THE JOURNAL

of the

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ELEVENTH MONTH (Nov.), 1903.

London:
HEADLEY BROTHERS,
14, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT, E.C.

Philadelphia, U.S.A.:
“AMERICAN FRIEND” OFFICE, 718, ARCH STREET.
(1.) Membership shall be open

(a) To any member of the Society of Friends on payment of a minimum annual subscription of Five Shillings ($1.25), or of a life composition of Five Guineas ($25); and

(b) To any other person on similar payment, and on the introduction of two members;

(II.) The officers shall consist of President, Treasurer, Secretary (or Secretaries), and a small Executive Committee, of which the Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting, the Clerk of that Meeting's Library and Printing Committee, the Recording Clerk, and the Librarian shall be ex-officio members, and to which several representative Friends in America shall be attached as consultative members;

(III.) As funds will allow, but not more frequently than four times a year, a Journal shall be issued in the interests of the Society, and sent free to all members;

(IV.) As supplements to its periodical, the Society shall, from time to time, as means allow, print various documents of interest, which subscribers shall be able to obtain at a reduced price; and

For continuation of Rules see page 3 of cover.
for friends with my love to you all in the holy seed.

Christ in whom you shall have life, salvation, peace

with God, & for whose sake you are sugar bonders but the

Lord is among you & with you in all your sufferings,

& be faithful till the end & he will give you a

crown of life, for with my love in the Lord

Jes 10 mo. 12 day 1684

& you may read the in closed among the

Presenors
The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society does not present itself as a rival of, or as a competitor for public favour with, any existing publication. The Historical Society has been formed for promoting research in a field hitherto but imperfectly worked. How much of publication it may be able to undertake is uncertain, and must largely depend upon the funds placed at its disposal; but for the present its organ will be a quarterly Journal, informing subscribers of its proceedings, and printing such historical data relating to the Society of Friends as may be suitable for publication.

Experience has proved the existence of much historical lore, that can hardly be made available for public use except through the action of bodies possessing funds, other than those obtainable from sales in the ordinary channels of trade. Historical documents of the highest intrinsic value are nevertheless frequently uninteresting and tedious,
except to a restricted class of readers; such are many of the State and Civic documents which have been published by Government authority and by the older municipal corporations, as well as by voluntary bodies like the Surtees Society, and the Congregational Historical Society, and by many local archeological and historical associations. Through these efforts a great deal of historical information, much of it curious, and some of it valuable, has been made public in recent years. The new Society proposes to do a similar work within the narrower area of the Society of Friends, for which it is believed there is ample room, notwithstanding the important services rendered to the study of denominational history, through the publication of much informing matter in the pages of *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, *The Friend* (of London and Philadelphia), *The British Friend*, *Quakeriana*, and at an earlier period in Luke Howard's *Yorkshireman*. The literature of Friends, including much still unpublished, is probably not inferior in importance and interest to that of other religious bodies, and there appears to be a requirement for a Society and a Journal devoted to this department of literary research.

The collection of printed and manuscript documents in the archives of Devonshire House is of great and constantly increasing value—the importance of which has now, happily, been recognised by its being placed under the charge of a competent librarian. The Society has received the approval of the Meeting for Sufferings, and of its Library Committee, who are officially represented upon the Council: it has also been welcomed by some not themselves Friends, who are interested in their history from various causes. In addition to the stores at Devonshire House, and those in the British Museum, connected with the history and doings of Friends,

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1 The Meeting for Sufferings, the Representative Committee of London Yearly Meeting, passed the following minute at its meeting in Ninth month, 1903:

The annexed circular is received announcing the formation of a Friends' Historical Society. This Meeting approves of the step, and encourages Friends to support the Society.

(Signed) **Henry Lloyd Wilson**, *Clerk.*
important collections, belonging to local congregations, exist at Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester, Kendal, York, and elsewhere, the contents of which are known only to a very restricted range of readers. Other documents of great value are in the hands of private individuals. It is believed that the Historical Society may have a useful service in promoting the care and preservation of documents which are apt to gather dust and become forgotten, unless they are under the eye of custodians possessing some antiquarian taste.

The Friends of the seventeenth century were commonly too busy, or suffering too severely from persecution, to devote much time to historical questions; yet it is interesting to recall how George Fox incited some of his more learned colleagues to investigate the ecclesiastical history of the marriage ceremony, when he was himself engaged in framing the Friends’ marriage procedure.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth, London Yearly Meeting took steps to collect information about “the first breaking forth of Truth” in different districts. Many of the returns then made by Monthly or Quarterly Meetings are still in existence, some of which it is intended to publish in this Journal. Notwithstanding all that has been written respecting the history of Friends, questions present from time to time which invite further investigation; for instance, the genesis of the term “Society of Friends” has, we believe, never been quite accurately determined, and several differing derivations do duty in Friends’ books. Again, sundry inquiries have recently been made as to the history of the procedure affecting the recording of ministers, and whilst the main lines of this history are well known, some of the minor details remain obscure.

The new Journal will, it is understood, regularly devote some space to notes and queries, in which correspondents will be able to ask and answer historical questions. At the recently-held meeting of the Provisional Council, when Isaac Sharp and Norman Penney kindly undertook the
editorship of the present number, numerous suggestions were made respecting matter suitable for insertion, and it is probable that the difficulty of selection and discrimination will be far greater than that of finding material for The Journal. We bespeak for it a wide and cordial support.

JOHN S. ROWNTREE.

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**Notes and Queries.**

A **N interesting work might be written on the various experiences of Friends crossing the Atlantic on religious service. Who will send us an article on “Friends on the Atlantic”?**

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Professor Edward Arber’s first volume of “The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D., edited from the very rare Quarterly Lists of New Books and Reprints issued by the Booksellers of London,” contains frequent references to early Quaker literature, mostly adverse to Friends. Many of the titles are given in Joseph Smith’s Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana, but the following do not seem to have been known to our bibliographer.

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“A true and impartial Narrative of the eminent hand of God that befell a Quaker and his Family at the Town of Panton in Lincolnshire; who affirmed he was commanded of God to pronounce Mr. Ralph James, Preacher of the Gospel, a Leper: the said judgment falling upon himself.” In quarto. 1673.

D. 13.N.

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“The Young Man’s Instructor . . . wherein several erroneous Doctrines of Quakers . . . are propounded and confuted. By Thomas Doolittle, Minister of the Gospel.” In octavo, 1673.

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“Hidden Things brought to Light, or The Discord of the Grand Quakers among themselves. Discovered in some Letters, Papers and Passages, written to and from G. Fox, J. Nayler, and J. Perrot; wherein may be seen the Cause and ground of their differences and falling out; and what manner of Spirit moved and acted each of them.” In quarto, 1678.

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“The Spirit of Delusion reproved, or The Quakers’ Cause fairly heard, and justly condemned. Being an Answer to W. Penn, G. Fox, G. Whitehead, G. Keith, E. Burroughs, and several others, the most leading men among them. Wherein their horrid Perversion, and false and dangerous Interpretations of above Fifty distinct Texts of Holy Scripture are plainly evinced. By Tho. Wilson, Rector of Arrow in Warwickshire.” In octavo, 1678.
"The Cabal of several Notorious Priests and Jesuits discovered ; shewing ; their frequenting Quakers' meetings," etc. Folio, 1679.

Professor Arber in the Preface to his Catalogues, writes, p. xii., "The history of the Quaker Press in London has yet to be written. How did the Society of Friends, who had no connection whatever with the Company of Stationers, manage to pour out so many books in defence of their principles all through this troublous period? That has yet to be made known." And again, p. xiii., "One of the most extraordinary things in the history of the Society of Friends is the way they appealed to Public Opinion through the Press, at a time when the Government were endeavouring with all its might to suppress Public Opinion altogether . . . . In the Preface to his Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana, 1873, Mr. Joseph Smith says, 'The reader will perceive on examination that the greatest adversaries the Society had to contend with, in early days, were the Nonconformist Divines.' But if the Nonconformists wrote against these worthy people, the Conformists put them in prison."

In a private letter, Professor Arber expresses a hope that his reference to the London Quaker Press of an early day, will stir up some of the Friends to write its history. Here is a field of work little occupied. The only writing on the subject that we know of is contained in articles in The Friend (Phila.) Vols. 16 and 17, reprinted in England, 1844, as Antiquarian Researches among the early Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books.

The Friends' Reference Library possesses a typed copy of a letter which was once in the possession of Mrs. George Goodrick, of George Road, Edgbaston, headed "The Dresses of a Wedding Party in the last Century described in a Letter from the Bridegroom's sister. The Couple—by name Goad and Wakefield—were married at Devonshire House, 6th month 7th, 1765." It commences "Honored Father, In answer to thy request will endeavour to satisfy thy curiosity respecting the Wedding Dresses," and is unsigned. The clothing of nineteen couples is described in some detail, as, e.g., that of the bridegroom is "White cloth clothes—Coat, waistcoat, and breeches all alike," and that of the bride "White flowered satin, white petticoat sleeves—hat and cloak gauze linen." The names mentioned are Goad, Wakefield, Robinson, Willet, Browning, Barclay, Wilson, Harris, Miers, Archer, West, Pratt, Greenwood, Cross, Brown, Bland, and Whitaker. Can any of our readers supply further particulars? The marriage is not on the Friends' Digest of Marriages at Devonshire House.

The following, who are now working on the subjects placed opposite their names, would be glad of any assistance which our

2 D. 496.4.
3 D. E.E.22.
readers may be able to render in the way of references to their subjects of study or in other directions.

John S. Rowntree—Names by which Friends as a body were originally known.

Isaac Sharp—Daniel Quare and John Bellers.

Norman Penney—The Recording Clerks and Elizabeth Hooton.


(We shall be pleased to place other names on a similar list for future issues of The Journal. EDS.)

In an advertisement in The Grocers' Journal, of September 12th, is the following: "My land," says William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. Did he make it, and how did he get it? We have heard how he bargained with the Indians for as much land as a bear skin would cover; he cut the skin into fine twine and enclosed a large tract." How did such an utterly unlikely story arise?

We should be pleased to have the opinion of some expert as to how far it is safe to have documents typed which are to be preserved for long years to come. Will the various inks used disappear in the course of the centuries?

Howard R. Smith, The Lawn, Reading, would be glad to communicate with members who wish information respecting the early history of Reading Quakerism.

The Handwriting of George Fox.

From the voluminous writings of George Fox, it might be supposed that a large amount of manuscript in his own handwriting would have come down to us. Every reader of this paper will probably be aware of the extent of his Journal, and of the large number of his doctrinal works, pastoral epistles, appeals to those in authority whether in the State or in the Church, occupying over fifty pages of Joseph Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books, published in two volumes, in 1867, to say nothing of the private correspondence which he carried on with Friends in all parts.

Yet, in fact, the amount of his actual penmanship that has come down to us, relatively to the whole of his writings, is exceedingly small. It is clear that either he frequently dictated to willing scribes, or handed them his rough originals to put into more scholarly form for the printer or correspondent for whom they were intended.
The extant MSS. of George Fox may be dealt with thus: *The Journal* and the *Short Journal*; Letters to private correspondents; Miscellaneous papers and scraps.

*The Journal*, in the possession of Charles James Spence, of North Shields, is almost entirely in the handwriting of Thomas Lower, to whom it was probably dictated in Worcester Gaol. The only portions in the hand-writing of George Fox himself are some notes, a few opening lines of two pages, and the endorsements of a large number of original documents bound up with *The Journal.*

The *Short Journal* is contained in a small oblong copy-book of which some pages have been used as such and is endorsed "a short journall of gff never wer printd of some short things from abt. ye year 1648 to King Charles ye 2d Dayes." This endorsement, as far as "printd," was written by George Fox; the remaining words and the body of the *Journal* are in the clear, legible hand of some transcriber whose name is at present unknown.

Of letters to private persons, D contains three; one addressed to Robert Barclay (among the MSS. of the late Robert Barclay, of Reigate); one to Margaret Fox (among the Crosfield MSS.); and one to Patrick Livingstone. Some other original letters are referred to in *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, by Maria Webb. Some of our readers will perhaps furnish information as to the whereabouts of other originals, whether published or not.

Amongst miscellaneous documents may be mentioned a remarkable find, consisting of three papers of "Testimonies," discovered by Joseph J. Green in 1896, when looking through one of the old bundles of MSS. kept in the "Lower Strong Room" at Devonshire House. A fourth was discovered by the writer the following year. All these were wholly or partially in the handwriting of George Fox. They had been evidently put away after being entered on some record, and there is no reason to suppose that they had been disturbed in the course of two centuries. One of them, a remarkably clean document in the writing of George Fox, carefully and regularly written in a finer hand than usual, is a testimony "consaring der an Whighthead,"

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1. See *A brief account of the manuscript Journal of George Fox* in *The Essayist and Friends' Review.* First Month, 1893; (D. 2 w.)
2. D. MSS. Box A,
a photographic reproduction of which appears in William Beck's *George Whitehead*. It was written on the day of her death, and bears the writer's initials and the date, in which, however, the figures of the day of the month have been transposed, "72 day of the 5 mo. 1686."

D contains also (among the Crosfield MSS.) a full page of questions "for the presbaternes to aneser in Righting," entirely written by George Fox.

Joseph Bevan Braithwaite possesses a piece of writing copied by George Fox from the rough memoranda of his travels in America, which he has reproduced in his *Bi-Centenary of the Death of George Fox*. This also bears the initials "g. ff."

A few lines written by George Fox with initials are reproduced in *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, and a very fine specimen is printed in Luke Howard's *Yorkshireman*, Vol. V.

The British Museum possesses one piece of his handwriting, consisting of about twenty lines in explanation of types from the Old Testament such as "Arones linen breches" and "the outward helmet." A facsimile of it appears in the *Catalogue of a Selection from the Stowe Manuscripts*, printed by order of the Trustees, 1883. Most of the writing is in the customary heavy style of George Fox, but the last lines appear to have been written separately with a lighter hand or newer pen. With the manuscript is "a note by Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, stating that the paper was given to him by Mrs. Bland, of Beeston, 26th May, 1709."

The manuscript reproduced as our frontispiece was sent up to Devonshire House by Francis W. Dymond, of Exeter, by permission of Devon and Cornwall Quarterly Meeting. It was found by Samuel Elliot, of Plymouth, among some papers at Plymouth Meeting-house.

Far outnumbering all the other specimens of G. F.'s writing are his endorsements. Many hundreds of letters were looked over and endorsed by him at one time or other with the name of the writer, and perhaps the date or some note about the contents. The latest original letters added to D, written on one foolscap sheet by William Dewsbury and John Whitehead, bear the familiar characters in one of several endorsements.⁴

³ D, 12.N.
THE HANDWRITING OF GEORGE FOX.

Turning now to the general and special features of the writing, it may be described as heavy and vigorous, not without character, yet not the writing of a scholarly man. For those not very familiar with it, it may be well to point out the characteristic letters, which may be studied in the various reproductions already referred to. These are d; e is not the customary 17th century e which is like the Greek letter θ; g; h; p, which is made as old English or modern German p; r which is not like a modern German r; s; u, which is made like a v; also, amongst figures, 5 should be noted (see reproduction of testimony to Ann Whitehead referred to on p. 8.) In the examination of handwriting, attention to spelling will also assist. Seventeenth century spelling has its uncertainties and peculiarities, but like Carlyle’s German Emperor, who was “supra grammaticam,” George Fox was superior to all common usages, and had a style of his own, of which a few examples may be given der [dear], ther, scriptuer, aposoles, ogmentashon, reveleshon, knoleg, righting [writing], feathfull, frends, presener. But perhaps the best instance of phonetic spelling which has come under the writer’s notice is contained in a message of love “to r. b. [Robert Barclay] . . . . & r. ray & helxe don dos [Alexander or Alex. Dundas] & j. Swinton & his wife.” [From letter to Patrick Livingstone referred to on page 7.]

George Fox appears rarely to have signed his name in full, which will perhaps account for his imperfect spelling of George when he did write it. On the title page of the Journal of George Wilson, which journal by the way is a wonderful specimen of microscopically small but legible writing, G. F. wrote “gorg wilson.” No one has hitherto published as a signature anything but the g.ff. with which he usually signed. There are at least four or five distinct varieties of this signature gf, gff (the letter f uncrossed) gf, gff (the letter f crossed) in addition to variations of each letter. Only one full signature is believed by the writer to be known. It is in the collection recently presented to D by Mary Wyatt Gibson, in accordance with the wish of her late father George Stacey Gibson, and appears in an address to Charles II. with the signature of Richard Hubberthorn, in the form of the facsimile represented on the following page.

5 D. MSS. Box C.
6 D. Gibson Bequest MSS. iii. 3.
Before passing from the handwriting of George Fox, a word must be said of the penmanship of "Righteous Christer," his father. Through the kindness of that diligent Quaker antiquarian, the late Mary Radley, of Warwick, the writer possesses two facsimile signatures of Christopher Fox, as Churchwarden of Drayton, traced from original parish registers. They are in a bold writing, each letter made separately, partly as written and partly as old English printed letters. The points of resemblance to his son's writing are in the ℳ in Fox, the x, and the letter p in one signature; the letter r in three cases out of four, and the letter e in each case, are of the older seventeenth century style. Above one signature, 1639, the co-churchwarden, Edward Marler, put the letter M for "his marke," whilst a superfluous H by the side of the other, 1638, inclines one to believe that there also the co-churchwarden, Hollingfreade, was only capable of making an H, and that some one else wrote the name for him. In this entry, 1638, the name of the new rector is curiously given as "Nichs" Stephens. In the next, 1639, occurs his earliest known autograph, in a style similar but not superior to that of Christopher Fox, "Nathaniell Stephens."

ISAAC SHARP.

Grangerised Books.

Under this heading a recent issue of The Publishers' Circular has a brief sketch of James Granger, whose method of collecting pictures to illustrate books has given rise to the art of "grangerisation." Granger was born in 1723. When Vicar of Shiplake, he wrote his Biographical History of England, and made use of a large collection of portraits and

1 Among the 4,000 illustrations in a copy recently offered for sale for £300 are "Henry Gurney (the sincere Quaker)," and "Mrs. Gurney (the fair Quakeress)," both folio.
pictures in his possession for its illustration. Others have followed his lead with the purpose either of making some work of their own more attractive for publication, or of adorning volumes in their libraries. *The Circular* says, "A grangerised book, skilfully and accurately arranged, with enthusiasm towards completeness, proves a mine of wealth to those who are led to study the subject of which it treats." The destruction of books, otherwise valuable, by removal of plates or pictures for the grangerisation of some other books is to be deprecated, but the collection of pictures and other materials in order to "extra-illustrate" a book is an interesting and valuable occupation.

Grangerisation is constantly proceeding in the Library Department of the Central Offices of the Society of Friends, at Devonshire House, London, E.C. Pictures and other illustrative matter are being collected for *The Journal of George Fox*, among other books, and it is hoped by the Librarian that these valuable materials may some day be available for a standard, illustrated edition of this Quaker classic, to be published, perhaps, in parts. The Reference Library contains a copy of *The Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*, 1747, recently presented by M. W. Gibson, of Saffron Walden, under the will of her father, George Stacey Gibson, which has been finely grangerised (if the term may be used of the addition of material other than pictures) with numerous original documents of great value. We believe that Swarthmore College, Penna., possesses a grangerised *George Fox*, of which we should be glad to have particulars, and we have heard of enthusiastic secretaries who adorn their minute books with photographs of places mentioned in the minutes. Perhaps some reader may be able to inform us of other Friends' literature similarly treated. May we suggest that some of our members might grangerise, for instance, *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, or *The Life of Elizabeth Fry*, or the Annual Report of the Friends' Home Mission Committee? The results of such occupation would greatly relieve the heavy appearance of some of our literature, and encourage the reading of the records of the lives of past worthies, which have long lain on our shelves neglected and unknown. We should be pleased to assist in any way we can. Editors.
Our Recording Clerks.

The following list of Recording Clerks which I prepared some time ago, and which has already appeared in The Friend (London), 1903, p. 76, may suitably reappear here:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Assistant Clerk</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ellis Hookes</td>
<td>c. 1657</td>
<td>1681</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Richard Richardson</td>
<td>1681/2</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Benjamin Bealing</td>
<td>c. 1687</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>1737</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Benjamin Bourne</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>1737</td>
<td>1746</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Joseph Besse</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>1748</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benjamin Bourne (cont.)</td>
<td>1748</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Jacob Post</td>
<td>1755</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>1759</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Robert Bell</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>William Weston</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>1773</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Thomas Gould</td>
<td>1763</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td>1783</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>John Ady</td>
<td>1783</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>William Manley</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>James Bowden</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Charles Hoyland</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Isaac Sharp (to whom long life and service)</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

No. 1. ELLIS HOOKES. C. 1657-1681.

Among many of the little known adherents to the cause of Quakerism in its early days may be reckoned Ellis Hookes, who heads our list of "Recording Clerks," and as we piece together the records of his life obtained from various and mostly from obscure sources, we produce a picture of a man in many ways unlike the more noted early Friends, and we catch a glimpse of work for the early Quaker community of a less known, but not less important nature than much that is portrayed in the memoirs of the day.

His Parentage and Youth.

Ellis Hookes was born about the year 1630. Of his youth we know little, but he appears to have been religiously inclined from his early days; he says in a letter to Margaret Fox, dated in 1671—"I have loved the Lord Jesus from a child." It is not clear where his parents resided during his

1 The term "recording" clerk is here used by anticipation. I do not find it earlier than in connection with William Manley.
youth, but his convincement of Quakerism appears to have been distasteful to them, for in his own handwriting in the second of the two books of Sufferings which he compiled, we get a glimpse of his relations with them in a curious encounter between the Quaker clerk and the Parliamentary general and his household.

Ellis Hookes in the year 1657, went with a Letter to his Mother, who was at the house of him they call Sr Wm. Waller at Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire, and the said Waller's Wife, a woman making great profession in Religion, thought she might have converted the said E. H. (as he heard afterwards) from his Religion, and so sent for him up to her Chamber where was his mother. And because E. H. did not put off his hat to the said Waller's Wife she said, "If you have no manners, young man, I will teach you some"; and took away his Hat from of his head, and gave it to her man who carried it Clear away out of ye Room. Then E, H. said to his mother, If she had any Answer to send back, else he thought to go. So Waller's Wife said, "No, you shall not go," and lockd the Dore. And the said E. H. spoke not one word to her all this while, not withstanding she scofft at him and mockt him, and said, "Now his hat was gone his Religion was gone, and he could not speak but only hum." Then at last E. H. spake to her, saying, "Woman, shew thyself a sober woman." For wh words speaking she fell a beating the said E. H. about the Head and pulling him by the Hair in a cruel manner, and said She was never called Woman before. Then when she had done beating him, he being lockt in, walked up and down ye Room, wherefore she fell a beating him again and pulled him about the room by the hair of the Head, all wch E. H. patiently bore not giving one word; but when she struk him on the one side he turned the other and resisted not. Then after he had received many blows about the head, and she had wearied herself, E. H. spoke to her, saying, "Woman, I deny thy Religion that cannot bridle thy Tongue nor thy hands"; then she fell a beating him again in a Cruel manner and lugging him about the Room by the hair of the head, and commanded her man and her son to stand before the said E. H. and keep him up in a corner of ye said Room, that he might not walk, and called for a stick saying her fists were sore with striking him, and bid her man beat him, and oftentimes she said to his mother, "Turn him out of your dores and never have anything to do with him, for," said she, " the Ravens of ye Valleys will pick out his eyes." Then E. H. said again, "Thy Religion is in vain that cannot bridle thongue nor thy hands"; that she fell a beating him again and lugging him by the hair of the head in a Cruel manner. Then E. H. said, "Instead of shewing thyself a sober woman thou hast shewed thyself more like a Beast." Then William Waller being in the Room struck the said E. H. such a Cruel Blow on ye Head with his Fist that the said E. H. was ready to sink under it. And ye said Waller's wife had hold of ye said E. H. and beat him about the Head, and her man had hold of him, and they all cried "Out of ye Dores with him"; and then ye Dores was opened and they trust [thrust] him with such Force.
OUR RECORDING CLERKS:

out, that he had much ado to recover himself from falling downstairs, and the said E. H. was fain to go 3 Miles bare-headed, they detaining his Hat from him. And with ye Blows whch were very many he was so deaf that he could not hear a Week after, so well as he could before. And having an Impostume in his head wh he had from a Child, it was so bad about a Month after he received those blows that black gore blood ran out of his Ear. And they stirred up his Father by a Letter they sent to him the next day, to have nothing to do with ye said E. H. but to turn him out of ye Dores, which he did. (See also Joseph Besse’s Abstract of Sufferings, i. 197, and Collection of Sufferings, i. 564.)

It is satisfactory to know, however, that his father was reconciled to him ere he died, as the following extract from a letter to Margaret Fox, dated “London, 1st. 8th mo., 1672,” will show:—

Since I wrote thee, my old father is dead. I was with him at his lodgings on 6 day was a month since and he was very well and writing and I askt him to let me help him and he did, and it was the last busines he did, and he asked me to walk with him in the woodyard, and I never knew him so kind and I walkt with him a pretty time, and that night he was taken sick and the next day having busines at Whitehall I went in to see him again, and he was layn down on ye bed not well, and the First Day morning I went on purpose to see him, and he died at 2 in ye morning. I think he hath left me pretty considerable more than I expected, and soe the outward riches of this world is added to me that I am grown rich of a sudden, and so blessed be the Lord who is worthy to have the glory and praise of all, and I hope I shall all my days serve him with my whole heart and with all that I have.

Mention is made in Ellis Hookes’s will of sisters Anna Hookes and Margaret Fuller, and of brothers Robert and Nicholas, and also of an “Uncle Sudley of Odiham, co. Southton.” I do not know whether any of his relations became Friends. There is no other reference to the name in the registers of London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting.

HIS SERVICE FOR FRIENDS.

The only clue to the date of E. Hookes’s engagement to Friends is furnished by the statement in the Register of his death that “He was twenty-four years a clerk to Friends.”

2 Given in Quakeriana, ii. 103, see also ii. 118.

3 Among the “Original Records of Sufferings” MSS., at Devonshire House, there are two or three references to a Nicholas Hookes. From one dated “2th month [16]82,” and signed by Richard Kirton, we learn, “Nicholas Hookes improrpiator of Kinsington hath exhibited a bill in Chancery against us both, and wee heare he Intends to bring it to a Sequesteration.” In 1686, “Nicholas Hooks, Improrpiator,” is again mentioned. I do not find his name in Besse’s Coll. Suff.
As his decease occurred in 1681, he must have entered Friends’ service in about 1657, at the age of twenty-seven. The first reference to him that I have found in any official minutes occurs in the “Six Weeks Meeting” (Business Committee of London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting) of 8mo., 1671, not long after the commencement of the records of this Meeting. On the 16th of 12mo., 1674/5, this Meeting decides “that Ellis Hooks be desired to attend this Meeting for ye future to keep this Book & that he draw out Copies of what Concerns the Monthly Meetings, Two Weeks Meeting [the oldest meeting for discipline in London, largely occupied with passing persons for marriage], & Meeting of Twelve [a finance committee of London Friends] respectively, & to send it to them.” He was appointed by the “Morning Meeting of Ministers,” in 1673, to “attend every second Day to write things then agreed upon in a book,” and he signs the first recorded minute of the Meeting for Sufferings, 8mo., 1675.

But as early as 1660 we find from a letter to George Fox that he is at work collecting records of Friends’ sufferings out of the different counties, and he inquires of him “whether they shd be printed or wrote in a great book now I am not soe much imployed but ye I may setle to write them, or if thou thinkst Tho. Forster may doe them, who I beleive would doe them better.” Other letters on the same subject follow, the result being the two bulky volumes of Sufferings in E. H.’s handwriting, preserved at Devonshire House, the first of a series of 44 volumes of records of sufferings. This must have been an immense work, and it is a standing testimony to E. H.’s zeal and diligence. The two volumes contain about 1,300 pages, measuring 18 inches by 14 inches, and are bound in full calf.

Ellis’s letters, mostly addressed to Margaret Fell (Fox), a number of which are preserved in the Society’s archives, give a vivid insight into his continuous labours for Friends.

In these letters he also sends information of events happening in the public world of London, which must have

4 D. Swarthmore MSS. and A. R. B. MSS., etc. I have copied the letters in the Swarthmore MSS. from the transcription beautifully made by Emily Jermyn in 1866-1869, as it is undesirable to finger the originals more than is absolutely necessary. The best known of E. H.’s letters is the one dated 16th of 11mo., 1669, which gives an account of Friend Carver, who carried King Charles on his back during the escape of the latter, to France.
greatly interested his correspondent in the far north. Further sufferings were from time to time drawn up by our worthy clerk, and given to the press for publication, but he found it difficult to execute this work as rapidly as desired. George Whitehead writes in 1664, "Since I came to this City, I have been somewhat troubled that the books of sufferings were not delivered sooner. How E. H. ordered the business I know not. . . . Yesterday I went up and down a great part of the day about getting them delivered. This morning women are to deliver them."

In 1672 we read of heavy work connected with arrangements for obtaining King Charles's "Pardon" for nearly 500 Friends then languishing in gaol. G. Whitehead was the moving spirit, but upon our friend Ellis came the brunt of the business. He describes it in a letter to M. Fox as "such a troublesome business to go through as I have not met wth the like." In this same year, in a letter to M. F., we read, with a feeling of relief, that "Friends did at the Quarterly Meeting take into Consideration my pains and care in ye service of truth and are willing to allow me a man to assist, wch is some encouragement to me, for wch I cannot but bless the Lord, and I hope through the Lord's assistance to perform my office in faithfullness to the end."

The more we read of this good man the more we feel sure that his hope was realised. Such help seems to have continued to the end, as "Ellis his Man" is referred to in the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings down to 1681.

For his multifarious and onerous duties Ellis Hookes was paid £50 per annum. Francis Bugg tells us this in a passage in his Picture of Quakerism, to be referred to in connection with succeeding Clerks. His office was "The Chamber," perhaps at the Bull and Mouth in the earliest days and later at White Hart Court. "Ellis his Chamber" was often the meeting place of committees and other small gatherings.

In addition to his public work he was of great assistance to Friends in financial and literary matters. He writes to George Fox, under date 1669, of the death of Joseph Fuce, and adds, "He hath left thee a Legacy of fifty pounds. I shall forbeare to give thee an account of my stewardshipp

5 D. Lower Strong Room.

6 Ellis's "Man" may have been Joseph Miles, who sends to Luke Howard on the 24th of 10th month, 1681, a document described as the "last Epistle of my decd. Mr."
ELLIS HOOKES.

at present, hoping to see thee heere ere long. Only I paid fifty pounds to Gerrard [Roberts] soon after thee wentst away, it being by thy desire towards a pte of that new shipp, but a sixteenth pte amounts to see much yt thee and I cannot reach it soe I think to dispose of mine some other way and Gerrard must satis fie thee for the use of thy money." He is also useful to Margaret Fox in purchasing books for her and in other ways.

HIS SHARE IN SUFFERINGS.

The more private nature of his occupation would probably shield our friend Ellis from much of the fierce persecution which raged around the more public preachers of Quakerism, but it was meet that he who first collected the records of suffering should himself feel something of its edge. Besse tells us (in the earliest mention of Ellis I have found other than the record of ill-treatment already given), that he and others were pulled by force out of a Meeting at Westminster in "February, 1659," and he himself knocked down and dragged about, and that during the Lord Mayoralty of the noted persecutor Richard Brown, in 1660-61, he, with many others, was imprisoned in Newgate gaol. In his Preface to the works of Samuel Fisher he briefly refers to an imprisonment in "the Compter in Wood Street," where he and nine others "were for some time put into a little hole, into wh. we went with a ladder where was not Room for all the Company to lye down at once."

HIS PUBLISHED WRITINGS.

The published literary work of E. Hookes is mainly of an historical character, and his object seems to have been to gather, from all past time, samples of constancy under persecution, and to publish the results of his inquiries "for general service" in his own day. He first issued The Spirit of Christ and . . . of the Apostles and . . . Martyrs . . which beareth Testimony against Swearing and Oaths, 1661. This was enlarged and re-issued later. The results of his further study of the past were given to the world in his Spirit of the Martyrs Revived, a work of over 350 folio pages, published before 1682, and several times reprinted. With George Fox's assistance, E. H. issued in 1667 The Arraignment of Popery, dealing likewise with the history and persecutions of the Church. This also passed through several editions. These two Friends also wrote A Primmer and Catechism
OUR RECORDING CLERKS:

*for Children,* and *An Instruction for Right Spelling.* From our knowledge of the vagaries of George's own spelling, we may well believe that the services of his Friend, Ellis, were desirable and valuable! Into the mazes of controversial literature our author does not appear to have ventured far, for even Francis Bugg writes, "Ellis Hooks was a stranger to me," but the issue of such "abusive and sordid pamphlets" as *The Monstrous Eating Quaker, The Quaker turned Jew,* and *The Quaker and his Maid,* which were cried up and down the City, stirred him too deeply for silence, and he issued a refutation, in broadside form, with an appeal to the magistrates to put a stop, in the interests of public morals, to these libels. He also published *A Testimony against "The Spirit of the Hat,"* and against another scurrilous book, which opposed authority in the Church, though I do not find that he is referred to among many Friends mentioned in these books. Amid numerous other pressing duties, Ellis Hooks found time and strength to edit Edward Burrough's works in 1672, 8 Wm. Smith's and Jas. Parel's in 1675, Francis Howgill's in 1676, Samuel Fisher's in 1679 and Stephen Smith's in 1679, although he had previously, in 1671, informed Margaret Fox that he had "left off all imployment in printing of books, by reason of weaknes." These six volumes represent about 3200 pages in folio 500 pages in quarto and 400 pages in octavo.

**HIS PERSONALITY AND PRIVATE LIFE.**

His life may be summed up in the words used of him, "A publique Servent to Freinds." We read little of him beside his work in this capacity. He does not appear to have been a preacher in the gatherings of early Friends, and there is no notice of him among the memoirs in *Piety Promoted.*

He writes warmly yet respectfully to George Fox on business matters, such expressions occurring as "If thou thinkst fitt," "It may bee as thee orders." The various Meetings he served as clerk were not slow to remind him of

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7 Of this book Ellis writes to G. Fox, "It is well liked by everybody that sees it." Wm. Rogers says in Part VII. of his *Christian Quaker* that he knows a Friend who can prove "that the manuscript of the Primmer was sold for thirty pound, 'tis reputed to contain but two or three sheets," It really contained six sheets. All Ellis's books are in D.

8 The author of *Saul's Errand to Damascus* says that "E. Burrough's Works were shov'd into the world by G. Fox, G. Whitehead, Josiah Cole, and Francis Howgill."
ELLIS HOOKES.

his position and duties. The "Meeting of Twelve" under date 1679, after his twenty-two years of service, minutes its decision that "Ellis Hookes doe give an account what work and service he doth once every quarter to this Meeting in wrighting, that it may appear whether his work deserves his yearly Sallary, and before he hath his last qrs. bill pd to shew cause why he chargeth," etc. Friends were exact and exacting, and having to act as clerk to several separate bodies, must have made him a man of many masters.

Francis Howgill, writing to him from Appleby, in 1664, says, "Though some slight thee, heed not that, but do what thou can and be diligent." Wm. Rogers in his book against G. Fox and others, writes disparagingly of "the testimony of Ellis Hooks (a Clark for his yearly Sallary.)"

There is only one incidental reference to Ellis in George Fox's Journal, though we know from the correspondence with Margaret Fell that he travelled with G. F. in Hampshire in 7mo., 1668.9 I have not found any reference to him in the memoirs of Edward Burrough or Francis Howgill, although Ellis must have been very serviceable to them in a business capacity. He seems to have been of an humble, retiring disposition, accounting it his "greatest honour to serve the Lord and his Servants."10

We do not read of any wife or family, and it is doubtful whether he was ever a householder, though in his will he leaves £2 to his "old servant, Katherine Andrews." This

9 The date of the original letter in which this fact is noted seems to me to be clearly 1668, though the letter is endorsed in G. Fox's own writing, 1664, and this latter date has been attached to the letter in transcription in the place of the former. G. F. was in close confinement in Lancaster Castle in 1664, while we know from his Journal, that he was in Hampshire in 1668. He does not refer, however, to E. Hookes as a travelling companion.

10 The Preface to Burrough's Tender Salutation, 1661, from which these words are taken, is worth quoting in full, as a sample of the spirit in which the author undertook his work:—

"Friends,

"This following Epistle being committed to me, I have found it convenient to disperse it on this wise to the Churches of Christ, for whose service chiefly it hath been written as I perceive; and this being a time, wherein each Friend in God ought to serve another, and to be a strength and encouragement one towards another in the Ways of God, and therefore according to my duty, wherein I stand bound to the Lord and his Servants, I have diligently endeavoured your benefit and edification in sending this unto you, who accounts it my greatest honour to serve the Lord and his Servants. ELLIS HOOKES,"
will informs us that his home was with "Anne Travers, of Southwark, widowed, at who's house I have lodged these twenty years, and for her tenderness and care over me, being a weak man, I am greatly engaged." In his correspondence with Margaret Fox, he often refers to domestic events in the household of which he formed a member, with sympathetic interest, and not at all in the spirit of the proverbial "crusty old bachelor." At various periods his address is also given at other Friends' houses, such as at "Edward Man's, Without Bishopsgate," and at "John Staple's, near the Three Cups in Aldersgate," also at "3 Kings Court, in Lumbar Street."

His letters breathe a beautiful spirit of meekness and of trust in his divine Sustainer. On the 27th of 3mo., 1670, he writes, "I have the most cause of any man in ye world to remember the Lords Love to me, because I have p'taken of so many mercies both inwardly and outwardly, and I am bound to Magnifie and serve him for ever, and my heart is every day engaged more and more unto him, and the more I taist the more I desire of his Love and Kindnesse." His letters also contain many expressions of warm attachment to George and Margaret Fox.

**HIS DECLINING HEALTH AND HIS DECEASE.**

I do not gather that E. Hookes was ever very strong. We have already noticed a reference to much suffering in his head; and his constant and close attention to business, especially during such trying times as the years of the Plague and Fire, must have made inroads upon his limited store of strength. In 3mo., 1665, at the time of the Plague, he writes to Margaret Fell, "Anne Travers deare love is to thee there 3 been [?] there have been three] buryed out of our family in a Months time, and her child has had the distemper but is recovered againe. Deare Margaret, I have been preserved well, but soe as a brand is pluckt out of the fire soe has the Lord delivered me for I have often laid downe my head in sorrow and rose as I went to bed, and not slept a wink for the groanes of them yt lay a dyeing, and every morning I counted it a great mercy that the Lord gave me another day, and I was made a strength and a help to poore Anne." In 1671, when only a little over 40, he writes, "My tryalls are many, and exercises, and my bodily weaknes is a great exercise to me," and succeeding letters also refer to ill
health and to troubles from which he hopes, however, to be set at liberty before long.

The following beautiful letter was addressed to Friends of the London district on the 27th of 8mo., 1681, very shortly before his death at a comparatively early age. It is copied from an original sent to Ratcliff Friends, now in possession of Ratcliff and Barking Monthly Meeting. I find that the author also sent his letter to Friends in Kent.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I have near finished my Course in this World In ye blessed faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to my Measure, But before my Departure, My Dear friends, Bretheren & Sisters, of ye Men's & Women's Meetings in London, I have a short Testimony in ye openings of ye father's Love wth flows in my Heart, at this Time Towards you. Oh my dear friends, whose blessed Order in your Men's & Women's Meetings I have been a Witnnes to, from the Beginning and my Soul has been greatly Comforted many a Time To behold ye many Great services you have done for ye Lord & his People for ye wth the Lord hath greatly blessed you, and Encreased your strength in him.

And now dear Friends, we have knowne God to be a Pure God yt Loves Justice & Truth in the Inward Parts, And to see it Executed Outwardly alsoe. And my Soul's desire is, & it is my believe alsoe That True Justice and Judgment shall be sett up without respect of Persons among you. I am One of the Poorest & least amongst you, yet through ye Lord's Love have Obtained Mercy, and now my dear Friends, as Concerning those That have set themselves in ye Serpent's Spirit to seek to hinder this your Glorious Work & service My believe is the same with you yt God will scatter ye Chaffe amongst them; but where there are any that Retaine Sincerity (amongst them) They will be Restored & ye Rest will be burnt up as Chaffe.

Thus with my Dear Love in ye Lord Jesus once more Recommended unto you all

Remaine your Dear Brother in the Blessed Truth,

ELLIS HOOKES.

Despite his many physical drawbacks our Friend continued in his beloved service till very near his end. He appears to have attended the Meeting for Sufferings for the last time on the 30th of 7mo., 1681, but he is referred to on the 28th of the next month as still acting for the Meeting. He died on the 12th of 8mo., 1681, at the early age of 50 years, of consumption, and was buried on the 15th, at Chequer Alley [Bunhill Fields], his remains being carried thither from Devonshire House. On the 16th of 11mo., the “Meeting of Twelve” paid to Henry Snooke “1/2 a quarter’s wages
ffor Ellis Hookes and for 1 year's Chamber rent due 25th, 

E. H.’s will was proved the 3rd December, 1681, by oath [?] of Anne Travers, the executrix. He is described as of Newington Butts, Scrivener. He leaves various sums of money to Francis Camfield, James Claypoole, William Shewen, Henry Snooke, and James Parke, also to relations previously mentioned, to the poor of Odiham, etc., Anne Travers being his residuary legatee.

[BIBLIOGRAPHY.—The only article on Ellis Hookes that I have seen appeared in The British Friend, of 1860. I am glad to have done something more to revive the memory of a good man, whose value, I fear, has been overlooked by successive generations of Friends.]

NORMAN PENNEY.

The Case of William Gibson.1

In an historical survey of the relations of the Society of Friends in various periods with the ministry exercised in its meetings and those who have exercised it, the case of William Gibson, early in the 18th century, with the successive regulations which arose from it, comes into prominent view, and may be studied by the aid of various pamphlets issued at the time.2

William Gibson appears to have been the son of William and Elizabeth Gibson of Bull and Mouth Street, London, and if so was born in London, 30th of 11 mo., 1674.3 William Gibson (primus) was a Lancashire man in early life,

1 Written in view of the Conference on the Ministry to be held in York this month, to which a document, containing a slight reference to William Gibson, will be presented.

2 A Little Switch for the Old Snake, n.d.; Saul's Errand to Damascus, or the Quakers turn'd Persecutors, 1728; Birds of a Feather, or a Wheeling Dialogue, etc., n.d.; A Vindication of the Quakers, n.d.; A Rod for the Author of the Little Switch, n.d.; etc.—(D. 334.1—9). We do not know of any pamphlets on the controversy written by Friends, although Friends' actions in the matter were vindicated by several writers.

3 Joseph Smith (Cat. of Fds.' Bks., i, 842) is not aware of any relationship between the two William Gibsons, but the Friends' Registers seem to us to make the above relationship clear. This is confirmed by reference to Beck and Ball's London Friends' Meetings, p. 79. See also Saul's Errand, p. 15, and A Rod, p. 7; this last pamphlet states that the second Wm. Gibson "was born a Quaker," p. 6.
but settled in London about 1670. He was an able minister and in good esteem among his brethren. He died in 1684, at the age of 55 years, and it is said that more than a thousand Friends followed his remains from Lombard Street to the Friends' Burial Ground, Bunhill Fields. 4

In 1699, William Gibson (secundus) was in business as a mercer, occupying, with Peter Collinson, 5 a haberdasher, part of a house in Gracechurch Street. Some disagreement arose between these two Friends, which was reported to the Bull and Mouth Monthly Meeting. The decision of that body was evidently against William Gibson, 6 for he appealed to the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex in 1706, whose decision was that the judgment of his Monthly Meeting against him should be withdrawn, but that the book 7 he had printed should be called in and suppressed. This was eventually agreed to by all parties concerned.

Although his Quarterly Meeting granted him a certificate, in 1713, to travel as a minister, it is clear that some dissatisfaction with him and his ministry was becoming apparent. 8 In 1723 the Morning Meeting of Ministers objected to his putting his name into the Book of Ministering Friends, 9 which action caused him to appeal to the Quarterly Meeting and Yearly Meeting, on the ground that

4 Beck and Ball, as above, p. 154.
5 Believed to be the father of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., the noted botanist.
6 The minute books of the Bull and Mouth Monthly Meeting, and many other valuable documents, were burnt in the fire which destroyed the Gracechurch Street Meeting-house on 1st day, the 9th of 9th mo., 1821.
7 Entitled Bigottry and Partiality Ruinous and Destructive to Pure Religion, etc., 1705. The copy at Devonshire House (D. 334.9) has the following, written at the foot of the title page, "To be had by none but Friends."
8 A Vindication, published about 1728, says (p. 8) "for many Years, not less than twelve."
9 Turning to these Books, preserved in D., we find the first entry of his name, in bold characters, on the 27th of 11 mo., 1722, in the space for the names of Friends intending to visit Kingston Meeting. The name re-appears at intervals, sometimes re-written after having been crossed out; and here and there Wm. Gibson has added remarks of various kinds, some in bad taste, which quite disfigure Benjamin Bealing's otherwise neatly written book. A portion of a page of one of these Books, is here reproduced. For further particulars of these Books of Ministering Friends see The Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1897, pp. 254—9, The Friend (London), 1901, pp. 442, 719.
the minute of the Morning Meeting implied his "disownment as a minister." This the Morning Meeting denied, and the Yearly Meeting of 1723 decided that "the Sole Right to disown any Minister or other Person belongs to Monthly, Quarterly, Halfe Yearly, or Yearly Meetings, and that no person's name, from and after the 8th day of the 7th mo., be entered in the Morning Meeting Book of Ministering friends" as a minister, till he or she produces a Certificate from the Monthly or Quarterly Meeting to which he or she shall belong." It is evident that in the right to place his name in the Book of Ministering Friends, we have the "acknowledgment" of a minister in an early form.

William Gibson appears to have given much trouble to Friends both by the manner and the matter of his preaching. His sermons were very strange, if we may correctly judge from the specimen of one given at Gracechurch Street on "Sunday, May 14, 1727," and recorded by Elias Bockett. On this occasion "a great multitude of other persons besides Quakers" attended the meeting in anticipation of hearing the strange preacher. As soon as William Gibson commenced, a Friend present stood up and said, "Friends, this Man is Disowned by us; we have no Unity with him or his Ministry." On another occasion he was taken out of the meeting by constables, who kept him moving from place to place till the meeting concluded. But on his refusal then to go home he was imprisoned for some thirty hours. He was also prosecuted as a rioter at the King's Bench, but was acquitted.

The Gibson case, becoming notorious, drew public attention to the claim of Friends that their ministry was exercised by divine appointment and authority, and the result was the issue of several pamphlets challenging this assertion, and containing statements to prove the contrary, such as the case of a woman who, "at a burial at Horsely-down Meeting stood up, making an Oration of neither Head or Tail, of the Angel and the Ass, till a Man, a Friend Preacher contradicted her, bidding her be silent, for she knew not what Spirit she was of; but she answered him, 'Be Thou

10 Wm. Gibson's name appears in this book, on the last opportunity for inserting it before the new rule came into effect!

11 Punchinello's Sermon (D. 308.6).

12 A Vindication, pp. 10, 11.

13 A Little Switch, p. 19.
silent, for thou knowest not what Spirit thou art of! Pray who is to be Judge in this Case? Was the Woman moved to talk Nonsense? No, no.” The advice to “beware of laying stress on the authority of your ministry” is still needed.

Other causes, however, than unsound doctrine entered into the controversy between W. Gibson and the Friends of his day. He was charged also with immorality, and underwent examination and imprisonment several times.

His Monthly Meeting seems to have acted in a very considerate manner towards him, frequently deputing Friends to visit him, but the Meeting in 1 mo. 1725/6, felt concerned to declare that they have no unity with William Gibson as a minister because to them his ministry carries no evidence of its arising from a Gospel spirit, but it appears rather to be from a wild unruly inclination of his own to sport himself in the handling of sacred things deceitfully, and to gratify his own private resentments, by smiting at particular persons and things in such unseemly terms and turns as shew the vanity of his mind and therein how unlike he is to a minister of Christ—and therefore disapprov'd of as such by this Meeting.

It is evident from the Quarterly Meeting minutes that the Monthly Meeting proceeded further, in 1727, and disowned its turbulent member, and its decision was upheld by the Quarterly Meeting. But for some time after, he troubled the meetings of the Society, though he had a preaching place of his own, at Plaisterers' Hall, “where the most despicable Wretches of the Town are his chief Followers.”

Reference may here be made to an undated document which shows the kindness of Friends through all this sad time:—

Whereas it hath been represented that W. G. is Reduced to such Miserable Low Circumstances as to be unable to Pay 2s. 6d. in ye £ to his Cs, who have Agreed to Accept the same in full, Without being Drove to the Necessity of selling his household Goods, and although heretofore

14 Saul’s Errand, p. 8.
15 Advice to Ministers in Friends’ Book of Christian Discipline.
16 From an early copy of the minute, recently added to D. (John Thompson MSS. 258). This and a few other papers respecting the Bull and Mouth Monthly Meeting, in D., are very valuable seeing the original minutes were destroyed.
17 Sermon preach’d by William Gibson at Plaisterers-Hall, on Sunday the 15th of October, 1727. (p. 8.) (D. 334-5)
18 D. John Thompson MSS. 262c.
**THE CASE OF WILLIAM GIBSON.**

his Conduct hath been very Disagreeable to Freinds in Generall, Yett in as much as he hath of late been very Quiet and peacable Towards them, and in hopes he will Continue so for y° Future Several Freinds in Com­miseration of his Present Distress have agreed to contribute towards his Relief as Follows:—

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According to our Registers, William Gibson died of consumption on the 20th of 9 mo., 1734, aged 59, and was buried in Friends' Burial Ground, Bunhill Fields.

Of William Gibson (tertius), we know but little. He was born on the 31st of 5 mo., 1712. He entered warmly into the controversy, in support of his father, and wrote A Little Switch for the Old Snake . . . being the Son's Vindication of his Father, in Opposition to Joseph Wych and his Abbetors, etc. The reply to this pamphlet, A Rod for the Author of the Little Switch, printed in 1728, refers to him thus (pp. 13-15):

A young Lad about sixteen Years of Age . . . Is it not enough for the Father to have thus exposed himself to Ruin or Contempt, but must he introduce his Son to the same Fate? It would have become him better to have subjected him to good Discipline while tender, than to let him thus fly not only in the Father's Face, but a whole Body of People, whose Garb or Dress and Language he is distinguished by. . . . Had his Father been at Home in his Study, and less at the Taverns, the Father had not been the Subject of the Son's Satir, nor the Quakers his Poetry, nor both the Jest of the Publick.

Here he disappears from sight, and an episode sad and little known, but not without its bearings on the subsequent history of the Society of Friends, comes to an end.

Editors.

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19 Probably father of Thomas Gould, who was clerk to the Society, 1773 to 1783 (see p. 12).
Two Quotations in the London Yearly Meeting's Epistle, 1903.  

1. Seeing too much for denial, and too little for assurance, I am in a pitiful plight.—PASCAL.

Blaise Pascal was born in the Auvergne, France, in 1623. He early exhibited very considerable talent, and became as years went on a great mathematician and philosopher. He allied himself with the followers of Jansenius, a sect of much piety and earnest purpose, and was frequently resident at Port Royal, the head-quarters of Jansenism, but his exact position with regard to religion has been the subject of much dispute. The quotation in the Epistle, given thus in the original—"Mais, voyant trop pour nier et trop peu pour m'assurer, je suis dans un état à plaindre," is from Pascal's Pensées, a collection of fragments from his pen, issued eight years after his death in 1662.

2. Christ crucified is the library which triumphant souls will be studying in to all eternity. STILLINGFLEET.

Edward Stillingfleet was born in Dorsetshire, 1635, and after a college course in Cambridge, he received the living of Sutton, Bedfordshire. Here, in 1662, he wrote his Origines Sacrae in defence of the divine authority of the Scriptures. This learned treatise, from which the above quotation is taken, went through several editions, and may still be obtained. Stillingfleet became Archdeacon of London, Dean of St. Paul's, and finally, at the Restoration in 1689, Bishop of Worcester. He died in 1699.

When Dean of St. Paul's, in the year 1680, he preached a Sermon at Guildhall Chapel, entitled The Mischief of Separation, in which he urges the need of union against a

1. For 223 years in unbroken succession these Epistles of loving greeting and counsel have been sent down from London Yearly Meeting to its members in Great Britain and elsewhere.

2. See Les Pensées de Blaise Pascal, par M. Léon Brunschvicg, 2me. édition, revue, Hachette et Cie. 1900, section iii, 229, page 433. English editions of these Thoughts may be obtained, as also readable lives of their author.

3 D. 7.1.
common danger. He intreats his hearers and readers, even if "not yet ripe for so great a mercy as perfect union," at least "not to condemn others for that which themselves have practised and think to be lawful in their own cases." In proof of this statement the author cites the case of the persecutions of Anabaptists and Quakers in New England, and adds as a further proof. "Nay, even these [Quakers], notwithstanding the single Independence of every man's light within, have found it necessary to make rules and orders among themselves to govern their Societies, to which they expect a uniform obedience, and allow no liberty out of the power and the truth as they love to speak" (pp. 55-6). He refers to *The Spirit of the Hat* (p. 12) in confirmation of this. Echoes of the current Quaker controversy between the opponents of law and order and George Fox and his friends had evidently reached the Deanery.

It is an interesting fact, and an evidence of an improved condition of things, that an author who finds a place in Joseph Smith's *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana* should be quoted with approval in a Yearly Meeting's Epistle.

**Editors.**

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**The Quaker Family of Owen.**

This family of Owen, of Manchester, Stockport, Seven-oaks, Coulsdon, Reigate, London, etc., deduces its descent from Hwfa ap Cynddelw, Lord of Llys Lifon, in Anglesey, contemporary with Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, to whom he was steward. This Hwfa was living circa 1150. The Owens of Orielton, baronets, are the present representatives; their arms which are "Gules, a chevron, between three lions rampant, or," and the crest, "a lion rampant," are those borne apparently by the Quaker family of which we treat, the crest at any rate appearing on old family plate.

One Thomas Owyne mar. at the parish church (now the Cathedral), Manchester, 2 May, 1601, Elizabeth Shelmerdyne, and there are earlier entries of the family spelt Awyne in 1578, etc.

Thomas Owen, of Manchester, perhaps son of the above Thomas and Elizabeth Owyne, mar. before 1628 Elizabeth

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4 In the copy of the Tract in *D Morris* Birkbeck describes the statement, in a pencil note, as "a false surmise."
(Illingworth ?). The entry of this marriage is not forthcoming, but in the will of Thomas Illingworth, of Manchester, chapman, 1638/9, whose wife was Margaret Goodyear, he names his sister Elizabeth Owen, widow, to whom he bequeaths “one Phillip and Cheaney Gowne” (sic). There are other evidences also which appear to identify Elizabeth (Illingworth ?) Owen. Thomas and Elizabeth Owen had issue (1) Nathaniel Owen, later of Sevenoaks, bapt. 15 Feb., 1628; (2) Nathan, bapt. 9 June, 1631; (3) Jeremie (1), bapt. 2 Feb., 1633, bur. 28 Nov.; (4) Jeremiah (2), born circa 1636 of Heaton Norris and Stockport; (5) Rachel, who mar. John Abraham of Manchester.1

Thomas Owen, the father of these five children, appears to have died before 1638, but we are unable to find his will. Of his widow, Elizabeth Owen, we have more information.

Amongst the Manchester Court Leet Records we find under date 5 May, 1641, “Whereas wee of the Jury doe find a dekay in the fence betwixt Elizabeth Owen and William Bowker,” etc., “the said E. O. ought to make the said fence,” etc., “att or before the first of June next, sub pena xiijs. iiiijd.” There is another entry of 1648, relating to “Widow Owen,” but query if the same person.

Elizabeth Owen joined the Society of Friends as early as 1660, for on the 20th of January this year, she, who was then aged about 70, John Abraham, Isaac Mosse, Jonathan Bradshaw, and five others,2 were taken out of their Meeting at Manchester, and by order of one Justice detained till the next day, when upon refusing to swear, they were committed to prison.” 2 On the 19 Feb., 1664/5, Elizabeth Owen, “widow, John Abraham’s wife’s mother,” died, aged about 74 (having been born circa 1590), and was bur. in F. B. G., Mobberley, Cheshire, two days later.

This ancient Quaker burial ground was purchased in 1669 for £3, the first recorded interment taking place in 1656, the last in 1848. Mobberley is two miles N. E. of Knuts-
ford, and the burial ground, which is situated on the crest of a ridge, is walled in with heavy stones. Upon a small stone are the initials D. A. and the date 1659, and grave-stones bear the following inscriptions, "Here lyeth the Body of our deare Brother Edward Hulme, 1661," and again "our dear Mother Joane Hulme, 1662"; other stones bear the dates of 1668, 1680, and 1682.

Before giving some account of Nathaniel Owen of Seven-oaks (presumably eldest son of the above Elizabeth Owen), and his descendants, we must again allude to her son Jeremiah (2) and her daughter Rachel.

Jeremiah Owen is named in a list of the inhabitants of Manchester in 1659, and is fined 4d. for not attending the Court Leet, as an out-Burgess (i.e., a non-resident property owner). He joined the Society of Friends, like his mother, and resided at Heat on Norris, co. Lancaster, on the Mersey, which separates it from Stockport, of which town it is a suburb. He mar. at Ann Shield’s house at the latter town, 11 Oct. 1663, Elizabeth Ashton, of a Lancashire family which suffered great persecution as Quakers, 1660 to 1674, etc.

The original Register of the marriage is as follows:—

1663. Jeremiah Owen of Eaton Norris in Lancashire tooke to Wife Elizabeth Ashton of Stockport in Cheshire, Widowe, upon the 11th day of the eighth Month [not 11th day as in the digest of Friends’ Registers], in the meeting of Stockport, before many Friends, who had unity with itt, To Witt, their marriage. He was about 27 years ould, and she was about 36 years ould when the[y] were married.

Jeremiah Owen, who is described as a Dutch-loom weaver on his marriage, was also a baker, for in 1683, "Jeremiah Owen, Baker [then] of Stockport," for his conscientious absence from the National worship, "had bread taken from him, which was offered to be given to the Poor of the Town, but they refused it, saying they would rather starve than take it. So it was restored to the Owner." 3 We find also that "At a Manchester Court Leete held October, 1682, the Jury presented Jeremiah Owen, a Common Baker, for exposing one 6d. loaf of bread, 6 ounces too light, and he was amerced in the sum of rs. iijd. for the same." Other bakers however were fined for bread weighing from 16 to 24 ounces too light, so that we may reasonably assume that Jeremiah was at least honest in his intentions, and it

3 Besse, as above, i. 111.
is not unlikely his Quaker principles were responsible for the fine.

In an epistle “from our generall women’s meeting at Coppull in Lancashire [3 miles S. of Chorley] ye 20th of ye 4 month, 1677,” which is signed by Margaret Fox, Sarah ffell, Barbary Saterthat, and Susan, Rachel, Sarah (senior) and Alice ffell, amongst those present were “from Cheshier 2 Friends” one of whom was Elizabeth Owen (wife of Jeremiah).

Jeremiah and Elizabeth (Ashton) Owen had one son Jobe, born 1666, and two daughters, of whom Sarah, born 1664, mar. 1697 at Tabitha Andrew’s house, Stockport, Daniel Bradbury of Hartington. Jeremiah Owen was bur. at Mobberley, 12 Nov., 1684, aged about 48.

At a Manchester Court Leet held 5 May, 1685, the Jury found that the heir of Jeremy Owen suffered “a hedge on the side of his garden on the back-side of his house in the Milne-gate unhabited to lie downe to the prejudice of the neighbourhood,” and the said heir was ordered to make a sufficient fence before the 24th June next, under a penalty of 6s. 8d. It is not unlikely that the above-said house was formerly the residence of Elizabeth Owen, the mother of Jeremiah.

Elizabeth (Ashton) Owen, of Stockport, widow, died 1688, aged about 61, when her will was proved at Chester, the personalty being under £40.

Job Owen, above-said, son of Jeremiah and Elizabeth, was born according to both Friends’ and Manchester (parish church) registers, 10 April, 1666, and singularly for a Friend, was bapt. 8 May. He settled at Manchester as a chapman (i.e., a merchant or dealer). He mar. before 1690, in which year he is mentioned in the Manchester Poll Book as follows, “In the Hanging Ditch, Job. Owen and wife, maid, and man, assessed at 4s.” By his wife Ellen, he had (1) Jeremiah born and bapt. 1690, and was bur. at Manchester parish church, as of “Bank Tope” 1721, aged 31. (2) John, born and died 1691/2. (3) Nathaniel, born and bapt. 1693, bur. at Manchester parish church, as of Stockport, 1715, aged 22. Job Owen was bur. there 11 Feb., 1697, the administration with inventory of his effects at Chester that year. It is evident that his wife was not a Friend, as two at least of his children were bapt., as he was also himself, although his three children were all registered amongst Friends; his burial however is not recorded in Friends’ Registers.
Of Rachel Owen, sister to Jeremiah, we find no entries of either birth, baptism or marriage, but the entry in Friends’ Register at the time of her mother, Elizabeth Owen’s, death expressly states that the latter was “John Abraham’s wife’s mother,” and John Abraham’s intimacy with Nathaniel Owen of Sevenoaks, which we shall notice later, is another link in the chain of evidence. Rachel Owen, who was born probably about 1630, mar. circa 1654, John Abraham of Manchester, son of Richard Abraham of Warrington, merchant, then called grocer (i.e., a dealer in gross). John Abraham was bap. at Warrington, 17 May, 1629. He early joined the Society of Friends, was a sufferer for his principles in 1660, 1661, and 1675, was an eminent and greatly beloved Minister in the Society, and one of the founders of Manchester Meeting. He died at his country residence, Etchells, near Stockport, 28 June, 1681, and was bur. in F. B. G., Deansgate, Manchester. His wife, Rachel, remained a member of the Established Church to the time of her death, and was bur. in the parish church, Manchester, 5th May, 1685, as “Rachell, Widowe of Mr. John Abraham.”

Daniel Abraham (son of John and Rachel Abraham), who was born 1st September, 1662, and died at Swarthmore Hall, 25th December, 1731, aged 79, mar. 7th March, 1682, Rachel Fell, sixth daughter of Judge and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmore Hall (the latter being afterwards wife of George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends). Rachel (Fell) Abraham died 14th December, 1732, aged 79, of whom many descendants still survive. We must defer any further account, with many interesting particulars of John Abraham and his family, for a further paper.

Nathaniel Owen, of Sevenoaks, Kent, was, as we have seen, the eldest son apparently of Thomas and Elizabeth (Illingworth?) Owen, and brother to Jeremiah Owen and Rachel Abraham. He was bapt. at Manchester parish church 15th February, 1628, and joined the Society of Friends like his mother and brother. Under date 22 April, 1658, the Jury of the Manchester Court Leet found that Nathaniel Owen and others owed suites and services to the Court, and they were ordered to come thither at the next meeting of the Court, viz., 29 April, “vpon paine of xxs. a piece.” In 1659 he was fined 8d. at a Court Leet, Manchester, with his brother Jeremy, as an out-burgess. He had left Manchester by 1651, then aged 23, and mar. first at Cranbrook parish church, Kent, 27th March, 1651, Patience Crettall
(although the parish register says Crittenden, both names being common in that register). She was the daughter of Edward Cruttall, Crettall, or Crittall, no doubt a clothier of Cranbrook, and was bapt. there 18th June, 1626, the family having been resident in that district certainly as early as 1470.

The fame of Cranbrook at this period as the seat of the broadcloth manufacture was instrumental, no doubt, in inducing Nathaniel Owen to take this long journey into Kent, and it is probable that both himself and his brother Jeremiah, who was, as we have seen, a Dutch-loom weaver, may have had trade dealings with Cranbrook. This ancient town was the centre of the clothing trade introduced by a body of Flemings, whom Edward III. induced to settle here. In the 17th century mercers (i.e., dealers in woollen cloth), drapers (also dealers in cloth), broad-weavers, cloth-workers, etc., were as “plenty as gooseberries” in Cranbrook.

Whether Nathaniel Owen resided in Cranbrook a year or two is uncertain, but his eldest son Nathaniel was, no doubt, bapt. at that town, as the custom then was for the eldest child to be born at the residence of the bride’s parents. We have not, however, by us the date of baptism, which was probably about 1652.

Nathaniel Owen had settled at Sevenoaks as a mercer by 1654, for in the parish register there occurs the birth of Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Owen, 10th March, 1654/5; and the burial of John Owen, 4th August, 1660. Besides these children there were Mary Owen, born 15th February, 1656, who mar. at Friends’ Meeting House, Bull and Mouth, London, 3rd December, 1685, William Wragg, of Princes’ Street, London, haberdasher, also of Bishopsgate, etc., and lastly of Croydon, and, by company, Citizen and Draper of London, and also described as of Aldersgate Street, saddler, son of William Wragg, of Derby, shoemaker. Amongst Friends present at his marriage were his wife’s relatives John and Ann Cruttall, of Cranbrook, Gilbert Molleson, Benjamin Antrobus, Rebecca Travers, Daniel and Sarah Wharley (of Isaac Penington’s family), and some forty-eight others.

William Wragg was a foremost Friend in his day, and probably a Minister. He was one of the executors of Joan Dant, the Spitalfields weaver, who died in 1715, aged 84, and was bur. in F. B. G., Bunhill Fields, and who bequeathed
out of her fortune of some £9,000, besides many personal legacies, the sum of £1,910 in charities; and the residue of over £5,000 was to be invested for the use of poor Friends in London and elsewhere, who were to receive each, or their families, £2 per annum, at the discretion of her trustees. When making her will she said, "I got it by the rich, and I mean to leave it to the poor." This trust is still in existence.⁴

William Wragg had apparently a brother named Samuel Wragg, an opulent merchant, of London and South Carolina, but not a Friend, to the memory of whose son William Wragg, Esquire, there is a handsome and often described cenotaph in Westminster Abbey.

Mary Wragg, sister to the last named William, was a benefactor to Beckenham charities, as the copper plate in the church there informs us. She was bur. in a vault in the church-yard, since incorporated into the church, and the directions given in her will and codicils were of the quaintest description.⁵

William and Mary (Owen) Wragg had issue six children, of whom Mercy Wragg, born 1690, mar. 1713, Benjamin Bell, of Leadenhall Street, London, druggist, amongst whose numerous descendants are some of the present Quaker families of Crafton, Green, Hopkins, Neave, Robson, etc., etc. William Wragg, who was born circa 1658, died at his residence Waddon, near Croydon, March, 1737, aged 79, and was bur. in F. B. G., Croydon. His widow, Mary (Owen) Wragg, died also at Waddon, 2 June, 1743, aged 86, and was bur. at Croydon. The compiler has inherited books containing autographs, etc., of the above William Wragg.

Another child of Nathaniel Owen by his first wife was Abigail, who mar. 1703, Benjamin Freeman of Woodbridge, apothecary, son of John Freeman of Oakham, co. Rutland, yeoman, decd. George Whitehead, Thomas Lower, Theodor Eccleston, and Gilbert Molleson were amongst those present at this marriage at Bull and Mouth Meeting, London. Of this family were the Freemans of Woodbridge, of whom Andrew Freeman of the same, was a staymaker, and father to Hannah Jesup of Woodbridge, grocer, to whom James Jenkins was apprenticed in 1768, as related by him in his valuable Recollections.⁶

⁵ See account of this charity in Notes and Queries.
⁶ See four papers in The Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1902, by Frederick G. Cash.
Hannah Jesup mar. secondly Robert Dudley of Clonmell, and died 1773, aged 47, having been a Minister nine years. 7

Thomas Owen of Sevenoaks, mercer, who was dead before 1747, was another of the children of the first marriage. He mar. 1703, Sarah Clements of East Smithfield, dau. of George Clements of Finsbury, mariner. William Penn and his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, William Penn, junior, his eldest son by his first wife, "Guli" Springett, and his son-in-law, William Aubrey, husband of Letitia Penn, Anne Whitehead and others occur as signatories to the marriage certificate. Sarah (Clements) Owen was bur. in F. B. G., Croydon, as "widow of Thomas", in 1747, aged 77.

Nathaniel Owen, the father of the above, had joined Friends by 1661, for in October that year Nathaniel Owen of Sevenoaks was fined and imprisoned for refusing to bear arms. Perhaps this was the occasion when in 11th month, 1660, [i.e., January, 1660/1.]

Nathaniel Owen of Sevenoaks in ye west pt of Kent was comanded out of his bedd by a party of armed men and brought before two Justices, soe called [Injustices more properly, J. J. G.] who tendered him ye oath of alleg[i]ance & because for conscience sake he could not sweare they comited him prisoner to Maidston goale, where he remained many weekes and had taken from him in ye 12th month (February) cloth to ye value of 50s. o. for 28s. o. demanded for charges for car[ry]ing him to prison.

Patience (Crettall) Owen evidently did not join the Society of Friends with her husband, for her burial took place at “ye steeple-house yard,” Sevenoaks, as “wife of Nathaniell Owen,” 31 July, 1663 (aged 37).

Some three years later N. Owen mar. as his second wife Elizabeth Elkington, no doubt a relative of Rebecca Elkington, who was one of the Kent Quaker Martyrs, and died for her “testimony to ye truthe” after 1661, as related by Besse. 8

In 1669, N. Owen was committed to Maidstone Gaol, on a Significat of Contumacy, out of the Ecclesiastical Court, in consequence of a prosecution for absenting himself from the National way of Worship.

This year he published a trade token, as the custom then was, being a halfpenny of octagonal form. The obverse

7 See Piety Promoted, 1775.
8 Besse, as above, i. 296.
inscription in five lines reads:—"Nathel Owen. of. seaven. oakes. mercer." The reverse—"His. halfe-penny. 1669. N. O. E" (i.e., N. and E. Owen).

In 1672, Nathaniel Owen, with Richard Perry (of Chart-ham), and eight other Friends, "Prisonariis in Communi Gaola pro Comitatu nostro Canciae," was by the famous patent of pardon (so called) of King Charles II., dated 13 Sept. 1672, released out of Maidstone Gaol, together with some 481 other Friends "and others," imprisoned in various gaols throughout the country. This patent included the immortal dreamer, John Bunyan, then in Bedford gaol, Francis Holcroft, M.A., a famous Nonconformist preacher, and the following amongst other celebrated Quaker preachers, etc., viz., Thomas Aldam, Thomas Curtis, William Dewsbury, Isaac Penington, Ambrose Rigge, and Oliver Sansom.

In 1675, "On the 29th of the Month called August this year, Hockham and Kilshaw, Informers, came with Thomas Lambert, a Justice of the Peace to a Meeting at Nathanael Owen’s House in Seven-Oaks: The Informers, by the Justice’s Order, pulled down John Abraham [N. O.’s brother-in-law], then preaching, and took him away with some others to an Inn, and soon after dismist them: But the said Justice Lambert, in Conjunction with Francis Farnaby, another Justice, ordered the Constable to seize John Abraham’s Horse, with two others belonging to Samuel Green, a poor man, which Horses, worth about 12l., were ordered to be sold. They also fined Nathanael Owen 20l. for his House and 7l. for the pretended poverty of John Abraham, though he had told them where he dwelt and that he had an Estate of his own at Manchester. For those Fines, the said Nathanael Owen suffered Distress of Linen and Woolen Cloth and other goods out of his House and Warehouse, to the value of 77l. 8s. 3d."

It seems almost incredible that this conscientious "passive resister" should have suffered to the extent of some £300 or more, in our money, for simply allowing his house to be used for the worship of Almighty God.

In 1678, "Nathanael Owen of Seven-Oaks, having been subpoena’d into Chancery for Tithes by the Priest of that Parish who soon after died, his [the priest’s] widow [Amey]
in Easter-Term this year renewed the Prosecution, and Nathanael for not answering on Oath was committed to the Fleet Prison in London. In Michaelmas-Term, a sequestration was issued for £3l. 3s., though the original Demand for Tithes and Offerings was but £16l., for which he had taken from him in Cloth and other Goods to the Value of £40l.” (some £500 or more in our money).

Nathaniel Owen had issue by his second wife Elizabeth Elkington—(1) Elizabeth Owen, born circa 1670, mar. at F. M. H., Bull and Mouth, London, 17 Dec. 1686, Nathaniel Samm of Martins Le Grand, (where the Bull and Mouth Meeting was situated) cheesemonger, son of John Samm of Clifton, co. Bedford, grocer, and Amy his wife. This John Samm issued a trade token at Clifton in 1664, his wife’s initial being given as H. He is named a sufferer for Truth in 1660 and 1670. Elizabeth (Owen) Samm died in the parish of St. Bartholomews the Great, 11 July, 1756, aged 86, and was bur. at F. B. G., Bunhill Fields. She left issue apparently a son Nathaniel Samm, of whom the Rev. William Cole furnishes a most curious account in his collections for the *Athenæ Cantabrigiensis*, now in the British Museum. He says:—

I have put him down here because about the year 1738 he resided, as I am told by Dr. [William Howell] Ewin [of Cambridge], whose father was well acquainted with him at Cambridge, when he was taken so ill that his life was despaired of. He was by profession a Quaker, but by the inventory of his goods, or wearing apparel, it looks as if he did not much follow their mode of dress. He was a man of taste or virtu, and one of the greatest collectors in his way that ever was; insomuch that he injured his fortune by them. He had quantities of medals, ores, shells, jewels, pictures, enamels, prints, and some books. He was a bachelor, and dying with a will made at Cambridge, as I take it, thirty years ago, his mother being then appointed executrix, his effects fell into the hands of a person who made a public auction of them by Mr. Langford, in the Great Piazza in Covent Garden, which began on Wednesday, August 3, and was not finished till Monday, August 15, 1768, being nine days in selling.

Even his old shoes were sold, which, however, were not mentioned in the catalogue which bore this title; *A Catalogue of the genuine and valuable collection of coins, medals, etc., of that ingenious and well-known collector, Mr. Nathl. Samm, of Bartholomew Close, lately deceased, which, by order of the administratrix, will be sold by auction by Mr. Langford and Son.*

Though Mr. Samm had such a choice collection of everything that was rare, he kept them all to himself, and showed them to no one, which
THE QUAKER FAMILY OF OWEN.

was as singular as one of his profession taking such a vain turn, yet I knew another instance or two of the same sort.\textsuperscript{11}

(2) Katherine Owen, born circa 1677. She was resident in Broad Street at the time of her marriage which took place at F. M. H., Bull and Mouth, 20 April, 1704, the bridegroom being John Allbright, of Basinghall Street, citizen and cloath-worker, son of Hugh Allbright of Stony Stratford, Bucks, maltster. William Penn, John Field, Andrew Pitt, and Benjamin Bealing were amongst the signatories at the marriage. Andrew Pitt, who resided at Hampstead, is spoken of with respect by Voltaire, who visited him there.\textsuperscript{12}

John Allbright, then a brewer, died at St. Gyles-in-the-Fields in 1717, aged 43, his widow in 1720 aged 43. Of their three children, the two eldest died in 1739 and 1755.

(3) Rebecca Owen, mar. Samuel Phiby and had issue a son of the same name. (4) Elkington Owen, born circa 1677, died at Sevenoaks, 1695, aged 17, bur. in F. B. G., Bunhill Fields. (5) Sarah Owen, born circa 1679, died 1703, aged 24. (6) Salem Owen, an overseer in the will of his father in 1705. (7) Benjamin Owen of Maidstone, linen draper, born circa 1680, mar. Martha ————. In the Life of Richard Claridge, the eminent Quaker Minister and schoolmaster, we find that "On the 8th of the First Month, this year (1714), he [R. C.], with another Friend, took a short journey into Kent, to the marriage of Benjamin Owen, which was celebrated at Rochester on the 9th, where they had a very large and good meeting." Martha Owen was born, circa 1688, who, dying at Maidstone, 1728, aged 40, was bur. in F. B. G., Bunhill Fields. He pre-deceased her in 1719, aged 30. They had issue a son, Salem Owen, of Thomas Street, London, hop merchant (1717-1766), mar. 1748/9, Rachel Ansell, who died as lately as 1810, aged 85, having had two sons and two daughters, of whom Hannah Owen, born 1757, mar. 1777, Joseph Harris, of Cannon Street, London.

Salem Owen's wedding which took place at Devonshire House, was attended by Dr. John Fothergill, some six members of the Barclay family, Daniel Bell, senior and junior, etc.

Nathaniel Owen, the father of this large family of some five sons and seven daughters, died at his house at Sevenoaks


\textsuperscript{12} See Gentleman's Magazine, 1736, 1768.
17 Oct. 1705, aged 78, and was bur. in F. B. G., Bunhill Fields, 21 Oct. His will is dated 10 Sept. 1705, and proved in the P. C. C. 2 Nov. 1705 by Elizabeth Owen his relict. The preamble says "being aged and willing to set my house in order that I may have nothing to do but to dye." He leaves to the poor of Sevenoaks 20s., to Friends' Meeting, Rochester, £10. He bequeaths to his wife the residue of his property to enable her to pay off the mortgage of £400 on the house "in which I now dwell called ‘Hillborrowes in Seavenock,’" which house he also leaves to her and after her death to his son Benjamin, and he also gives her the house and lands called "Forwards" in Mincinghampton, county Gloucester.

It is not unlikely that Hildenborough near Sevenoaks has some affinity with "Hillborrowes." Quakers' Hall Road, in Sevenoaks and the Quakers' Hall Estate are perhaps derived from Nathaniel Owen's residence, where Friends' Meetings were held, and, as far as we know, there was no other Meeting-house.

Elizabeth (Elkington) Owen, Nathaniel's widow, had taken from her, 6 Dec. 1705/6, by force of warrant, "3 Cows and 2 Calfes, value £8 10s., for tythes of hoppes and offerings valued at £4 15s."

She, who was born circa 1645, died of age 25 Nov. 1725, aged 80, and was bur. in F. B. G., Bunhill Fields, 30 Nov.

J. J. Green.

To be continued.

William Dewsbury and John Whitehead to George Fox, 1654.

The following letters, both written on one folio sheet, were recently presented to D by William Edward Brown, of Halstead, per William H. F. Alexander. The late owner writes that the document had been in his possession about 40 years. It had previously belonged to John Brown, of Hertford, the donor's grandfather, who died in 1833. W. E. Brown says, "I fancy it may have come to the Browns, who lived in Hertfordshire for many generations, through a
DEWSBURY AND WHITEHEAD LETTERS.

certain 'Aunt Jackson' (Ruth Jackson), held in great veneration by my grandparents who had books with her name in.” Among several endorsements to the letters is one in the handwriting of George Fox.

The letters are referred to by John Barclay in his notes to Edward Smith's Life of William Dewsbury in Barclay's Select Series, vol. ii. p. 86.

dear Bro

in ye etternall puer being, thee I acquant wth ye work of ye lord he is Carrying on by ye arm of his mighty power in this part. And his ordering of vs according to his will : on ye 10 day of ye 10th Month we were brough[t] forth of prison before three men Called Justices at ye sessons in Northampton. the Mittimas the Jaoler denied us accoppy of. ther was Read in ye Cort as a Charg against vs ; & in it was writ su[s] piction of blasphemy dangeres papers against ye lord protictor: When they wear to prove w: ye blasphemous was they wear Confounded befor ye peopl. then they asked if I would own ye papers they took from me wth wear tow Coppys of ye word of ye lord I was moued to send to olevr Croomwell: thee answer was to showe what I have sent to him I wittnes to be ye word of ye lord: then they demanded of vs men to be bound for our appearnc at ye SIZES, or to prison againe. then was demanded of them to Read vs a law wee have transgrest befor you Require any to be bound for vs, but they were Confounded and could not but still demanded of vs som to be bound for vs. the answer was to ym not any shall be bound for vs hear is our bodyes, do wth them w: you have power: then they commanded the Jaoler to tak vs away and putt vs in prison wth was doon att ther Commands. befor we were brought from them a Coppy of ye mittimus was demanded of them in ye open Cortt [by Justice Crute but it¹] was denied. But ye lord in his puer wisdom did spread his truth abrod ye: day, frends wear much strengthened And ye decaitts of ye men Called Justices manyst. so most of ye peopl ye wear present their who by ye power of ye truth of god was convinced ye day And great is ye thirst ye it Raised vp in ye hartes of many hear awaye towards ye nam of ye lord

¹ The words within brackets were added between the lines, by John Whitehead. He, doubtless, intended to refer to Justice Crook.
DEWSBURY AND WHITEHEAD LETTERS.
41

Dear Bro I am moued to writt to thee if thou find mouings to Com hear aways it will be in [ . . . . 2] sarvic for many dear Children hath our father in thes partts the harvest is great. A mighty peopl our god is bringing forth heare aways to waitt vpon him for his wisdom to guid ym to his praise and glory.

if thou be ordered hear awayes dear Bro if way be maid y1 frinds have knowldg of thy Coming then will they meght [?] meet] together. if thou Com to horborow ther is at dingley tow miles from it John allin y1 harth of ye earth. ther is a seed ye lord will Raise vp in y1 famaly tho at presant much doth not apear. they would Reaive [thee,] in lou[e] and be no burden to them. And from that plac vtill thou Com at Justic Cruks3 and James Neills4 in bickeringspark5 in whom ther is much lou[e] to y6

2 Word or words missing owing to the tearing of the sheet where the letter was sealed;

3 Justice Crook, of Beckerings Park, was convinced in 1654 and became a leader among the early Friends. He suffered greatly in person and estate. John Barclay does not seem to have recognised the person referred to, and gives "Justice Crutt" in his reading of another letter from Dewsbury.

4 John Barclay reads "James Nagill" in another Dewsbury letter, but here it is clearly "Neill."

5 Beckerings Park, near Ridgmount, between Ampthill and Woburn, Beds, is thus described in a manuscript in a modern handwriting (D. John Thompson MSS. 94):—

"The mansion that John Crook lived in at Beckering's Park appears to have been built very substantially, as the walls were a full yard in thickness. There were three stories and cellars; there were many rooms, the windows were generally rather narrow ones. The principal front was towards the south, and the site of the building was surrounded by a moat about two hundred and sixty yards in circumference, with a drawbridge over it. All of the outbuildings, as stables, coach-houses, etc., were outside of the moat, as the dwelling-house covered most of the space of ground within it.

"In 1658, at the General Meeting, George Fox and many others collected at first in the building, but from the great influx of people it was found to be perfectly inadequate to contain them, for, as G. Fox says in his Journal, 'many thousands of people were at it'; they therefore adjourned to the orchard, where the different meetings were held, and which lasted three days.

"The mansion was pulled down in the year 1824, and a farm house was erected on a part of the site. Most of the moat was then filled with earth. The stairs in the centre were wide enough for four persons to walk up them abreast.

"Bickerings (or Beckerings) Park was the seat of John Bekeryng, who was Knight of the shire of Bedford in [the time of] Edward III., who reigned from 1227 [1327] to 77. The estate belonged to the Crown in the 17th century; after the Restoration it was granted to John Ashburnham,
DEWSBURY AND WHITEHEAD LETTERS.

truth and bold in their measure, their friends all along in ye way and a great thirst on ev'ry side where not any friend hath yeet Comd, yt if Cartton [?] certain friends Com with ye, hear will be service for them. And hear is many yt harth of ye ovtward yt will Receave thee tho Carttan friends be with ye it will be no burden, in measure they ar Redeamed from ye earth. if thou Com, dear Bro, send som to Visit ym littell Rement scattered about laicester and ther aways much care lyes on me for ym. I see much Carlesnes amongst ym.

With lou[e] wh is etternall I salute the who am thy Brother in the etternall Vnitty

W.D.

Joseph Stor my fellow prisoner salutes ye in ye lord.

dear bro from Coventree I Came straight to wellingbroug throrogh some friends scattered bettwene harbrow and it at wellingbroug I had a greate meeting the last first day, since then I passed to northamton where I had two meetings, and yesterday I had a meeteing three miles of it, and thomas Stubs had a meeting two miles of this place yesterday and is this day at a meeteing 3 miles of another way. mighty is the thirst yt is raised and many there is Convinced and brought to Loue the truth. thy Cominge heare aways will be of greate service if the Lord make the free, friends heare do much desire it and would gladly receive thee. those friends yt bring this Letter are Come to see the and would have the Come up with them if thou bee free to doe it, thou mayes send some of them before to appint generall meetings. one of them may be

In 1725 it was sold to the Radcliffes, and it now belongs to the Duke of Bedford.

"It probably changed hands twice in the middle of the 17th century, as other properties in the neighbourhood did at that time, at the commencement and the termination of the Protectorate."

The famous General Meeting above referred to was, no doubt, held at Beckerings. George Fox had previously visited "at John Crook's house." This is given as "Luton" in the margins of the earlier editions of The Journal, but in the later the name has been inserted in the text. Perhaps the worthy Justice had houses at both places. From the "First Publishers of Truth," MSS (D. Portfolio, No. 7) it is quite clear that John Crook entertained William Dewsbury at Beckerings Park in 1654. Our interest in the important General Meeting is enhanced by the above description of the scenes amid which it was held, but the manuscript referred to is unsigned and no authorities for the description given are stated.
Convenient to be at John allens at dingley where frends scattered about harborrow will meete and thou mayest stay a night or two. and at Welingburrow there will be a Convenient place for another generall meeteing att William Pages house. from John allens it will be Convenient yt thou Come to wellingburrow ether to the house afore mentioned or to francis elingtons or William Richesons but betwixt dingley and wellingburrow there is two towns where there is frends yt would be glad to haue meetings at their houses if any Come to suply them. the name of the one is rowell when one beebee a baker would recaive and the name of the other is Ketterin a markett towne where one Edward hackney an atorney, would freely recaive any frends if a meeteing weare appointed at his house. At welingburrow and findon at John makernesses house, thou mightes Conveniently stay 14 or 20 dayes and frends ye are with the might be in greate service in the Contrith [country] round about. and all along the Countreth there is frends till one Come to Justice Cru[ks] house and a mighty thirst raised on every side. in the morning if god permit I shall go towards the meeting yt is apointed in huntingtonshire. my deare brother pray for mee ye I may be kept armed with the eternall wisdome and power aboue all the worlds wisdome forth of the bands of vreasonable men I doe salute the in the Lord and the rest of our deare frends

JOHN WHITEHEAD,  
from welingbrough the 25 of the II month, 1654.

these frends’ have much imployment in the ovtward and Cannot with Convenience tarry Long from it.

EDITORS.

6 i.e. Rothwell.  
7 They were probably the bearers of the letters, and the sentence seems to convey a hint to G. F. not to detain them longer than necessary. We do not know whether the letter was received before G. Fox was arrested at Whetstone and imprisoned at Leicester, but doubtless this arrest and subsequent journey to London under guard prevented his carrying out the wishes of his friends. Captain Drury, who was in charge of him, permitted him, however, to visit William Dewsbury and Mar-maduke Stor who were then in Northampton prison. Dewsbury must have quickly changed both his prison and fellow-prisoner, if the account given by George Fox in his Journal is correct as to person and place.
Friends' Reference Library.  (D)

This Library, which contains a large collection of books and manuscripts relating to the Society of Friends, is available for use each week-day during business hours. Books may be borrowed under the following rule, passed by the Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting in 1898:

The Meeting for Sufferings authorises the Recording Clerk to permit a Friend to have the loan of a book for a period not exceeding one month on production of a guarantee for its safe return signed by two members of the Meeting for Sufferings. Such permission should not extend to manuscripts, or to printed books of exceptional value, or to books out of print of which a duplicate is not in the Library. These should only be lent, as heretofore, by authority of a minute of the Meeting for Sufferings.

The Committee in charge of the Library is desirous of making as complete as possible collection of books and manuscripts written by, or relating to Friends, and would, therefore, be glad to hear from Friends and others who have such to dispose of. The following list gives the titles of some books not in the collection. Other lists of desiderata will be sent on application to the Librarian, Devonshire House, London, E.C.

It is much to be regretted that authors who insert "Quaker" characters in their books do not first ascertain if they are really Quakerly. L. T. Meade, in her recent story, *The Witch Maid* (London: Nisbet, 1903), states, in an introductory note, that "the characters in this story are all fictitious, and the allusion to Elizabeth Fry is purely imaginary." She might have added that the Quakerism represented was also largely fictitious. I cannot think that Elizabeth Fry would say, "It would be a great rise for thee to marry the head of the house. There is no prouder or older family in England than that of the Gurneys... It would be a lease of life to the Friends to have a bonny, beautiful, young thing like thee as their leader" (p. 218). Friends do not preface their public prayers by "Let us pray to the good Lord," nor does the company all "fall on their knees in imitation" (p. 174). And whence comes the term "Unit," as applied to a Monthly Meeting (p. 44 and often)?

It is interesting to find that *The Journal of John Woolman* has been issued in "Macmillan’s Pocket American and English Classics for use in Secondary Schools, with Critical Introductions, Notes, etc." (New York: 1903), but here again the editor shows little knowledge of Quaker history when he tells us in his Introduction that John Woolman died in the city of New York, and in his Notes that the Friends were organised in England through the influence of John Fox. I am glad to find that the error which has run through all the Whittier editions, "sixth month" instead of fifth month, in the year of the journey to England, has been avoided in this latest reprint.

I hear that *George Fox, An Autobiography*, by Dr. Rufus M. Jones, will shortly appear. It is the story of Fox’s life told in selected passages of his "Journal," edited with Introduction and explanatory Notes, in two vols., illustrated, about 600 pages. There will also be a Student’s edition without illustrations in one vol. (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach. London: Headley Bros.)

Norman Penney.
List of Members.

Names received to the 7th of 11th month.

Abbatt, Dilworth
Abraham, Miss Emma C.
Abraham, E. Mitford
Alexander, Samuel J.
Allen, Henry John

Backhouse, Wm. Aldam
Baker, Samuel
Baker, Wm. King
Balkwill, Alfred P.
Barrow, Thomas
Batt, Phebe E.
Beck, William
Bellows, Elizabeth
Benington, George
Bevan, Paul, F.S.A.
Binyon, Mrs. Thomas W.
Boorne, James
Bowly, Christopher, J.P.
Brady, Charles, J.P.
Braithwaite, Chas. Ll., J.P.
Braithwaite, Isaac
Braithwaite, W. C., B.A., L.L.B.
Brayshaw, A. N., B.A., L.L.B.
Bright, John Albert
Broadhead, James
Brown, E. Vipont, M.D.
Brown, Francis H., M.A.

Cadbury, Barrow
Cadbury, Edward
Cadbury, Dorothy
Cadbury, George
Cadbury, Elsie M.
Cadbury, Richard
Catchpool, Thomas K.
Catford, Herbert H.
Catford, Robert H.

Clark, Wm. Stephens, J.P.
Clayton, Francis C., J.P.
Compton, Theodore
Congregational Historical Society.
Cotton, Charlotte
Crewdson, Wilson, M.A., F.S.A.
Crosfield, Harold Goad
Crosfield, Miss Georgiana
Crosfield, Miss H. M.
Crosfield, John Dymond
Cudworth, William, C.E.
Cudworth, Wm. John, C.E.

Davidson, Thomas
Docwra, G. Washington
Dodshon, Edmund
Dymond, Arthur H.
Dymond, Francis W.
Dymond, Frank
Dymond, George Cecil

Eames, Walter J.
Evans, George Eyre

Fayle, Edwin, C.E.
Ford, Jno. Rawlinson
Fowler, William, L.L.B.
Fox, J. Hingston
Fox, Marshall N.
Fox, Robert
Fox-Davies, Arthur C.

Fry, E. A.
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Fry, Joseph Storrs
Fry, Priscilla A.

Gawthrop, Henry
Gayner, John
Gibbins, Caroline
Gibbins, Frederick J.
Glenny, James
Godlee, J. Lister
Gordon, Alexander, M.A.
Grace, Wilfrid
Graham, John W., M.A.
 Graveson, Samuel
Green, Joseph J.
Gregory, Maurice
Gregory, Theodore
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Grubb, Edward M.A.
Grubb, J. Ernest
Gurney, Henry

Hadwen, Miss
Hallett, Mrs.
Handley, John, J.P.
Harlock, Edward B.
Harris, Edith M.
Harris, Henry
Harris, J. Rendel, M.A., Litt.D.
Hartley, Joe
Harvey, T. Edmund, M.A.
Harvey, William
Haydock, Wm. Henry
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Headley, Herbert D.
Hilton, John
Hodgkin, Jonathan B.
Hodgkin, Thos., D.C.L., Litt.D.
Hodgson, J. Spence

Impey, Catherine
Irwin, Wilfred

Jones, Fredc. Wm.
Jones, Rufus M., M.A., D.Litt.

Kemp, Caleb R., J.P.

Lean, Bevan, D.Sc., B.A.
Lean, Walter
Leech, Mrs.
Leicester, Samuel B.
Lewis, Georgina King
Lisburn School
Littleboy, Anna L.
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May, Charles
Merz, Miss Teresa
Miller, Wm. Frederick
Moens. W. J. C., F.S.A.
Moorhouse, Alfred
Morland, Lucy F., B.A.
Mort, David
Mounfield, Arthur
Mounsey, Edward B.
Muschamp, Robert
Myers. Albert Cook, M.L.

Naish, Charles E.
Newman, Henry
Norris, William Gregory

Patching, John
Peckover, Alex., LL.D., F.S.A.,
F.L.S., F.R.G.S.
Penney, A. H. and M. C.
Penney, Norman
Penney, Robert Alfred
Pim, James
Pim, John, J.P., F.C.I.S.
Pitt, George
Polam Hall School
Poulter, Daniel P.
Pumphrey, Emma R.

Quinn, Jno. Henry

Ransom, Alfred
Ransom, Edwin
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A delay having occurred in the dispatch of an American edition of the prospectus of the Society, we are unable to include in this List the names of more than two or three American members. We hope, however, to be able to insert in the next number of The Journal many additional names of members in the States and Canada, and elsewhere.
RULES OF THE SOCIETY—Continued.

(V.) Until a General Meeting of Members is held, the following shall act as officers of the Society:

President:
THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., Litt.D.

Treasurer:
ROBERT H. MARSH.

Secretaries:
ISAAC SHARP, B.A.  NORMAN PENNEY.

Executive Committee:
A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW, B.A., LL.B.
JOHN DYMOND CROSFIELD.
JOSEPH J. GREEN.
J. ERNEST GRUBB.
ANNE WARNER MARSH.
JOHN S. ROWNTREE, J.P.
CHARLOTTE FELL SMITH.

Ex-officio
HENRY LLOYD WILSON.
FRANK DYMOND.
ISAAC SHARP, B.A.
NORMAN PENNEY.

Consultative:
GEORGE VAUX, 1715, Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

All communications should be addressed to the Editors, Devonshire House, 12, Bishopsgate Without, London, E.C., or to Rufus M. Jones, 718, Arch Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.