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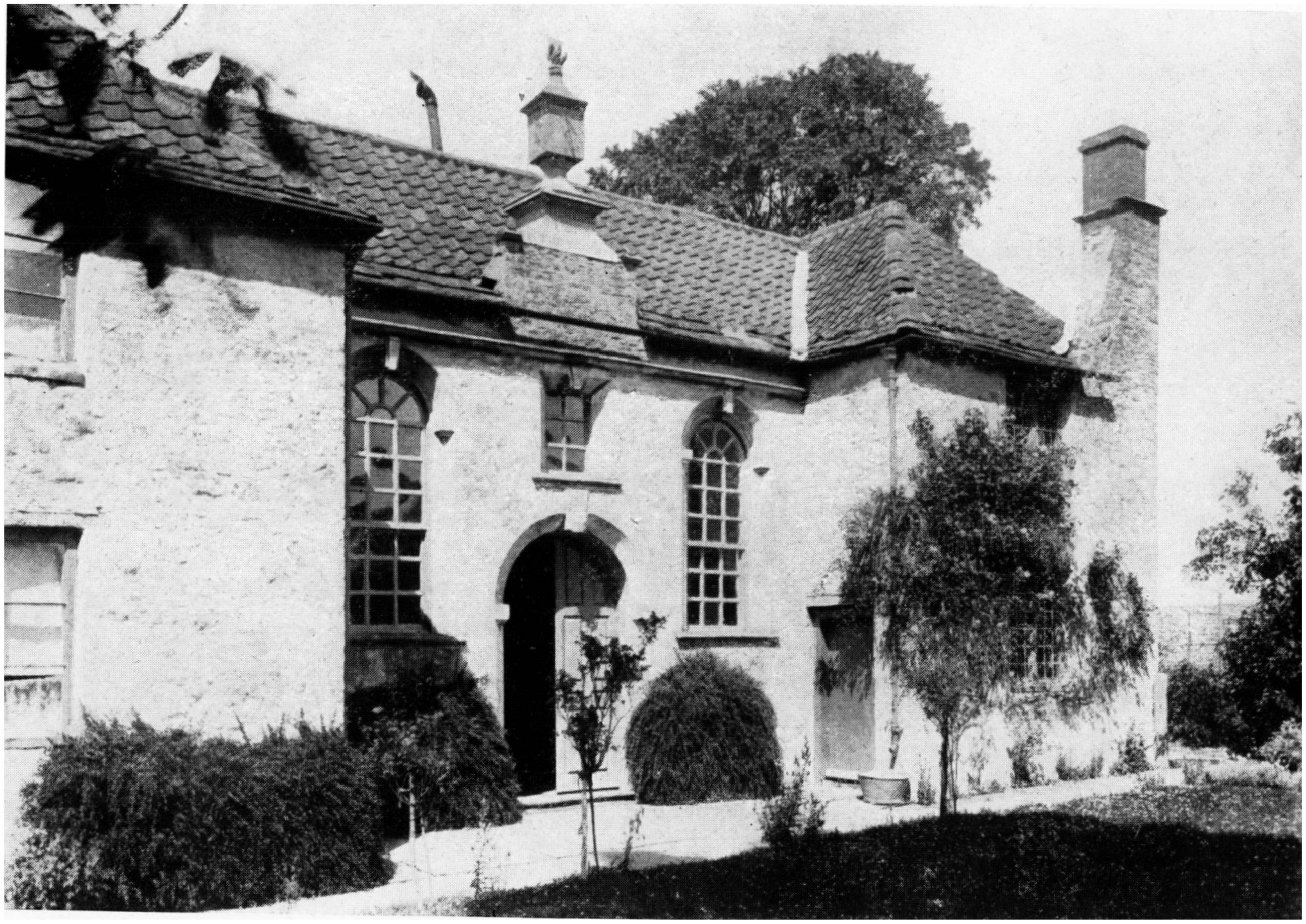

CLAVERHAM MEETING HOUSE IN 1903

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Care for Old Meeting Houses

WE hear a great deal nowadays of the decaying monuments of the past—country houses, and churches particularly, and the necessity and difficulty of preserving them from the inevitable disintegration of neglect due to disuse and lack of funds.

The Church of England is raising a four million pound fund for the buildings in her care: the old manor houses and their like are being handed over, one after another, to the care of The National Trust as their owners, who are often the descendants of the original owners and builders in past centuries, become unable to bear the burden of upkeep and taxation.

To a lesser degree, though no less extensively, the Society of Friends is in danger of losing some of its most cherished possessions—in fact some have already passed from its possession and others are on the verge of disintegration.

The Society of Friends has a wonderful heritage in brick, stone and timber symbolic of its way of life and history from the earliest days, now entering its fourth century. They are mostly little "buildings of endearing simplicity", often placed inconspicuously in country towns and villages, and sometimes sited with an unerring eye for beauty and outlook.

Some, in fact many, have been tended with loving care and are in use today in the same condition as when George Fox and his contemporaries visited them—others alas have been allowed to fall into decay through migration, lack of the

necessary funds in consequence and some, it must be admitted, through lack of interest. Can the Society of Friends afford to lose these chapters of history and reminders of their earliest days and struggles?

Jordans, Brant Broughton and Brigflatts, among numerous others, are a joy to visit—one cannot but be aware of the spirit of Quakerism enshrined within their walls, though the buildings are plain and unconsecrated, except by the use to which they are put.

As a Society we rather pride ourselves on our lack of romanticism and our superiority to the attachment of any sentimental value to mere monuments or buildings, but may not this be sometimes to avoid a responsibility we really should not shirk?

William Alexander early last century, when writing his fascinating book on York Meeting House, exhorted Friends to the proper upkeep of their meeting houses by regretting

> that a number of individuals, who frequent any place of worship, should live in good houses themselves, and in easy, if not affluent circumstances, and yet suffer the place in which they assemble to pay their adorations to the Supreme Being the Giver of all they possess, to lie disregarded. Would it not be well for such individuals to consider, why their place of worship is suffered to remain from year to year, perhaps not actually out of repair, but yet in a condition which they would deem a disparagement to them, in their respective dwelling? . . . "Is it a time for you, O ye! to dwell in your ceiled houses, and the House of the Lord lie waste?"[1]

In the year 1700, according to the late Harry Hodgson, an advice was issued "that old property should be taken care of." Are we as a society really concerned in this respect? It is easy to criticise, but much more difficult to know what to do for the best and how to do it. In the first place upkeep is essential, but when the ways and means are lacking rapid decay sets in and the building soon becomes beyond simple first-aid repair—what can then be done is the next and burning question and, quite frankly, I have very little to suggest, except to urge taking time by the forelock and not neglecting repairs and upkeep as and when necessary.

[1] Observations on . . . Meeting Houses . . . 1820, p. 23.

Some meeting houses have passed to other uses, secular or religious, and though this probably means dismantling the familiar minister's gallery (which some may not regret), it is better so than letting them rot.

An old building put to a new use is better than a ruin, and when this occurs a simple commemorative tablet recording the change is a historical record of value to the building and its new users and owners. How many "Quaker Lanes" and "Friends Roads" are there up and down the country, sometimes without a building to justify them, though there must have been originally?

I had occasion recently to visit a seventeenth century meeting house which had not long before been disposed of because of the lack of funds and local Friends to maintain it or undertake repairs when the fabric became dangerous. This visit was one of the most depressing I have ever paid. The old fabric was patched with corrugated iron where the holes were too big and the wooden floor had been taken up—worse than this was the Burial Ground, which had become part builder's yard and part chicken run! This is not an isolated case. It might have happened to our oldest meeting house, at Hertford (1670), but was fortunately prevented by the foresight and generosity of Friends, assisted by contributions from the Pilgrim Trust which made it possible to do the job properly.

The builder employed gave it as his opinion that in a year or two's time it would have been too late, as in the case of Claverham; where the very great expense is prohibitive, though, as will be seen by the photograph, Claverham meeting house is a building of very considerable architectural merit, as well as historic interest, first erected in 1673 and rebuilt 1729.[1]

Since writing the above I have been approached by a

[1] The land on which Claverham meeting house stands was given to Friends in 1673 by the will of Robert Dawson of Yatton. Of the original building only some foundation stones remain. This was replaced in 1729 by the present structure (illustrated here from a fifty-year-old photograph).

The place was visited by early travelling Friends—among others by William Gibson, Charles Marshall, William Penn and Thomas Story, and it continued a strong meeting into the nineteenth century, but, since a new meeting house was provided at Yatton nearby, the meetings held there have been few, and the structure has fallen into decay.

A short history, *Claverham Meeting: Stronghold of Quakerism in Somerset, 1673-1874*; by Elizabeth Payne Sholl, was published in 1935 (London, Headley Brothers, pp. 16, 2 plates).

Member of the Churches Four Million Pound Fund Committee for information and particulars of any of our old Meeting Houses in need of repairs and of contributions to the wherewithal to carry them out.

HUBERT LIDBETTER

In view of the position outlined above we surely need to take steps to secure the precious heritage of ancient and historic meeting houses from any further loss which can rightly be prevented. This involves both vigilance and timely action by individuals and also some provision by which as a Society we may be kept informed of what is happening and be able to have helpful advice and, in some cases, secure financial assistance to ensure the preservation of buildings for whose care no local resources are available. For this purpose it would be desirable, ultimately, to have a central committee set up by Yearly Meeting, or the Meeting for Sufferings, but in the meantime it might be a valuable service for the Friends' Historical Society to set up a committee of its own, which would seek to have the assistance of interested Friends and correspondents in different parts of the country.

But valuable as such a central committee might be, it must not take the burden of duty from the shoulders of individual members who, if they attend their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings regularly, may have a more important service to perform to prevent the alienation or destruction of historic meeting houses.

We must keep in mind the excellent advice given to us by Yearly Meeting on the need for caution regarding the sale of property and the desirability in every case of Monthly and Preparative Meetings consulting their Quarterly Meeting before deciding to sell, or let on long lease, an old meeting house. (See *Church Government*—Part III of *Christian Discipline*, pages 126-27). The vigilance and active interest even of a few Friends may thus secure a fresh examination of the circumstances in each case. There is a well-known instance in which a single Friend, by his persistent and earnest opposition to the proposal for the closing and disposing of Whitby Meeting House, was able to get the Quarterly Meeting to withhold the consent which it would otherwise have given. Some three generations have passed away and the old meeting house is still in use.

We need a more widespread care and interest amongst Friends generally in the heritage of the past, and our duty to preserve it for days to come. Apart from recourse to the generosity of individual Friends, which sometimes may be necessary and desirable, there are still trust funds available of which even local Friends may have little knowledge, and other Friends still less, which might make all the difference in saving an old meeting house from disappearance. A survey of such funds seems to be urgently required.

In these and other ways there lies a great opportunity before our members, in which the Friends' Historical Society may play an appropriate part.

T. EDMUND HARVEY

Accounts for the year 1951 and *Journal*, vol. xliii

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward	276	12	8	*Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, vol. xliii, parts 1 and 2 ..	133	14	6
Subscriptions	113	17	9	Stationery	13	17	10
Sales	8	11	4	Expenses, including postage	22	8	2
Interest on Post Office Savings Account ..	2	11	3	Equipment for storage of stock of *Journals* ..	27	3	6
				Fleming, for film strip of George Fox's Bible	3	3	0
				Balance carried forward to 1952	201	6	0
	£401	13	0		£401	13	0

Examined with the books of the Society and found correct.

4.xi.1952 (Signed) BASIL G. BURTON.

Martha Jackson's Minority

Yorkshire Trustees' Accounts—1722-1728

By BEATRICE SAXON SNELL

MARTHA JACKSON[1] was the only daughter of Samuel Jackson of Armley Heights, near Leeds, by his wife, Mary Smith, of Balby. Samuel was a Quaker clothier and yeoman farmer, who died early in May, 1722. His wife died in the following January, and Martha, then a girl of 13, was left to the guardianship of her uncles, John Jackson and Thomas Smith.

The papers here described, consist of the accounts of their guardianship which they handed over to Martha when she attained the age of 21. Two years later she married William Whitelock of Sheepscar, Leeds. She was the great-great-grandmother of Marian Fry Pease,[2] who found the papers in a seventeenth-century oak desk belonging to her family, and presented them to the Library at Friends House. They are of great social, economic and philological interest, but I propose to limit this article to matters that have some relation to Quaker ways and testimonies.

Most of the receipts and accounts are on small scraps of paper, done up neatly in little brown paper packets for each year, and endorsed in the beautifully clear writing of John Jackson. The paper is very tough and strong and it was probably paper of this kind which George Fox's step-daughters bought to pack the parcels they sent to him.[3]

Samuel Jackson was a typical Quaker of the early eighteenth century; an independent artisan and yeoman who could afford to employ a little labour. He bought yarn, sent it away to be spun, and dyed and wove it himself with the assistance of his mother's brother, "Uncle Samuel Crowther", to whom he paid £5 a year board wages. The inventory of his goods which his brother John made in order that they might be valued by four Friends, has the following entries:

[1] Born 10.xii.1708–9 (Feb. 10, 1709); married (1732) William Whitelock.

[2] Thomas Pease (father of Marian Fry Pease) was son of Thomas Benson Pease and Martha Whitelock (married 1814); Martha's father, Isaac Whitelock (b. 1742), was the son of William Whitelock and Martha Jackson.

[3] See Sarah Fell's *Account Book*.

In the house Garrat
Wooll there of all sorts to the value of .. .. £14 : 0 : 0
In the Work Chambr.
a pr of looms 30/- another pair looms etc 20/- .. 2 : 10 : 0
bartrees & dammy pins 6/8 8 pr of Gears
6 li : 0 : 0 .. .. 6 : 6 : 8
horn wheell & Skeps etc 2/- .. .. .. 0 : 2 : 0
One Cloth in the Looms .. .. 9 : 10 : 0
One Cloth in Yarn .. .. 9 : 10 : 0
One Cloth at the Spinners .. .. .. 7 : 10 : 0

The "bartrees", "dammy pins", "horn wheel" and "gears" are tools of the trade which I have not been able to identify. Perhaps some Friend weaver could oblige? In east Lancashire a small loom to weave handkerchiefs used to be called a "dandy"; "dammy" might be a variant of this.

"Skeps" are large wicker baskets to hold clothes, or, in this case, the finished cloth, or the yarn coming from and wool going to the spinners. The theatrical profession still uses the term. The cloth was dressed to remove any knots, and the process was known as "burling"; there was a "burling-board" in the scullery garret. In the yard there were "2 pair of cloth tenters" (wooden frameworks for stretching the cloth) at 30s. each.

There is a very long bill for dyeing materials supplied between 1719 and 1722; the three following extracts cover all the substances mentioned.

1721
July 6th 41 fustle, 3 Logwood, 3 Allm, 1 Sanders,
2 galls. Rape .. .. 0 : 10 : 3
Aug 21st 2 galls. Rape, 1 Elgauls, 4 Redwood .. 0 : 6 : 10
1722
June 4th 2 galls. Rape, 4 Sanders, 3 Madd. 1
Elgauls .. .. 0 : 9 : 8

I have not discovered what "Elgauls" or "Olgauls" are, possibly a corruption of "alcohol". "Madd" is madder, "Allm" alum, "Sanders" sandalwood and "fustle" a local form of "fustic" a yellow-wood for dyeing. An interesting fact about "logwood" and "redwood" is that they came at this time from Barbadoes and Jamaica, which have such strong Quaker connections. The dyes appear to be all of the red, yellow and brown tones; and this is corroborated by a long list of cloth sold; it is only made in cinnamon and various shades of drab; it must have taken a fine eye to distinguish between

"red", "redish" and "redly" drab, which all appear on the bill. The price per yard varied from 4s. 9d. to 7s. 6d. "superfine". The only colour mentioned in the many bills for Martha's clothes is black, and it is clear that the family were strict Quakers in dress, following the "silly, poor gospel" which roused such strong disapproval in Margaret Fell.

Samuel Jackson left an odd little note dated 1718 and headed "Uncle Crowther", which I transcribe in full.

Uncle Crowther

The 21st of August paid to him all his wages 1711 & from that time to this 21st of August 1713 is due to him 10 li.os.od & two years will be the 21st of August 1715 will be due to him 10 li.os.od. more which is 20 li.os.od. & 5 li 10s. that I borrowed of him makes 25 li 10s.

So far, so good. But now comes some mysterious arithmetic.

The 9th of 4th mo: 1712

2 Yrs & a quarter of Cloth at 5 × 8d pr Yrd Due	£26 : 3 : 3
& 2 Yrds at 7/- pr Yrd is in all × £1 : 6 : 9 ..	2 : 13 : 0
	28 : 16 : 3

Alowance for Ode Days X The 17th of 1st mo: 1718 Accounted with Uncle Crowther there remains due to him £14 : 6 : 3d.

It is not to be wondered that Samuel Jackson's careful brother and brother-in-law found this puzzling. "Uncle Crowther" insisted that the final sum of £14 6s. 3d. was due to him, and John Jackson, in a letter to Thomas Smith written in 1725, says that he "makes a great ado with me every time wee talk together and I have put him off from time to time ever Since I was over at thy house & told him thou wold Consult some friends at the next Quarterly Meeting & Send me a line or two about it, for I cold doe nothing of my Self but none comeing he Still weares me to write to thee again to Order him all or Some part of it; or else he will either goe to Law or Acquaint friends with it, So I desier yee to Consider further of it & acquaint Matty that we may doe Some thing to make him more easie." In order to help Thomas with the consultation John made a copy of "Samuel Crowther's Note & his Case", as follows:

THE CASE

1st There is a Note or a sort of an Account stated after an irregular manner ye ballance whereof as it is placed down in ye Acct. is

£14 : 6 : 3 but without being signed by the person judged to be the Debtor.

2dly Samuell Jackson deceased is adjudged was the person indebted in the Sum above.

3dly Samuell Jackson lived upwards of 3 yrs after the settleing ye above account so as it appears.

4thly The Creditor its said was boarded there about 2 Years at the said Samuell Jacksons after the settleing yt acct & in the life time of the said Sam : Jackson & no board wages paid for the time.

5thly The Widow of Samll Jackson who also is now deceased was spoke to in her life time about the said affair or Debt, & her Answer was that she believed if the Accompt was ballanced betwixt them there would be but little due to Samll Crowther the Creditor.

6thly Now the question is how must yee Guardians (of ye Daughter of ye said Samuell Jackson who is a Minor) Act in this Case to be safe, as the Law will justify ym & if the Creditors demands be recoverable by Law.

There is no indication of the answer given by the Friends to whom Thomas Smith put the problem; but in John Jackson's summarized accounts for 1725 there appears the following item: "4th Mo. 25th my Expenses in going from York to Armley to Setle an Accompt yt was left unballanced betwixt her late Father and Saml. Crowther. 0 : 2 : 6."

An interesting point in John Jackson's letter is the request that "Matty", who was only sixteen at this time, should be informed and consulted. It suggests that she was a level-headed and practical young woman, and shows a Quakerly respect for her. She was being trained to be a good housewife in a surprisingly modern manner; here is a receipt or "acquittance" given to her uncle Thomas Smith, and dated "December the 1st, 1724."

Recd of Thomas Smith for his Niece Martha Jackson dineing at my House for 7 weeks when she came to the pastry School the Sum of Seventeen Shillings 6d. } 17s. 6d.

per Geoffrey Mawhood

Thomas adds a scrupulous little note: "I have only charged 6/9 of this bill" (i.e. in his yearly statement to the other guardian) "it being the overplus of what she pays me by the Year." His charge per annum for her board and lodging was £8 and in 1725 when she stayed 10 weeks with John Jackson, he deducted 30s. John, equally scrupulous, when charging to Martha's account the interest on a debt of her father's which he repaid in 1725, adds: "John Jackson had

this money one quarter of a Year in his hands, so that only 30/- is charg'd to Matty's acct. for Interest." He had none of the modern doubts about "usury"; writing to Thomas Smith in 1728, he says:

> Now as to Cous. Matty Affair what I Recd & what I have Disburst, Since I was over at thy house, I have sent thee an Acct. Sett down below, & what Money I have in my hand thou may let me know which way I shall dispose of itt; for I wold have itt be Improveing what's more than She may have Occation for: For what will be left in my hand I shall be very willing to Allow Interest for from a Settled time, This being what's Needfull at present.

There were several sub-tenants beside the chief tenant at Armley Heights, but John Jackson kept an eye on their doings, and reports another kind of "Improvement" in 1725.

> Thos. Garmans has lett all his pt of the house & 4 Closes of land below the house to one John Langton of Wortley, a young man but is now got Married Since he came and this J. Langton has lett the Shop and kitchen & the Chambers over them to one Antho: Lister but no Land, & he has (wth my leave) put up a firestead for thm in the Shopp of his own charge wch I think will be very beneficiall to it being a Dampy Room.

The charge of one shilling and eightpence with which John debited his niece "when I went to sell up her late mother's Personal Estate," can surely have covered no more than his travelling expenses. He saw that she did her duty by the Society's funds, recording that he "laid down eighteen pence" for her at both Monthly and Quarterly Meeting (apparently on two occasions when she was unable to go herself). If this was her general contribution it would amount to 24s. per annum—18s. for Monthly, and 6s. for Quarterly Meeting. This would represent about £5 in modern terms, and is interesting as showing what it was thought suitable for a fairly prosperous young Friend to contribute.

John Jackson wrote to Thomas Smith in 1724: "I cannot be at the Quarterly Meeting for wee have a Fair falls out to be on that day at Beadle [Bedale][1] wch I shold be at if possible." As early as 1680 Upperside M.M. recorded "Friends taking notice that the next Meeting here wil in course fal on the same day that Beconsfeild fair wil be on, at wch fair many of the friends of this Meeting are usually engaged in business, have

[1] Fairs were held five times a year at Bedale, Yorks, N.R. They were important centres for millinery as well as metal goods and agricultural products.

thought fit, that neither Friends may be straitned in their occasions, nor the service of Truth neglected, to alter the day for that time." Neglect of this precaution caused Windsor Friends to minute in 1749 "It being our Fair and most of our Members being Absent We adjourn this Meeting to next 5th day."

Neither Martha's father nor her guardians always remember to use the Quaker system of dating; the two forms occur side by side in the "Uncle Crowther" document. John Jackson, however, strictly observes the "plain language" of "thee" and "thou" in writing to Thomas Smith. Martha's tailor, Thos. Couper, sends most of his bills in to "you", but in July, 1726, the bill, written by another hand, and only bearing his signature, is in the plain language. In 1728 he uses "thy" in receipting a bill for altering "your" petticoat; perhaps he wrote this part of it under the watchful eye of Thomas Smith, who paid him. Here is the bill for 26th July, 1726 written in the plain style.

for martha jackson

for makein thy night gown	1	5
for tornin thy crep goun & linein	2	4
for linein thy hat	0	6
for makein thy hudd hade	1	0
for makein thy blacke silke patecot	1	0
for silke & thred	0	5
for makein thy Creap Suet	3	0
for makein thy Creap patecot & linein thy black goun	1	2
for alterin thy suet	0	4
	11	4

A "gown" at this time was the ordinary term for what we now call a "dress": i.e. a frock which was not worn open down the front to show the petticoat underneath. The original meaning, "a loose outer robe", survives only in "dressing-gown." It was, I believe, the open overdress which was known as a "robe" at this period. Therefore an old "gown" worn in the front breadth could be cut into a "robe"; and in this case the front edges would have to be lined (or "faced" as we say now) with strips of stuff to make them hang properly. Richardson's Pamela, twenty years later than the Martha Jackson papers, made "facings and robings" of chintz to one of her dresses; I think the distinction is between strips applied on the "face" or outside of the material for decoration, and on

the inside for the purpose of stiffening. In 1723 Thomas Couper charged Matty for "Robing your Riding Coatt and oltearing yr pety coate." Women's riding coats were at this time worn, like men's, open over a waistcoat, and the fronts would have to be "robed."

Any sort of headdress was known in the 1720's as "a head", so a "hud hade" would be a headdress in the form of a hood. "Creap suet" is "crape suit"; i.e. a matching dress and petticoat. It is evident by these bills that Matty was prosperous; she buys a good deal of silk, and even a spoilt and superior maidservant such as Pamela only wore silk when her mistress passed it on to her. But she was well trained in the thrifty art of "mend and make do." Her crape gown is "turned"; her hats and stays (boned bodices worn either under or over the dress) are several times re-lined; her "patecot" is "olteared", her shoes are "top-pieced." The bills cover a fairly complete wardrobe; it looks as though her talents lay rather in cooking than sewing. She bought stuffs for Thomas Couper to make up from a draper called Thomas Johnson; and the bill is receipted on his behalf in Quakerly form by his assistant Matthew Wilson. In 1728 a second bill for stuff is presented with a Quaker dating by Benjamin Rhodes of York. I transcribe both in full.

1726 Bott of Thos. Johnson

Aprill the 15th 24 yds of Silkatee at 14d ..	£1	8	0
4 yrds of Taminy at 14d	0	4	8
ferrit 18d Silk 4d thread 2d	0	2	0
9¼ yds Silk Crape at 15d	0	11	6
4 yrds more of Taminy at 15d	0	5	0
ferrit 3d silk quality 12d all	0	1	3

Recd Aprill the 15th 1726 Of Tho: Smith on Acct. of his Niece Martha Jackson the Contents of thy Bill for the use of my Master Tho Johnson

pr me Math Wilson.

Silkatee and taminy are silk and wool mixtures. Ferrit is tape.

York, 1 m 27th 1728

Bott of Benj. Rhodes 8 yds of Basnet at 2 : 4 yd 00 : 18 : 8 Recd. att the same time the Contents in full on account of his neece Martha Jackson pr Benj. Rhodes.

In spite of Quaker austerity in the colour of his cloth, Samuel Jackson saw nothing inconsistent in tapestry chairs and good silver, as the inventory and the list of goods for sale when Martha left Armley Heights bear witness.

6 Settwork Chairs a little Chair 2 stoolls & 2 tables 0 : 18 : 0
A sett-work buffett .. .. 0 : 1 : 0
Plate
A Silver tancker
2 Silver Cups
2 Silver Casters
a little Silver Cup
a tea spoon
6 other spoons
} 12.0.0.

Things such as tea-spoons and sugar-castors were modern for the times; the Oxford English Dictionary first records them towards the end of the seventeenth century. A "buffet" is a foot-stool and "set-work" is tapestry. Thomas Ellwood also had a set of six, worked by his wife. Samuel Jackson's family ate and drank out of pewter and earthenware mugs and plates; but they had some china and "Delf ware"—stone ware from Holland—for best. They had not only a "beel-back" chair (the Southern word is "stick-back"), but a dozen leather, 6 wood and 8 cane ones as well; it looks as if meetings were sometimes held at their house.

The inventory and sale lists show that like many meetings in other parts of the country, Leeds Friends used a strong local dialect, particularly rich in trade terms and local names of tools and implements. Some of these have been already mentioned; and here are extracts from the inventory relating to fire-places and their appurtenances.

One Range, End Irons, Grate tongs fire shovell & fire point .. .. 1 : 5 : 0
Smook Jack Spitt & Racks, all .. .. .. 1 : 10 : 0
A pr of iron briggs & an Iron Yate & 3 reckons .. 0 : 7 : 0
A fender, Warming-pan, Candlebark & Skellet 0 : 5 : 0

"Range" seems to stand for any kind of fire-place, whether it had an oven or not, as there were "ranges" in the West parlour and West (bed) chamber as well. "Fire-point" is a North-country version of "poker"; in the form "fire-poite" it is found in the York Castle Depositions of 1651. A "smoke-jack" was an apparatus for turning a roasting-spit, worked by the current of air passing up the chimney. The grate evidently had a hinged front which could be opened to clear out the cinders—the gate or "yate"; when pots or pans were put on the fire "briggs" or iron bars were set across it to support them; the "briggs" also may have been fixed across the chimney, so that the "reckons" or pot-chains could hang

from them. The word "briggs" in this sense is not noted by the Oxford Dictionary till 1875, and another word not recorded till this date is "candle-bark", a box for holding candles. The price put on the 10 lb. of candles left in the house—three shillings and eightpence, shows they were tallow, not wax.

If Martha Jackson's mother had time to embroider the six set-work chairs and the buffet, she must have been a very efficient house-wife. Entries relating to activities which would come within her province are as follows:

5 Rundletts, a Gantry, Churn & staff and glass bottles	0	5	6
skreen & wintrhedg	0	10	0
2 Clay backstones	0	2	0
Kitts etc.	0	3	0
A Kimlin	0	3	0
an earning tubb	0	1	0
a rowling pin and battledore	0	0	4

A Rundlet was a cask, holding about 18½ gallons at this period; the family probably brewed their own beer, as they kept malt in one of the garrets. A Gantry is a four-footed wooden stand for barrels. Clothes were beaten with a battle-door, and in the summer hung out on the hedges to dry; a "winter-hedge" is, therefore, a clothes-horse; my sister met this word in Dorset in the early 1900s. Cakes were baked on the clay backstones; the kitts were the milking-pails, and the milk was curdled to make cheese in the earning-tub. The kim-lin was a large tub which could be used for brewing, kneading bread or salting meat.

Quaker exactitude is shown in the prices quoted in the valuation which, as far as I have been able to compare them with Thorold Rogers, are in the main the current market prices. The "large bay mare" which went for £7 was a good one; her value is higher than that of the horse which Thomas Ellwood had distrained for tithe, and which he "would not have took Five Guineas for." The "red cow" which went for £2 10s. was evidently a poor one; for even a barren cow cost £2 12s. 6d. at this time. The two calves, on the other hand, which went for £1 each must have been exceptionally good, as the average price was about 12s.

The whole collection gives a pleasing picture of a full life lived with honesty, thrift, simplicity and independence.

Reminiscences in Old Age

ELIZABETH FRY'S MEMORIES, AS RECORDED BY HER GRAND-DAUGHTER

At the time of the Tercentenary celebrations, Dr. W. D. Chapman of Windermere sent to Kendal a manuscript journal of his aunt, Elizabeth (Fry) Chapman, in the years 1844 and 1845, which has remained in the family continuously since that time. The book is of the exercise-book pattern, in half-leather with marbled paper over boards. It contains 126 pages of manuscript ($7\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches) at about 20 lines to the page.

In view of the importance of this new material concerning Elizabeth Fry, Dr. Chapman has allowed us to give the following account of the manuscript.

The journal of Elizabeth Fry, daughter of John and Rachel Fry and grand-daughter of Elizabeth Fry the philanthropist, commences on 2nd September, 1844, and runs with almost unbroken daily entries until 28th October. After a break, there are some scattered entries from May through the summer of 1845 ending with the death and burial of Elizabeth Fry, 13th and 20th October, 1845. The volume closes with copies of five letters from Elizabeth Fry to her grand-daughter or to the family.

The account opens with Elizabeth's departure from Berne, 2nd September, 1844, on hearing of the death on 27th August of "Uncle William Fry" from scarlet fever. The Dover crossing was made on 7th September, and the travellers visited "Grandmamma & many of our dear relations" at Walmer. The journal gives an account of the last illness of William Storrs Fry and of his two daughters, Juliana and Minnie, but it is around Elizabeth Fry ("Grandmamma") that the interest of the writer and the reader alike centre, as the journal entries tell their story.

[9.ix.1844] We all assembled at Grandpapa's house & Aunt Creswell read a Memoir of the late sad Events, after which our beloved Grandmamma prayed & spoke most beautifully & touchingly quite with her former strength & power of mind for on all religious subjects she is perfectly clear, tho' her mind wanders, on matters of trivial importance.

How little did we think a few months ago, that we should ever see again this fondly cherished & valued relative; and as this blessing is permitted us, may we duly appreciate & make use of the priviledge of being constantly with her and hearing her words.

It is partly with this intention & partly with the belief

that in after life these particulars may be interesting to myself & my sisters that I shall endeavour as far as is possible to note down all I think worthy of remark during the time I hope to have frequent intercourse with her.

[19.ix.1844. In conversation, Elizabeth Fry, when speaking of her past life, said] "I think I may say, without boasting, that mine has been a most remarkable & extremely interesting life. It has had many ups and downs,—its sweet moments & its bitter moments. I was brought up, by an indulgent father in the lap of luxury & only first knew real sorrow at the time of the failure of our bank. I remember however, that I used actively to employ myself in writings of different kinds endeavouring also to conciliate as far as was in my power, the creditors of thy Grandfather, & by my exertions I so gratified the assignees that they presented me with the handsome old Cabinet which now stands in my room with my books & shells:—thee knows it well?" And when I replied that I did indeed know it well, she added "I think thee ought to have it, it ought to be in the possession of the 2nd Elizabeth Fry."

Prison Visits

27th [ix.1844]. While conversing this morning with dearest Grandmamma on the subject of her life among prisons etc. she said to me, "I have frequently visited prisons where really bad wicked men were confined, & where most people thought it dangerous to enter but never except in one single instance was anything rude or inkind said or done to me. My plan was this, I used on entering to say to the prisoners, 'My good friends, I trust you all & hope you will have no objection to listen to what I have to say.' And I found they always seemed pleased to hear me. The exception I speak of was once in the prison of La Force at Paris,[1] when a man spoke very rudely, asking me why I did not let them out of prison or pay their debts, if they were to be troubled by me, and if I wanted to do them any good."

Elizabeth Fry's Books

3rd [x.1844]. I passed this morning a most interesting time with dearest Grandmamma, looking over her old Bibles & books of different kinds, mostly gifts from celebrated

[1] Prison established in 1780 in the Paris mansion of the ducs de La Force. Abolished 1850.

people. Amongst others a splendid Bible given her by the Queen of France, one of Hannah More's works presented by the amiable & gifted Authoress herself & many equally valuable. But none were so interesting in my eyes as the Bibles filled with marks & notes by our dear Grandmamma in her own handwriting, recording at the same time her sweet pious mind & certain events happening at that period. We read together the 58th chapter of Isaiah which she had read and expounded in to the King[1] & Queen of Prussia rather in allusion to the persecutions of the Protestant Christians by his father and with the end to encourage him in turning from such ways and in protecting all those who had suffered so much for their religion.

4th [x.1844]. This morning I read with Grandmamma the 2nd chapter of Colossians, an epistle which she feels peculiarly valuable & which we intend reading together. . . . On reading the 14th verse Grandmamma said "Ah! *that* verse and those following to the end of the Chapter first made me a Quaker! Yet though I would have man's ordinances 'blotted out' I still think it is well in many cases for weak minds to have a certain degree of form in their religious services. It keeps up order, and respect for what is most Holy."

A Royal Occasion

Afterwards when referring to her visit to the King of Prussia she said "It is not boasting when I say that my many visits to Royalty have been highly interesting. The first of the kind was to Queen Charlotte[2] at the Mansion House at the examination of the Schools in London. Wishing to shew me honour and the esteem she felt for me she sent & desired me to meet her there. I never shall forget that day, it will be always imprinted on my memory. I was very unwell at the time but of course was obliged to make the effort. We drove first to the house of Countess Harcourt the Queen's Lady of Honour who was to take charge of me, and after the examination introduce me privately to the Queen, this being thought the best way of shewing me honour by the Queen herself, who knew that being a Friend I could not be publickly presented at Court, and she was I heard exceedingly anxious to see me.

"I drove with the Countess in her own carriage & joined

[1] Frederick William IV.
[2] Queen consort of George III.

the procession of the Queen who was in about the 2nd carriage before us. Thee cannot think how strange I felt in my plain Quaker's Dress, in the midst of all the smartly dressed ladies, & sitting by the Countess in elegant full morning dress without a bonnet & in a friends' cap, exciting the surprise & curiosity of every one.

"It unfortunately happened that our coachman drove to the wrong door of the Mansion House & instead of taking us to the private door where the Queen entered & where we were to have entered also in her suite he took us to the great public entrance where crowds of people were pressing in. Here we found ourselves in a most awkward predicament, for unable again to join the line of carriages, we were obliged to dismount & push our way through the crowd. I knew the way better than the Countess & she being nearly blind, was a most troublesome companion. Just at this moment I called out 'There goes the Bishop of Gloucester'[1] & again 'There goes Alderman Wood.' We sent our servants after them & they both came to our assistance—the Bishop giving his arm to the Countess & Alderman Wood (afterwards Sir Mathew)[2] helping me, we got safely into the great Egyptian Hall after much difficulty in struggling through the multitudes of people. The plan had been for me to have gone with the Queen into the private appartment prepared for her and then followed her into the hall in company with the other members of the Royal family, therefore when the Countess & I found ourselves in the middle of the Hall, we were wholly at a loss to know what to do & we could not possibly get to the Queen, so the Bishop proposed we should go with him to the seats prepared for the Bishops & sit with them. Accordingly thither we proceeded & the Countess & I were placed at the end of a long row of Bishops at the side of the Hall. Behind us were the Aldermen, & we occupied the foremost seat.

"After waiting a short time the Queen appeared followed by the Royal family & her whole Court. The Examination was most interesting & lasted four hours at the end of which time

[1] Henry Ryder (1777-1836), successively bishop of Gloucester and of Lichfield and Coventry, was actively Evangelical in sympathy.

[2] Sir Matthew Wood (1768-1843), municipal and political reformer. Wood was trustee for the financial affairs of the Duke of Kent, and it was due to him that the Duke and Duchess were able to reside in England. "By this means Queen Victoria was born on English instead of on foreign soil." *D.N.B.*

the Queen stood up, & immediately every one in the Hall rose also. While we were standing, myself ready to drop with fatigue after all I had gone through, fancy my amazement when I saw the Queen followed by her whole Court walking across the Hall towards me! I felt at first overcome with nervousness, but I raised an inward prayer that I might be supported, and I am often astonished when I look back upon that scene and remember how wonderfully I was helped to speak what was in my mind. The Queen came before me & made a low curtsey, which I being a friend did not return, but made a respectful salutation & bowed.

"I forget the exact words the Queen used but she expressed her extreme pleasure at seeing me & was pleased to honour me with many compliments on my different labours & exertions. After the first instant, my fear wholly left me, I had power given me to speak, the dread of man forsook me, and after much interesting conversation I was enabled to give her and her family a blessing. The Queen then retired & the moment we ceased speaking, a breathless silence having hitherto filled the Hall, the multitude burst forth in one tremendous acclamation, I never shall forget the clappings and the shouts, which clearly shewed how interested all had been in our Interview, and how greatly it was approved.

"Lord Cholmondely[1] who was a great deal about the Court at that time told me the Queen had often talked to him about me, and was extremely interested in the various objects which occupied me. She was anxious also to instil into George IV then Prince of Wales a similar interest, but Lord Cholmondely told me without success, and that the Prince had often said to him 'The Queen worries me always about that Mrs. Fry!' "

* * * *

In the evening dear Grandmama & I amused ourselves with looking over her portraits of celebrated people & the crowned heads, with whom she was acquainted, mostly presented by themselves and signed with their names in their own handwriting, amongst others were Queen Victoria & Prince Albert, the Duchess of Gloucester,[2] Queen Adelaide,[3]

[1] George James Cholmondeley, 1st marquess of Cholmondeley (1749-1827), Lord Steward of the Household, 1812-21.

[2] Mary, daughter of George III, married William Frederick, duke of Gloucester, 1816, b. 1776, d. 1857.

[3] Queen consort of William IV.

King & Queen of Prussia, Prince Charles & Prince William[1] of Prussia with their Princesses, King & Queen of Denmark, King & Queen of Hanover,[2] Prince George of Cumberland,[3] King & Queen of Belgium,[4] the Duchess of Kent,[5] Baron Humbolt,[6] Laborde,[7] &c. &c. &c.

13th [x.1844]. Sunday—To-day has been most interesting. Dearest Grandmamma went to meeting this morning. Uncle Gurney, Chrissy & I went with her in the carriage and at the door of the meeting house Grandpapa & Uncle Joseph & Harry met her & wheeled her into the room in her bath chair. She sat facing the congregation at the right hand side with Aunt Alice on one side & myself opposite her. After a short pause, she uttered a most beautiful prayer & after two or three other friends had spoken, she preached an admirable sermon, with a power & flow of language, an earnestness of manner & strength of voice that astonished all who knew her weak state. . . Before any of the friends left the house Grandmamma was wheeled out as she had entered and we came quickly home.

Letter to The Duchess of Kent

14th [x.1844]. On Saturday dear Grandmamma wrote a note to the Duchess of Kent in answer to one from the Duchess containing inquiries after her health. I copy it here, because it shews the degree of intimacy of our beloved Grandmamma with the Royal family.

"Upton 10th Month 12th 1844

"My dear Duchess of Kent

"I feel much obliged for thy very kind inquiries and I may say in reply that I am as well as I can expect to be, considering my deep afflictions during my long and severe illness, as it has pleased the Almighty to take from us within the last three

[1] Afterwards Emperor William I, d. 1888.

[2] Ernest, duke of Cumberland, king of Hanover 1837-51; b. 1771, d. 1851; married Frederica, 1815.

[3] George, duke of Cumberland, king of Hanover 1851-66; b. 1819, d. 1878.

[4] Leopold I, king 1831-65; married Louisa, daughter of Louis Philippe, king of France.

[5] Victoria, widow of Edward, duke of Kent (d. 1820), mother of Queen Victoria.

Wilhelm (1767-1835) or Alexander (1769-1859) von Humbolt.

Alexandre Louis Joseph, comte de Laborde (1774-1842).

months by death a dear & only sister of my husband,[1] then a sweet grandson aged thirteen years and since then within the last few weeks a most valuable and tenderly beloved son in the meridian of his life and his two eldest daughters of ten & five years old, leaving his wife (whose father Sir Henry Pelly I believe the Queen knows) near her confinement, and four other Children, so that our sorrows have been *very* great.

"I tell thee of them as I believe that thou wilt sympathize in them. I am glad to be able to congratulate thee on the safe delivery of our beloved Queen and her restoration to health & that the young Prince is doing well.[2]

"I have been much interested in the visit of the King of the French to our country and should be much pleased if thou wouldst have the kindness to present to him my affectionate & respectful regards.

"I hope the Duchess of Gloucester is in good health.

"I am truly greateful to thee and to our dear Queen & Prince Albert for their & thy most kind inquiries. I feel deeply interested for the Queen & her Royal Consort, and truly desire that the blessing of the Most High God may rest on them and on their Children—& on thyself. I am

Thy obliged & attached friend

ELIZABETH FRY.

"To the Duchess of Kent."

16th [x.1844]. This morning dearest Grandmama received the following answer to the above note.

"Frogmore 14th Octbr 1844

"My dear Mrs. Fry

"I am extremely glad to learn your restoration to health & beg you to believe in my *warmest* sympathy with the sorrows which your late heavy afflictions have brought upon you.

"The late visit to Scotland has afforded the Queen & the Prince the truest satisfaction and they and their dear Children are thank God, as well as I could wish them to be.[3] The King

[1] Elizabeth Fry, of Plashet Cottage, d. 2.vii.1844, aged 65.

[2] Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; b. August 6, 1844; d. July 30, 1900.

[3] Queen Victoria's children in 1844 numbered four: Alfred, the infant; Princess Victoria, b. November 21, 1840, married the Emperor Frederick; Edward VII, b. November 9, 1841; Princess Alice, b. April 25, 1843, married Louis, Grand Duke of Hesse.

of the French has been highly gratified by his reception in this Country and he has left us deeply impressed with the kindly feelings which his presence invariably called forth.

"I shall have much pleasure in remembering you to the Duchess of Gloucester who is at present I am happy to say quite well.

Believe me to remain
Your sincere friend
VICTORIA."

24th [x.1844]. In the afternoon being prevented by the weather from going out, we all sat together in the Bow room, Grandmama with her Bible before her frequently reading passages aloud and making interesting remarks. She read to us the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th verses of the 1st of Jeremiah and said "How could I have gone through what I have without feeling that the Lord was with me! Those verses have always been a comfort and support to me!"

In explaining to me the different marks in her Bible Grandmama said "The letter U signifies the Universality of the Grace of God, a point on which so many now differ, and particularly Dr. Malan. I remember once in conversation with him quoting the text 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, &c., &c. how often would I have gathered thy Children together as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings *and ye would not*.' which clearly proves there is no predestination and that if they *would* they might have been saved—If repentance first comes, the grace of God is *universally* a *'free gift'*."

26th [x.1844]. This morning I read with dear Grandmama the 42nd Psalm which seemed greatly to comfort her in her *very* low weak state which I grieve to say continues. I read afterwards for some time to her a little book called *The faithful Nurse, a Memorial of Hannah Meek*[1] which delighted her & while listening she seemed to forget her own sufferings, which proves that it is good for her to have her mind diverted from herself.

28th [x.1844]. This morning I took my leave of dearest Grandmama before starting for London.

There is a break in the Journal here until the following May, 1845. In that month the writer records how Elizabeth Fry went twice to London during Yearly Meeting.

[1] Published by the Religious Tract Society, 1837.

. . . During the Yearly Meeting of Friends Grandmama went twice to London first to attend a business Meeting, and afterwards on Friday the 30th of May, a Women's Meeting for Worship. This was a highly interesting occasion, Grandmama was supported into the Meeting House by Aunt Richenda and myself & placed in a chair, immediately below the clerk's seat, *facing* the whole assembly. She prayed first and then preached two or three times in a most solemn and impressive manner, her loud clear voice filling the whole House. She remained in her seat till after the Meeting was over and then received with her usual kindness the crowds of Friends who pressed around her, each eager to shake hands with her, to express their sincere pleasure at seeing her there again & hopes that she might long be spared to dwell among them. She did not appear tired by this exciting scene and returned home in her usual cheerful spirits.

The writer records the death of Elizabeth Fry at Ramsgate, 13th October, 1845, and her burial a week later. At the funeral Joseph John Gurney spoke, and at Ham House in the evening J. J. Gurney, Elizabeth Dudley, Hannah Backhouse and Alicia Nickolls all spoke.

The Journal is followed by copies of letters from Elizabeth Fry to her granddaughter (or in which she was included). They are dated Upton Lane 24.vi.1834 and 2.vii.1842; Congenies 20.v.1839; "Silesia" 19.ix.1841; and February 1845.

Quaker Broadsides at Harvard

THE Harvard College Library has acquired recently a collection of broadsides formerly belonging to the Marquess of Bute. A catalogue of the collection was printed in 1892, entitled, *A list of broadsides and satires, prose, poetical, religious, political, with verses of bellmen, etc., illustrative of English history and social life 1560-1748, comprised and bound in five volumes folio, the property of the Marquess of Bute, K.T.*

Out of 346 items a score are by or against Friends. Of these the following are apparently unknown or imperfectly known to the bibliographers Joseph Smith and Donald Wing. Except the first they are all anti-Quaker.

A146. Advertissement a la ville de Paris, par Charles Baily. De la priuson commune de Bourg Da'ult proche d'abbe ville. An. 1661.

We have knowledge of other writings of Charles Bailey in this prison at this time, but nothing in French like this warning to Paris. The names are Ault and Abbeville, but the French is no worse than the English "Burkdon".

A 196. A rebuke to Tho. Rudyard's folly and impertinences by T. Hicks. No imprint.

Smith, *Bibliotheca Antiquakeriana* apparently got this title only from the reply. It belongs to 1674 and the Barbican dispute.

B 16. Penn's Naked Truth, found to be covered untruth being an answer to his second paper, concerning the Barbican meeting London, Sept. 18th, 1674. London: printed by T.M. for D. Newman at the King's-Armes in the Poultery, 1674.

Probably by the author of *The Quaker's last shift found out* that Penn answered in his *Naked Truth needs no shift*.

B 26. Quakers no Christians; or a sober Request to the Quakers, by Jer. Ives. London: Printed for F. Smith, 1674.

Wing has an entry (I 1105), *A sober request to the Quakers* (broadside, same author and imprint), locating a copy at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

C 10. An account of a great fight, between the Christians and the Quakers, and also how they blew themselves up with a magazine of their own gunpowder (in verse). Printed for the author, T.H. (1701).

This is an extensive catalogue in verse of the many anti-Quaker writings or writers of the time. The magazine is the Quakers' own books.

HENRY J. CADBURY

Reform in the West of England

Extracts from the Journal of William Metford (1803—1832)

Edited By MICHAEL METFORD-SEWELL

WILLIAM METFORD was the eldest brother of my great great grandfather, Joseph Metford. Their father, Joseph Metford (1776-1863) originally of Glastonbury, had at the time this journal was written, retired from active partnership in the business of Joseph Metford & Son, Wine and Spirit Merchants, at Bath, which he carried on in partnership with his eldest son with whom he had a close affinity of temperament and interests. The shop with its living accommodation was on what is now the site of the Post Office at Bath.

Though brought up as a Friend and deeply steeped in the Society's traditions, William Metford left the Society on his marriage to his first cousin, Sarah Clark, the marriage of first cousins being then, and until 1883, forbidden by the Society's discipline.

William Metford died on the 11th April, 1832, in his twenty-ninth year, leaving a widow and two daughters and a third daughter to be born some weeks later. His Journal covers the period from February, 1830, until six days before his death.

In spite of his youth he became a person of some note in Bath. His recorded public life consisted of many meetings with notabilities and contributions to local newspapers, largely if not entirely in support of the Reform Bill and Anti-slavery activities. William Wilberforce was a friend and, it would seem, a not infrequent visitor at the Bath house. At one time William Metford was a sub-editor of the *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*, but gave up his position on being required to write his future articles, as he put it, "soberly and oilily" and to "smother political truths" which he was not prepared to do.

He became Secretary of the Radical Candidates Election committee and was an active member of the Committee of one of the two members for East Somerset to be returned to Parliament after the passing of the Reform Bill. The respect in which he was held was such that, although his funeral was after the manner of Friends, the bells of three parishes in Bath, including those of the Abbey, were tolled as the carriages passed.

William Metford's brother-in-law, Thomas Clark (the younger), wrote of him as uniting in a remarkable degree, a sound judgment with an excursive imagination and with a rarely equalled "courtesy of behaviour and elegance of manners." It may be assumed, therefore, that the sometimes intolerant and critical comments of his fellows that sometimes appear in his journal, were not indicative of his outward demeanour, but rather of a youthful need to speak his mind even if only in a private diary.

The name Metford appears in the records of Friends from the earliest days of Friends' activity in Somerset. Thomas and John Metford were, for example, imprisoned with many others in Ilchester Gaol in 1660 for attending Friends' meetings for worship in that part of the Glastonbury Abbey ruins, now known as the Abbot's Kitchen. Nevertheless, although there are many Quaker families of Somerset origin who trace descent from the elder Joseph Metford's father (William Metford, who married Mary Pike) the direct male line of his, the continuously "Friendly" branch, is now extinct. Of the seven brothers of the writer of this Journal five died, three in America by accidents, between the years 1836 and 1844 at ages varying from 22 to 35.

Of William Metford's three daughters, one married but no descendants now survive. A large portrait of the three sisters painted in 1849, now hangs in my office.

The Journal from which the extracts are taken is the property of Matilda Metford of Winscombe, Somerset, a great niece of William Metford.

1830.

21st [MAY]. The Jews Relief Bill has been lost on the second reading by a small majority made up chiefly of the dead-votes of the Treasury. The only novel feature in the debate was an attention to the "Quaker Disabilities". Mr. N. Calvert in a eulogistic speech . . . objected to this measure unless Quakers also were relieved . . . even Sir R. Peel . . . alluded to the Quakers as a case which the Bill ought to have embraced.

30th [MAY]. Thos. Davis in the gallery[1] on his way from the Wittenagemote of London. I wonder whether this Saxon name for Parliament means a collection of wits—if so, it does not belong methinks to our modern legislature. The Yearly Meeting it seems (like other mobs, it must have some prevailing rage) has been running full tilt at the dealers in spirits—as if intemperance was solely confined to grog drinking, and as if excess of this sort was not already provided against by the present discipline of the Society—as was to be expected, the strain of cant all set in one direction—and was at Spring tide; and under this influenza; this rabid horror of liquids, a minute was drawn up which will infallibly consign all us incorrigible publicans to moral outlawry.

The Beer Trade is going to be thrown open after half a century of smug monopoly. On the whole I approve the measure tho' it will produce serious local injury and possibly the liberty it confers may degenerate into licentiousness.

[1] At meeting.

7th Mo. 14th. We are now on the eve of a General Election —once a time of intense interest to me—but no longer so and I believe the public participate in my apathy. There will be much fewer contests of importance than usual. There are two causes—candidates are afraid of the expenses (another sign of the times) and political distinctions have so worked themselves out by the drifting and changing of public men that party spirit, the soul of electioneering bustle, has nothing to feed on.

8th Mo. 4th. Some how or other I have got mixed up with election business rather more than I could have believed possible. I have taken much interest in the Bristol election and have consented to act as committee-man for Mr. Protheroe who starts on the novel pretensions of a zealous anti-slavery man. He is supported by the Dissenters and most of the unswayed and unbought part of the Bristol constituency. His opponent Bailey is a W. Indian merchant and the wealth and influence of his party have been too successfully exerted. Protheroe has lost the election. I was there yesterday and witnessed his defeat. There were about 20,000 people in Queen Square—all mad, mad, mad. I foolishly ventured to hiss something that Bailey said and was within an ace of being knocked on the head by one of his fanatical adherents. During the week I presided at an election supper at Freemasons Hall and broached a Deal of most vehement patriotism to a hundred or so of "Britons" till I was hoarse as a frog.

13th [AUGUST]. The Election Dinner of our City members took place this evening and by invitation I made one of the guests. It was held in the splendid banquetting room of the Guildhall—which was completely filled by the Civic and City gentry and "the better sort of tradespeople." The dinner was plenteous and luxurious—and there was good singing and much—very much—bad speechifying. . . . I have suggested and set on foot a subscription from Bath for the widows and orphans of the fallen heroes of Paris. Keene of the Bath Journal warmly seconds me.[1]

8th Mo. 23rd. Last evening in the gaiety of my heart I scribbled a satirical jeu d'esprit on the Yearly Meetings recent anti-spirituous advice—within three hours afterwards I was seized with another violent affection of my stomach &c.

[1] The 1830 Revolution and deposition of the Bourbons had just taken place.

11th Mo. 23rd. As for politics I am half sick of it. So much folly and knavery and wilful blindness. Nothing heard of but Riots and Burnings—all of course arising from one great cause—distress; and all, with astounding perversity, referred to the agency of a few political agitators.

A London Journey

1831.

2nd Mo. 26th. I am going to London tomorrow in order to be present at the Reform Debate on the 1st of March. The intense interest I feel on this question reconciles to myself this little piece of extravagance. It will besides give me an opportunity of again seeing London—and not being very well, I think the change may be of use to me. We have again a rather sickly house. Nearly all of us, in turn, have been invalids. Sarah and nurse are still poorly. Blue-bell,[1] however, is very well . . . she has left off her cap and her hair begins to thicken . . . (Mem. to get a cap with her name on it in London —a thing which all Bath cannot furnish). . .

Feb. 28th. Left Bath by mail at half past 6. I had taken my place inside but having a surly churl for a companion, and the night being mild, I soon got out and took the box seat which I retained the rest of the way. Nothing could be more delightful than this ride. The moon shone brilliantly and the sky was cloudless. It was so light that the cattle seemed to mistake it for daybreak and were grazing instead of sleeping. Almost the only human beings on the stir were the men watching the homesteads and rick-bartons—sad omens of these troubled times. It grew very bleak towards the morning and by the time we entered London I was cold and weary. Went to Cooper's Hotel which I have since found a very comfortable house. After breakfast found my way to Henry's[2] home; found him in the surgery. He was much surprised to see me but received me very cordially. He is looking pretty well. We then walked towards the West End—took a peep into the Park and sped to the Parliament House. Here even at this early hour (11 o'clock) all was bustle and excitement. Hundreds of persons outside the house were formed in anxious groups and the words "Reform" and "Russell" were to be heard from every tongue. On entering we found the

[1] Isabella, his eldest daughter then 13 months old.
[2] W.M.'s fourth brother then 18 years old and taking up surgery.

gallery stairs already crowded and every moment the throng thickened till the heat and stench became almost unendurable. Several fainted and the walls were covered with little drops of collected breath and perspiration. Here we staid till half past 5 and when the gallery was at last opened it was found to be over full from the numerous private admissions. Here was disappointment! Take it all together it was the most patience trying I ever suffered. The numbers of members present was excessive; the most intense curiosity in every-body's face.

Returned slowly to my hotel—tired, hungry and cross. After taking tea, again sallied forth and went to Drury Lane where I got some compensation for lossess and crosses elsewhere. The play—The School for Scandal and acted in a manner that I have never yet witnessed. The whole comic force of the theatre was in the field. . . . Never slept sounder in my life than tonight. No wonder indeed!

MAR. 2. Breakfast—and a feast of newspapers. . . After breakfast to call on Mr. Hunt[1] to have some chat and get an order to the house—Not at home and said to be ill. Took a stroll amongst the toy shops and booksellers—bought a dog and some ninepins for Blue-bell and a book for her mama.[2] Went with Henry to the top of the Monument. Splendid view to be sure. The whole river and its 5 superb bridges appear just at our feet. A man and his wife were cooking beefsteaks in the lower apartment of this proud pillar. "To what base uses may we not return, Horatio"! Dined today at T. Bevan's. They seem to live in rather a homely style but H. appears tolerably comfortable. T.B. is very stiff and distant and his Wife rather gossiping and common place. Made a second attempt to penetrate the sealed walls of the H. of C. and took the precaution of providing myself with the "open sesame" of a members' order—politely given me by Mr. Dickinson.[3] Twas of no use—the gallery was already full. Returning to my quarters I dropped in at one of those splendid lounges—creations of modern luxury—a Cigar Divan—where for a shilling you are provided with a cigar and a cup of

[1] Henry Hunt, Radical M.P. for Preston: A Wiltshire man. Was imprisoned for 2½ years in 1819 for his part in the "Peterloo" Meeting.

[2] Almost exactly a year later Isabella is recorded as having twice struck her nine months old sister with her fist for knocking down her nine pins.

[3] Probably William Dickinson, then one of two members for Somerset County.

Mocha—chaise longues, couches and ottomans, chess boards and phrenological charts, the newspapers and periodicals and where the progress of the idle time is denoted by the playing of musical clock. Met Richd Ball of Taunton there[1]—and had chat with him about Reform. He is a great radical . . .

3rd [MARCH]. This was a broken day—it was wet and having no definite objèct, I paddled about the dirty streets all the morning without much end or aim. Found my way into a Café in the Strand and called for Potage au ris and a Cotelet a la Maintenon—both good and the charge low. Delivered a letter of introduction to Cobbett and had an interview with him in the evening. I found him sitting in a huge high backed chair before one of his American-stove fires and in a room where the single candle just sufficed to reveal some hundreds of bunches of "Cobbetts corn"[2] with which the walls were covered. He received me civilly but from his not having had time to peruse my letter there was some slight awkwardness in my self-introduction—which was not diminished by the sternness and hardness of his features, his harsh voice and Johnsonian bearing. Our conversation was of course political. He expressed warm satisfaction at the Reform Bill and treated with contempt the idea that it will not pass. I asked him if we should see him in the course of his lecture-circuits—he said "Oh I don't know—my work's done now I think." I should have liked to have drawn him out a little more but my time was short and I was fearful of encroaching upon his. Dined late at Fred. Evans's with Harry and shortly after got into the Mail for Bath.

4th Mo. 25th. This has been to me a day of bustle excitement and personal as well as political triumph. I have made two speeches and attended two meetings. I have seen the cause I have taken in hand put in a train that I trust will lead to success. A meeting at the White Hart this morning—very large and very respectable—most warmly received my requisition to Langton.[3] Ye Gods keep me from all vain glory!

[1] A Grocer formerly of Bridgwater and who later joined the Plymouth Brethren.

[2] Cobbett's Corn is Indian Corn or Maize, which Cobbett was trying to introduce to the English.

[3] William Gore Langton of Newton St. Loe was returned at this Election (April to May, 1831), and was also returned as one of the two members for the Eastern Division of Somerset in December, 1832, the first election after the Reform Act, 1832.

5th Mo. 1. I have been electioneering all this time my good friends. I have been speaking. I've been scribbling. I am a man of importance, master recorder! To sum up my week's work in a few words then, I am a Secretary to Langton's Election Committee he having acceded to my requisition since which I have drawn up an address from him to the County. We have set going a system of successful agitation—the whole county is in a fever of enthusiasm.

3rd [MAY]. Our work begins to simplify . . . we have but one enemy to combat and he I am afraid will teaze us with a poll tho' he can no longer have any chance of success.

6th [MAY]. This has been a most exhilirating day, a day of great personal triumph to myself and of the signal success of the cause of Reform . . . nothing now remains but the form of an Election at Ilchester and after that I hope to be able to abstract myself a little from electioneering excitement.

8th [MAY]. At meeting today an admirable and impressive sermon from Abigail Dockwra of Manchester delivered with great propriety of manner—and no sing-song.

11th [MAY]. Being appointed one of a deputation of eight to attend the form of an election at Ilchester . . . we set off at 6 o'clock this morning in a carriage and four . . . reached the place of destination a little before 10 having travelled 32 miles in most admirable style . . . the accidental arrival of Lord Jno. Russell en passant lit up the fervour of the multitude. The doings at the election were merely formal—all parchment and prunella . . . After partaking of a dinner and being regaled with some bad wine we turned our faces homewards. We found Bath in a state of excitement. Col. Langton's carriage had been drawn into and around the town by the populace and all seemed joy and exhultation.

5th Mo. 25th. This morning attended a final meeting of the Committee . . . so ends this affair. I am right rejoiced: long may it be ere I again put behind my ear the busy bustling important *thankless* pen of an Election Secretary! Nothing now remains but to eat and drink together, that necessary addendum to an Englishman's labours.

6th Mo. 1. To a Dinner of Langton's Committee at the White Lion where in addition to the *agremens* of good eating and drinking and the drawbacks of overmuch toasting—and some wretches *singing* (?) my organ of self esteem might have been very considerably developed by the outrageous bepraise-

ment my electioning services received. I derived but small gratification from this public laud and was better pleased with the judicious and tempered eulogium of Mr. Keene who did me "flattering justice" in as good a speech as I have ever listened to at a dinner. We returned home in respectable time thus setting an example, even in this last act of our collective existence, to all hereafter-to-be-established Election Committees.

A Holiday in Somerset

14th [Aug.]. When I was last at Bridgwater, Brother T.C.[1] and I made a sort of touring engagement—of which he has recently reminded me—to pay a visit to Cheddar Cliffs & the neighbourhood which, tho' a Somersetshire Man, I have never seen. I accordingly went over to Whitley this evening, in order to meet him, and proceed thence on our excursion.

15th [Aug.]. Started this morning at 7 to West Harptree, a very pretty village, having some remarkably fine yew trees in the Church Yard, and so curiously cut as almost to reconcile that exploded barbarism—and thence to Ubley—but here we were out of our way, and turned back half a mile, and taking a direction to the left up a very long and steep hill, presently found ourselves on the table-land of Mendip—a most sterile plain, covered with rabbit warrens, but cultivated in parts. We had then to pass thro' an infinity of gates, and on a road which is as bad as can well be, and so circuitous as to puzzle all one's notions of the points of the compass, till we descended the ravine which, continually proving more broken and mountainous on either side, at length conducted us to the Cliffs. By this means, we enjoyed a pleasure not possessed by visitors in general, that of seeing the gradual development of the beauties of this mountainous glen, from the first breaking of the weary plain to the complete burst of the view of the stupendous and overhanging rocks.—The Cliffs are assuredly very beautiful, and they are so singularly disposed as to present the appearance of an ever varying series of ruined castles, which give constant occupation for the imagination. After ordering dinner at the King's Arms, we roamed two or three hours about the rocks, searching for plants. We found one which was quite new to me—the Welsh Poppy, which I

[1] W.M.'s brother-in-law, Thomas Clark.

have since transferred to my garden. Cheddar is a very pretty village, and its situation highly picturesque. One of its greatest beauties is a stream of water of the finest chrystal, which turns several paper mills. Leaving Cheddar after our excellent dinner—and cheap—we set out for Sidcot—and had a pleasant ride over a part of the Mendip Ridge, and thro' the old town of Axbridge, to James Fullers. We passed by the two Quaker Schools—the little girls eyed us with great curiosity, each apparently anxious to recognize a well-known face. Soon after our arrival, Seymer[1] joined us, and seemed pleased to see me after his quiet fashion. He does not seem to be popular at this noisy house. They do not understand him.

J. Fuller's company and conversation are always agreeable, and so far we had a pleasant evening. All the rest was alloy—for the children, the eldest excepted, were troublesome and unmannerly, and the wife querulous. I here saw the worst-managed garden conceivable, and I thought it a type of the family for, though the soil is good and there are many excellent things in it, yet it is choked by weeds, and runs wild from neglect. As an instance of the boys' ill-manners, I shall not soon forget their letting loose, and setting at me a fierce yard-dog—all from sport! At this place, we met a female friend—a quere fish—named Wheeler. She was remarkable for the largeness of her faith. She repeated with grave approval a strange tale told her by one of the aforesaid guides, that the fissure of Cheddar Cliffs was produced at the Crucifixion, when "the vail of the Temple was rent, and there was a great Earth-quake." So much for credulity.

16th [AUG.]. After breakfast started for Weston Super Mare—a pretty drive of eight miles thro' Banwell. We did not stop to see the Ante diluvian Cavern—for which I suppose Professor Buckland, would have pronounced us tasteless Goths. We had another purpose to serve by dispatch, which was to get off to the Steep Holmes whilst the tide served. On reaching Weston, after a little delay, we got a sailing boat, and taking provender—embarked for our destination. We were 3 hours on the water, tho' the distance is but 6 miles. It was nearly a dead calm—till within a mile of the shore the wind sprung up, and there came on heavy rain which lasted

[1] Seymer, W.M.'s youngest and only brother born in the Bath house, was 11 years old and at the school run by Joseph Benwell (brother of John Benwell, founder of Sidcot School).

two hours or more. We landed on a little ridge of pebbles stretching out into the sea, almost the only accessible part of the Island. The Steep Holmes have—at least of late years—been uninhabited—except in winter as a fishing station for the Sprat fishery. It has lately been bought of the Bristol Corporation by a Mr. Baker, who now has men at work building a wharf and making a road to the steep acclivity of the summit—on which he intends to erect some houses. He probably will open a trade in time with the Welsh Coast—as the stone is well adapted for burning. It is indeed of the same kind as the stone of the Mendips—and there are strong reasons to believe that the Island was originally connected with the Mainland, and formed a promontory of that ridge of hill—of which Brean Down is now the western-most extremity. It is of greater extent than I had supposed. It is nearly two miles round at its base. It is quite barren, but has many attractions to the naturalist. Ours was a botanical survey. We went in search of several plants which are said to be peculiar to the place in their wild state. Of these to our great delight, by the aid of one of the workmen, we found the garden peony[1]—a species of cabbage—and a large kind of garlic—the caper spurge &c. Rejecting the theory of the botanists that these plants had fixed their "habitat" on this small lone spot of all others in the world, I in my presumption, formed one of my own, viz.: that they were the remains and indications of garden cultivation at some remote period—an idea probable in itself and strengthened by the fact that there are many palpable remains of buildings of some sort—either camps or forts or houses, and in one place we could distinctly trace a garden wall. On one side of the Island is a curious stratum of limpet shells—many feet above the reach of the sea, and how they should have come there unless the inhabitants had thrown them away after eating the fish, I know not—for Geologists would hesitate at pronouncing them Ante Diluvian. The present sole tenants of the soil are foxes and rabbits in abundance. We took our repast in the temporary shed occupied by the labourers, and could almost fancy ourselves, surrounded by their rough and uncouth figures, in a bandits' dwelling. After effecting all the objects of our visit, we had another tedious pull, and arrived late at Weston, and returned

[1] The Peony is not a native of Britain, but is known to have become naturalized on Steep Holm.

wet and weary to our comfortable quarters—Reeve's Hotel. Weston seems to increase in attraction and is now very full. The fact is people cannot afford to go so far as Weymouth or Sidmouth for sea air.

17th [AUG.]. Sallied out early, and took a pleasant dip in a new Salt-water Bath—afterwards to the Roman Camp on Worle Hill overlooking Birnbeck Island, the scene of a tragi-comedy in which I once, with Joe and Tom played a part. *Real* tragedies have been acted there, both before and since. Soon after breakfast we took leave of Weston intending to reach Bourton to dinner. On our way we turned out of the road about a mile, to see Brockley Combe. Whoever would wish to see trees magnificent and luxuriant in size and growth, and forming the most picturesque groups, and fantastic combinations, should come here. To the Landscape Painter, Brockley Combe presents an abundant supply of studies of wood scenery such as I have never before seen. At Bourton, we were hospitably treated by E. Naish. He has a beautiful garden which much delighted me. Reached Bath late.

CORONATION OF WILLIAM IV

9th Mo. 8th. Coronation Day. It was "ushered in" to use the immemorial newspaper phrase—by a monstrous deal of ringing and firing of cannon, anvils, muskets and horse pistols, pistols and pistolets. The whole town seemed to have made up its mind to be mad for 24 hours—more or less—and accordingly every appliance of fun and foolery was had in early requisition. I was amused, whilst dressing, with the assiduity and loyal zeal of my opposite neighbour Gorely—a grave little brushmaker, who made it his special rejoicing to run backward and backward in shirt sleeves loading a little wicked blunderbuss at his drawing room table and then stealthily firing it off out of the half open window. He prosecuted his business all day in this fashion, waxing violent at every bounce till by and bye in the evening he overcrammed the pistol and the pistol revenged itself as was very right, by breaking some of the panes and extinguishing the glory of an illuminated crown. The illumination in the evening would have been very splendid had not the clouds most plenteously —mercilessly—and continuously poured their contents over the city and drowned the light of the lamps and the loyalty of

the leiges together. Our house had got no Crown nor Star nor lamp nor farthing candle—but being inhabited by a (soi-disant) Quaker and protected by a pretty good looking constable we had no windows cracked. I might perhaps have showed a light like the rest of the folk but I dislike the thing.

The transparencies were numerous, and one or two good, but the devices displayed little ingenuity and were very trite. The allusions to Reform abounded—in fact it was an illumination for Reform and not for William the 4th as such. The Corporation set their faces against it but fell in at last from fear or shame.

25th [SEPT.]. In the afternoon, at J. Gillett's, patiently listened to a private lecture from Josiah Forster on the impropriety of my calling. His objections were chiefly levelled at the retailing of spirits and I met them by showing that the argument, *derived from their abuse*, told equally against the sale of wines of beer or any other inebriating beverage—and I put it to him whether he was prepared to go to the length of saying the trade should altogether cease? He candidly admitted he was not.

10th Mo. 11th. Closely engaged these two days in preparation for a public meeting which is to be opposite the Sydney Hotel where hustings are being erected. The greatest excitement prevails. Tonight a mob followed, with violent outcries and denunciations, the carriage of Lord Londonderry—just arrived for peace and quietness sake.

13th [OCT.]. Today has been one to be remembered and one that I shall never forget . . . the papers of the day are full enough of description of the magnificent spectacle . . . no disorder but perfect good humour and unanimity. I have now but one feeling . . . renewed confidence . . . if I have another it is that of extreme self satisfaction in having been a chief instrument in bringing about this memorial meeting. It is supposed there were 20,000 persons present and the sight was truly grand.

20 [OCT.]. Attended a large dinner of Reformers at Sydney Hall—a large company . . . not a very respectable assemblage tho' by the bye. There was much speechifying of the *usual calibre*—and we had some beautiful singing from Mr. Manners and a Mr. Hooper. Spender proposed my health in an elegant eulogistic speech—and it was received in a manner that quite overpowered me at the moment and has

left an impression not soon to be effaced. I am now enjoying a popularity—I trust an honest and legitimate popularity—such as might content to the full any man less greedy of praise and less convinced than I am of its instability. I do not feel disposed much more to court the dangerous distinction which I have in part acquired tho' there are not wanting many who would fain push one forward in a career which they scarcely dare enter on themselves.[1]

The Bristol Riots

30th [Oct.]. This has been a day to be long remembered. The City has been this evening disgraced by the most dreadful riots, arising out of this circumstance: Sir C. Wetherell foolishly made his public outing into Bristol yesterday, he being Recorder of the City. The people attacked him, mastered the Constable and defied the Military, who were not powerful or determined enough to deal with them.—From thence have arisen a series of outrages, each out-Heroding the other until their sum amounts to this—both Gaols destroyed by fire—the prisoners set loose—a toll bridge destroyed—great property injured—the Bishop's Palace menaced—the whole City a prey to violence, and considerable loss of life. The Recorder too having fled. This afternoon, the Bath Yeomanry was called out to march to Bristol, but when assembling, were furiously attacked by the people and dispersed. A few with their Capt. (Wilkins) took refuge in the White Hart, which then became the object of attack. The windows and shutters were soon demolished, the mob got into the house and destroyed the furniture, arming themselves with legs of chairs and tables with which to make further fight. After this they made demonstrations of attacking the Guildhall, but were repelled by a large body of Special Constables, who being in great force prevented further outrage, and the night passed with tolerable quietude. Father came in this evening. Dear S. has suffered a good deal from nervous excitement tonight.

31st [Oct.]. The news from Bristol this moment is dreadful. The Custom House, Mansion House, Bishop's Palace, Lawford's Gate Prison etc. were rifled and burnt last night, and the mob were still going on unchecked in their horrible

[1] This last is believed to be a reference to a possibility of standing for Parliament at the next opportunity.

career. The spirit still prevailing here is of the worst possible description, and we shall have more rioting to-night. I have just heard that they made an attempt to fire the Guildhall last night. 10 o'clock—All is quiet here by the exertions of the Special Constables, and we have no concomitant of riot here except its noise. I drew up a placard this morning exhorting the people to quiet and order, which the Mayor sanctioned, and which having been extensively posted I trust may have produced some effect. At Bristol, how different! There the destruction of property has been going on at a dreadful rate, and the loss of life by fire, by drunkenness and by the Soldiery has been very deplorable. Some women and children suffered with the rest.

11th Month 1st. All was quiet here last night, and Bristol is at length tranquil—that is the Military have full possession, and the rioters have been overcome.

11th Month 2nd. Curiosity—"the World's witch", spirited me over to Bristol this afternoon, for I could not longer forbear visiting the scene of such inexcusable doings. It was wet, but I believe I saw the extent of the devastation. The appearance of Queen Square, of King Street, the Bishop's Palace etc. was most dreadful. I saw and sickened with the sight—a headless and limbless body—blackened with fire, dug out of the ruins of the Custom House, and dozens more met the same fate. The City is now thronged with Soldiers, and is under martial law, and the Citizens parade the streets as Special Constables. But the danger is all past, in fact it was never so great but that if it had been met by any common degree of resolution, it might have been dissipated. A Wine Merchant in Queen Square who was still standing at the door of his half rifled cellar armed cap a pie, told me that he would have engaged at any time to have put an end to the riot, if *thirty* determined fellows would have followed him! It was a boy-mob, a collection of boy thieves and infamous girls, and the authorities (*authorities!*) of Bristol owe a dismal debt of reparation to the Country for the evils which their folly and imbecility have brought on the City. I suppose from what I hear, the expiation is, as usual, to be blood. They will hang a lot of the poor misled wretches, and then talk of "the restoration of tranquility", and whisper peace to their blighted conscience.

3rd. Sam is gone over to Bristol to have a look at the

fallen City. The 52nd Foot came into town this afternoon in waggons and carts from Warminster on their way to Bristol, to help shut the stable door after the horse has been stolen.

1832.

29th [JAN.]. Yesterday there were two meetings here to form an Auxiliary Temperance Society which were very large and at which the usual quantity of mixed truth and error, fact and exaggeration were given out by a Mr. Carr, the hired traveller of the concern and his local adherents. They threaten to hold meetings every fortnight! This is attacking the "spirit below" with a vengeance. This is one of those societies concerned in the spirit of intolerance and all uncharitableness. If one offers a word on the other side, one is forthwith set down either as a drunkard or an interested person and the whole army of wide-mouthed canters are in full cry after you as "one coming eating and drinking—a wine bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners". Thus the aspersed trade of the dealer goes undefended and the tongue of the moderate consumer is tied: thus too, will prohibition and the persecution of opinion beget hypocrisy and concealment—the gin bottle will get to be contraband, but smuggling will go on.

In *History Today* for October, 1952, pp. 676-684, there appeared an article on "The founding of Pennsylvania," by Henry J. Cadbury. It gives a good picture also of early Pennsylvanian progress, and social and political life. There are five illustrations.

The Quarterly Review for October, 1952, contains an article (pp. 461-472) by Beatrice Saxon Shell, entitled "Quaker Tercentenary," in which are outlined the leading characteristics of Quaker faith and practice illustrated by the doings and sayings of Friends both ancient and modern.

The *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, vol. 10, no. 2, October, 1952, includes (at pp. 109-111) a long and interesting review by Dr. H. McLachlan of Frederick Tolles' "Slavery and the Woman Question: Lucretia Mott's diary, 1840" in which he traces the entries in the diary which concern Unitarians, and further identifies some of those referred to.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Friends and Scientific Thought:

Reminiscences

By LAWRENCE RICHARDSON

MY earliest recollections go back to about 1875, when 5 or 6 years old. There were three tall broad-brimmed hats at the head of Newcastle meeting, the tallest in the middle; all kept on throughout, as a matter of religious principle. Other men might put their hats on or off as they thought fit. On the women's side were several Quaker bonnets. Men and women kept strictly to their separate sides of the meeting house. In speaking, some women used a curious high-pitched sing-song. The Sunday morning meeting lasted a full hour and a half, and except for two or three families with carriages, everyone must walk there and back. Children's meetings were held monthly, and Thomas Hodgkin interested us in the Parables. Much the greatest change within my memory has been in the expression of our religious feeling and thinking.

In 1886, at the age of nearly 17, I left boarding school and attended meeting morning and evening regularly and decided that I ought to try to think things out for myself. It was a time of great controversy both within and outside the Society.

There was a long controversy in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* between W. E. Gladstone, standing for the freedom from error of the Bible, and T. H. Huxley, attacking that view. In books, Matthew Arnold was giving an outline of Biblical origins and saying that miracles do not happen in our experience and that we can and must find some better basis for religion. Novels, like *Robert Elsmere*, by Mrs. Humphry Ward, and *The Story of an African Farm*, by Olive Schreiner, were widely read and discussed.

Inside the Society the more vocal portion (but certainly not all) were laying great stress on the need for *belief* in Bible and creed; and for evident conversion—"you *must* be born again." Some would go so far as belief in "every word from

cover to cover"; to give way on one word was to give away everything; had not Christ himself endorsed the Story of Jonah and the Whale and the fate of eternal punishment for unbelievers? Very common was the belief that to have doubts was *wrong*; to talk about them was to endanger the souls of others. (But had not Tennyson written a generation earlier "There breathes more faith in honest doubt, believe me, than in half the creeds.")

About the year 1887 the editor of *The Friend* was conducting a special mission in Newcastle Meeting House and I heard him explain Christianity in these words—"God was so just that he *had* to punish someone for the sin of Adam; but he loved mankind so much that he put all the punishment on to his own son Jesus, so that those who believed on him might be saved from future punishment." I am quite sure now that many other members would have disliked that as much as I did, but no one told me so. I was much puzzled and worried greatly over many points of doctrine.

The final upshot was that I revolted rather violently. If Christianity meant that sort of creed, then I must give up Christianity. No doubt I was crude; and pugnacious—but I was having to fight for my spiritual and intellectual life against influences that would have stifled it. There are some rather sore memories and I cannot but feel that Newcastle Meeting and the Society in general failed rather badly in its dealings with those of us who revolted. There was pity for misled youth; there was not understanding. It was not persecution and was well meant, but there was a painful social pressure; we were not irreverent or irreligious, but such views must not be allowed to feel themselves at home; so it meant feeling like a fish out of water in any religious gathering; it meant going into the wilderness for 10 or 12 years.

Thomas Hodgkin asked half a dozen of us to his house once or twice and that was definitely understanding and helpful; he knew the difference between Jehovist and Elohist in Genesis (which is the A B C of Biblical origins); what he said in meeting was always interesting, though he was not so outspoken as I wished; I think he was very anxious to avoid controversy.

My attendance at meeting became very irregular. But for my friendship with John Wilhelm Rowntree ("that dangerous young man" as some called him) I should probably have

resigned my membership and might have drifted into indifference. I have heard Neave Brayshaw say that the Society lost a whole generation of young people. It must have been much harder for some of the older generation, people like John William Graham, Frances Thompson and many others; but we did not learn of them till later.

Things were moving however, if slowly. In 1888 there came before Yearly Meeting the "Richmond Document", an elaborate creed drawn up in America with the help of some English and Irish Friends. I don't like it now any better than I did then. A great many were very anxious to adopt it; it is quite possible that a majority would have said that for themselves they agreed with it; but though circulating it with the *Proceedings*, Yearly Meeting very wisely decided not to bind itself to a creed. If that had been done, it would certainly have split the Society.

Things continued to move if slowly. In 1895 there was a Home Mission Conference at Manchester with, I believe, some very straight speaking. In 1897 came the first Scarborough Summer School. I was rather out of health and did not go—which was my loss.

I got to the second Summer School at Scarborough in 1901 and what a revelation it was!—a company in which one could speak freely, ask any questions; devotional meetings where one did *not* feel like a fish out of water; lectures by experts as to the origins of the Bible, which made it far more interesting and therefore far more valuable—a group of human documents with contradictions and errors in plenty, savage atrocities even—but from which one could wash out the gold and let the rest go. Rendel Harris on the quarrels of St. Peter and St. Paul, made the latter far more human and understandable, if still often not profitable.

John Wilhelm Rowntree's early death in 1905 was a very great loss, but the work went on with a wider sense of responsibility. Many other Summer schools followed. Woodbrooke was founded and the Swarthmore lecture. The battle for free inquiry had been definitely won, though rumblings still continued in some places.

The Summer school movement was the work of a number of people who realized the importance of the results of research in Biblical matters and also in the origin of mankind according to the Darwinian theory; and who also felt that

there need not be, *must* not be any loss of real religion in accepting these results. Its leaders were John Wilhelm Rowntree, Rendel Harris, Joshua Rowntree, William Charles Braithwaite, Rufus Jones, Neave Brayshaw, Edward Grubb, H. G. Wood and many others.

Newcastle meeting felt the effects of course, though it was several years more before, in great fear and trembling, I could screw up my courage to speak in the meeting for worship. I was goaded to it by an address as to the way in which wonderful miracles which we could not have believed without religion, proved the power of God. It took weeks to find words to express, without being too controversial, the sense of dependability that is to be found in the regular order of outward Nature and in the inner life as well. I need not have been so frightened; no one jumped on me; I got good encouragement from two or three older friends.

For full fifty years now our meeting in Newcastle has had a pretty continuous succession of lectures, discussions and fellowship meetings, and just because we do not wish to debate in the devotional meetings, it is the more necessary that we should have other opportunities for learning, for free discussions, for exchange of opinion. For several years, Louie Pumphrey had at her house regular discussion meetings for young Friends; I was very glad of the opportunity of attending some of them. One cannot attempt to name all those who helped the meeting. Robert Lunnon and Nora Gillie brought to it a refreshing openness of mind. Alfred Brown more than anyone else in the rather short time he was with us, stirred us to activity and increased attendances. Herbert Corder of Sunderland was very encouraging.

This question of avoiding controversy in the meeting for worship may continue difficult, for if it is carried too far, it may be very deadening. Long after our congregation as a whole had abandoned the view of the verbal inspiration of Scripture, there seemed to be a tacit understanding that nothing must be said to throw doubt on it. I remember a feeling of delighted surprise when a leading minister went so far as to describe a certain verse as shining like a gem in the otherwise *dull* book of Proverbs. That particular difficulty has disappeared, but has there been a similar tacit understanding, to avoid any expression of doubt as to the infallibility of Jesus? Has this prevented our *thinking* about Him? Cer-

tainly I recognize Him as our greatest teacher and I have no wish to quarrel with those who have genuinely "fallen in love" with Him as Robert Lunnon put it. But for myself I get the best understanding of Him by asking questions. What *sort* of a man was He? Did He share the popular religion and even some of the popular superstitions, e.g. demoniacal possession? Were there not limitations and even mistakes? Does He not towards the end seem to become somewhat unbalanced and embittered? Even so, He remains our greatest teacher.

And now I am too deaf to hear most of what is said in meeting. I still feel a bit of a rebel sometimes. It may be that early experiences have given my mind a permanent set, so that I cannot use phraseology that comes easily to many Friends. We have to use figurative language and our figures of speech may differ when we mean the same thing. I can feel at home as I could with no other body.

Recent Publications

IN *The Protestant Dissenting Deputies;* by Bernard Lord Manning, Edited by Ormerod Greenwood (Cambridge University Press, 1952), we trace the story of a London committee of delegates from up to 100 or more congregations of the historic dissenting churches in the metropolitan area. The body consisted of lawyers and business men conversant with city and government practices, and still exists. It was formed in the 1730s when there seemed a possibility of repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts under Walpole's later administration. The monthly meetings of the Deputies provided opportunities for applications in the proper quarters for the redress of local and private as well as general and public grievances under which dissenters laboured well into the nineteenth century.

The book pays tribute to John Bright's work in the church rates question, but points out that the Deputies' records do not show the Society of Friends in an amiable light. That may be true, but it does not excuse author or editor from dating or qualifying statements before publishing them. When were Friends privileged to worship in secret, and did they exercise this "privilege"? On page 213, "Many statutes had confirmed [Friends'] peculiar privilege of making declarations in place of oaths. They could sit in Parliament as a result of this privilege." These easy phrases hardly represent over a century's work for emancipation from disabilities, many of them never felt by those who could take an oath. It took a Select Committee in the Reformed House of Commons of 1833 to decide to allow Joseph Pease to make his affirmation and take his seat, the first Quaker to do so, though John Archdale had been elected in 1698.

Friends did not co-operate in the Deputies' attempt "to save Bunhill Fields burial ground from desecration by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. It was a historic occasion, and the deepest sentiments were outraged." Friends did not join in a deputation to the Home Secretary, although ten other dissenting bodies invited accepted. We may today share a regret that Friends did not accept this invitation. But Friends had an objection both to tombstones and to the veneration, which sometimes becomes superstition, regarding burial places, especially when such regard conflicts with the claims of the living. At about this time Friends used a large part of their own burial ground at Bunhill (after removal of interred remains) for buildings, including a mission hall, a coffee tavern and a school.

With the seventeenth century sufferings of their forefathers in mind, Friends may not see themselves as "the spoilt children of a persecuting State," but this book has an importance far outside any small field of sectarian history. It would have been a better book if one could distinguish between the respective contributions to it of the Deputies, of the author and of the editor.

Early Quakerism in Guildford; and a brief history of the past and present meeting places of the Guildford "Friends", 1673-1952. By Herbert Rowntree. (Herbert Rowntree, The Bungalow, Worplesdon, near Guildford; Friends Book Centre, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1). pp. 60. 2s. 6d. (2s. 9d. post free.)

This is a welcome addition to the growing number of local histories of Quakerism which have been separately published. The text is most competently compiled, and the author is not afraid to let the documents speak for themselves. The plans in the text are clear and to the point, and there is a cover-picture of the meeting house from a sketch by Reginald Rowntree.

If you are interested in Guildford, or might visit Guildford, or just wish to know how to set about a short history of Friends in your home district, get this pamphlet. Note: there is an index.

Research in Progress

Paul James, Beech Lawn, Mottram Road, Stalybridge, Cheshire, has presented a typescript B.A. thesis of about 15,000 words at University College, Bangor (University of Wales), June, 1952; it is entitled *Oliver Cromwell and the Quakers*.

Babette May Levy, 600 West 116 Street, New York 27, is preparing a study on Puritanism in the Southern and Island (American and West Indian) Colonies.

Elizabeth M. F. van Mervennée, 12 Sweelinckstraat, Den Haag, Netherlands, is preparing a thesis on "The relation between the prophetical and mystical aspects in Quakerism" for a degree in the Theological Seminary of the Remonstrant Brotherhood, 1952.

Notes and Queries

William Penn's Schooldays

It is the generally accepted tradition that William Penn went to school at Chigwell Grammar School near Wanstead, Essex, founded by Archbishop Harsnett in 1629. The early records of the school are too scanty to provide documentary proof of this. Modern biographers refer the reader to Thomas Clarkson's *Memoir of William Penn*, 1813. In Clarkson's list of authorities is Anthony à Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*; and therein (2nd edition, 1721: vol. 2, 1050) we find it stated that Penn was "born on Tower-hill near London, on the 14th of Octob. 1644, educated in puerile learning at Chigwell in Essex, where, at eleven Years of Age, being retired in a Chamber alone, he [had a religious 'opening']. Afterwards he went to a private School on Tower-hill, and had, besides the benefit of a Tutor which his Father kept in his House. In 1660 he was entred a Gent. Com. of Ch.Ch. [Gentleman Commoner of Christ Church]." Wood is said to have owed some of his material to John Aubrey, and Aubrey was a friend of Penn. In Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, edited by Andrew Clark, 1898, vol. 2, p. 132 (or 1949 edition, pp. 359-62), we read that Penn "Went to schoole in London, a private schole on that hill, and his father kept a tutor in the house: but first he went to school at Chigwell in Essex. [Aubrey reports the 'opening', and adds] His schoolmaster was not of his perswasion." It is probable that all later statements depend on the authority of John Aubrey.

James Nayler's Last Testimony

In *Journal* XLI (1949), pp. 3-4, appeared some notes on variations in the early printings of James Nayler's last recorded saying. Geoffrey F. Nuttall has drawn attention to an earlier printing than any hitherto noted. It occurs as the last of a number of quite brief papers by Nayler under the heading: *To all the Dearly Beloved People of God, Mercy and Peace*, 8 pp. 4to, printed in 1660 (Joseph Smith's *Catalogue*, ii, 227.)

This version contains the seven words noted as missing from some other early printings. Its occurrence at the end of this pamphlet of papers all by Nayler, in 1660, tends to confirm the tradition that it is one of his latest sayings or writings.

It remains to be explored whether these little papers or some of them are here printed for the first time, or are they excerpts or reprints of things that had appeared previously? If the former, then probably Nayler wrote them all very near the end of his life, and the last would be his latest published writing. A perusal of Joseph Smith's *Catalogue* suggests this. If the papers were collected and printed after Nayler's death by (probably) Robert Rich, then the last is probably a saying taken down by someone and transmitted to Robert Rich.

A French View of Quakerism

The following dissertation presented for the degree of bachelor of theology in the faculty of Protestant theology at Montauban by Elisée Marty in March, 1879, does not appear to have been noticed before. It is entitled *Essai sur les Quakers* (Montauban, Typ. de Macabiau-Vidallet, Rue Bessières, 25, 1879. 8vo. pp. 60), and is divided into 4 chapters. I—Origine des Quakers; II—Doctrines des Quakers; III—Culte et discipline des Quakers; IV—Moeurs et coutumes des Quakers.

Chapter IV gives a fair survey of Friends' views on many subjects, and mentions their care in educating the young to develop their own abilities and use their time wisely; avoidance of harmful games, card-playing, novel reading, horse-racing, cock-fighting; disapproval of Stock Exchange gambling; and, on balance, disapproving of music—as taking time which would be better employed in religious pursuits. There was an annual inquiry made to make sure that no Friend danced(!).

The Chapter on Origins is mainly concerned with the life of George Fox, William Penn and Robert Barclay. The references quoted comprise articles in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 1, 15 avril 1850; *Revue britannique*, octobre 1851; and J. F. Astié's Histoire de la république aux Etats-Unis, Bridel's translation of Barclay's *Apologie;* Religion aux Etats-Unis, par Baird; Notice sur les Quakers, by A. de Mestral, in the Vie d'Elisabeth Fry, J. J. Gurney's *Observations on the distinguishing practices of the Society of Friends*, and Tuke's *Exposition succincte des principes religieux*.

There is no hint that the author had any knowledge of French Friends.

Friends in Swindon

At the end of a chapter on Swindon in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by H. B. Wells (in *Studies in the history of Swindon*, Swindon Borough Council, 1950), there is a brief note on Friends (pp. 141-2), and mentioning the birth of John, son of Thomas and Mary Ducket (taken from *Wilts Notes & Queries*, III.318) of that place.

Bridport Meeting House

An Inventory of the historical monuments in Dorset. Vol. 1—*West*, issued by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England (H.M. Stationery Office, 1952), includes (pp. 46-48) a descriptive account and plan (scale of approximately 24 feet to one inch) of the Bridport Friends' Meeting House and Almshouses on the east side of South Street. The Meeting House was given by Daniel Taylor in 1697, but the structure includes fifteenth and sixteenth-century features. Alterations were made in the eighteenth century and later.

Thomas Parsons, of Portishead

The 1951 volume of the *Transactions* of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society includes an article by I. V. Hall, entitled "The connexions between John Knight, Jnr., and the Parsons and Jennings families, 1641-79" (vol. 70, pp. 119-125). He brings to light the puritan leanings of the Parsons family—in which John Knight of Bristol shared—and mentions the Quaker connections of Thomas Parsons.

It was at The Grange, Parsons' home in Portishead, where Friends held their meetings for many years. Meetings were kept at the house even when the head of the family was in prison. Thomas Parsons died of gaol fever in Ilchester in 1670, and Bristol Friends, together with those of north Somerset, were active in caring for his young children left fatherless.

London Welsh Friends

The *History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, by R. T. Jenkins and H. M. Ramage (London, 1951. *Y Cymmrodor*.50), includes notices of Silvanus Bevan, F.R.S., of Allen and Hanburys and Thomas Roberts (1767-1841). Bevan is reported to speak Welsh "very brokenly"—"A dilettante, a collector of fossils, curios, paintings, an amateur wood-carver, and enthusiastic gardener, he was slovenly, and with trembling hands, and his table-manners (like Johnson's) were queer" (p. 71). Of Thomas Roberts, a member of Devonshire House Meeting, another corresponding member of the Society it is reported that he "on one occasion stubbornly withstood a proposal that smoking should be forbidden at Cymreigyddion meetings" (p. 110 ff.). In April, 1802, there was an argument on the question "are the people called Quakers nearer the Apostolic Church than are the other religious folk of today?" In the discussion one, John Jones of Glan-y-gors, "tore the Quakers to tatters, asserting that scripture forbids women to speak at Church meetings, and that Quakers are snakes in the grass, etc. Thereupon Thomas Roberts clean lost his temper, and in an angry speech, quivering with rage, asserted that Glan-y-gors was a weapon of the Devil to destroy all religion . . . and that he had succeeded only too well" (p. 132).

William Bradford

A Useful survey of William Bradford's printing activity during his colonial Quaker period appeared recently in the volume of *Essays honoring Lawrence C. Wroth* (Portland, Me. 1951), pp. 209-222. The article, "William Bradford's book trade and John Bowne, Long Island Quaker, as his book agent, 1686-1691", by Gerald D. McDonald, is based on a study of the relevant bibliographical portions of John Bowne's account book which is now in New York Public Library.

"On the True Faith of a Christian"

More Anglo-Jewish leading cases, by Professor Norman de M. Bentwich, an article in vol. 16 of the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 1952 (for 1945-1951), pp. 149-162, includes a short section on the Parliamentary Oath case, Miller *v.* Salomons, in which Alderman David Salomons, elected for Greenwich in 1851, was debarred from sitting in the House of Commons because he had omitted the words "on the true faith of a Christian" from the Oath of Abjuration which had to be taken before sitting in the House.

"The Jews and the Quakers were constantly associated in the struggle for religious toleration. . . . But the Quakers obtained complete political equality with much less struggle because they could subscribe the final words." (p. 156).

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

14. Record of the SUFFERINGS OF FRIENDS IN CORNWALL, 1655-1686. 152 pp., 7s. 6d., post 4d.

15. QUAKER LANGUAGE. F.H.S. Presidential address by T. Edmund Harvey, 1928. 30 pp., 1s. 6d., post 2d.

16-17. PEN PICTURES OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, 1789-1833. Ed. Norman Penney. 227 pp., price 10s., post 6d.

20. THE SWARTHMORE DOCUMENTS IN AMERICA. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D. 1940. 90 pp. Thirty-five 17th c. MSS., originally in the Swarthmore Hall collection. 5s., post 2½d.

21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24 pp., 2s., post 1½d.

22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D. 1948. 68 pp. Thirty-three early Quaker letters, 1655 to 1678. 5s., post 2½d.

23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION." Lucretia Mott's Diary, 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 5s., cloth 7s. 6d.

24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. 2s. 6d.

More Members Needed

During the last two or three years the Committee of the Friends' Historical Society has made special efforts to bring to the notice of Friends and others information regarding the Society with a view to increasing its membership.

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