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VOLUME FORTY

1948

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THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AND EARLY
METHODISM

By FRANK BAKER, B.A., B.D.

(The Eayrs Prize Essay, 1948, reprinted from the *London Quarterly* October 1948 and April 1949)

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

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Annual Meeting

THE President for 1948, Emilia Fogelklou-Norlind, will not be able to come from Sweden to England to deliver her presidential address until 1949. The committee decided, nevertheless, to make arrangements for an annual meeting, feeling that members would perhaps appreciate an opportunity for a more informal discussion of the aims of the Society and how best to promote them.

The annual meeting was held in the Library at Friends House on Thursday, December 2nd, and was attended by about fifty members and others. Beatrice Saxon Snell very kindly took the chair. Much preparatory work fell on the library staff to whom an expression of the Society's grateful appreciation is due.

Felix Hull gave a valuable and interesting talk on the preservation of Quaker records, leading to a stimulating discussion. Indeed, when the meeting closed just before 8 o'clock a spirited exchange of views on the pros and cons of depositing Friends' records in County record offices was still in progress. It was decided that the substance of Felix Hull's address should be made available to curators of Meeting House safes and others concerned with the preservation of records.

The lively discussion on care and preservation of records aptly illustrated a point made by Edward Milligan who had spoken earlier on the functions of the Society. He had suggested that in addition to the presidential addresses there was a need for informal gatherings of Friends engaged on particular aspects of historical research, in order to share information, to discuss problems of method and matter, and for mutual encouragement, and that the organization of these might be undertaken by the Society. The committee was asked to consider the matter further and arrange accordingly.

It was also agreed that, in addition to the *Journal*, it would be useful to have a duplicated bulletin describing research work being undertaken by members of the Society and containing notes and queries.

A letter from the President of the (American) Friends' Historical Association, William Wistar Comfort, was read, expressing appreciation of the recent visit of Muriel Hicks to the United States, and looking forward to a period of closer co-operation between the two societies. The chairman was asked to write to W. W. Comfort, and the committee was asked to explore further the means of promoting co-operation with the Friends' Historical Association in America.

The meeting heard with interest that a collection of MS. letters at York to and from William Dewsbury has been edited by Henry J. Cadbury and is being printed as a Supplement to this *Journal*. This has been made possible by the generosity of the Bannisdale Press, who will publish the letters and give a copy to each member of the Friends' Historical Society. It will bear the imprint both of this Society and the Friends' Historical Association in America.

It was agreed that the annual subscription, which has been five shillings since the formation of the Society in 1903, should now be raised to ten shillings, but that the Life Membership subscription should remain at five guineas. The Library Committee of Meeting for Sufferings was again asked to act as the executive committee, but was given power to co-opt. Officers for 1949 were appointed as follows :

President : Emilia Fogelklou-Norlind ; *Editor of Journal* : John L. Nickalls ; *Assistant Editor* : Russell S. Mortimer ; *Secretary* : Muriel A. Hicks ; *Assistant Secretary* : Edward H. Milligan ; *Auditor* : Basil G. Burton.

Even with an increased subscription the Society needs a much larger membership if it is going to pay its way, the more so if it is to engage in the further activities outlined above. A list of present members, arranged under Quarterly Meetings, has been prepared and is obtainable from the secretary : we hope that all members will do their best to interest others in joining. There must be many people actively engaged in aspects of Quaker history or care of Quaker records who are not members of the Society. The desirability of every Preparative Meeting being a subscribing member was urged. In order to encourage the membership of some who might be hindered by a ten shillings subscription, the committee was asked to consider a provision for students to be members for a payment of five shillings a year.

The committee have appreciated the amount of interest, and the useful suggestions for methods of working which have been made by many members in the weeks before the annual meeting. We believe this augurs well for the future of the Society, and we hope to continue to receive both suggestions and the active co-operation of members in the work of promoting Quaker historical study both ancient and modern, and of publishing the results.

Norfolk Friends' Care of Their Poor, 1700-1850

By MURIEL F. LLOYD PRICHARD, M.A.

II

Concluded from last issue

EDUCATION

Much of the foregoing is concern for the aged. But Friends were also careful to help the younger members of the Society and to assist them in earning a living, either through providing education or paying apprenticeship fees.

In the seventeenth century, George Fox and other leading Friends had established schools in different places, and in 1697 Meeting for Sufferings recommended to the provinces John Bellers' "Proposals for a Colledge of Industry for the better maintenance of the poor and education of children," urging that schools should be founded so "as to take away the Reflection of the Dutch proverb on our English, viz 'that they keep their children to work to make things for ours to playe withall.'"¹ Yearly Meeting in 1709 sent out in its epistle the advice:—"And when Friends want ability in the World, their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings are desired to assist them that the children of the poor may have due help of Education."²

Early in the eighteenth century, Norfolk Friends set about supplying the deficiencies in the field of education. From 1708, the monthly meetings made a collection for the establishment of a county school and in 1710, the Quarterly Meeting reported to Yearly Meeting that one school existed in the county. No further reference to it occurs, however, and individual meetings provided education. Thus, Norwich 9.v.1715 minuted:—"This meeting agree that Hubert van Kamp may teach school in this meeting house he taking care

¹ *Sundry ancient epistles*, pp. 154-155.

² Yearly Meeting Minutes MSS., vol. 4.

4 NORFOLK FRIENDS' CARE OF THEIR POOR, 1700-1850

to keep it clean." And in 1716 "ordered that Edward Ellington on one side of the water and Christopher Catt of the other side do give notes for poor Friends children to be put to school in the time of harvest." The meeting also stated in 1725: "We have several schools for the education of our youth." Yarmouth also provided facilities for school. Norwich Monthly Meeting minuted 3.vii.1728: "John Manning reported from the Friends appointed to treat with Samuel Urin about his taken Yarmouth Meeting House for a writing schoole, that they had mett and agreed with the said Samuel Urin for the said meeting house upon paying 30s. for the first year and 40s. for each year afterwards so long as he shall hold the said house."

In 1735, Yearly Meeting again made specific enquiry about the education of Friends' children and in 1737, asked that they might be instructed "in some modern tongue as french, high and low Dutch, Danish etc so that if they go as traders to foreign countries when they grow up, to be of service to the church." In 1738, Quarterly Meeting replied to Yearly Meeting: "Our poor are well taken care of but we have no public schools for their education," and in 1744: "We have no Publick School in this County but there is one settling on the edge of the county at Bury, which we hope will prove a service in the education of our children."

Meanwhile, Norwich Monthly Meeting was busy putting its children to school and from 1738, frequent references are made to payments to teachers—Nathaniel Whiffen, Thomas Davey, Isaac Jermyn, and in 1744 reported: "We have a Friends school to which . . . children are put at the expense of this meeting." The meeting refused, however, to educate children under ten years of age. Sometimes, girls were put to sewing-school, but usually children were ordered to learn to read and write for "one year whole days or two years half days." But they were not to be slack and when Elizabeth and Edmund Golden, who had been put to school first in 1768, were still "without learning" six years later, it was ordered 29.iv.1774 that they were to go to Thomas Tallowin's evening school for a year and "produce their copy books or specimens of their improvements at the expiration of that time." In 1752, Quarterly Meeting commented on the importance of education and from that year, monthly meetings brought in bills for schooling.

When Friends' children could not be maintained at home, they were sometimes placed in Friends' Workhouse, Clerkenwell (whose establishment in 1701 was due partly to Bellers) where, according to an account published in 1786, "decayed Friends" and children were "lodged in great order and cleanliness."¹ Here boys were taught to read, write and keep accounts and girls learnt to spin and to make and mend linen and woollen apparel. The charge for entrance for country children in the middle of the eighteenth century was 40s. and boys were boarded at 2s. 9d. a week, girls at 3s. 6d., and 10s. a quarter was charged for clothing boys and 12s. 6d. for girls. In 1754, Norwich boarded two children of John Hitchin in the London workhouse and again, in 1756, Frederick Tilney's children.

Yearly Meeting in 1777, revived its former Advices about education and stressing the need for Friends' children having "a guarded education,"² expressed its concern that they were often led to mix "with those not of our religious persuasions which so often leads into hurtful habits from which they are not easily reclaimed." It proceeded to consider the possibility of a boarding school and in 1778, sent out a report on a school at Ackworth and invited subscriptions. Norfolk (without Norwich) sent £93 in 1780 and Norwich collected £569 (of which four members of the Gurney family contributed £100 each). From that time the county meetings sent sums for Ackworth varying from £35 to £62 a year and rising in 1802 to £179 when more was asked for because of rising prices. Quarterly Meeting, however, did not begin to pay fees to send children to Ackworth until 1809.

Meanwhile, monthly meetings continued to provide education locally. Yarmouth 14.iv.1811 required "Joseph Ainge to become a subscriber 2 guineas to the Boys School on Jos Lancasters plan in this town in order to place therein

¹ See *Account of the workhouses in Great Britain in 1732 showing their original number and the particular management of them at the above period with many other curious and useful remarks upon the state of the poor.* 3rd ed., 1786, and also Beck, W., and Ball, T. F., *London Friends' meetings*, 1869.

² Friends expected their teachers to provide education of a sober character, e.g. Norwich 14.iii.1811 minuted that Mary Ball was to be visited "she being in the habit of keeping a school in which music and dancing have been admitted to be taught and other inconsistencies being apparent."

Rich and Jos Woodrow." In 1818, Quarterly Meeting subscribed £500 to help found a girls' school in Norwich. This was to provide for boarders and day scholars who were to pay to be taught writing, arithmetic, reading, needlework, English grammar and geography (and washing and French were extras). In 1822, a satisfactory report on the school was made and the furniture was turned over to the schoolmistress for £200. In 1826, however, when John Jackson of Bungay left £1,000 for the establishment of a school in Norfolk, Suffolk or Essex, on condition that another £1,000 was raised in two years, quarterly meetings in none of the counties could see their way to complying and the legacy was given up.

APPRENTICESHIP

Though Friends in Norfolk do not appear to have been discriminated against when companies like the Merchant Adventurers refused to accept Quakers as apprentices,¹ Friends liked to find masters for their apprentices within the Society. Yearly Meeting sent out Advices to this effect from time to time but it was not always easy to act on them. Thus, Norwich, 23.ii.1770: "Henry Gurney having proposed to place Samuel Tallowin . . . in a way to be instructed to weave; and no proper Friend in that business being found to take him apprentice, this meeting refers it to the conduct of Henry Gurney to provide for the occasion."

Quarterly Meeting undertook the whole or part payment of apprenticeship fees when monthly meetings were not able to pay them. Thus, 23.iv.1713: "Upwell Friends are advised upon their request to this meeting for money towards putting out a lad to apprenticeship first to apply to their monthly meeting." In the early years of the eighteenth century, £5 to £6 was paid. Norwich, 12.iii.1701 minuted: "Agreed that Elizabeth Reeve have £6 for taking Diana Rose to be her apprentice till the age of 21 years £3 to be paid down and the other £3 a year after next ensuing if the said Diana be then in being." When the Thursford estate came into service for providing money for fees, Quarterly Meeting

¹ Dunlop, J. and Denman, R. D. *English apprenticeship and child labour*, 1912, p. 137. Only one case occurs in Norfolk when a report was made from Yarmouth in 1828 that Ralph Clark was prevented from attending meeting by his master.

paid £2 for clothing in addition. Fees gradually rose and by the end of the century, £20 was paid and by 1849, £40 was paid.

Children were apprenticed to a wide variety of trades. Woolcombers, worsted weavers and dyers were naturally popular, but instances are not lacking of cordwainers, blacksmiths, knackers, last makers, staymakers, clockmakers, basket makers, brushmakers, pipe makers, periwig makers, collar makers, blockmakers, knifemakers, trunk makers, patten and heel makers, mantua makers, tailors, turners, curriers, tanners, grocers, bakers, ironmongers, carpenters and cheesemongers. There is only one reference to a gardener and none to a farmer (though the writer has seen an indenture for the latter for a child of another denomination).¹ To the end of the eighteenth century, Friends' children were apprenticed to craftsmen but in the nineteenth century, shopkeeping became more attractive. Elsewhere, apparently, the same tendency was noted and in 1821 Yearly Meeting advised its members thus: "We would affectionately advise the parents of our young men not to seek high things for their children, and young men themselves to rest contented with that station of life in which Divine Providence may have placed them." It went on to recommend "manual employment as suited to afford to many young persons a salutary and desirable occupation."

Apprentices seeking masters did not confine their attention to Norfolk. Some went to Woodbridge, Bury and Ipswich and to Gainsborough, Sheffield and Nottingham. Sometimes, they were advised of a place through London Meeting for Sufferings.

Disputes between masters and servants were often settled through the Quarterly or Monthly Meeting. Thus, John Horncastle got rid of his apprentice, John Lavender, with the consent of Lynn meeting.² In 1775, Woodward Tilney got leave from Tivetshall meeting to bind his apprentice to another master. Friends expected their apprentices to abide conscientiously by their indentures. George Fox had advised them: "See that all apprentices that are bound

¹ Dunlop and Denman, *op. cit.*, p. 97: "We hear nothing of the binding of ordinary children to agriculture."

² 7.ii.1755. John Lavender was ordered to pay his master "6 pence per week out of his earnings until the time of his indentures expire," and the master was "excused from providing him and even with clothes."

amongst you may serve out their times faithfully, according to Covenant, that all may know their places ; for Youth if they be let loose are like wild Asses and wild Heifers ; and such many times bring a great dishonour to God by running into looseness." In 1775, Joseph Blagbourn was turned out of the Society by Norwich meeting for joining with his master to secure a discharge for himself without the knowledge of Friends.

PARISH RELIEF

Though it may have been the case elsewhere,¹ the help thus given to the poor was intended to make it unnecessary for Friends to apply for parish relief. Only one case appears. Quarterly Meeting 30.x.1713 noted " a complaint being made to this meeting that a poor widow Friend of Lynn living in their meeting house receive some collection of the town and thereupon wear the town's poor badge," and advised Lynn's representatives to take care for her " according to our Christian principle and Antient practice ever since we were a people." At the next meeting, it was reported that Lynn meeting was maintaining her, and it was affirmed at the same meeting that all acknowledged as Friends were to be maintained by the Society wherever " they shall . . . be exercised with the tryall of poverty." Quarterly Meeting periodically replied to Yearly Meeting that none in unity with Friends was sent to the parish.

Friends in other counties may have extended charity to non-Friends as part of their meetings' policy of poor relief,² but there is no clear indication that such was the case in Norfolk. On the contrary, Norwich minuted 14.ii.1715 : " Robert Mallett of Hemlington have laid before this meeting an account of the distress befallen him by a late violent wind

¹ See Barclay, R., *Inner life of the religious societies of the Commonwealth*, 1876, p. 324, and Tanner, W., *Three lectures on the early history of the Society of Friends in Bristol and Somersetshire*, 1858, p. 85. Both refer to cases in Bristol in the early eighteenth century but the matter is obscure. Norwich Monthly Meeting minuted 14.vii.1701 : " Ordered that Henry Canwell and Robert Seaman go to the officers of the parish called St. Swithin to acquaint them that Edward Tillet is a person we disown." (He was disowned at the previous meeting for " whoredom.") 11.xii.1770. " John Skinner having declined coming to Meeting and applying to the Parish for relief has denied his membership with us."

² Jorns, A., *op. cit.* ch. I, and Marsh, T. W., *Early Friends in Surrey and Sussex*, 1886, p. 50, for examples at Horsham.

which has reduced him to such circumstances as he cannot provide for his family without the assistance of others, he being a Miller by Trade has his Mill blown down and of himself cannot raise it again. John Manning and Wm Shepherd are desired to enquire into his conversation and make report of it to the next Monthly Meeting," and 14.iii.1715 they reported "that he is one of an Honest character for his dealings among men but that he is not esteemed as one called a Quaker by his neighbours." Individuals like the Gurneys, however, gave liberally to the poor.

MEMBERSHIP

The problem naturally arose of deciding who were members. At first, the certificate system was applied to Friends moving out of the country but apparently the movement of Friends within Britain was also supervised. Thus, Lynn Monthly Meeting noted 7.v.1684 : "There being a stranger from Spalding in Lincolnshire frequently finding friends meetings at Stoake (his name not now remembered) and endeavouring to settle himself at Wimbotsham concerning whom Friends desire to be further satisfied ; he is therefore to be spoke to . . . and in the meantime inquiry to be made for further information of him from Spalding aforesaid," and the next month : "At this meeting William Cobley . . . was presented . . . and gave Friends an account of the reasons for his present being at Wimbotsham and coming from Spalding ; his future settlement at Wimbotsham being yet uncertain . . . Friends advised him to be very cautious how he settled himself in any new place from Spalding, and to do it with the consent and unity of Friends for several reasons." In 1694, Yearly Meeting extended the certificate system to Friends moving about Britain, who were to have certificates "of their sober and orderly conversation : and if single persons, to signify also their clearness respecting marriage engagements ; and if public ministers to mention their unity with their meeting." Norwich, taking action on this in 1697, minutes : "Wm Kiddell, Wm Kay, John Gurney, John Fenn are ordered to call upon strangers for to produce certificates from the place from wherever they were last resident to satisfie Friends here that things may be kept clear."

In 1710, Yearly Meeting introduced more complete oversight of removals and settlement and the document recommending procedure was prefaced with the statement: "We think it safe to recommend upon occasion of settling the poor the under-written particulars and offer them as our Judgement that they may be proper to be practised amongst Friends as a settlement." Poor Friends were to get the consent of their meeting and a certificate to the meeting to which they proposed to go before removing. If their contribution for the poor was accepted or they were put into any service of the church, persons removing with a certificate established a legitimate settlement in their new meeting. If they were not able to contribute to the poor fund or be of service to the church, they might obtain a settlement after three years if they had behaved "according to Truth" and had not received poor relief. Servants hired for one year and serving the same faithfully were deemed members of the meeting within the limits of which they served. If persons moved without certificates and came to need relief, those to whom they applied might write to the meeting from which they had removed and if they had not been "denyed," might demand reimbursement of the cost of relief. In 1711, this was altered and the home meetings of necessitous persons removed without consent were to reimburse half the charges and could demand their return. If they did not return "so soon as health and ability of body" permitted, the meetings need not continue their care for them.¹ But in 1724, Yearly Meeting ruled again that the whole charge was to be reimbursed.

In 1737, more detailed "Rules for Removal and Settlement" were established. All Friends, except pensioners to or persons relieved within one year past by any other meeting, were deemed members of the meeting within the limits of which they dwelt on 1.iv.1737 (and the wife and children were deemed members of the monthly meeting of which the husband or father was or had been a member—which introduced "birthright membership"). Pensioners and persons relieved within the period stated were deemed members of the meeting which relieved them.

On removal, Friends became members of the meeting to which they removed when their certificates were accepted,

¹ Yearly Meeting Minutes MSS., vol. 4, pp. 142-44.

provided they were not insolvent nor had been relieved by the Meeting recommending within the term of three years preceding the delivery of the certificate. If they came to need relief within three years and had not contributed to or been employed in the service of the church, the meeting which accepted them was to relieve them but was to be reimbursed by the meeting from which they came. Friends removed without certificate were deemed members on contributing to the poor fund or serving the church. The clause relating to servants stood and apprentices were allowed a settlement in the meeting where they were bound after living forty days with their masters.¹

Before 1710, meetings decided for themselves cases of doubtful settlement and membership. Afterwards, they relied on the rules of Yearly Meeting. Barclay declares that "these poor laws produced an amount of dissension and ill-feeling which cannot readily be conceived."² In Norfolk, such does not appear to have been the case. Quarterly Meeting, in all, dealt with eleven cases of disputed settlement from 1709 to 1849, and each separate meeting with a smaller number. Moreover, even when a person's settlement was deemed to be in one Monthly Meeting, it was quite usual for the Quarterly Meeting to take on the relief, as in the case of the Woolnos family and Samuel Derry, when the charge was too great for the meeting concerned, and the Quarterly Meeting also bore the charge in full or in part when a person's settlement in the county was in doubt, as in the case of Mary Rumsby, a member of Wymondham Meeting living at Tivetshall when it was minuted 29.vi.1765: "As there appears some difficulty to fix the settlement of the said Friend to the satisfaction of both meetings, In order to prevent any breach of that love and unity which we desire above all things to maintain, this meeting do consent the disbursements . . . on her account . . . be brought to next Quarterly Meeting and become a debt from the same."

Quarterly Meeting was not, however, so obliging when disputes arose with other counties, as the case of Benjamin Bustard's widow which dragged on from 1753 to 1756, shows. Benjamin Bustard had lived one year as hired servant within the limits of Lynn but removed within the limits of Wainfleet.

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, pp. 314-19.

² Barclay, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

He married there and having failed in business there, was assisted by Friends of Wainfleet meeting but because he never again secured rights of membership elsewhere, Yearly Meeting in 1756 passed the following minute :—" It appears evident . . . that Benjamin Bustard did gain a settlement in Lynn . . . and we are of opinion that he gained no settlement elsewhere . . . which being several times read, was agreed to." His widow was therefore removed to Lynn and the cost of her relief was shared between that meeting and the Quarterly Meeting.

Yearly Meeting laid down in 1761 that if Friends moved and did not secure a certificate for six months, the meeting from which they moved could send it after them or the meeting to which they moved, might apply for it. In 1771, it was stated that the wife and children of a husband disowned or the children of parents disowned for insolvency or other offence, born before such disowning, were to be deemed members of the Monthly Meeting from which they removed until they obtained a settlement in their own right. But children of marriages contrary to the rules of the Society were not acknowledged members until they were received by the monthly meeting to which the parent or parents belonged.¹

The certificate served to identify a Friend and it was usual to give therein some description of character, behaviour and financial circumstances.² Thus, Woodbridge writing to Lammas in 1789 about Joseph Ainge approved his conduct and conversation but did not find "his Dress and Address . . . altogether so agreeable . . ." as they wished.³

The certificate system throws light on the movements of individuals and of families. Thus, among 1,715 certificates granted in the Norfolk meetings, about 300 surnames occur. One can, for example, watch the Candles moving in and out

¹ *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1783.*

² Such proceeding was particularly referred to as lawful in rulings of Yearly Meeting in 1790, 1796 and 1801.

³ Friends' views on plain dress are well known but perhaps not so well known is Ambrose Rigge's "Testimony against Extravagant and Unnecessary Wiggles," where quoting St. James, he urges the avoidance of "all superfluity of naughtiness." Joseph Phipps of Norwich in "Observations on a late anonymous Publication," 1767, explains that the plain dress was "pretty much the Common Dress of Sober People in Middling Stations of Life, when and amongst whom, the Society was first raised."

of Norfolk between 1796 and 1847—James, Thomas, Joseph, Benjamin, Thomas Wagstaffe, John Wagstaffe, Samuel, John, Isaac, Edward, Edmund, William, Horatio, Lawrence, Catherine, Elizabeth, Amelia Caroline, Sarah, Mary, Mary Peckover Candler migrating into the county from Colchester, Woodbridge, Brighouse, London and going out again to Colchester, Folkestone, Woodbridge, Leicester, Southampton, Chelmsford and London.

A study of certificates can help to explain the collapse of meetings. In 1763, Quarterly Meeting reported to Yearly Meeting: "The state of things in this county is low and by the removal of divers Members, meetings in some places are reduced to a very small number." The following table giving the totals for the county illustrates the extent of the migration, but it should be noted that not all the certificates granted are entered in the meetings' minute books, particularly up to 1780.

	<i>Migrated from Norfolk.</i>	<i>Moved to or within the county.</i>
1700-1735	16	21
1736-1745	9	11
1746-1755	10	15
1756-1765	37	58
1766-1775	35	20
1776-1785	54	57
1786-1795	106	54
1796-1805	78	61
1806-1815	73	56
1816-1825	70	78
1826-1835	72	54
1836-1845	57	64
1846-1850	36	9
	653	558

Of the emigrants, fifteen went to America and the rest moved widely over Britain to nearly thirty counties. London attracted the greatest number. In this way, the Society in Norfolk lost members and coupled with deaths and disownments, it is little wonder that meetings declined.

DISOWNMENT

It is of interest to note the circumstances in which members could be disowned and refused certificates and unity with the Society. Friends' discipline was naturally exercised against persons who married in the Church of England or who held non-pacifist views. Thus, Norwich 12.v.1701 refused to acknowledge Peter Huit as a preacher or to have unity with him till he acknowledged to the world his offences "and that particularly of taking a wife or wives by a Priest and listing for a Trooper." A century later, Hudson Gurney was disowned for subscribing to a fund for military purposes. Drunkenness was discountenanced, and Yearly Meeting in 1751 commented: "As an excess of drinking has been too prevalent among many of the inhabitants of these nations, we recommend to all Friends a watchful care over themselves, attended with a religious and prudent zeal, against a practice so dishonourable and pernicious." In practice, Friends were long suffering in the matter as in the case of William Cooper of North Walsham, first accused of being drunk and disorderly in 1774 and for whom care was continued until 1779 when the minute regarding him was dropped. Members might find themselves cautioned if suspected of "disorderly frailties" in other directions. Thus, Norwich 4.ix.1745 minutes: "Joseph Gurney reports that pursuant to the direction of the meeting, he acquainted John Lucas with the uneasiness thereof respecting his conduct in several respects particularly in attending Plays and Music Meetings as being contrary to the good order and discipline established amongst us, which he acknowledged to be just and seemed to take in good part, assuring Him He would endeavour to behave for the future in such a manner as not to give the like occasion again." But for other forms of "unstable conduct" such as bigamy,¹ deserting a wife, producing illegitimate children, or joining with people of a different religious persuasion, members were disowned.

The most frequent cause of disownment was culpable insolvency. George Fox had commanded Friends: "And all, of whatever Trade or Calling, forever, keep out of Debts; owe to no man anything but love. Go not beyond your

¹ *e.g.* William Bowen of Norwich, 1752.

Estates, lest ye bring yourselves to Trouble and Cumber and a snare; keep low and down in all things ye act. For a man that would be great and goes beyond his estate, lifts himself up, runs into debt and lives highly of other Men's Means."² Ambrose Rigge wrote similarly and advised Friends to disown those who were running into debt heedless of good advice. His *Brief and Serious Warning* (1678) was republished by Yearly Meeting in 1771, along with Advices of 1675, 1688, 1692, 1724, 1727, 1731, 1732, 1735, 1737, 1754, 1759, 1767 and 1771 on the same subject.

In the Norfolk meetings, there are instances from North Walsham, Hingham and Norwich of Friends disowned for insolvency. In each case, the assertion is made that the Friend was guilty of negligence, dishonesty, deceit, extravagance or speculative activity which led to the failure. Thus, John Ransome of North Walsham failed in 1789 owing to "want of inspection of his affairs, by which he suffered his benevolence to exceed his abilities." For this failure, he was discontinued as an elder, but when he went bankrupt again in 1800 and it was found that he had used property entrusted to him as an executor for payments of his debts, he was disowned. F. F. Golder of Norwich went bankrupt in 1801 because he held large stocks of flour, the price of which fell. He was not then disowned but Norwich meeting hoped that he was impressed "with the sense of the injustice of his conduct in purchasing too great a stock." But in 1806, when he was again insolvent, he was disowned because he had taken fresh credit to improve his position. Hammond Blake of Norwich, a throwster turned shopkeeper, likewise was disowned for contracting fresh debts "under the known circumstances of a property very insufficient to discharge the same."

Disowned Friends might, of course, be reinstated if they showed that they were repentant. Thus, in 1796, Edmund Gurney and John Ellington of Norwich were reported insolvent. Gurney died, but John Ellington was disowned. He was, however, readmitted in 1802. When Friends were insolvent through no fault of their own, they were excused. Thus, in 1780, Robert Pitcher of Mattishall was considered an object of pity because he had "ingaged a bad farm," and unkind seasons combined to ruin him.

² Fox, G., *A Collection of many Select and Christian Epistles*, 1698, no. 200.

There is no suggestion that Friends in Norfolk were turned out of the Society in order to save the Meetings money. On the other hand, a family made necessitous by the insolvency of its head would be supported until it could maintain itself. Members were, however, expected to help themselves and occasionally meetings minuted reproof to parents whose children were of an age to maintain themselves, or they themselves were taken to task for indolence. Thomas Fenn of Norwich was warned in 1797 that unless he laboured reasonably towards his own subsistence, he would be disowned. But in 1807, he became the care of the Society and expenditure averaging £22 a year was spent on him until he died in 1819. Yarmouth Meeting recorded in 1799 regarding Joseph Woodrow: "This Meeting . . . apprehending from the testimony of Medical Men that more exertion should be productive of good to him, is of the Judgement that the weekly allowance should be discontinued." From 1700 to 1714, William Claydon of Norwich was supported. Though he was urged to get work for himself, when he failed to do so the meeting laid out money either to provide him with a stock or "to procure a friend a comber" to employ him.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, meetings sometimes record the sale of the goods of a deceased pensioner, and Norwich 7.iii.1733 ordered the overseers to "take an inventory of the household goods of such poor friends which now are or hereafter may be relieved by this meeting and that they do inform such friends this meeting expect the amount of such inventories shall be applied towards defraying the expense which may have been on their accounts and also to inform them that this meeting expects no embezzlements should be made on any account unless with the knowledge and consent of the overseers."¹ The practice seems to have died out later.

CONCLUSION

In coming to a final judgment on Friends' treatment of their poor in Norfolk, it should be remembered that members

¹ It is of interest to note that John Scott, Quaker poet of Amwell in *Observations on the Present State of the Parochial and Vagrant Poor, 1773*, condemned the parish practice of taking inventories and seizing paupers' goods when they died.

of the Society in those days were not rich. The apprenticeship indentures give some clue to their occupations and the marriage announcements indicate that Friends were engaged as woolcombers, worsted weavers, dyers, hotpressers, linen weavers, haberdashers, cordwainers, distillers, glassmakers, carpenters, millers, merchants, tanners, combmakers, collar makers, grocers, butchers, bakers, tailors, knackers, glaziers, salesmen and farmers. Norwich Meeting in a letter to Yearly Meeting, 8.v.1721 records: "Our Monthly Meetings are . . . duly kept up: when (notwithstanding the meanness of our circumstances and the great many poor we have among us) due care is taken to provide for the maintenance of our poor Friends."

It should also be noted that in addition to collections for the poor, funds were raised for incidental expenses, national stock, and for special purposes such as losses of Friends in the rebellion of 1745, briefs, civilising the American Indians, the abolition of the slave trade, the relief of Friends who lost their goods by fire. Moreover, Friends were constantly being levied on because they would not pay tithes, church rates or for militia-substitutes. Quarterly Meeting sent each year to Yearly Meeting an account of sufferings under this head, varying from £260 in 1782 to £1,041 in 1820. Monthly meetings kept Books of Sufferings and that for Lammas and North Walsham has many references from 1664 to 1792 of appropriations by clergy or "stepelhouse wardens" of Friends' crops. In 1722, for example: "In the time of haisil and harves came Toby Jobson and his men and hos and cart and cared away of wheat, barley, peas, ots, buck to the valoo of a leven pounds which tithes he mit have had for five pounds from Nicholas Taylor in Mondsley." Possibly, agriculture as an occupation became unpopular because of the facilities it afforded for the taking of tithes.

It should be noted too that Friends always paid the parish poor rates (for which practice, George Fox said that the Society earned praise from the justices) and though they would not pay for the cost of substitutes for the militia and objected to its being included in the poor rates, they did not object to supporting the wives and children of militia men.

It seems a pity, therefore, that Sir Frederick Morton Eden did not add to his careful and lengthy statement of other forms of poor relief, a more correct report on the methods of

18 NORFOLK FRIENDS' CARE OF THEIR POOR, 1700-1850

the Society of Friends. Sir Thomas Bernard reviewing Clarkson's "Portraiture of Quakerism" in 1806 was much more right, even if he was extravagantly praising, when he said that Quakers "afforded a practical example of the wisest and most benevolent system, which can be adopted with regard to the poor."¹ Clarkson said: "A Quaker-beggar would be a phaenomenon in the world,"² and in Norfolk, at any rate, between 1700 and 1850 a *bona fide* Quaker seeking charity outside the Society would have been a remarkable sight.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

A. In Norwich Meeting House

Minute Books

1. Norfolk and Norwich Q.M., 1708-1850, 12 volumes
2. Norwich M.M., 1690-1849, 8 volumes
3. Yarmouth M.M., 1763-1840, 6 volumes
do. Women Friends M.M., 1829-1840, 1 volume
4. North Walsham and Lammas M.M., 1679-1763, 1782-1791, 4 volumes
5. Wymondham M.M., 1757-1812, 5 volumes.
6. Tivetshall M.M., 1710-1812, 1822-1850, 7 volumes
7. Wymondham and Tivetshall M.M., 1813-1835, 2 volumes.
8. Lynn M.M., 1677-1775, 4 volumes.
9. Norwich Poor Accounts, 1799
10. Accounts for the Poor at Tasburgh, 1729-1786
11. Lammas Book of Sufferings, 1664-1792
12. Lynn Book of Sufferings, 1699-1761
13. Trust Book, 1832-1869 (mainly Alburgh Estate)
14. Wymondham Trust Book, 1799

¹ *Reports of the Society for bettering the condition of the Poor*, vol. 5. "Extract from the Rev. Mr. Clarkson's account of the system of the Quakers with respect to their poor" by Thomas Bernard, 1806, p. 151.

² Clarkson, T. A., *A Portraiture of Quakerism*, 1806, vol. 2, p. 89.

B. In Friends House Library, London

1. Sundry Ancient Epistles
2. Yearly Meeting Minutes, vols. 4 and 8
3. Gurney MSS, Mr. Quintin Gurney's loan, (specially Section III for letters to and from J. J. Gurney and a memoir of him by his wife, 1847)
4. Martineau, E. Quakerism and Public Service, 1832-1867. (unpublished thesis, typescript)

C. In Mr. Quintin Gurney's possession

1. Memoirs of Priscilla Gurney

Co-operation Between English and American Friends Libraries

THE exchange of books and pamphlets has long been a helpful practice between Friends House Library and those at Haverford and Swarthmore Colleges, and other libraries in America. An exchange of staff is a new and valuable step.

In August, 1947, Friends House Library was glad to welcome Dorothy Harris, assistant librarian at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. Her two months as a member of Friends House Library was very helpful to us in London. In September Muriel Hicks, assistant librarian at Friends House, joined the staff at Swarthmore College Friends library for two months and then spent a similar period at the Quaker Collection at Haverford College, returning to London in February, 1948. To complete this valuable exchange we hope to welcome Anna Hewitt from Haverford College for a similar visit in the spring of 1949.

These visits between the principal libraries of Friends' literature and records will be of benefit to Quaker studies and facilitate the co-operation of our two historical societies by increasing our knowledge of each other's resources, methods, projects and needs. We in London have certainly been helped by and have enjoyed the privilege of closer personal acquaintance with our colleagues across the sea.

George Fox's "Book of Miracles"

Reviewed by DR. HOWARD E. COLLIER

George Fox's "Book of miracles." Edited with an introduction and notes by Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D. With a foreword by Rufus M. Jones. Cambridge, University Press, 1948. Pp. xvi, 162 ; 9 plates. 21s.

NOTHING distinguishes the typical attitude of the seventeenth from the attitude of the twentieth century more clearly than their conception of the miraculous. In the seventeenth century a miracle was a non-natural, a praeternatural, even a contra-natural event. If we use the word miracle to-day we mean an unexpected and unaccountable happening. In the seventeenth century (and later) there were believed to be two sources of miracle, God and the Devil. Reading Henry Cadbury's book we realize first that events similar to the "miracles" that marked the early days of Quakerism are happening to-day ; and second that the problems posed by "miracles" to the minds of early Friends, are posed to us by our experiences.

The value of this book is out of all proportion to its size. The author has not wasted a word. If we say that the Introductory Essay, supported by a Foreword by the late Rufus Jones, is more valuable than the historical material on which the book is based, we mean to emphasize the value of the introduction and not to disparage the importance of the research on which the book is founded. To Quaker historians this judgment will be unacceptable. The book is a notable piece of Quaker scholarship.

During the course of his researches, Henry Cadbury discovered in the Library at Friends House the "index" of a lost *Book of Miracles*. It was found amongst the entries of a comprehensive index-catalogue of all Fox's papers, made about 1695, and known as the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's papers*. The original book contained a record of 150 miracles, providences and judgments recorded by Fox during the active years of his service. This book was known

to Ellwood when he published Fox's *Journal*, but was suppressed—or never published.

Patient study, reinforced by a knowledge of contemporary literature, has enabled Henry Cadbury, not only to reconstruct some of the contents of the lost *Book*, but also to set it in its perspective against the background of the age in which the *Book* was written. Henry Cadbury shows that during the first fifty years of the existence of the Society of Friends there was a widespread interest in, what may be called, the non-physical means of healing. Fox was a notable exponent of this kind of healing. Sometimes he made use of physical means of healing also. Sometimes he co-operated with doctors, sometimes he "declined to meddle" with medicines and with doctors. By his contemporaries Fox was held to be a miracle worker. The original Society was composed in part of people who brought with them, not only an expectation that miracles would occur, but also the characteristic "Seeker" belief that miracles were "necessary to faith" and the only proof of religious authority. Many of their contemporaries classed Quakers with wizards and witches and believed that Friends, in common with the Papists, possessed and exercised evil, supernatural powers. Many events happened within the Society, on its borders and amongst allied Christian groups (especially the Baptists), which were regarded as miracles. Failures to heal and failures to perform miracles also occurred in the Society. Some of these were recorded in Quaker literature, and some are preserved only in other, and hostile, contemporary sources. People who had been healed either relapsed into illness or died a natural death; others "outran their Guide" and became apostates. Some prophecies were not fulfilled: Providence did not always intervene to save. Still others were healed as to the spirit, but were not healed in the body. Some were healed in body, but did not return to give thanks or did not manifest the fruits of the spirit.

Successful miracles served to enhance the repute of the Society: failures nearly destroyed it, on several occasions.

Against this background the decision to suppress the *Book of Miracles* can be understood. Caution was clearly necessary by 1690, to avoid extravagant claims, "enthusiasms" of a wildly unreal kind and to avoid the undue

exaltation of the importance of any person (even of George Fox).

At this point these notes pass from a consideration of the contents of the book under review and become a reflection upon some of the lessons that Henry Cadbury's book may have to teach us to-day.

The decision to suppress the *Book* does not imply that Friends doubted the "factual accuracy" of the events recorded in it. Even if they did so, there is plenty of evidence in the writings of early eighteenth century Quakers to show that members of the Society believed in the efficacy of prayer and in personal and corporate guidance—all of which would have qualified for description as "miracles" in those days.

Three related questions have been raised in the mind of the writer of this article by Henry Cadbury's book. Did early Friends throw away wheat with the chaff when they suppressed the *Book*? Was it possible to separate wheat from chaff at that period? Can we do so now? We shall consider the last of these questions.

In the modern world, by non-physical means of healing, we do not mean the same as "miracle" meant during the seventeenth century. By non-physical means of healing we understand first, psycho-therapy (which includes suggestion, persuasion, re-education, group healing, occupational therapy, the use of music and the arts, etc.); second, we mean "spirit-healing" (often called spiritualism) in its many forms, including prestige-healing or faith-healing, and suggestion; and third, we mean divine, spiritual or religious healing, which includes prayer, worship and all of the "means of grace" as well as certain special techniques with which we are not concerned here.

Nowadays, we do not make an arbitrary distinction between natural and supernatural; we make a distinction of quality rather than of kind, between the natural and the divine. Most modern people will be ready to admit that "states of soul" affect "states of the brain." Most will agree also that "spirit" is in some sense a "power" that affects life and health. Hence most modern people would not reject the fundamental hypothesis upon which George Fox's practice was founded. Many modern people—some of whom are reasonably trustworthy observers—are

convinced that the non-physical means of healing produce "cures" that are strictly analogous both to the miracles and the failures recorded in Fox's *Book*.

With these thoughts in mind, what action should we take to-day, if we were placed in Ellwood's editorial chair? We should publish our *Book of Miracles*, but should hope that Friends would appoint a committee to write an introduction to it. In that introduction a few points would be emphasized.

1. We should make a provisional distinction between spiritual or religious healing (also called divine healing) on the one hand, and secular or this-worldly healing on the other. The end and purpose of religious healing is a change of heart, a growth of character, the production of the fruits of the spirit. The end of secular healing is the cure of disease. Fitness of mind and body is the secular objective in healing.
2. We should affirm that all healing is good and valuable and according to the will of God, by whatever means it may be accomplished.
3. Nevertheless we should affirm that secular health and healing are only relatively good. The absolute good is entry into the Kingdom. People should seek the Kingdom first and seek it moreover regardless of whether secular healing is subsequently "added" unto them. In our view (as in George Fox's) the Christian miracle may occur in such a form that the world cannot recognize it.
4. We should acknowledge and record apparent failures as well as successes, since much may be learned from failure. We are not prepared (at the present time at least) to acknowledge that failure or success on the secular, this-worldly level of experience, necessarily establishes or refutes spiritual or religious truths.
5. Nevertheless since we believe in the essential unity of the secular and the religious, we shall expect to find a positive correlation to exist between religion and secular health.
6. We are distrustful, however, of any means or method of non-physical secular healing that stresses the importance of this-worldly healing as a proof, either of the validity of the religious theory supposed to underlie that method, or as the final objective of healing. To distract the mind of the sick from the Kingdom of God is not what we understand by religious healing. To fix the attention of the sick on his body, his mind, or his own desires is not the way to promote health. To fix his attention upon hypothetical discarnate intelligences may harm his spiritual development and shut him off from the "First Search."
7. While suggesting those cautions, we acknowledge that the religious and spiritual life has much to contribute to positive health. We give thanks for every healing, no matter by whom it may be performed or by what method it may be accomplished. The healing of the sick by religious or spiritual means is now and has always been

one of the chief gateways to the Kingdom. The discipline of sickness has been and is one of the chief means of grace.

In conclusion, the writer must apologize to our Friend for having used this book as a peg to hang his hat upon ! The book, its style, its illustrations and its contents reflect credit on all concerned. We are sure Friends will read it, with the attention it deserves.

Quakerism in Friedrichstadt

Journal F.H.S., Vol. 39, 1947, pp. 49-53

WE regret that in editing this for the press an error was introduced, for which our contributor is not responsible, and we offer apology.

In the first paragraph, for 1696 read 1677. Amsterdam Yearly Meeting was established during the visit of Fox, Penn and Barclay in that year. (G. Fox, *Journal*. Bicent. ed., II, 260 ; *Short journal*, 238.)

The footnote on p. 50 mentioning the visit of William Ames to Friedrichstadt in 1657 or '58 should have been attached to the date 1663 on p. 49. It makes clear that the Friedrichstadt record omits the earliest Quaker visit of all, which was some years before there were any Friends in the town.

EDITOR

Two Swarthmore Documents in America

By HENRY J. CADBURY, Ph.D.

AMONG three early Quaker letters acquired by Haverford College from A. W. S. Rosenbach in May 1947 are two that deserved if they had been known, to be included in my *Swarthmore Documents in America*, 1940.¹ I have numbered them in succession to the thirty-five items there. Though their subsequent history is unknown they are originals sent to Fox or to the Fells and they were endorsed by George Fox in his own hand. These were among criteria of my earlier collection and are shared by the larger collections of Swarthmore Manuscripts in England.

William Smith's letter shows how Fox and other leaders were consulted on problems of marriage.² The case here dealt with is not without its human interest and parallels to-day.

Margaret Fox's letter is from a romantic moment since it is her report of the parting between her and George Fox when the latter set forth on the ship *Industry* for a long and adventurous journey to America. It neatly fills the need suggested in Helen Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 150. It should be compared with Fox's own account of the protracted farewells given in his *Journal*, Cambridge edition, ii, 176-8. The letter is also to be welcomed as throwing some light on three of her interests in London, viz. her married children, her financial affairs, and her concern for Friends' meetings.

¹ Supplement No. 20 to this Journal.

² A breach of promise case was submitted by a man Friend to George Fox in 1683. It is recorded in *Book of Cases*, Vol. I, p. 141, a MS. at Friends House, London, and is entered in *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*, No. 19, 33G. The opinion is there expressed, and signed by George Fox and George Whitehead, that Friends could not liberate the woman to marry another man unless the first would release her from her engagement.

XXXVI

WILLIAM SMITH to GEORGE FOX. *Nottingham*,
21.iv.1664.

[One folio page half filled in the handwriting of William Smith.¹]

Right Deare. In the sweetness & pretious Savour of the heavenly Virtue, thy fatherly word is felt over the whole flocke and family of the Righteous, by which the Innocent are abundantly Refreshed, comforted & strengthened, for thy streams doth nourish, & thy tydings makes the poore Reioice & singe. Havinge this opportunitie of sendinge, I am willing to signifie unto thee Somethinge of a particuler matter that thou may be acquainted with it soe far as I have knowledge of it, because it may be the thinge may be brought before thee. Some years agoe, Martha Plats² did manifest something of a motion which did lye towards Edward Langford³ as to marriage, & after she had spoken of it to him, she did alsoe speake of it unto me, & I had nothings further to say unto it, then to exhort her to waite in the power & cleave unto that & soe it Remained, onely at tymes somethinge would be stirringe on her parte, but I never could finde that the man had any cleareness in himselfe to answer it, but Rather was much Exercised that such a thinge should be moved unto him by her, & thus it hath been for certain yeares, & now of late the matter beinge brought up againe on her parte & he yet findinge nothings to answer it, she hath soarely judged him, & not onely soe, but hath Judged me alsoe for not dealinge plainly with her, as to tell her possitively whether her motion was Right or wronge, which thinge I never found freedome in, but was rather willinge that she might feele the thinge in her selfe, for which cause I did at the first Exhort her to minde the power, from which she now drawes this conclusion (& alsoe a Judgment with it) that she had not gone on in the thinge, but that I

¹ William Smith of Besthorpe, Notts (-1672). See *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 406 and Joseph Smith, *Catalogue of Friends Books*.

² Evidently Martha Platts had her problem differently solved. According to the Nottinghamshire Friends Registers she married on 10.x.1665 John Marshall of Nottingham and they had at least three children.

³ Edward Langford, like William Smith of Besthorpe, appears among the sufferers in Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 552, where he is described as "of North-Sellingham."

through these words did strengthen her in it and that from thence it had its beginnige, though she had spoken to him before & also spoke to me ab[out] it, which was the occation of my speakinge soe unto her, & she sayed, that she had layd the thinge [be]fore thee & that thou did owne the motion, & it is likely she may come over to thee, if she sinke not into the power to goe over her discontent for she is in trouble about it, yet I tould her I should beare all that she had layed upon me, & was as tender towards her as I could to keep the truth cleare from her Judgment, but I tould her that I would have noe more to doe in that matter betwixt them, these things was much uppon me to lay before thee, that if she should come thou might the more clearely feele into her minde, & also be somewhat acquainted with the matter from the beginnige, which as to the principles things I have named soe far as I know, the man hath been a prisoner in this place a long tyme, & is an honest man, & a faithfull friend in his testimonie, the dearest love of my life Salutes thee,

W.S.

Nottingham Countie Goale

21st of the 4th moth: 64.

Unto dear M. F. my true love is Remembred, with all the faithfull in that place Things in the generall are very well here awayes

[Addressed in the same hand] For Deare G F

[Seal]

[Endorsed in the hand of George Fox, but apparently at three different times]

w: s: to gff

1664 a feathull minester whoe died [in preson—*erased*]
in the trouth

thes be all in gressed

[Endorsed in another hand] These are writt over

XXXVII

MARGARET FOX to HER CHILDREN. *London,*
19.vi.1671

[Two folio pages in an unknown hand¹]

London, ye 19: 6: mo: 1671

My dear and blessed and Beloved Children

In the dear Everlasting love of God which is Everlasting and changes not, in this is my dear love remembred unto you, and by this you may know according as I writt in my last unto you, wee with many more went downe the last 7th day with your father to the Ship a litle below Gravesend, and there Susan² and I laid all night, and the next morning severall freinds came to the Ship to us to goe along with us to the downes, and soe that day being the first day we had a fair gale of wind, and a prosperous Journey unto the Downes, and about the 9th hour at night wee cast anker and that night your father with severall other freinds that were passengers came ashore with us unto Deal and there wee stayed all night and the next day they tooke in provisions and water for the ship, and then there was a fair wind to goe out of the Downes and so about the 2^d hower wee parted with your father and the rest of the Company and stayed on the shore till we saw them under saile and soe ever since they have had as fair an East wind for them as ever could blow, and it is wonderfull remarkable, and freinds takes great notice of it that the wind should turne every way according as they had occasion for one wind caryed into the downes one day another wind caryed out of the downes the next day they were speaking of putting in at Plymouth and soe to send for your Brother and sister Lower, but it may be that this fair wind may hinder them least they should misse of their opportunity, but if they want any conveniences or find any fault in the ship, I believe they will put in before they passe the landsend of Cornwall. We came on the Second day after wee had parted with them a mater of 16 freinds that night to

¹ So few letters from Margaret Fox are extant and they differ so in handwriting that her own hand has always been hard to determine. As she suggests in this letter it was probably written for her by someone called to her aid in the absence of such usual London amanuenses as John Stubbs and Ellis Hookes.

² Probably her sixth daughter, Susanna Fell.

Canterbury by land, and the next day to Gravesend by land, and ye fourth day to London by Water, where we met with your letter with the Inclosed, and soe according to thy desire I shall indeavour to make sure with Tho: Yoakely¹ for the £100 against the time thou speakes of. And I have a bond from him and Wm. Willson² for the £250 and the other £50 Walter Miers³ hath paid to Robert Eletson.⁴ I think it will be the best way to leave this Bond with Walter Miers to keepe till the time the money be paid, but I shall speake with them all and Consider further of it. it is now fair weather and I would gladly be away, but I am not yet quite clear of the meetings, but I trust in the Lord that I shall get ready to set forward out of this City this day weeke. And soe I doe not know that I can write any more to you. Soe if the Lord will wee may be at some meeting not far of London the next day being the first day, and soe set forward on our Journey the second day towards warwicke and Stafford, and soe home as the Lord makes way for us. wee doe not know of any Company but Leonard⁵ and I for Miles Hubertsey⁶ and his wife is not like to be ready. wee intend if the Lord please tomorrow to goe see Margrett Prestone⁷ who sets forward towards the North next 2^d day. I had a lett^r yesterday from your sister Lower And it seems shee is very poor and weake but there is some hopes of Recovery your sister Yeamond⁸ hath been very Ill ever since before the fair, and continues very poor and feeble still. I had a lett^r from her this weeke, in which shee does inform me in every

¹ Thomas Yoakley (c. 1627-1677) a substantial Friend of London. See *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 429.

² William Wilson of Westmorland (*Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 392) may be intended, but *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell*, mentions several of the name, including one who was a transmitter of funds (see note, p. 517).

³ On Walter Miers (Myers) (c. 1633-1723/4) of London see *ibid.*, p. 534, where he is said to have served as financial agent for Friends of his native county (Westmorland).

⁴ Robert Allatson (-1676) of Sunbrick is mentioned also later as a creditor of the Fell's. See *Household Account Book*, p. 538.

⁵ Probably Leonard Fell (1624-1701), an intimate associate of the family, and a Friend of some standing (*ibid.*, p. 534).

⁶ Miles Hubbersty (-1675) lived at Underbarrow. See *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 405.

⁷ Margaret Preston, not identified, but probably a neighbour of Swarthmore Hall, sojourning in London.

⁸ Margaret Fell's daughter Isabel was married to William Yeamans of Bristol (d. 1674) in 1664. See *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 410, 492; *Short Jnl.*, p. 346. The fair is the well known annual St. James' tide fair at Bristol. The "things" to be sent her were medicine.

way how its with her and I have taken advice about it and intends to send downe the things by Susan. Susan cannot goe till next second day come a week for Thomas Yoakely and his wife and some other friends intends to goe to Bristoll along with her and soe shee was willing to stay for their Company. And I hope Thomas Salthouse¹ will stay on here to take her along to Cornwall. I have seen Thomas Greene² once since he came to towne, and it was in the street and I could say but little to him. and John Lawson³ I have not seen at all, but I intend to send some things by them in the ship, which thou writt for. Soe this is the most that I have at present I have much to doe to get any one to write for me now John Stubbs⁴ being gone away, and Elise Hookes⁵ got a great fall from a horse as he was ridding to the Downes that he is not able to set up. I am now at Walter Miers and intends in the Strength of the Lord and his power to be at Horsly downe tomorrow, and at Peele on the third day, and at Gracious Street⁶ on the 4th day and to goe to Kingstone on the 5 day and to come backe on the sixth day and to set forward if the Lord pleases on the 7th day and to visit Thomas Dry his wife⁷ as I goe along. And soe in the streingth and power of the Almighty God I bid you farewell.

From Your Dear Mother

In the Lord

M: F:

¹ Thomas Salthouse (1630-1690/1) came from near Ulverston, but after his marriage in 1670 to Anne Upcott of St. Austell probably made his home in Cornwall.

² Thomas Green (c. 1628-1703) of Lancaster was a local grocer or mercer and a forwarding agent for the Swarthmore family. He had married a London woman, and was for this or business reasons a visitor in the city. See *Household Account Book*, p. 546.

³ John Lawson was also a shopkeeper of Lancaster. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 418.

⁴ John Stubbs (c. 1618-1674) was a scholar. He would be in demand for his good handwriting. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 418.

⁵ Ellis Hookes (c. 1630-1681) was a trained scrivener and for many years paid secretary of the Society of Friends in London. He was even apart from this accident, a man of feeble health. See Norman Penney's account of him in *Journal F.H.S.*, i, 1903, pp. 12-22.

⁶ Horslydown, the Peel, and Gracechurch Street were the names of settled Friends meetings in London. At Kingston-on-Thames was not only a Friends meeting, but the home of the writer's daughter, Margaret, who was married to John Rous.

⁷ Perhaps Elizabeth Dry, later a widow of Enfield and frequent entertainer of George Fox. *Short Jnl.*, p. 317.

[Addressed in the same hand, the first line or two trimmed off]

Swartmore

D D

Leave this with John Higgin¹
in Lancaster to be delivered
with care and speed

Lancashire

[Endorsed in the hand of George Fox]

m.f. to her childeren

[Endorsed in the hand of George Fox]

m.f. to her childeren

1671 consarn g f passing
beyond the seay read over
19:d 6 mo:

[Endorsed in the hand of George Fox but at once struck out]

to mf & gff

[Endorsed in a later hand] Margaret Fox to her children 1671.

The Spring number, 1948 (vol. 37, no. 1) of *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* includes the first portion of an article on *Quaker botanists* by Francis W. Pennell, curator of Plants at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, and *John Greenleaf Whittier to William J. Allinson*, a reprint of nineteen unpublished letters copied into a notebook owned by the Allinson family and recently presented to Haverford College Library. The letters date between 1842 and 1873 and deal with family, literary and Quaker topics. Professor Edward D. Snyder of Haverford has edited them for publication.

¹ On John Higgins, a carrier between Lancaster and Swarthmore Hall, see *Household Account Book*, p. 513.

William Edmundson, 1627-1712,

Some notes on his family and second marriage

By ISABEL GRUBB

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON, the foremost Friend in Ireland for nearly sixty years, was born in Cumberland in 1627 and died at Tineel, near Mountmellick in 1712. Before coming to Ireland in 1652 he had married Margaret Stanford from Derbyshire. In the Mountmellick M.M. *Book of family records* (the early pages of which are in Edmundson's handwriting) he describes himself as "William Edmundson, ye son of John and Grace Edmondson." The spelling is curious, for throughout his life he always spelled his own surname as Edmondson, but after his death the family seem to have changed to Edmundson. In the two editions of his *Journal* the name is so spelled, and in this form the name has been handed down to his descendants.

His eldest daughter Mary married William Fayle, and from her and from his youngest son, Triall, a number of present-day Irish Friends are descended. His eldest and second sons, William and Samuel, seem not to have associated with Friends even in their father's lifetime.¹ His daughter Hindrance was disowned for being too friendly with an unsuitable young man. It is said William Edmundson named his daughter Hindrance and his son Triall because their births prevented him attending meetings at which he wished to be present.

During the war in Ireland in 1690, when Edmundson was carried off by rapparees,² another band attacked his son's tanyard, took Edmundson's wife and stripped her naked. It was a cold December night and she never recovered from the experience. In the *Book of family records* William wrote a beautiful testimony to her.³

In 1696 when he was sixty-nine he felt it right to marry

¹ Some fifty years ago there was a non-Friend family in Ireland who claimed descent from one of these sons.

² Irregular soldiers or freebooters.

³ Margaret Edmundson, d. 1691. See Besse *Sufferings*, ii, 492. For testimony see *Journal F.H.S.*, vol. 33, pp. 32-34.

again, and he says in his *Journal*, after very considerable thought, "I acquainted the Person towards whom my Mind was drawn in that Respect, viz. *Mary*, the Widow of *Joshua Strangman*, about the Age of Fourty nine Years, whom I had ground to believe would be a Comfort to me, and helpful in my Family, being a Woman of a good Understanding, and one who fear'd the Lord."¹ She agreed to marry him, on condition his family approved, which they did, but nonetheless the marriage did not take place for about a year and a half, as meanwhile William Edmundson paid a lengthy visit to England.

Mary Strangman's maiden name is unknown. She had married, first, William Ball of Philipstown, and second, in 1675, Joshua Strangman of Tinnemuck, King's County.² In the following copy of the marriage certificate taken from the Mountmellick book her name is given inaccurately as Strongman.³

"These are to certifie to whome it may concerne that WILLIAM EDMONDSON of Rosenallis⁴ in the Queen's County, and MARY STRONGMAN late of ye city of Dublin (Widdow and Relict of Joshua Strongman deceased) haveing Intentions of marriage according to God's Ordinance, did lay ye same before the Men and Womens Meeting of ye people of God, (in scorn called Quakers) at Castledermott the 9th day of ye 5th month 1697. The w'ch being taken into Consideration severall persons were Appointed to make Inquiery where their Residences are & of late have been, Whether ye said William be clear from all other women, And ye said Mary be clear from all other Men, in Relacion to Marriage, & whether their relacions be consenting to their sd intentions, And ye said William and Mary signifieing ye continuance of their sd intentions a second Time (he in person and she by certificate) before a men & Womens Meeting of the people affores'd at Mountmellick ye 20th day of the

¹ *A Journal of the life . . . of . . . William Edmundson*, London, 1715, p. 161.

² Joshua Strangman (d. 1691) had also been married previously, and from his first marriage a number of Friends are descended. Joshua and Mary Strangman had four children but none of these seem to have left descendants.

³ The name is derived from Strange man (Peregrinus), an ancestor of the family being mentioned in Domesday Book under that name.

⁴ Tineel is very close to the village of Rosenallis, and Edmundson is sometimes described as of one, sometimes of the other.

9th mo 1697, where a full acc't was given, as was before desired, and nothing appearing to obstruct the s'd Marriage, and their Intentions being published in ye respective Meeting to which they doe belong, and still Nothing appearing to obstruct ye s'd Marriage a Meeting was appointed at Mountm'ck ye first day of ye 10th mo. 1697 Where ye s'd William and Mary (being contracted) did publickly & solemnly in ye presence of God and before many Witnesses, take each other as Man & Wife, he expressing himselfe in these words Viz't Friends I am sensible of ye Lord's presence, and in his presence, and in y'r presence I take Mary Strongman to be my wife promiseing to be unto her a faithfull & loveing husband till death seperate, and ye s'd Mary saying these words In ye presence of ye Lord and this assembly I take William Edmondson to be my husband promiseing w'th ye Lord's Assistance to be to him, a faithfull loveing subject wife till it shall please the Lord by death to seperate us.

And as a further testimony of such their promise & takeing each other the s'd William & Mary have hereunto sett their hands, & wee whose names are underwritten are wittnesses of ye same.¹

William Edmondson
Mary Edmondson

John Edmondson ²	Mary Fayle ¹³	Robt Jackson ²¹
Triall Edmondson ³	Susanna Sheldon ¹⁴	Tho. Cantrill ²²
Joshua Strangman ⁴	Martha Fayle ¹⁵	Henry Ridgeway ²³
Eliezer Sheldon ⁵	Mary Pim ¹⁶	Richd. Eves ²⁴
William Fayle junr ⁶	Susanna Softlaw ¹⁷	Moses Pim ²⁵
John Softlaw	Mary Beale	Owen Roberts
Joshua Beale ⁷	Hannah Guy	Joshua Northall ²⁶
Tobias Pleadwell ⁸	Sarah Gee	Ralph Stevenson ²⁷
John Pim ⁹	Jane Barcroft ¹⁸	Tobias Pim ²⁸
Nicholas Gribbell ¹⁰	Ann Boardman ¹⁹	Francis Salkeld."
Richard Guy	Sarah Eves ²⁰	
James Hutchinson ¹¹	Hanna	
James Knowlls	Ann [page torn]	
Gershon Boate ¹²		

¹ The signatories were almost all from Quaker families in or near Mountmellick.

² John Edmondson (1625-c. 1707) was William Edmondson's elder brother who had come to Ireland before him. During his life he resided at various places near Mountmellick and Edenderry, and was a sufficiently "weighty" Friend to have a meeting "settled" in his house for many

It will be noted that though bride and bridegroom were so well known they had to go through the same lengthy formalities as any other Friend. The words used by William Edmundson show, however, that he did not think it necessary to adhere to any set formula. He says of the marriage, "we took each other in marriage, in which weighty

years. In old age after the death of his wife he fell victim to immorality and Friends regretfully disowned him. He wrote a pathetic letter regretting his conduct and the slur it cast on Friends. In it he described himself as 83 years of age and in bad health, living at Timahoe, Queen's County.

A number of American Quaker families claim descent from him, but as the John Edmundson from whom they trace descent went to America soon after the middle of the seventeenth century it cannot have been William Edmundson's brother.

³ Triall Edmundson (1671-1722), William Edmundson's youngest son.

⁴ Joshua Strangman (1673-1743), Mary Strangman's stepson. He was often afterwards in Edmundson's company and helpful to him.

⁵ Eliezer Sheldon, William Edmundson's son-in-law, m. Susanna Edmundson.

⁶ William Fayle, junr., William Edmundson's grandson.

⁷ Joshua Beale (1656-1708), m. Mary Hammon, 1686.

⁸ Tobias Pleadwell, b. 1679, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Pleadwell.

⁹ John Pim (1641-1718), m. Mary Pleadwell, 1663.

¹⁰ Nicholas Gribbell, b. 1641, m. (i) Sarah Jackson (1651-1696) at Limerick, 1674; (ii) Jane Barcroft.

¹¹ James Hutchinson of Knockballymeagher, Co. Tipperary (1652-1718), m. Mary Bent (d. 1690), 1681.

¹² Gershon Boate (c. 1649-1704), son of Gerard Boate, Charles I's Dutch doctor who wrote an account of Ireland. Gershon Boate had considerable estates in north Tipperary. He was a prominent Friend, and especially useful in negotiations with the government. He was married three times and is author of a poem "The Maiden's Best Adorning."

¹³ Mary Fayle, b. 1654, William Edmundson's eldest daughter; m. William Fayle, 1675.

¹⁴ Susanna Sheldon, b. 1666, William Edmundson's third daughter; m. Eliezer Sheldon, c. 1688.

¹⁵ Martha Fayle, b. 1679, William Edmundson's granddaughter.

¹⁶ Mary Pim (1644-1721), *née* Pleadwell, m. John Pim, 1663.

¹⁷ Susanna Softlaw, b. 1656, *née* Beale, m. John Softlaw, 1670.

¹⁸ Jane Barcroft (1653-1730), *née* Slade, m. (i) Ambrose Barcroft (1654-1687), 1675; (ii) Nicholas Gribbell.

¹⁹ Ann Boardman, b. 1657, *née* Thompson, m. Joseph Boardman, 1686.

²⁰ Sarah Eves (1665-1719), *née* Thompson, m. Richard Eves, 1684.

²¹ Robert Jackson, b. 1659, m. Hannah Scott, 1681.

²² Thomas Cantrill, b. 1650, m. Hannah Cooper, 1673.

²³ Henry Ridgeway (1666-1723), m. Anna Watson, 1694.

²⁴ Richard Eves (1657-1722), m. Sarah Thompson, 1684.

²⁵ Moses Pim (1664-1715), son of John and Mary Pim, m. Ann Raper, c. 1686.

²⁶ Joshua Northall, b. c. 1649, m. Rose Fletcher.

²⁷ Ralph Stevenson, m. Elizabeth Cantrill, 1683.

²⁸ Tobias Pim (1666-1747), m. Susanna Cope, 1694.

affair the Lord's heavenly presence accompanied us, to our great Comfort and Confirmation ; and many in that Meeting being sensible thereof were refresh'd in their Spirits, also several Testimonies born to the Lord's Goodness, which attended us in that Ordinance."

AMONG other tracts reprinted in *British pamphleteers* (vol. 1 : From the sixteenth century to the French Revolution. London, Allan Wingate, 1948), George Orwell and Reginald Reynolds reproduce the account of the noted trial of William Penn and William Mead in 1670 which appeared in *The Peoples Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted*. Each item in the collection is prefaced with an illuminating introduction giving a short account of the author and a study of the work which follows. Among other points, the editors raise the question of authorship of the Penn-Mead tract, which is usually attributed to Penn. On weighing the evidence, they incline to accept the view that Thomas Rudyard (admittedly the author of the second half of *The Peoples . . . Liberties Asserted*, which is not reprinted) was author of the whole work, although Penn probably had a hand in it. *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies, in a Short Representation of the Calamitous state of the enslaved Negroes in the British Dominions*, by Anthony Benezet (original edition, Philadelphia, 1766), and *The True Levellers Standard Advanced*, by Gerrard Winstanley the Digger, also appear in this most interesting volume.

The life and work of Sir Jonathan Hutchinson, LL.D., D.Sc., Sc.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.S., 1828-1913, with an account of his family biography and of some aspects of 19th century life and thought, particularly in science and medicine. By Albert Eric Wales. (University of Leeds, Ph.D. thesis, 1948, 3 vols., typescript.)

This exhaustive dissertation was presented as thesis in the Department of Chemistry at Leeds. It is divided into sections as follows : The Quaker Family background ; The Victorian state ; The Man and his work ; Conclusion. The author has collected much genealogical material for the Hutchinson, Massey, Procter and West families, and useful family trees are given. The wide and varied activities of Sir Jonathan Hutchinson are traced carefully throughout his long career, and full weight is given to his scientific and medical interests, especially his discoveries about leprosy.

The First Century of Quaker Printers

NATHAN KITE in the middle of last century was the first to publish any study of Friends' printers, and his *Antiquarian researches* has been the starting point from which all later enquiries, whether on English or American activity, have begun. Since Kite's time the American material has been extensively documented, but for English craftsmen we can turn only to Anna Littleboy's *History of the Friends' Reference Library, with notes on early printers and printing in the Society of Friends*, the presidential address to this Society in 1920, and Charles M. Andrews's *The Quakers in London and their printers there*. It will be seen that neither of these works deal exhaustively with English printers and booksellers, and the information is of its nature still so incomplete that no connected narrative appears.

It is no easy task to follow up an interest in imprints and penetrate behind them to the lives of the men who made the books and were in double sense "publishers of truth." Little of this story has been told, and without long research into sources it would be difficult to give more than a fragmentary picture. For example, knowledge of Andrew Sowle's losses by the raids of Sir Roger L'Estrange's officers for printing unauthorized matter ("sufferings" which do not appear in Joseph Besse's classic tomes) comes almost exclusively from William Penn's testimony, which formed the basis of the account of Sowle given in *Piety promoted*. If so little can be brought to light for the Sowle press, which was the most important and (partly thanks to the long period of its existence) is the best known, no completeness can be expected for smaller men. It was the long existence of the Sowle firm which attracted P. H. Muir to use it as example for the study of the history of a printing business outlined in his *English imprints after 1640*.¹ Unfortunately Muir lacked knowledge of the manuscripts on which, equally with printed material, a study of Sowle and his heirs must be based—for it is only by full use of all resources that any fair survey can be achieved.

From the beginning, and even before the launching of

¹ *The Library*, 4th series, vol. 14, pp. 157-77.

the missions to the south of England in 1654, the printed output of Friends was considerable. It has been estimated that in the course of the second half of the seventeenth century over 6,000 publications were issued on their behalf,¹ and this in a period of press licensing, even allowing for the large number of small pamphlets which swell the total, requires explanation. During such times of difficulty and high feeling on religious questions, Friends' works would be published only by those who were in sympathy with them because of the risk involved.

Under the Commonwealth many of the advanced printers of the time had a hand in the work, but from the Restoration, when persecution drove off those workmen not closely allied to Friends, output soon became canalized. Printers' pleas of indifference to or ignorance of the matter in the books they printed were never accepted, and rarely ring true. This situation obtained for the next thirty years and after persecution was over, output decreasing, there was no great necessity to find new printers, and so the tendency to concentrate work in the hands of a few Friends continued.

With the onset of the Caroline persecution it had become of great importance for Friends themselves to secure orthodoxy in the works printed in their name so that no unnecessary cause of offence should be given. This became easier as those working for them were in closer touch and amenable to oversight, and dependent on Friends' approval for the satisfactory disposal of their productions. With the establishment of the Second Day's Morning Meeting of ministers in London (minutes extant from 1673) evidence is available of the oversight and control of the press which Friends exercised. In 1674 the meeting "Agreed upon that hereafter A.S. B.C. nor no other print any bookes but what is first read and approved of in this meeting & that the Tytle of each booke that is approved of & ordered to bee printed be entred in this booke, & that A.S. & B.C. & all others who print for freinds receive their bookes of E.H."² A year later, in more determined fashion, the meeting "Ordered that the paper . . . printed by B. Clerk being a Relation of the Warr in New-England be not dispersed, but

¹ *Journal F.H.S.*, vol. II (1914), p. 9.

² *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. I, 1673-1692, p. 1; 21.vii.74. A.S.=Andrew Sowle; B.C.=Benjamin Clark; E.H.=Ellis Hookes.

brought to John Osgoods there to lye till freinds see meet to deliver them back for waste paper & that B.C. print no bookes for the future but what are first read & approved of by this Meeting."¹

Friends, having their own printers, could feel secure in obtaining rapid production when required.² On one occasion Andrew Sowle was sent for at 8 p.m. in order to set some work forward. Nonetheless there were complaints about the lack of speed with which work was completed, and at the end of the century we find Bristol Friends cancelling a proposed introduction to their 300 copies of the new subscription edition of Robert Barclay's *Apology* "that Impression being delayed, not like to be Cleared of in several moneths."³ Although there were difficulties, Friends were fortunate in being able to ensure that good copy was provided and that directions concerning distribution were carried out.⁴

Moreover Friends were saved the work of central organization for distribution of their works. The printers undertook the clerical work, warehoused the stocks of books, and collected the money for books sent down to the counties. This latter was not always easy. Accounts for books sent down by Andrew Sowle were outstanding at the time Tace Sowle took over the business in 1691 and she appealed to the Morning Meeting for assistance in difficult cases. The Meeting asked some Friends to write to Barbados and Bristol for money owing.⁵ Bristol Friends had not settled five years later when Tace Sowle wrote to Charles Marshall then on a visit to the city, telling him of the sums unpaid since 1679. She instanced how "In several other Counties

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10, 20.x.1675.

² *The Lamentable Crye of Opression*, concerning the Fakenham sufferings was passed by the Morning Meeting (*minutes*, vol. 1, p. 29; 26.xi.1679), and the clerk was ordered "to Putt it to Andrew Sole to be printed without delay."

³ *Bristol Men's Meeting minutes*, vol. 2, p. 194; 9th September, 1700; see also p. 197.

⁴ Note the careful allocation of supplies to the counties, and more particularly the action of Morning Meeting, 26.ii.1675: "Ordred That Whatsoever papers or bookes are printed directed to the King or Parliament, that None be published or cryed about ye Citty etc. untill some daies after they are delivered to them they are directed to." (*Minutes*, vol. 1, p. 6.)

⁵ *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. 1, p. 146; 13.ii.1691.

Nearly a year later the Barbadoes account had not been settled and an appointment was made to examine the accounts (21.i.1691/2; *ibid.*, p. 164).

it was the same as with Bristol, the Men that were appointed by Friends to take the books failing, they willingly paid the mony—Warwick, a Poor Place to Bristol, I think paid it at ye second if not first time of writing to about it.”¹

The printers working in close co-operation with Friends provided those whose duty it was to authorize publication with first hand information on the state of the market demand for various types of books. The printers sometimes attended the Morning Meeting and on one occasion Tace Sowle proposed the issuing of a collection of Elizabeth Bathurst’s books “to Joyne to her Biggest Book called the Vindication” and the meeting gave consent, “she first Acquainting Charles Bathurst and his Wife of it.”²

During the early period the work of printing was given to sympathizers—even under the Commonwealth Friends’ books were probably not easy for the printers, being neither best sellers nor entirely free from risk. Later the work went solely to Friends, as the only printers willing to take the particular hazards involved. Friends’ control of the press was usually close. The Morning Meeting directed “That no old book be reprinted but by the Approbation of this Meeting.”³ They were meticulous in ensuring that books printed at Friends’ expense should be such as they could approve.⁴

Money difficulties were not frequent, but in 1689 Meeting for Sufferings ordered Andrew Sowle to print no more books or papers for the Meeting without an agreement on delivery of the copy, explaining “the Reason of this Minute is because that when Friends have come to pay him, for some things he printed, he hath demanded more than they could have it done for.”⁵ In 1676 the printer of Fox’s *Gospell-Family Order* (badly produced even for those times) was directed to correct the errors, “And that for the future he take Care to

¹ Bristol Friends’ Records, *Illustrations of discipline*, T. Sowle to Charles Marshall, 27th November, 1697.

² *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. I, p. 147; 13.v.1691.

³ *Minutes*, vol. I, p. 33; 23.vi.1680.

⁴ Thus we find the meeting, in reading Isaac Penington’s *Treatise*, directed “that Head about the Soules food, to be left out, & not to be printed . . . [and] the seven underscored lines (in page 20th of ye book, entituled, A question to the Professors of Christianity) be wholly left out of all Impressions; Ben Clark to take Care therein.” *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. I, p. 35; 6.viii.1680.

⁵ *Meeting for Sufferings minute*, 5.v.1689; copied into *Morning Meeting book*, vol. I, p. 102; 8.v.1689.

make Errata's to all the bookes he prints for Friends for errors escaped the press."¹

It must not be thought that all the advantages were on the side of the Society. It was a help to the printer to have a committee to appeal to if there were difficulty with individuals. Help (as has been shown in one instance) was forthcoming in collecting accounts, and, most important, Friends' subscription method provided an assured market for the product of the press—either by individual proffer to take off a fixed number of a work, or by the quota system by which each county took a fixed proportion of each work produced. The Morning Meeting provided the labour in marking copy for the press, and served as reference centre for suggestions. The printers also received some protection against piracy. Disputes arose under this head and led the Morning Meeting to declare: "It is agreed & advised by this Meeting, That for ye future every Printer employed by Friends, have ye sole property & possession of his own Copy thats delivered to him, by this meeting, or ye order thereof; or by ye Author of ye same Copy. And that no other Printer or Bookseller employed by Friends shall reprint ye same; or dispose of it, without ye consent & agreement of ye Printer, to whom it is given or delivered as aforesaid. And this agreeable to the advice of ye Meeting for Sufferings of 11 of 12 m. 80. For ye Printers imparting their Books one to another as they can agree, And also to an agreement of this meeting of 23. 6 m. 80 For ye Author's having power to dispose of his Copy to ye printer. And for no old Book to be reprinted but by approbation of this meeting. . . . And that all books that are reprinted have ye date of their first edition inserted. And that no book be reprinted, without ye consent of ye Author, if living; & approbation of this meeting. And that also ye time of ye writing thereof be inserted, in ye new also, if it appear."²

For the Friends' printers these economic advantages were linked with the satisfaction of knowing that their work, amid the difficult times of persecution, was helping forward the spread of Truth, e.g. when such as Andrew Sowle

¹ This seems to refer to Benjamin Clark, 24.v.1676; *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. 1, p. 14.

² Good advice for the present day. *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. 1, p. 71; 29.xi.1682/3.

laboured " a Faithfull and Chearfull Sufferer for Truth even to the Loss of all his outward substance in a maner."¹

* * * * *

GILES CALVERT of the Black Spread Eagle in St. Paul's Churchyard is the first to appear as bookseller for Friends. As early as 1648 he was selling for Isaac Penington, but it was not until 1653 that the spate of Quaker publishing commenced. In that year there is record of twenty works from his press. George Fox, James Nayler, Francis Howgill, Richard Farnsworth and Thomas Aldam, all were among the authors. He issued the first three accounts of Friends' sufferings—the beginning of a flow which was not to be stopped until the close of the century. *Saul's Errand to Damascus*, written against the priests in Lancashire, appeared in 1653, and then in 1654, significantly enough, the account of *The First New Persecution* of Mary Fisher and Elizabeth Williamson at Cambridge, and Richard Hubberthorne's *A True Testimony of the Zeal of the Oxford-Professors and University Men, who for Zeal persecute the Servants of the Living God*. With the spread of Quakerism in the south, Calvert's production on behalf of Friends advanced steadily from twenty in 1653, thirty in 1654 to seventy-six in 1655 and was seventy-five in 1656. In addition to those already mentioned, at this later time his authors included Edward Burrough, John Camm, William Dewsbury, James Parnel, John Stubbs (all 1654 and later); John Audland, Gervase Benson, James Lancaster, Thomas Lawson, Humphry Smith, Christopher Taylor and George Whitehead (1655 and later). Calvert's connections were not with northern Friends alone, for he sold works by others too. Priscilla Cotton's warning *To the Priests* (1655) bore his imprint and he issued works for Dennis Hollister and Thomas Speed, and the 1656 *Cry of Blood* account of Bristol sufferings. In each of the years 1655 and 1656 he published over a dozen works for James Nayler, and one or two for Martha Simmonds. This leaning towards the Nayler group did not imply any breach with other Friends, for in 1657, in a rapidly falling output, six of his productions were from the pen of Fox, including his *Catechisme for Children*, and *A Testimony of the True Light of the World*, and he also printed the Launceston sufferings

¹ T. Sowle to Charles Marshall, 27.ix.1697. Bristol Friends' Records, *Illustrations of Discipline* (C.17).

account *The West answering to the North*. Items issued for Friends during Calvert's declining years fell to twenty-eight in 1657, sixteen and seventeen in 1658 and 1659, eight, four and one in the years 1660-1662. The last work noted which bears Calvert's imprint is Howgill's *The Rock of Ages exalted above Rome's imagined Rock, on which her Church is builded* (1662).¹

THOMAS BREWSTER, of the Three Bibles in St. Paul's Churchyard, was (like Calvert) concerned in the publication of the seditious *Phoenix of the Solemn League and Covenant* in 1661. He, likewise, was not a Friend, but printed and sold two works by Anna Trapnel in 1654, *The Foot out of the Snare* and John Toldervy's *Snare Broken* (against Friends) in 1656, George Bishop's *Mene Tekel*, and *The Warnings of the Lord To the Men of this Generation*, in 1659 and 1660. Brewster seems to have died in 1664, shortly after another conviction for seditious publication.

THOMAS SIMMONDS, the second large-scale publisher for Friends, was most likely successor to Matthew Simmonds, the prolific publisher for the Independents. Matthew had died in 1654, and the earliest work which Thomas Simmonds appears to have issued for Friends, from his Bull and Mouth address in Aldersgate was Fox's tract *The Teachers of the World unvailed, Wherein the ground of their Ministry is manifested, both in doctrine and practice, to be out of the light which cometh from Christ* (1655). In the following year, among nearly a score of works, the names of George Fox, Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill and George Whitehead occur. By 1657 Simmonds was printing more than Calvert, and his output included most of Fox's work and Burrough's polemics. The following year saw more than fifty items issued from Thomas Simmonds' press, including pamphlets by most of the leading Friends. At this time Simmonds was forced, like Calvert before him, to entrust to others some of his printing, and thus we find George Rofe's *Revelation of God* printed on his behalf by Roger Norton, junior. In

¹ With the Restoration Calvert found himself in trouble for issuing seditious books, and after his death (August, 1663) his widow, Elizabeth, who carried on the business, spent some months in the Gatehouse prison for similar practices. Elizabeth Calvert had scarcely any connection with Friends and her will (dated 19 October 1674) directed that her body be decently buried amongst the Baptists. For further information see *Giles Calvert*, Altha Terry's unpublished Columbia University M.Sc. (Library Science) thesis, 1937 (copy at Friends' Reference Library).

1659 Simmonds' total production for Friends was nearly a hundred and twenty items. This uneasy period evoked many outbursts from Edward Burrough, and a dozen of these were issued by Simmonds, but perhaps his outstanding publication of the year was Nayler's prison-writing, *What the Possession of the Living Faith is, and the Fruits thereof*. In the following year he printed in folio Fox's omnibus reply to hostile critics: *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore unfolded*. From the Restoration Simmonds' output fell away to sixty-nine in 1660, twenty in 1661 and one in 1662. During these years he continued to publish exhortations to those in authority, and accounts of sufferings. His final recorded imprint is on William Bayly's *Life of Enoch again Revived* (1662).

MARY WESTWOOD is one of whom little is known. There is direct evidence of her activity only between 1658 and 1660, when she issued nine works in all, for Daniel Baker, William Bayly, George Fox, Humphry Smith, Rebecca Travers, and the petition against tithes entitled *These several Papers was sent to the Parliament The 20th Day of the 5th Moneth, 1659. Being above 7000 of the Hand-maids and Daughters of the Lord, and such as feels the Oppression of Tithes*. This last item is stated to be "Printed for Mary Westwood, and are to be sold at the Black-Spread Eagle at the West-end of Pauls." The connection with Giles Calvert which this imprint betokens is obscure. Mary Westwood is herself thought to have written a testimony against tithes in 1663. She may well be the printer "W.M." who was responsible for seven items belonging to the years 1662 and 1663, among others (perhaps significantly in view of her printing other works for this author) *Sound Things Asserted*, by Humphry Smith (1662). Further, in the years immediately preceding and following the Restoration some forty Friends' books appeared, "printed for M.W." From the custom which this printer shares with Mary Westwood of giving date of printing in full,¹ it seems probable that they can be attributed to her. Included among the works of this printer was the 1661 French edition of Fox's *To all that would Know the Way to*

¹ e.g. Fox and Rous's *Sins of gainsaying and rebellious people laid before them*, was "Printed in the 4th Month 8th day for M.W. 1659." Compare Humphry Smith's *Man Driven out of the Earth*, "Printed in the 11th Month, 1658" and others of his works.

the Kingdome, entitled *A tous ceulx qui voudront cognoistre la voye au Royaume*, besides works for William Bayly, William Dewsbury, John Perrot and Ambrose Rigge.

When Thomas Simmonds' output began to fall after 1659 his place as chief publisher for Friends was straightway taken by ROBERT WILSON. The earliest works issued from this house for Friends include the discourse on church government *To all Friends and People in the whole Christendom* (1658 ?), Burrough's *Discovery of some part of the War between the Kingdom of the Lamb, and the Kingdom of Anti-Christ*, and the *Doctrines and Principles* concerning sufferings in Scotland, by George Weare and others (both 1659). Although the first edition of this last was published in 1657 by Giles Calvert, and despite the similarity of sign (Robert Wilson's address was the Black Spread Eagle and Windmill, in Martin's le Grand), there seems no evidence of connection between Calvert and Wilson. In 1660 Wilson was responsible for over a hundred and ten items, and in 1661 for seventy-five. He issued works in French and Latin, Fox's Epistles of greeting to The Turk, the Magistrates of Malta, the Emperor, the King of France, the Pope, and to the Emperor of China, but the most renowned of his productions, and one which is still a collector's piece, was *A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural* in thirty-five languages (1660), planned by Fox, Stubbs and Furley, and printed in the form of a battledoor.

In 1661 Wilson was printing largely for George Bishop, Edward Burrough, John Crook, Isaac Penington, John Perrot and others. He issued Bishop's account of sufferings in America : *New England Judged, Not by Man's, but by the Spirit of the Lord*, and the *Appendex* (same year). In 1662 he issued the *Short Relation* of the imprisonment of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers at Malta—another of the classics of Quakerism which still lives. The last recorded dated work issued by Wilson was the 1666 reprint of William Simpson's *Going Naked, a Signe*, but there is Margaret Fell's *A Call unto the Seed of Israel, that they may come out of Egypt's Darkness and House of Bondage, unto the Land of Rest*, which may be dated a year or so later. Altogether Wilson is known to have issued over two hundred works for Friends, coming third in total number, as he was third in time of pre-eminence ; but his output is in no way inferior

in variety and interest to that of Calvert and Simmonds his forerunners.

Of SIMON DOVER little is known. He is perhaps the S.D. who printed an edition of George Fox the younger's *Noble Salutation and a Faithful Greeting unto thee Charles Stuart, who art now Proclaimed King* (1660) for Robert Wilson. In 1663 Dover was sentenced to a fine of forty marks and the pillory, having been concerned in printing the *Speeches and Prayers of Harrison* the regicide and *The Phoenix*. In the following year his widow was in trouble, printing for Friends.¹

JOHN WHITE, bookseller "at the backside of the Old Exchange," is known to Friends only for his issue of Fox's *Declaration to the Jews*, and his paper *For the Pope, Cardinals and Jesuites* (1661).

WILLIAM WARWICK first appears as printer and seller of the *Testimony concerning the Life, Death, Trials, Travels and Labours of Edward Burroughs*, early in 1663. In that year he was responsible for half a dozen works by other Friends, including William Caton's translation of *Some Worthy Proverbs left behind by Judith Zinspenninck*. From other evidence it appears that Warwick was still at work in 1667, and was responsible for the second part of George Bishop's *New England Judged*.²

The printers' fear of prosecution for unlicensed work is most likely responsible for the omission of imprint details from Friends' books during the period of press licensing commencing in 1662. Thus evidence for periods of activity is lacking for nearly twenty years after.

Although the first imprint of BENJAMIN CLARK is not traced until found on Jacob Claus's Latin edition of Robert Barclay's *Apology* (1676), it is certain that he was accepting work from Friends at least two years earlier. Of all the early printers Clark appears to have had the broadest outlook and most scholarly connections. Among his first known productions is numbered Barclay's *An Epistle of Love and Friendly Advice, To the Ambassadors of the several Princes of Europe, met at Nimeguen to Consult the Peace of Christendom*, and among schoolbooks Christopher Taylor and

¹ See *Extracts from State Papers*, Supplements 8 to 11 of this Journal, edited by Norman Penney, pp. 229-30.

² *Bristol Men's Meeting minutes*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 2a.

John Matern's *Compendium Trium Linguarum Latinae, Graecae & Hebraicae*, for use at Waltham Abbey school (1679). In the next five years he issued over sixty books for Friends, but his imprint does not appear after 1683.¹ Among his authors are numbered Robert Barclay, Steven Crisp, Thomas Ellwood, Thomas Lawson, Isaac Penington, William Penn and George Keith.

Contemporary with the appearance of Benjamin Clark in the minutes is that of ANDREW SOWLE. This Friend was the first in a firm which (under variations of name) was to last all through the eighteenth century. The main details of his life are known.² He was born in 1628, apprenticed in 1646 and apparently set up his own press at the Crooked Billet, Holloway Lane, Shoreditch, about 1660. At least as early as 1672 he was printing for Friends.³ By 1674 the Morning Meeting minutes reveal him firmly fixed as a printer for Friends,⁴ but it was not until 1680, when he had opened a bookshop in Devonshire Buildings, that imprints appear on his books. When Benjamin Clark ceased to publish in 1683 the Sowle press became the main channel through which Friends' work was issued, a continuity which was to last throughout the next century. From 1682 Sowle published extensively for William Penn, and commenced the run of collected works which marked Quaker production at the end of the century. His imprints commence with the address at Devonshire Buildings in 1680, but this ceases after 1682, and the Crooked Billet (introduced that year) continued to be used⁵ until Andrew's name disappears in 1691. From 1687-1690 some of his works were issued from the Three Keys in Nag's Head Court, in Gracechurch Street, over against the Conduit, an address also used in conjunction with the Crooked Billet.

¹ Arber's *Term Catalogues* (III. 57) mention Clark as publishing a reprint of Steel's *Short Writing* in 1698, but some uncertainty arises as the same entry states that the book is sold at Bristol by the author—and Steel died in 1684.

There was a Samuel Clark at work in George Yard, 1695-99. Perhaps Benjamin was dead by 1690, as the Ann Clark who died in 1691 aged 74, of Walham Green, Middlesex, may well have been his widow.

² *Short Journal*, pp. 321-322; Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200; *Antiquarian researches*, pp. 15-20; Littleboy, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9.

³ Evidence for this is in the letter from Tace Sowle to Charles Marshall, 27.ix. 1697, Bristol Friends' Records, (c.17). *Illustrations of Discipline*.

⁴ Minute of 21.vii.1674.

⁵ Except for some works in 1688 and 1689.

Of Andrew's two daughters, Elizabeth and Tace,¹ the latter alone concerns us here. She was born in 1666. When Andrew began to lose his sight Tace took over the management of the business, but probably did not enjoy full control until early in 1691. The press began to increase its production of Friends' works immediately, and the average of seven a year for 1687-1690 rose to twenty-three a decade later (1697-1700). The highest production in any year was thirty-seven in 1696. In the sixteen years during which her name appears on the title-pages, over three hundred works appeared—including the first part of *Piety Promoted*, that long-lived memorial of dying sayings which, in the *Annual monitor* survived until our own time. After Tace Sowle's marriage to Thomas Raylton (10.x.1706) the business was carried on in the name of her mother, although the management remained in Tace's hands.

Until 1694 she had used the Crooked Billet address alone, but in the latter year also gives an address near the Meeting House in White Hart Court, in Gracechurch Street, conjointly² or alone, 1694-96. This latter address is used (with variations in wording) until 1706. Between 1696 and 1701 an additional secondary address: "the Bible in Leadenhall Street, near the Market," is given occasionally. This imprint in fact occurs on the folio 1698 edition of George Fox's *Epistles*, after which the great third volume *Gospel-Truth Demonstrated, in a Collection of Doctrinal Books* (1706), rounded off the issue of Fox's works which Friends had put in hand at his death. Jane Sowle, who appears on the title-pages of the Sowle works after Tace's marriage to Thomas Raylton, was the widow of Andrew Sowle who died 26.x.1695. From 1706 until her death 18.iv.1711 at the age of 80, and from that time in the name of her "Assigns," Jane's name continues to appear for over thirty years on the title-pages. We may assume that the management continued to rest with Tace. With the exception of John Kelsall's broadside *Testimony against Gaming* (1711), which was issued "at the Bible in Leadenhall Street; and sold

² Elizabeth had married William Bradford in 1685 and went with him to Pennsylvania, where he followed the printing trade, being Philadelphia's first printer. For Tace Sowle, see *Short Journal*, p. 322.

¹ As on the separate issue of Penn's Preface to George Fox's *Journal* (folio, 1694), and the small octavo reprint (same date, with order of addresses reversed).

near the Meeting-House, in White-Hart-Court in Gracious-street," Jane Sowle consistently used the White Hart Court address alone. In 1712 the "Assigns of J. Sowle," namely Thomas and Tace Raylton, continue at that address and use it until 1716. In 1714, however, a new address appears (in 1715-16 sometimes used conjointly with the former) at which business continues until 1739 when the Assigns are heard of no more. This address, the Bible in George Yard, in Lombard Street, was the one which continued in use through the century under the Hinde and Phillips management. Perhaps the printed work most characteristic of eighteenth century Quakerism was the "spiritual journal," and of these the Sowle press printed a considerable number.

In 1739 the last works were issued under imprint of the Assigns, but already in 1736 T. Sowle Raylton's name had appeared in conjunction with that of Luke Hinde on the sixth edition of Barclay's *Apology*, and from 1739 until 1749 these two names regularly appear on works issued from the George Yard address. With Tace's death on 1.xi.1749, however, the family connection was finally severed, for Thomas Raylton had died long before, 6.xii.1723.

The death of Tace Raylton is a convenient date at which to close a survey of early printing done for Friends. The story of developments in the second half of the eighteenth century is not without interest, and it is hoped that the activity of Luke Hinde and the rest, as well as that of the minor London printers and the provincial printers of this first century which have not received notice will be dealt with in a later issue.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER

John Wesley and John Bousell

JOHN BOUSELL was a religious freelance of the eighteenth century whose writings Joseph Smith included in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*—though apparently with some misgivings. His main affinity was undoubtedly with the Friends, though the *General History of Norfolk* quoted by Smith mentioned that he “rendered himself very conspicuous in the Religious world, as he entertained opinions in a great measure peculiar to himself, and which bordered upon Fanaticism.” He was apparently a leather-cutter of Norwich, where he “lived a very abstemious life” for over twenty years, though he is also described as “of Deepham”. His wife appears to have been a member of the Society of Friends, dying on the 16th of the 11th month, 1780, her burial being recorded in the Norfolk Burial Registers.

After his wife's death, Bousell felt moved to a career of spiritual reform, the first object of his enthusiasm being the Baptists of Norwich, to whom in 1787 he addressed *The Ram's Horn Sounded Seven Times*, signing himself “John Bousell, a Disciple of Jesus Christ, and an Offspring of the Primitive Quakers.” His next publication widened its range. It was entitled

The Trumpet of the Lord Sounded upon the Mountains of those Merchants of Babylon, that have taken upon them to be Teachers to the Congregations under the name of Protestants, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists . . . With a Message from the Word of the Lord unto the People called Quakers, showing the primitive and present state of that Society : and an Epistle to the Methodists.

This pamphlet, published in 1789, sold by booksellers in London, Norwich and Yarmouth, was signed “John Bousell, of the City of Norwich, a Disciple of Jesus Christ, and a Dissenter from the People called Quakers,” a title by which he also described himself in later books.

It is with Bousell's *Trumpet of the Lord*, especially its “Epistle to the Methodists,” that we are now concerned. Having already tried unsuccessfully to reform Methodism personally, Bousell sent a copy of his pamphlet to John

Wesley himself, accompanied by a long and rather wearisome letter, of which it will be sufficient to give characteristic extracts :

October 14, 1789.

Dear Friend John Wesley,

With this I present thee with a pamphlet for thy perusal : if thou art persuaded it is dictated by the Master, receive it as from him. Look not at the instrument ; at the meanness of the vessel by which our heavenly Father conveys us food. I doubt not but thou hast been an instrument in thy Master's hand, of good unto the inhabitants of this nation, in awakening many thousands out of a state of lethargy : go on in the name of the Lord, and may his blessing attend thee, and the Angel of his presence encamp round about thee, and accompany thee through this vale of tears ! And, when thy earthly habitation of clay shall be dissolved, may thy soul be translated into those regions of immortal bliss, where the morning stars sing together, and the Sons of God shout aloud for joy !

I am free to inform thee, my friend, that from my childhood I have been seeking a city called Jerusalem. . . . O that I might gain an entrance in at the gate of the Holy City, . . . and eat of the heavenly fruit of paradise, and live for evermore ! And may thou, my friend, partake with me, may we drink together of the streams of that pure river which proceedeth from the throne of God, clear as crystal ! . . . And may thou, my ancient friend,¹ for whom I feel a sincere regard, pray unto the Lord the fountain of light and wisdom, to direct thy steps in righteousness. . . . May the Lord anoint thy head with holy oil, and cause thy cup to run over ; . . . may my God teach thy hands to war, and thy fingers to fight against the enemies of his holy kingdom : and may thou be instrumental in his hands, in bringing the children of men unto the mountain of the Lord. . . .

If mankind were to hear and obey the voice of the Spirit of God, they need not the teachings of men. If the sheep of the Lord's pasture hearken and obey the voice of the good Shepherd and follow him ; he will lead them into the green pastures . . .

I write not these things, my friend, under an apprehension thou art a stranger unto them, but to stir up the gift of God in thee that thou mayest be exercised under the influence of this divine gift, in forming a people that may live to the praise and glory of God. Remember, the great Apostle Paul saw that after his departure, grievous wolves would creep in, not sparing the flock. O that all who profess themselves Ministers of Christ might move under the constraining influence of pure disinterested love ! . . . In that love that is without dissimulation, I salute thee, and bid thee farewell in the Lord, a traveller for the prosperity of Sion,

John Bausell.²

¹ Wesley was then eighty-six.

² So spelt in *Arminian Magazine*, 1792, where this letter is given in full.

This rather wordy introduction leads Bousell to what seems to have been the main point of his letter, enshrined in the postscript :

P.S. I am at present separated from all Society. I can see no people I can join in religious fellowship with. I have had two meetings with thy people at North Walsham to comfort ; but was refused the like opportunity last week. The excuse my friend C—— made was, it was contrary to thy Rules. I hope thou makest no Rules contrary to the Gospel Rule, to do by others as thou wouldst be done unto : I hope better things of thee. I attempted this summer to speak after the Minister had done in the Tabernacle at London, but they pulled me down. I write these things that thou mayest be instrumental in promoting a more noble liberal conduct among thy people.¹

I should be glad to see thee with any of thy friends, and if thou feel freedom to have a meeting at my house, it is open to receive thee : and if thou conclude upon it, please to let me know, and I will by divine permission give notice of it next week. I have thought, if thou and those that minister in the word and doctrine among thy people wait upon God to be endued with wisdom and power from him to feed the flock, his blessing will attend you ; but if the Preachers move in their own will and wisdom, the Lord will set them aside, and raise up others to bear testimony to his great power, goodness and love ; for he will have a people that shall worship him under the influence of his own Spirit. These he will own with his presence. Those that honour God he will honour.

John Wesley was usually a man of few words, and in a few words he answered Bousell, prudentially ignoring both complaints and invitation. He replied :

I believe what you say, or write, proceeds from a real desire to promote the glory of God by the salvation of men : Therefore I take in good part all you say, and thank you for your letter to me. Your advice is good as to the substance of it ; little circumstances I do not contend for.

I likewise approve the exhortation, in your printed Treatise, to the people called Methodists. It is quite consistent with what I am saying to them day by day, in private as well as in public : A great number of them have the form of godliness ; but I am jealous over them for fear they should stop there, and imagine they are safe in the form without the power. " In earth, in paradise, in heaven, our all in all is love." Without this we know all religion is a shadow. The Lord fire your heart with this ! So prays

Your affectionate brother,

J. Wesley

¹ Bousell was not then aware that Wesley had no control over Whitefield's Tabernacle in London.

This correspondence was apparently prepared by Wesley himself for publication in his *Arminian Magazine*, though it did not appear there until 1792, after his death. In the number for August of that year a short extract from Bousell's *Epistle to the Methodists* was given, concluding :

Brethren, I know but little of you, but have sometimes found love in my heart toward you. It is in that love that I now write these things. I must now leave you to the Lord.

A foot-note explained that "This was written several years ago; since that time the Author has been more acquainted with the people called Methodists." Just how well he came to know Methodism we cannot say. Certainly the Methodists of to-day do not recall the name of John Bousell, and when the Standard Edition of *The Letters of John Wesley* was in preparation this correspondence was strangely overlooked.

FRANK BAKER

A contemporary Friend's views on John Wesley are illustrated in the Rev. Frank Baker's article, entitled *John Wesley and a Quaker mystic* [Richard Freeman], in the September, 1948, issue of the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vol. 26, pt. 7, 114-18. "Copies of Queries sent by R. Freeman of Yeovil to John Wesley, with the Answers, 1779. Literatim & Verbatim," the document there reproduced, was drawn up by Morris Birkbeck, and is now in Friends' Reference Library. According to Birkbeck's commentary on the correspondence, Richard Freeman was "a moral man, but full of strange Whimsies" and much affected by his reading of mystical writers. This is supported by the character of the twenty queries, to which Wesley sent an answer in full, with intent (according to Birkbeck) to gain a fictitious victory over the Quakers. In Birkbeck's words [Wesley's] "hatred of the Quakers was the motive . . . because the most respectable, truly religious & valuable part of his Converts frequently left him & joined to them (as he has been known *weakly* to acknowledge)."

Recent Publications

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series. Charles II : Addenda. Preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by F. H. Blackburne Daniell and Francis Bickley. London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1939 (but not available till 1947). Pp. xxiv, 725.

It includes a few fresh items of Quaker interest other than Mary Pennington's letter (pp. 307-8) of 14.iii.1670. The following are some extracts from the relevant *Calendar* entries.

Jan. 13, 1666, Kendal. Daniel Fleming to Joseph Williamson.
. . . . The Justices of both counties had a meeting at Penrith a little before Christmas, where, amongst other things, it was agreed that all Nonconformists, as well Papists as others, should be proceeded against on the statutes for 12*d.* a Sunday for not repairing to church, which whether it will be at this time convenient so to act is by some made a query and whether we should not rather now proceed against them for being at conventicles, since from thence we may receive the suddenest mischief, the Quakers having of late some of their meetings in the night as well as in the day and they now growing somewhat bolder than ordinary, since Mrs. Fell had the liberty (notwithstanding her being convict of a *premunire*) to live at home. To give some check to their present confidence, my cousin Brathwaite of Ambleside and I have lately convicted several for their unlawful meetings and, if they persist, we shall proceed further against them. . . . (*S. P. Dom., Car. II, 441, no. 1*) (p. 151)

The 14th of the 3rd month [May 14], 1670. Mary Pennington to her brother

I have not written to thee for so long because I expected thee home suddenly and therefore my mother thought when thou camest home to dispose of thee at London and that I should go with thee to London to Jean Bullock's [see *Short Journal*, p. 305. ED.], but, seeing thy coming is so uncertain, I think I shall go to London shortly. My mother was at London about a fortnight ago and heard from one from Barbados that he thought my brother Isaac might come home within three or four weeks. My father went to Reading not long since to visit friends in prison, but the gaoler, hearing who it was, sent to William A[r]morer, who sent for him and tendered him the oath and so sent him to prison. My mother has not yet been to see him and does not know whether she may not be imprisoned also and therefore thinks to tarry till we are disposed of. (Desiring to be remembered to W.P and P.F.) E.W. and M.S. desire their love to thee and W.P. and P.F.

Postscript.—Since writing hereof J. Giger came from my father, who was again tendered the oath at the Abingdon sessions, notwithstanding his pleading there was no occasion of tendering it to him, seeing he came to visit friends. (*S.P. Dom., Car. II.* 441, no. 70) (pp. 307-8)

[Compare with letter of 16.v.1670 from Gulielma Springett to William Penn, printed (with Henry J. Cadbury's notes) in *Gulielma*; by L. V. Hodgkin, which describes the situation two months later.]

[1670?] A paper lately given by a Quaker to the Lord Mayor of York exhorting York and England to repentance. Except they repent, what is determined by the Lord against them will be accomplished. (*S.P. Dom., Car. II.* 441, no. 74) (p. 320)

Dec. 31, 1671. Notes by Williamson about meetings.

Vincent comes in to-day, as was said, and they two are weary of serving (?) since it comes to no more. The Quakers in Devonshire House met too. And on the other side of the water at Wadworth's one preached. . . . No disturbance at all of meetings.

N.B. Let not Lord Arlington nor the King name any names of who went in. Certainly, certainly some about the King endeavour to make him cold or indifferent in this matter of suppressing meetings, and in order to confusion it must needs be so. . . .

Quakers.—Appoint certain persons in their meetings to observe who speaks and send for them and offering the oaths let them be prosecuted (?) and so from time to time. This, if it cures (?) not the meetings wholly, at least does what were necessary to (?) show the world we allow them no more than other Dissenters. A few pounds given shall bring us the names, etc. . . . (2 pages. *S.P. Dom., Car. II.* 441, no. 87) (pp. 341-42)

[undated, *temp.* Car. II] Elizabeth Rone to the King.

Two angels waited on thee to lead thee out of Sodom that night that thou was at thy theatre to see the play, *No fool to the old fool*. The players are less abominable than Baal's priests of any sort for ministers. Set up in man's will and time is the great image. The Pope is the golden head, the Quakers the feet, part iron and part clay, but the little stone cut out of this mountain of worship is now striking at the feet to divide the strong from the broken, and the downfall of the image is at hand. . . . I am grieved that thou . . . should not grant my request to have that slandered yet harmless man John Taylor and that poor abused man Thomas Boyce and some of the heads of the Quakers into thy presence that thou mayest hear both and be a just judge between them. . . . If your Majesty did but hear that poor despised man speak for himself, you would be troubled that you have suffered him to lie so long in prison, for he is as good at interpreting dreams as Joseph. The Quakers have so abused the single language with double dealing that the true people of God are almost ashamed to use it. (*S.P. Dom., Car. II.* 444, no. 4) (p. 513)

The first minute book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, 1669-1719. Edited by Harold W. Brace. Volume I, 1669-1689. Printed for the Lincoln Record Society by the Hereford Times Limited, Hereford, 1948. Pp. xxiii, 149. (*Lincoln Record Society publications, vol. 38.*)

The Lincoln Record Society is to be congratulated on the decision to sponsor the printing of the first minute book of the former Gainsborough (North West Lincolnshire) Monthly Meeting, thus making available to students everywhere the main record of a typical Friends' country meeting for business in the last generation of the seventeenth century.

From footnote references in the introduction it appears that the work is planned to occupy three volumes, with an appendix of documents in volume three. If such is the plan, it might have been more convenient to include a comprehensive index in the last volume and not index each volume separately. This first volume covers the first twenty years (1669-1689) and includes an introduction describing the manuscript, giving a sketch of the early history of the Monthly Meeting and introducing the various fields of activity covered by the minutes. The text has been printed in full and as it stands, vagaries of spelling and use of capitals have been retained; abbreviations (if there were any) have been extended. The minutes display no novel characteristics, but it is perhaps noteworthy that the 27.iii.1675, London epistle on discipline has been copied into the minute book (printed on pp. 41-46, where it is dated 27.vii.1675), although for some reason John Whitehead's name has been omitted from the signatures to the Postscript. There are two indexes—of persons and places, and of subjects—and a useful line-map of the district.

This is not the first early minute book which has appeared in print, and it is to be hoped that local societies will feel encouraged to undertake to make available the similar records for their areas, which together would present a more complete picture of church government and social activity than is possible for any other "nonconforming" body in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

James II. By F. C. Turner. London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948. Pp. 544; port.

This biography is of interest to Friends as a picture of the last Stuart king of England, and of his "extraordinary, indeed inexplicable, friendship with William Penn" (p. 309). The author's view seems to ignore the hopes Penn must have cherished to influence James for good, when he says: "Penn was no doubt attracted to James by his profession of a tolerant spirit. What in Penn attracted

James is more difficult to see, as it is in that other great Christian who enjoyed James's friendship, Bishop Ken ; all he had to say on the subject was that he enjoyed Penn's conversation, of which, indeed, that very great Englishman was profuse. We can almost certainly trace to Penn's influence James's rather belated kindness to the Quakers . . ."

Mr. Turner follows all authorities in dismissing the possibility of the English Jacobite spy " M. Pen " being William Penn : " The style of the report is as different from William Penn's as it could possibly be " (p. 472 note).

Travelling with Thomas Story : the life and travels of an eighteenth-century Quaker. By Emily E. Moore. With an introduction by Rufus M. Jones. Letchworth Printers Ltd., 1947. Pp. xxi, 320 ; 32 plates. 15s.

Two centuries after the publication of Story's folio *Journal* we welcome this attempt " to abbreviate, condense and adapt the *Journal* for the interest of the general reader . . . to reach as many as possible with at least a portion of his message, and encourage some to study the whole *Journal* with all its riches." The omissions lie mainly in the lengthy discourses, records of dates and places of meetings and names of hosts. These omissions the antiquarian and theological historian alone will regret. The result is a well-presented and readable narrative of the life of one of the outstanding Friends of England and Pennsylvania in the first half of the eighteenth century. The book is fortunate to have so many illustrations, although their connection with the text is sometimes tenuous.

A PAPER on *Brighouse Quaker meeting* by H. Travis Clay, M.A., given before the Halifax Antiquarian Society in February last has now been published in the Society's *Transactions* (1948, pp. 19-25). Based on Friends' records and other local sources, the article picks out the main persons and the highlights of development of Quakerism in this corner of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The faith of Robert Barclay : an essay on his life and on the relevance of his thought for today, illustrated by extracts from his writings. By J. Philip Wragge. London, Friends Home Service Committee, 1948. Pp. 153. 5s.

This little volume, written and compiled to mark the tercentenary of the birth of Robert Barclay, is divided into two parts. The second part, which is preceded by a useful detailed table of contents, is composed of selections from Barclay's writings, divided under the headings, Christian faith and thought ; The church : its ministry,

worship, government and sacraments; and Christian practice. The extracts are arranged in the order of the *Apology*, although there do appear paragraphs from other works, notably *The anarchy of the Ranters*, and a final lively letter from Barclay to the Princess Elizabeth, dated from Ury, December 28, 1677, reprinted from *Reliquiae Barclaianae*. Part I consists of an outline and sketch of Barclay's life, and two essays: "Barclay and Keith" (in which Philip Wragge draws on his researches to discuss the debt of the Apologist to his fellow countryman), and "The message of Barclay for today."

The Relations between the Society of Friends and Early Methodism, by Frank Baker, M.A., B.D., is an essay which won first prize in 1948 among essays submitted for the George Eayrs prize. Part of it has already appeared in *The London Quarterly* for Oct., 1948, and it will be completed in April. It will then be published separately as a pamphlet of 24 large 8vo pages. This annual prize, which the author has several times won, was instituted in 1936 to encourage research in Methodist history.

Our denominational historical work is often concerned with internal views of one body only. This study is a valuable contribution from an unusual aspect.

In 1739 the original reputation of Quakerism for enthusiasm, though no longer sustained by the Society, caused some clergy to condemn the Methodists as a new brand of Quakerism. There was at first a warm support among Friends for Methodist preachers, especially when, as often, they suffered persecution.

Co-operation was later exchanged for rivalry, and there was vigorous controversy between the writers of the two bodies. This was in part due to doctrinal differences, but was fostered, in Friends at least, by the loss of members from Quakerism to Methodism, though there were also Methodists who became Friends.

In spite of sharp passages here and there, the two societies settled down before the end of the eighteenth century to a kind of wary respect for each other's good qualities, combined with anxiety about losing strength to the other body. These matters are fully and interestingly gone into by the author, with full references to documents and to personalities. Wesley's objections to Barclay's *Apology*, and other particular controversies, are followed out in some detail. The last few pages assess the mutual influence and indebtedness of Friends and Methodists, which are shown to have been considerable.

The concern for social justice in the Puritan Revolution.
By W. Schenk. London, Longmans, Green, 1948. Pp. xi,
180. 15s.

Dr. Schenk has ranged through the scattered works of Levellers, Diggers, Quakers and Fifth Monarchy men to gather material for his

interesting survey and balanced assessment of the views on society of many of the social reformers of the mid-seventeenth century. Chapter seven, "The first Quakers," follows a chapter on Gerrard Winstanley, and precedes one on the Fifth Monarchy movement. In his reading of Friends' pamphlets the author was much impressed by the intensity of their direct experience of God.

Dr. Schenk is of the opinion that early Friends' belief in social equality has been minimized in modern times, and that it must be stressed sufficiently if what they had to say is to be fully appreciated. The author picks out threads from many writings to show Friends' interest in the economic, legal and social welfare of the poor, and finds many points of kinship with the Levellers. For him, plain language, refusal of hat honour, and the rest, fall into place as symbols of the essential equality of man.

Penington is quoted as an example of how Friends considered the Parliamentary victories to be divine retribution on the royal government for an overbearing attitude in matters of conscience. The Puritans in power were likewise oppressive, so there were not wanting some to prophesy the overthrow of the republican authority and who were prepared to see in the Restoration a new divine intervention. But Friends were not prepared (like the militant millenarians) to pursue righteous ends by unrighteous means—"the Quakers' pacifism . . . was their specific reaction to the general disappointment with the results of the Revolution."

This chapter brings no new material to light, but it is a valuable new presentation and re-interpretation of Friends' views on social justice in an appropriate context.

A short history of Friends in Scotland. By William Marwick. 1948. 2s.

This useful account by the Clerk of Scotland General Meeting is published to mark the holding of London Yearly Meeting in Edinburgh in 1948, and the tercentenary of Robert Barclay's birth, and includes a short life and estimate of the work of Barclay.

The Taylors of Ongar

ALTHOUGH it was only recently that Friends first appointed a woman as clerk of London Yearly Meeting, they never have had the unemancipated attitude of Jane Taylor the author of children's poems.¹ Her view is revealed in *The Taylors of Ongar*²:

¹ Jane Taylor, 1783-1824, with her sister Ann, afterwards Mrs. Gilbert, joint author of children's poems—among them "Twinkle, twinkle, little Star." *D.N.B.*

² *The Taylors of Ongar: portrait of an English family of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.* Drawn from family records by the great-great niece of Ann and Jane Taylor, Doris Mary Armitage. Cambridge, W. Heffer & Sons, 1939. pp. xviii, 252.

“Fluent and ready for controversy with her pen, she was rather chary of speech and not easily drawn out, but when occasion arose, she was equal to it. ‘What do you consider the principal defect in the Quaker system?’ was rather formally demanded of her, in a large company in Sheffield. ‘Expecting women to speak in public, sir,’ came the prompt reply” (p. 156).

The volume contains also a note on the Colchester manufacture of “says” and baize about 1800, “the former a wool serge used abroad by the ‘religious’ for shirts and by English Quakers for aprons, relic of the ‘bay and say’ manufacture brought by eleven Dutch families flying from the Alva persecution in 1570” (p. 35).

On pages 165-166 is printed a letter from Darton and Harvey to Isaac Taylor, the father of Ann and Jane, dated London, 1.vi.1803, concerning the poems the girls had submitted to *The Minor’s Pocket Book*, a gift book and diary which was issued for about thirty years up to 1825. By the kindness of Lawrence Darton of Burford, who has studied the history of the firm and the books it published, we have been able to examine some volumes of this elegant little annual publication, now very rare.

Fiction

REFERENCES to Quakers in fiction mostly pass unrecorded, but they shed valuable light on contemporary views on Friends and cannot be disregarded by the social historian. Two examples have come to our notice within the past year which may be of interest to readers.

Angela Thirkell’s *Coronation summer* was published in 1937¹ and purports to contain the diary of a young lady in 1837, the coronation year of Queen Victoria. In London for the festivities, she was taken for a stroll in the Park while the royal party were in the Abbey; the narrative continues: “We met several of our acquaintance here, including a Quaker lady from Norwich, who presented us to Miss Caroline Fox, a lively lady of the same persuasion. I have ever been friendly towards the Quakers, who abound near my father’s seat in Norfolk. They seem to be a useful and philanthropic sort of persons, and as for their religion, I have been brought up an Anglican and can tolerate any form of worship which does not attempt to foment discord among the lower orders. As the Quakers have no lower orders to speak of, being wonderfully blessed with the good things of this world, they can never constitute a menace to society.”

In 1945 Eliza Pearl Shippen issued her Pennsylvania University doctoral dissertation on the novelist “Eugenia de Acton” (the pen-name of Alethea Brereton, wife of Augustus Towle Lewis, b. 1749, d. 1827).² Mr. and Mrs. Lewis went to Philadelphia soon after their marriage in June 1788, but returned to England in the

¹ Thirkell, Angela, *Coronation summer*. Oxford University Press, 1937. The quotation is from pp. 153-54.

² Shippen, Eliza Pearl, *Eugenia de Acton (1749-1827)*. Philadelphia, 1945. pp. viii, 180, 1 plate. The following account is based on this work.

following year after a "fruitless seeking of fortune in America." It seems probable that Mrs. Lewis came into contact with Friends in Pennsylvania, for her novel *A tale without a title* is laid partly in Philadelphia, where the heroine (Laura) became acquainted with some Quakers. "In *their* company and conversation she generally found her mind tranquillized; the simplicity of their habits was a pleasing relief to the bustle which constantly prevailed in the house of Mr. Belcroft, where it was erroneously believed that happiness could only be produced by a tumult of what is misnamed pleasure."¹ Friends were also commended for not being officious "in making proselytes to their own opinion," and the "spirituality of their worship" is considered superior to religion based on outward forms.²

In *Vicissitudes in genteel life*, issued in 1794, Mrs. Lewis drew a contrast between Mrs. Stanhope and her niece, Maria Lewis, two Quaker ladies, and "the affectation and snobbishness of two ladies of fashion." One character goes so far as to say: "There are good and bad members of all societies, but when a Quaker acts up to his profession, I think he draws very near to a primitive Christian."³ A clergyman declares: "Mrs. Stanhope is of that sect which deserves respect from both church and state; as the general tenor of their principles forbid them to disturb either."⁴

Dr. Williams's Library in Gordon Square owes more probably to the forward policy of its trustees over the centuries than to the initial bequest of the founder in 1716. It is now one of the foremost repositories of material on nonconformist history, as well as a valuable lending library of religious literature available to readers in all parts of the country. The inaugural lecture by Stephen Kay Jones, *Dr. Williams and his library*, to the newly formed Friends of Dr. Williams's Library gives an interesting survey of the history of the foundation from earliest times to the present day.

Periodicals Exchanged

Receipt of the following periodicals is gratefully acknowledged:—

Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Association (Philadelphia).
Wesley Historical Society, Proceedings.
Presbyterian Historical Society, Proceedings.
Presbyterian Historical Journal (U.S.A.).
Unitarian Historical Society, Transactions.
Mennonite Quarterly Review (U.S.A.).
Institute of Historical Research, Bulletin.

¹ *A tale without a title*, I, 204.

² *Ibid.*, II, 130.

³ *Vicissitudes in genteel life*, I, 246.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 195.

Researches in Progress or Recently Completed

Norman C. Hunt of 54 The Westering, Meadowlands, Cambridge has drawn upon MS. sources at Friends House concerning the efforts (in and out of Parliament) of Friends between 1730 and 1742 to promote legislation for tithe relief. His thesis on "Pressure groups in the age of Walpole, with particular reference to the relationship between Dissent and politics" is to be presented for the Ph.D. degree in the University of Cambridge. Still in progress.

Frank Thistlethwaite, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge, is engaged on research into Anglo-American relations between 1830 and 1860. He is studying the relations between the British and American anti-slavery and kindred reform movements, including the activities of Friends.

William Arnold Lloyd's dissertation for the Ph.D. degree in the University of Cambridge is noticed in the 1946-1947 issue of *Abstracts of dissertations approved for . . . degrees in the University of Cambridge* (published 1948, pp. 35-36). The thesis is entitled "The 'discipline' of the Society of Friends as a regular national body, with particular reference to church government, based on a study of the epistles of the Yearly Meetings, 1669-1738." It has been accepted for publication by Messrs. Longman.

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20. THE SWARTHMORE DOCUMENTS IN AMERICA. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D. 1940. 90 pp. Texts, or reference if previously printed, of 35 seventeenth century MSS., originally in the Swarthmore Hall collection. 5s., post 2½d.

21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright and his books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills, M.A. 1946. 24 pages. 2s., post 1d.

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