemplified in John Wilkinson and John Story.

3½ pp. Contemporary copy.

Includes the signature of John Swinton, junior ; making a total of 67 names appended to this document, usually quoted in contemporary works as "the paper of the 66". Swinton's name is not in the edition printed in *Yearly Meeting Printed Epistles, 1681-1769*, pp.li-lvi. The text, with 59 names of signatories, also printed in *Antichristian Treachery Discovered*, pp. 74-78, c. 1686, see Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, vol. I, 285. Bristol MSS., vol. I, 15, 20, also contain 67 names.

## 19

MARY BRADSHAW to KING CHARLES II. *London.*  
5.iii.1670.

Copy of her message delivered in St. James's Park. Another copy in Portfolio I.47, Friends House Library.

## 20

JOHN HAYDOCK to BARBADOS FRIENDS. *London.*  
11.viii.1676.

A Few Words in the Love of God to you all called and chosen in the Light Both males and Females in the Island Barbadoes or elsewhere soever. God Almighty glorious in power . . . [a message of exhortation to dwell in the Light] . . . blessed for Ever & Evermore—  
Amen. John Haydocke.

3 pp. Contemporary copy.

## 21

CHARLES MARSHALL and AMBROSE RIGG. Two visions. 1675 and 1676. A Vision of C. Marshall seen In ye 6th month 1676.

Printed in *Works* ("Sion's Travellers comforted", 1704), pp. 160-163.

A Vision of A. Rigge Concerning John Storie ye 23d day of ye 7th month 1675.

Att night I being asleep upon my bed a Vision of ye almighty Appeared to me and ye word of ye lord was with mee to speake to J. Story Whom I saw before mee Contending Against ye truth . . . him Who rejoyceth to see brethren to dwell togeather In unity

Ambrose Rigge.

Together 2 pp. Contemporary copy.

## 22

CHARLES MARSHALL to London Friends. *Ware.*  
4.ii.1680.

Dear Friends Bretheren and sisters who have been visited with ye morning of an eternall day . . . your Tender

Travelling Brother In ye fellowship of ye gospell of Life and salvation.

Charles Marshall.

Ware ye 4th of ye 2d month 1680.

To ye Quarterly Meeting of men and women in and about London and all other of their men and womens meetings and families to be read theirin in ye feeling of gods presence.

2¼ pp. A version, omitting date and all local references, entitled "An Epistle to Friends" is printed in *Works* ("Sion's Travellers comforted", 1704), pp. 244-249, and in his *Journal* (1844), pp. 213-216.

## 23

THOMAS ELLWOOD. 1671.

Weighed on the 12th month 1671 at London as followeth.

	C	qr	li	li	8mo.3rd.91	
T.E.	1	1	14½	}	154½	174
M.E.	1	1	03½		143½	
M.L.	1	0	20		132	
M.P. junior	0	3	17½		101½	
A.R.	1	1	03		143	174 li
				—————	is	
				674½	12 stone	& 6 li.

[Luke Howard has added the following note in pencil] In the handwriting of Thomas Ellwood. Received as a present from Thomas Thompson at Liverpool in Sixth Month 1835. L.H.

T.E. born 1639 was weighed at 32 and again at 52 & found to have gained lbs. 20.

Probable identifications are Mary Ellwood his wife, whom he married in 1669. M.P. junior, Mary the daughter of Isaac and Mary Penington and who later married Daniel Wharley. M.L. might be Mary Larcum of Hungerhill. Both these women signed the testimony of Hungerhill Womens' Meeting to Thomas Ellwood when he died in 1713. Not the least interesting detail of this amusing little paper is the fact that he kept it for so long. This enabled him to record his own increase of twenty pounds in twenty years. American readers may be glad to be reminded of the units of weight which are still used in England. C (hundredweight) is 112 lbs.; qr (quarter) is 28 lbs.; a stone is 14 lbs.



## 24

GILBERT LATEY: Testimony about the setting up  
Women's Meeting [in London] at the first. [*Hammer-*  
*smith.*] 22.vi.1705.

Printed in *A Brief Narrative of the Life and Death . . . of  
Gilbert Latey* (1707), pp. 145-149.

## 25

WILLIAM EDMONDSON. 2.xii.1704.

Lithograph facsimile of a paper on Anglo-Irish government.  
Proposals of some conditions for a union of England Scotland and  
Ireland, clauses relating to freedom of religion, and freedom of trade,  
etc.

## 26

To YEARLY MEETING in London, 1771. Anonymous  
letter. *Colchester.* 4.viii.1770.

Report on a visit to Holland on behalf of Y.M. About Friends in  
Holland—Amsterdam; Twisk (N. Holland) few Friends there,  
Mennonites worship with them; Haarlem; Rotterdam. (Port-  
folio 26. 156.)

## 27

JOHN WOOLMAN. Autograph diary. *At Sea.* 24.v.1772  
to 7.vi.1772.

This diary covers the second part of Woolman's voyage  
to England. It begins "24 da. 5 mo. 1772 and first of the  
week a clear pleasant morning", and ends a fortnight later  
with the words "to attend us in our proceedings".

30 small pp., 4½ in. by 3¼ in., and wrapper.

The passages are printed in *The Journal of John Woolman* ;  
edited by A. M. Gummere (1922), pp. 297-303.

The MS. is wrapped in a paper cover which was once sealed and  
which is directed in Woolman's hand: "I John Woolman desire  
John Townsend of London to keep this paper for me. John  
Woolman". For Woolman's account of the voyage this manuscript  
is complementary to the similar paper now belonging to the Mount  
School, York, which begins "Memorandum of my proceedings to  
take a passage for England on a religious visit", and ends with the  
entry of 17.v.1772 (*Journal* ; ed. Gummere, pp. 289-297).

Henry J. Cadbury has provided evidence from a letter (now at  
Harvard University) from Silvanus Thompson to John Greenleaf  
Whittier, dated York, 21.ii.1873, that Thomas Shillito brought the  
Mount manuscript (and therefore most probably the Luke Howard  
MS. also) from America and presented it to Thomas Thompson of  
Liverpool. Other MSS. in this series came to Luke Howard from

Thomas Thompson, and short of positive proof it seems certain this portion of the diary of the voyage followed the same route, while the earlier section stayed in the possession of the Thompson family until presented to the Mount School by Elisabeth Brockbank, Thomas Thompson's great-granddaughter.

The printed version of the voyage is also from a manuscript in the hand of John Woolman covering the same period (*see* Mrs. Gummere's Introduction, pp.xi-xii). There are slight verbal variations between the accounts. An exact and complete comparison of the two manuscripts might determine which of them was written first.

## 28

WILLIAM and ANN HARVEY and family to RICHARD HODGKIN. *Kennet, Chester co., Penna.* 22.i.1759.

Dear and well respected Cousin, these Comes with true Love to thee . . . [has had pleasant news of England from James Tasker] . . . but as for we in Our land the Sword is unsheatht which brings distress many ways but friends labour in making peace with the Indians has had the desired Effectt at present . . . [visits from Samuel Spavold and John Hunt] . . . And so we Conclude with love to thee and all my Realations that may enquire after us

William Harvey

Ann Harvey

With our four Children

I Received thine dated ye 1 of ye 3 month 1758.

PS. our frend Mordica Yarnall is returned Safe home from a religious visit from Old England.

2 pp. Written by Ann Harvey.

## 29

MORRIS BIRKBECK and ANNA SEWARD. Correspondence and notes concerning Lichfield and George Fox's experience there. 1790-1791.

4 papers. For Anna Seward, authoress, 1747-1809, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

## 30

Paragraph on the preaching of WILLIAM SAVERY at Bath. *Bath*, 24th January, [1798].

Apparently extracted from *The Bath Chronicle*. A very similar report from that source is printed in F. R. Taylor. *Life of William Savery* (1925), p. 424.

31

Extracts from a letter from ELIZABETH FOULKE to SAMUEL EMLÉN. *Frankford*, [*Penna.*], 24.X.1793.

About yellow fever in Philadelphia. Elizabeth Foulke of Philadelphia, 1760-1831. Samuel Emlen, 1730-1799.

32

MORRIS BIRBECK: Miscellaneous notes. 1767-1811.

33

LUKE HOWARD, F.R.S. (draft), to JOSIAH FORSTER. 1818.

With a stricture on some writing of Isaac Penington, "An examination of the Grounds and Causes" (*Works*, 3rd. ed., I. 434) apparently under consideration for reprinting; also on George Harrison's Abridgement of Barclay's *Apology*. Autograph.

34

LUKE HOWARD, F.R.S. to GEORGE HARRISON. 1812.

About Harrison's impatience at the Society not pressing for some reform then in prospect.

Incomplete. Autograph. Signed L.H.

35

LUKE HOWARD, F.R.S. to JOHN CUNNINGHAM. 1825.

Favours retaining Apocrypha in the Bible, at lower valuation than the rest.

Autograph. 2 sheets. Copy.

36

LUKE HOWARD. Account of Fratres Albi.

Copy from a MS. dated 1818, a praise of paper, disguised in allegory. 4 pp.

37

LUKE HOWARD. Remarks on Athanasian Creed. n.d.

38-42

MORRIS BIRKBECK. Miscellaneous autograph papers, anecdotes, etc.

46

THE LUKE HOWARD COLLECTION OF MSS

43

PAUL CUFFEE to THOMAS THOMPSON, 1812.

44

JAMES CHURCHILL to LONDON YEARLY MEETING,  
1818.

On lending Meeting Houses.

45

WILLIAM CROTCH. An account of his death, 1806.

Copy made in 1853 by Ch. Holmes. 12 pp.

## On Transcribing and Editing MSS

THE following notes are based mainly on the recommendations of a learned committee whose report was printed in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London, Vol. I, No. 1, June, 1923. Its valuable report was directed to the adoption of a standard practice for transcribing and editing historical MSS. It contains much guidance relating to Latin and mediæval MSS. which is not required by the worker among Quaker records. Some of the recommendations most likely to be useful in such work are here given in shortened form with one or two explanations added.

The proposed rules for transcribing differ from those for editing for publication chiefly in requiring a closer adherence to the original MS. in matters of spelling, some archaic letter forms, abbreviations, punctuation and capitals. The recommendations below follow mainly those for editing.

Notes for preparing a printed text.

1. Abbreviations whose meaning is undoubted should be extended.

Abbreviations in the least degree uncertain should be indicated by an apostrophe at the point where they occur.

Constantly recurring abbreviation marks without any apparent significance may be disregarded.

2. All departures by the editor from the MS. original should be made the subject of a careful preliminary note. The general preliminary note should cover all cases where the form of the original MS. has been altered *throughout* the copy or printed text, e.g. re-arrangements of tabulated matter. Alterations of an *occasional* character should be dealt with in footnotes as they occur.

3. Proper names indicated by initials in the MS. may be extended, either in *italics* or in square brackets.

4. In the use of capitals the modern practice is most convenient. Peculiarities may however be significant. ff should be given as F, both in transcribing and in printing. It is not a distinct and significant letter form but merely a corruption of a particular way of making the Old English capital F.

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6. Paragraphs. Follow the MS. generally. Where the sense requires a change of division indicate the change made.
7. Numbers added to paragraphs or chapters should be in square brackets.
8. Spelling of the MS. should be followed generally, and absolutely in the case of family names, place names, author's autograph MSS., and spelling variations which imply variations in *pronunciation*. But *j* for *i* need not be followed, nor *u* for *v*; *w* when used for *vu* should be written *vu*; *y* for *th* should be kept as it represents the Anglo-Saxon letter þ "thorn".
9. Blunders. It is not necessary to record every blunder of a careless scribe. Avoid the use of ! and *sic* as comments on what is reproduced.
10. Alterations in the text by the original scribe or by a contemporary corrector should be given as well as the original text (mere blunders excepted). Later alterations of importance should be given in notes.
11. Gaps due to mutilation or illegibility should be filled in from other copies if possible, with indications of source. Approximate lengths of such gaps if not filled up should be indicated. Conjectural filling of gaps should be in square brackets. Blank pages or parts of pages should be indicated where they occur.
12. For the printed text, use roman type. For headings, use *italics* or heavier or larger type.

# Some Anecdotes of John Woolman

Recorded by JOHN COX

IN the Dillwyn Parrish Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a MS. entitled *Sketches and Recollections of prominent Friends & Historic Facts, 1845-1846*. It is in the handwriting of John Cox, of Oxmead Farm near Burlington, who was born at Moorestown in 1754, and it certainly is his own composition. The following are the paragraphs which deal with John Woolman.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

I recollect John Woolman very well. He lived at Mount Holly and attended that meeting when I went to school.

When his mind became exercised on the subject of slavery he found it his place to speak of its enormities in the Yearly Meeting when the minds of but very few friends were prepared to receive his testimony. When he first relieved his exercised mind in this way, he was after publicly reprov'd. When this was the case, he would sit down and weep without attempting any justification. In the course of a few years his concern found a place in the minds of his friends generally and the Society was enabled to wash their hands from the guilt of slave holding.

When Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting held at Burlington the Meeting directed a minute to be prepared which he was not easy to make. He signified his desire to be excused from it and said he would leave the table for some other friend to do it. Some one hastily said, The Clerk need not *fly* from the table. John Woolman quietly rejoined, "The clerk has no wings."

His son-in-law Stephen Comfort who resided with him for some years related to me the following anecdotes.

They once went into the orchard to inspect the apple trees. S.C. remarked to his father in law. *There* is a tree *full* of caterpillars. John Woolman in his quiet way remarked—"not quite full." S.C. determined to watch and endeavour to discover in his father-in-law some inaccuracy of expression, but was never able to detect him in any expression that was not strictly and literally true.

When they were engaged in cutting down the harvest John Woolman discovered blood on his scythe and found

he had killed some animal concealed in the grain. Such was his distress that he called off his laborers to assist him in making search for it. The circumstance affected him so deeply that he did not recover from the pain it occasioned for a considerable term afterwards.

John Woolman's widow used to come and spend several days at a time with us, and delighted to talk of Johnny as she frequently called him. When he was about to embark for Europe he went to Philadelphia to look at the ship to see whether he would feel easy to embark in her. He finally felt satisfied to engage his passage in the steerage *Conditionally*,—and if he felt easy after reaching home would come again to the City in time for the sailing of the vessel. He went to bed as usual in Mount Holly,—and in the morning when his wife awaked, she missed him, and supposing he was making ready to depart went downstairs, but finding him gone she went into the road in search of him, and ascertained from one of the neighbours that he had seen him about daylight with a bundle under his arm going on foot towards Philadelphia. His wife never saw him afterwards, for he embarked on shipboard and ended his valuable life while on religious service in England.

John Woolman was peculiar and felt his mind often straitened in small things. He was not easy to go to meeting before or after the time, but believed that the hour should be observed. So he would go to the Meeting house, and wait till the time arrived before entering. He would sometimes sit on the horse Block till the hour appointed for Meeting.

My recollection of John Woolman is so distinct, it seems as though I could see him now before me. He was about my size—dressed in light clothes and a white hat. He was a man of few words and his public communications were generally short—but there was a savour attending his ministry and there was a peculiar melody in his voice. He was a peace maker in his neighbourhood and skilful in reconciling differences.



# James Grahame's Diary, 1815-1824

## Some extracts about Friends

THE following passages are from a typescript copy of the diary of James Grahame, which recently came into the possession of Mr. P. A. Spalding, of Churt; information about the typescript's antecedents was not forthcoming at the bookshop where it was acquired, and the diary does not appear to have been published. Mr. Spalding, by whose kindness these extracts relating to Friends are printed here, obligingly sends the following note: "The whole diary is packed with Quaker references. Neither Grahame nor his father were Quakers, though both, especially the father, were on intimate terms with a vast number of Quakers, and very much in sympathy with their spirit. Grahame himself was a pretty eminent counsel in Edinburgh, and a friend of most of the important men of his day, *e.g.* Cockburn, Jeffrey, Scott—also the younger Herschel, *s.q.v.* he just slips into the *D.N.B.* He was twice married, the second time to a Frenchwoman, and in middle age retired from the law, and gave himself up to literary work, particularly his *History of America*. Clarkson is mentioned perhaps as often as any single person in the diary; Grahame *père* was evidently one of his closest friends." For the diarist's father, also James Grahame, see the *D.N.B.*

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

JAN. 1815. The Duke of Montrose said lately to Kirkman Finlay, "I can't understand how Grahame (my Father) has such influence with the Quakers of England. He commands all their vast Parliamentary interest, and seems to make them do whatever he pleases." My Father, though anti-Quakerish enough in many of his feelings and expressions entertains a high reverence for the sect, and, through his friend Mr. Clarkson,<sup>1</sup> enjoys an extensive acquaintance with them. They seem to like my Father fully as well as he likes them.

1822. Visited William Allen,<sup>2</sup> the distinguished Quaker philanthropist at his house at Stoke Newington. Mr. Clarkson, in speaking of him to me lately, said, "William

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Clarkson : *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> William Allen : Scientist, "his chief interest in later years seems to have been in an 'agricultural colony' with industrial schools, which he helped to found at Lindfield in Sussex" (*D.N.B.*). The plan referred to is elaborated in *Colonies at Home ; or the Means for Rendering the Industrious Labourer Independent of Parish Relief . . .* [1827]. Reprinted several times.

Allen is the greatest man in Europe. He does more good than any man living." He received me with calm kindness, and leaving some Quaker guests whom he was entertaining, retired with me to his study. . . . He communicated to me his plan for subdividing a large extent of ground into small lots of an acre each, to be cultivated by spade husbandry by men collected together in small communities, possessing Infant Schools and holding part of their property in common.

Sept. 1822. Breakfasted with my new friend, Prior the Quaker, and his wife. Prior told me that some time ago he accompanied an old rigid Quaker to the Mail coach for Brighton. . . . As they approached the coach, Prior (tempted, he said, by some evil spirit) asked his friend if it were *lawful* to travel under the protection of an armed *guard*. The old man instantly uplifting his voice, to the great shame of Prior, and the great delectation of the mob, thus addressed the guard, "Mark me, thou man of war, I renounce thee and thy weapons. And verily, Friend, I assure thee that at the end of our journey I will not give thee a single copper." The honest Guard could hardly attend to his business for laughing.

Aug. 1823. Visited Newgate, and heard Mrs. Fry<sup>1</sup> address the female prisoners. She has a very sweet voice. . . . I thought the criminal portion of the audience seemed little impressed, and indeed the discourse was far from impressive. . . . After the discourse, I was introduced to Mrs. Fry, who talked to me with a mild loftiness of what *she* had done, and of what she had induced many ladies of quality to do in various parts of the kingdom. She talked of that having been done at Edinburgh which I know has not been done at all. She told me that the prisoners whom I had seen never begged from visitors. Yet I was detained at the door, within her hearing, by the importunate begging of a number of the women. . . . Many respectable Quakers have declared to me that Mrs. Fry appeared to them to bring herself on all occasions too prominently forward<sup>2</sup> . . . as the agent of all the good that is done in Newgate. . . . I have learned too

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Fry: "the pathos of her voice was almost miraculous" (D.N.B.).

<sup>2</sup> "Her self-complacency was evidently gratified and fed by the notice and applause which her labours attracted" (Philadelphia *Friend*, 1848, p. 414, quoted by A. N. Brayshaw, *The Quakers: their Story and their Message*, 1938, p. 178, n. 2.)

that her children are not well educated, and of this I received some proof when I met in William Allen's house one of her daughters. I mentioned a portrait of Mrs. Fry, "Oh, that's a very bad one," said the young Quakeress, "Mamma says it makes her look like a tipsy Methodist!" I was shocked at this: some others of the company appeared hurt and displeased, and one old Quaker lady said to me in a low voice: "Be assured, Friend Grahame, that Elizabeth Fry never said so." . . . Yesterday evening I met the same young lady at the door of Mrs. Barbauld<sup>1</sup> . . . I asked if her vivacity were quite accordant with the canons of Quaker manners. She seemed highly diverted, and answered, "Why you must know that there are bad as well as good people among the Quakers, and I happen to be one of the bad." In various companies I have found that irreligious and dissipated persons dwelt with high gratification on the neglected morals of Mrs. Fry's domestic circle.

Aug. 1823. Mrs. Barbauld . . . seemed to entertain but little respect for the Quakers, remarking of them that they liked to have Quakerism confined to the upper and middle ranks of society, and had no desire to make converts to their principles among the poor, which would present them with occasions for almsgiving attended with no *éclat*.

April 1824. You will find less warmth of manner in Quaker friends than in friends of other religious persuasions. . . . Yet from their sectarian plainness and simplicity of speech, you seem to be admitted to a surprising degree of intimate familiarity. Young men, not Quakers, are apt to be misled by this. They are surprised to hear themselves addressed by their Christian names by young Quaker ladies, and at other marks of intimacy more apparent than real. Many young Quakeresses are quite aware of this and eagerly practice the coquetry which it aids. They encourage and even provoke the attentions of gentlemen who are not Quakers, and then retreat from responsibility behind the plain freedom of Quaker manners, and the implied bar created by difference of religious persuasion.

1825. He (Prior) related with high satisfaction the conduct of his own mother, a Quakeress, who once stopped George III on Windsor Terrace and enjoined him to promote peace and abolish the Slave trade, whereby, she declared,

<sup>1</sup> Anna Letitia Barbauld: *D.N.B.*

he might perchance lengthen his tranquility and bring a blessing on his person and his reign. "He disregarded her admonition," added Prior, "and you see, he died insane."

1826. Mr. Prior admits only two portraits in his house—one of Mr. Clarkson,<sup>1</sup> whom he greatly reveres; the other of Bonaparte, whom he admires as the greatest genius that ever appeared in the world, and respects as a useful instrument in the hands of God for humbling the Pope, and other great and excellent ends.

1826. Mr. Clarkson was once the intimate and attached friend of Southey and Wordsworth. He now speaks of Southey<sup>2</sup> with much regret and disapprobation, but of Wordsworth<sup>3</sup> with strong aversion and contempt.

<sup>1</sup> For Clarkson's portrait as one of the three pictures admitted to Quaker homes, together with a different trio, *cf.* A. N. Brayshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 187 with n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "The change in Southey's political and religious opinions . . . inevitably exposed Southey to attack from the advocates of the opinions he had forsaken" (*D.N.B.*).

<sup>3</sup> Wordsworth "had become respectable and conservative. To the liberals he appeared to be a renegade" (*D.N.B.*).

## Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol

**U**NDER this title Russell S. Mortimer has written a dissertation for the degree of M.A., University of Bristol, 1946 (pp. x, 585, typescript). His study of the development of the Quaker group in Bristol from the coming of Audland in 1654 to the close of the seventeenth century is based on the minute books and parallel records preserved at the Friars Meeting House, Bristol. The bibliography shows the additional debt due to the Bristol Corporation Archives (particularly for the Sessions records, which give authoritative basis for discussion of Friends' sufferings) and to the Reference Library at Friends House for both manuscripts and the large number of contemporary tracts enumerated. The subject brings to mind the activity of the late Alfred Neave Brayshaw nearly forty years ago, among Bristol Friends records, and it is valuable that the material he worked upon is here made more available to students.<sup>1</sup>

The Thesis is divided into two parts, of which the second consists of notes (footnote material and additional illustration of points mentioned in the text), a series of short biographical notes on persons mentioned, with an analysis of their occupations, and a bibliography. Following the short preface which gives a summary of previous work on the subject, a chronological account of the main points of development is given, thereafter the subject is treated by topics. First comes a survey of the meetings for worship and the ministry, a short account of the evidence concerning meeting houses, notices of the business meetings in turn with their respective fields of activity. A long chapter on the discipline illustrates the working of these meetings in dealing with removals, marriages, and "disorderly walking". Next follow accounts of the oversight of the poor, the early years of Friends' Workhouse, meeting trusts and finance, education and apprenticeship, and a short chapter on the preparation and diffusion of Friends' books. Two final chapters deal with Friends' part in the commercial and public life of the city.

The evidence brought to light brings home with great force the large range in social and economic status existing

in Bristol meeting in the 1690's. On the one hand an opulence that made Friends there the talk of the Society and the envy of an impecunious municipality (witness the fines on wealthy Friends after Sedgmoor), on the other the dire poverty that prompted the foundation of Friends' own Workhouse to set the industrious to work and serve as a haven for the aged and feeble.

In this work detailed illustration is given to relate the general surveys of Quaker development to the local scene and to support with local instances the path along which the movement progressed. More studies along these lines are required before a new synthesis and history of early Friends can well be written.

<sup>1</sup> Copies are available in Bristol at the University Library, at Friars Meeting House, Rosemary Street, and in London at The Library, Friends House.

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## Periodicals Exchanged

Receipt of the following periodicals 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*.

*Institute of Historical Research, Bulletin*.

## Accounts 1939-1945

### Accounts for the *Journal*, Volume xxxvi (1939) and Supplement No. 19, *London Lead Co.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward to 1939 ..	11	5	9				
Subscriptions ..	70	12	6				
Sales .. ..	15	12	6				
Raistrick's <i>London Lead Co.</i> ..	45	0	0				
	£142	10	9				
	£142	10	9				

Examined with Books and Vouchers and found correct,  
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21.8.40.

### Account for the *Journal*, Volume xxxvii (1940).

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward to 1940	68	2	2				
Subscriptions ..	72	0	4				
Sales .. ..	13	1	4				
	£153	3	10				
	£153	3	10				

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## Account for 1941

INCOME				EXPENDITURE			
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Balance brought forward to 1941 ..	50	18	1	Cheque Book ..		4	2
Subscriptions ..	63	18	8	Postage ..	4	9	7
Sales ..	53	9	7	Balance carried forward, 1942 ..	163	12	7
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	£168	6	4		£168	6	4
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## Account for the years 1942-1945

INCOME				EXPENDITURE			
Balance brought forward to 1942 ..	163	12	7	6 copies, Extract of State Papers ..	1	10	0
Subscriptions :				Postage ..	3	0	0
1942	14	7	6	Steckert & Co., re-fund Subscription		15	0
1943	12	2	0	Balance carried forward to 1946 ..	240	10	9
1944	8	5	0		<hr/>		
1945	8	12	6		£245	15	9
Sales ..	38	16	2		<hr/> <hr/>		
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	£245	15	9		£245	15	9
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