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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

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Rules of the Society.

- (I.) 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.

THE JOURNAL

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FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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D.=The Reference Library of London Yearly Meeting,
Devonshire House, 12, Bishopsgate Street Without, London, E.C.

Notices.

Members' subscriptions for the year 1905 are now due, and should be sent to Norman Penney, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C., to Dr. R. M. Jones, 1010 Arch Street, Philadelphia, or to David S. Taber, 51 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The second annual meeting of the members of the Society will be held (subject to alteration by London Yearly Meeting) at the Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, Yorkshire, on Fifth-Day, the 25th of Fifth Month, at 2 p.m. The presence of members and others will be welcomed.

Notes and Queries.

HENRY CLAY OF KENTUCKY.—Further information desired than that contained in the *Memoirs of J. J. Gurney* and in Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies, described in familiar Letters to Henry Clay of Kentucky*.

WOMEN FRIENDS OF YORKSHIRE.—In 1688 *A Testimony for the Lord and his Truth* was "given forth by the Women Friends at their Yearly Meeting at York," and signed by Catherine Whitton, Judith Boulby, Elizabeth Sedman, Frances Taylor, Mary Waite, Debora Winn, Elizabeth Beckwith, and Mary Lindley. The edition printed in 4to has the date "28th of the 4th Month, 1688," but the folio edition, presumably a reprint, gives the year as "1668." One copy of the latter in D. has a note attached, written by J. S. Rowntree in 1902, which states that "the epistle printed in folio is no doubt that of 1688. In the minute book there is no MS. epistle that year, but a copy of the printed folio was apparently corrected to 1688 with a pen, and there is a pencil note above, partly legible, I believe of William Alexander's, that 1688 is the correct date. This is confirmed by six of the eight women who sign also signing MS. minutes or epistles of about the same date." The above correction is worthy of notice, as copies of the folio edition are not infrequently met with.

BAYARD TAYLOR.—Was this author a Friend? His works are given in Joseph Smith's *Supplement to his Catalogue*.

PENN'S "MAXIMS."—In the Introduction to Edmund Gosse's edition, 1900, the editor states (p. xiv.), "It was not until 1718, and after the first part had been many times re-issued, that 'More Fruits of Solitude' made its earliest appearance." He had, apparently, overlooked the fact that Tace Sowle issued an edition, presumably the first, of "More Fruits," in 1702. This was reprinted by the Assigns of J. Sowle in 1718, the copy in D. being bound up with the 1702 edition of the first part.

G. F.'s "JOURNAL" QUERIES.—
1. "Then Colonel Hacker said, I might go home. . . . His son Needham said, 'Father, this man hath reigned too long'" (i. 207-9). Who was Col. Hacker's son? Was Needham a family name, or a Christian name?

[The following tract has recently been added to D., *A Brief Narration of the Tryall of Captain Clement Nedham . . . In way of Reply to a Pamphlet . . . The Deep sighs . . . of some late Souldiers in Capt. Nedhams Troop in Col. Hackers Regiment*. . . . London, 1653. Perhaps this is the Nedham referred to above.—EDS.]

2. A copy of the first edition has recently reached D., on the fly-leaf of which is written, "George Fox his free gift to his Anticient friend, William Bramston, who gave it his son, Thomas Bramston, in the Month of December, Anno D^m 1700." Presumably G. F. left instructions that a copy of his journal, should be given to his "Anticient friend." Is there any record of other such posthumous gifts of *The Journal*? William Bramston was, probably, the Friend of that name, a prisoner at Leicester in 1685, mentioned by Besse (i. 345). A person of the same name was a chaplain in ordinary to the King in 1694. (See Arber's *Term Catalogues*, ii. 546.) The expurgation of the contents of p. 309 has been effected by ink or other colouring matter, not by insertion of the reprinted leaf. (See *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, xxxvi. 67.)

3. In *George Fox*, by Rufus M. Jones, is an illustration (ii. 568) of Hartshill Grange. This is a view of the house in Friar Lane, Hartshill (recently called "The Grange"), formerly occupied by Nathaniel Newton. Under the title of the illustration are the words, "George Fox was frequently entertained at this home." Is there any proof of this? G.F. records a short visit to N.N. in 1677; and in all his previous recorded visits to this district, he stayed with his relatives at Drayton, within sight of Nathaniel Newton's house.

4. Another illustration (ii. 547) shows the "Summer House at Hartshill Grange, wherein George Fox wrote parts of his Journal." Is there any foundation for this

statement, or is it only local tradition? It is generally stated that G.F. *dictated* his *Journal* and it is in the highest degree improbable that any part of this work was done during the visit of a day or two to Hartshill, of which he says, "Several Friends met me, with whom I had good service."

DECLARATIONS OF MARRIAGE.—

A correspondent writes:—"I find this passage in Barclay's *Inner Life*, p. 408, regarding Friends' marriages:—'Prior to 1790, a man had to attend twelve distinct meetings for discipline to repeat in public his intentions of marriage, and the intentions were announced twenty times prior to the marriage?' Canst thou verify this astonishing statement?"

Robert Barclay refers to William Rathbone's *Narrative of Events in Ireland* as his authority for the statement, and this is how William Rathbone makes up his figures (p. 112 n):—

The man to declare his intentions in own district at the:—

Women's Preparative Meeting	1
Men's ditto ditto	1
Women's Monthly Meeting	2
Men's ditto ditto	2

The man and the woman each to declare intentions in the latter's district at the:—

Women's Preparative Meeting	2
Men's ditto ditto	2
Women's Monthly Meeting	4
Men's ditto ditto	4

By the parties themselves 18

By other Friends after meeting for worship 2

—
20
—

In regard to the declarations at a Preparative Meeting, we do not find in either the MS. edition of the *Book of Extracts*, or in the first printed edition (1783), any definite instructions to Preparative Meetings on the subject of marriage, but the following occurs in the regulations decided upon by the Y. M. of 1754:—“Nothing herein contained is intended in any wise to alter or affect the previous and additional care taken by preparative meetings, in sundry counties, in relation to marriage.” (*Extracts*, 1783, p. 104.) In an *Appendix to the Extracts*, 1792, p. 2, under date 1790, is the following:—“It is our judgment that it is unnecessary that parties intending to marry appear before Preparative Meetings.”

The Transactions of Swartmoor Preparative Meeting, 1699-1722 (D. MSS. Box G), contains several marriage-declarations; as also do the records of Hardshaw Monthly Meeting, where we read, under Preparative Meeting, 14th of 12 mo. 1697:—“John Cook, of Overton, having told us that he intends to acquaint the monthly meeting with his intentions of marriage with Sarah Torbock, . . . committed to the consideration of our monthly meeting.” (D. Gibson Bequest MSS. iii. 169.)

FRIENDS OF TRUTH.—I have a deed of about 1670, on which we are called *Friends of Truth*, and in some places *Friends* only. Have you an earlier instance?—A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW, *Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham.*

LOVEDAY HAMBLY.—The copy in D. of *A Relation of Loveday Hambly* has had several lines obliterated; the Librarian would be obliged if anyone who owns a complete copy of this tract would communicate with him with a view to the restoration of the crossed-out lines.

PARTICULARS WANTED concerning “Pamphlet re Quakers, Southall and Delabere.”

LONDON Y. M. EPISTLES.—Copies of many of these, in original folio form, may be had for cost of postage only, on application to the Librarian of D.

LONDON TOPOGRAPHY.—In the *History of Thomas Ellwood*, there appears an account of his arrest at the Meeting at the *Bull and Mouth*, in Aldersgate. He says that they were led up *Martin's*, through *Newgate* into the *Old Bailey*, which brought them into *Fleet Street*, thence by a short turn to the Front of *Old Bridewell*. A question arises out of this. Old Bailey does not lead into Fleet Street, but into Ludgate Hill, and in going from the Bull and Mouth to the site of Old Bridewell, at the present day, one would not need to go into Fleet Street at all. Bridewell lay between St. Bride's Church and the river, fronting what is now New Bridge Street. Was Ellwood mistaken in the names of the streets, or have they been altered since his time?—J. D. BROOKS, *Ashford, Kent.*

LLANDEWI BURIALS (ii. 3).—I think it probable that, besides those which took place at Llanddewy Brefi, in Cardiganshire, some were at Trewern, in the parish of Llanddewy Velfrey, in Pembrokeshire.

The Cardiganshire Burial Ground never appears to have belonged to the Society of Friends. It is still owned by a descendant of Friends, who has sold the surrounding Farm, but reserved the Burial Ground; it is now overgrown with evergreens. It probably was not in existence in 1717, for when Richard Heydon, of Oddington, Gloucestershire, died, whilst on a religious visit at Llanddewy Brefi, he was buried at the distant Friends' Burial Ground at Llandovery, in Carmarthenshire.

Trewern is a small Burial Ground. It was the property of John Lewis, a Friend whose residence was Trewern House. The last survivor of this family presented the grave-yard and an adjoining cottage to the Society of Friends in 1876. This place is a few miles from Narberth, and in that parish there was the Friends' Meeting House of Redstone. Probably the last meeting held there was in 1816, when Henry Knight, a member of Ratcliff Monthly Meeting, married Sarah Lewis. Henry Knight died at his residence, near Swansea, in 1863, and not long before his death, he told me that at the time of his marriage, only half of the roof of Redstone Meeting House was remaining. In 1820, the whole place had fallen into ruins. About fifty years ago, I could see no trace of the Meeting House, but was shown some stones in a wall that had

formed part of the building.—
FREDERICK J. GIBBINS, *Gilfach House, Neath.*

IMMIGRATION OF THE ENGLISH QUAKERS INTO PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY, 1675-1750.—Albert Cook Myers, of Pa.; writes, I desire to announce that I have been engaged for some years in the collection of materials for an extended work on the above subject, having examined the Friends' records both in England and America. The study, as proposed, will be somewhat similar in plan to my *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania*, published in 1902, although I shall hope to make it broader and more scientific in treatment. An important feature of the work is an investigation of the English origins of the immigrants. I shall endeavour to treat of the religious, social, and economic life of the colonists in their old home, and to show what mental and physical characteristics, what manners and customs, what ideas and institutions they contributed to the making of Pennsylvania and the American nation. The religious annals of the early Friends have been fully exploited, and the printed materials are abundant; but their social and economic history, like that of the other members of the great middle class of seventeenth century England, is yet to be dug from the scattered manuscript sources.

Some aspects of the social and economic history of the seventeenth century English Friends, which I wish to discuss are included under the following

heads : social status, occupations, financial condition, land tenure, houses, house and farm furnishings, education, reading matter, social intercourse, manners and customs, superstitions, training for citizenship in Penn's Quaker experiment in government, knowledge of English local government, familiarity with legal forms and courts of law through persecution.

Other topics of the work for consideration are : religious, economic, and other causes of migration, inducements that led the immigrants to Pennsylvania, places in England whence the immigrants came, extent and intensity of the migration, ports of embarking, the voyage, ship stores and provisions, cost of passage, incidents of the migration, dangers and difficulties of the voyage, aid to immigrants, indented servants, etc.

A list of the immigrants, with notes of the places whence they came, and the like, compiled from certificates of removal, Meeting minutes, and other sources, is included in the plan.

Information or suggestions on any aspect of my subject will be gratefully received. I am especially desirous of learning of any old diaries, journals, letters, etc., throwing light on the migration. I shall also be glad to have notes of migrating Friends from minute books in England, and to obtain views of any ancient houses in England that are known to have been occupied by Friends of the seventeenth century. — ALBERT COOK MYERS, *Kennett Square, Pennsylvania.*

OBITUARY.—Our readers will remember that, in Fifth Month last, we inserted a request by John Wilhelm Rowntree for assistance in the preparation of a study on Quakerism. This important work, on which J. W. Rowntree and others were engaged, and in which considerable progress had been made, has received a sudden and serious check by the death of its moving spirit, which took place in New York, on the 9th ultimo. J. W. Rowntree took much interest in the Historical Society and its objects, and his energies and means were largely devoted to the advancement of historical knowledge in the religious body of which he was a warmly attached and prominent member.

HARRIS-HARRISON (I. 97 n⁶).—I can see no reason for such a change. From the records of Cliff's Meeting I take the following:—William *Harris* was appointed a trustee, 11mo. 26th, 1682; William *Harris* had a controversy with Francis Billingsly, 5th mo. 5th, 1688; Richard *Harris* married Elizabeth Webb, 1701; George *Harris*, ninth son of George and Ann Harris, was born y^e 19th Day of y^e 5th mo., 1725.

The records show that the Harris family were prominent in the Meeting at that time, and their descendants still take an active part in our Meetings.

True the *Harrison* name also appears on these records.—ELLA K. BARNARD, 1750 *Park Avenue, Baltimore, U.S.A.*

Remarks on the Letter in Cypher from Francis Howgill to George Fox.¹

A cypher, in the strict sense of the word, is a code in which certain arbitrary signs or symbols are made to represent certain words or combinations of words, and in which we may have identically the same phonetic sound represented by entirely different symbols. Now, in shorthand it is otherwise; the same phonetic is always represented by the same symbol, no matter in what combination that sound may occur, its chief aim being to represent words in the shortest way possible, and so attain speed in writing. Therefore it is obvious that in deciphering an unrecognized method of shorthand, when once we find the representative symbol for each sound, the rest is merely a matter of transliteration. But if we have to deal with a mixed shorthand and cypher, our task is increased a hundredfold, for where are we to draw the dividing line between the phonetic and arbitrary symbols?

To this latter type belongs the letter from Howgill to George Fox, which was published in the January number of *THE JOURNAL*, and brought to my notice by Dr. Winstone, of Russell Square, whose generous interest in all matters relating to the Society of Friends is so well known. It consists of a large number of imported and, so to speak, foreign symbols intricately woven into what was originally a regular system of recurring forms; for in the representative signs for "give," and "get" we see identically the same radical with the different modifications attached; and other similar forms, too numerous to mention, will be found on a very slight inspection of the vocabulary.

But, nevertheless, there is a mixture, for example, in the code used by the Friends of that date,

¹The subject of the use of a cypher in the writing of the early Friends is an interesting one. We do not think that it can have been a common practice, as only a few instances occur among a great number of early letters in *D*, and the transmission of secret correspondence does not seem to be in keeping with the open methods generally adopted.—Eds.

V 'may'; A 'man'; \ 'my' are
 phonetic; but G 'me'; ^{MD} 'magistrate';
 Again I 'they'; 7 'that' are phonetic,
 but t 'thou'; 8 'thy'; are arbitrary.
 Further { 0 'where'; 0 'which' phonetic.
 { V 'were'; c 'would' arbitrary
 { 17 'nothing': arbitrary.
 { 7 'not': phonetic

 { 7 'give'; 7 'god'; 7 'get': phonetic
 { 7 'that'; -7 'and get'; 76 'if that'
 are arbitrary

and numerous other examples can be produced to prove that there is in it a mixture of phonetic and arbitrary signs. And what still further augments the task of transcribing the Howgill letter is the fact that it is very badly written; the lack of differentiation between thick and thin strokes (so essential in shorthand), the abundance of blotches and corrections, the exaggeration of dots and punctuations into strokes, the disregard of the position of the supplementary strokes, all tend to make the subject more difficult to the uninitiated to read. But then we may argue, that as both the supposed writer of the letter and the receiver were not, as far as is known, men of high education, it ought not to present insuperable difficulties to a man of modern learning. That is all very well as far as it goes, but it would be unreasonable to contend, or even suggest, that the letter in question was the only one in cypher that ever passed between the two men: so, therefore, we may conclude that they frequently used this code, and so became well versed in its use, and eventually abbreviated and curtailed their compound symbols into simple ones.

One other point which is of great import, the combinations of symbols used in compound words are quite arbit-

rarily joined or not joined together, and the spacing between the words (so carefully attended to in another letter, to which we shall draw attention in a later paragraph) has been absolutely disregarded, and all the signs run into continuous lines, possibly not without some very good reason, probably to mystify unauthorized persons, into whose hands the letter might fall. To give a few illustrations of combined symbols :—

ff stands for 'deceit'; *→ f* 'false':
γ 'answer': *∠ ρ* 'accusations':
li 'everlasting': *IO* 'eternally':
ly 'injury': *ρf* 'person': *IO* 'person':
ly 'restore': *ρlg* 'satisfaction':
ivf 'slander': *f* 'through': *γρ* 'transgression'

These examples will, we think, serve to show that where we should expect a simple, or even a connected form of symbol, we find just the opposite. In fact there is no hard and fast rule which governs the system.

Very fortunately, in a collection of letters² of George Fox was found one in similar code, which bore a heading in longhand, identical to a letter in longhand directly underneath. It had been surmised that the two letters were one and the same, and we had the pleasure of proving that to be a fact. From the collection of symbols thus gained was made a short vocabulary, and it was hoped by its aid to transcribe the Howgill letter, but on comparing the two, in addition to the above-mentioned difficulties, unknown symbols kept cropping up, which would not allow themselves to be resolved by aid of the symbols in our possession; for this reason only a few unconnected words were decipherable.

It may be added, that on searching the books on Cyphers and Shorthand of that period (seventeenth century) in the British Museum nothing was found to correspond with the code in question.

² D. MSS. Box A.

Shorthand had been known for hundreds of years before this date. The earliest known application of shorthand mentioned in history is that of Cicero's slave Tyro, who used to take down notes and reports on legal and other matters for his master; and they are now called Tyronian notes, *Notæ Tyronianæ*. It is believed to have been introduced by the Greeks and so carried to Rome, and subsequently diffused more or less over the continent.

Suetonius makes mention of cryptograms, as distinct from shorthand, in the following passage,

“*In quibus epistolis, si qua occultius perferenda essent, per NOTAS scripsit.*” Suet. *Caes.* 56. “In which letters, if anything *secret* was to be communicated, he wrote it in cypher.”

That Seneca knew of shorthand, we gather from this passage in his *Epistolæ*,

“ . . . *verborum notas, quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio et celeritatem lingue manus sequitur?*” Sen. *Ep.* 90. “Shorthand [*lit.* signs of words], by which speech, however rapid, is taken down, and the hand follows the speed of the tongue?”

Suetonius also refers to shorthand in *Tit.* 3; and Paulinus in *Dig.* 37, 1-6, showing that even then the two systems of cypher (*i.e.* code known only to those in possession of the key), and shorthand (*i.e.* the art of representing a large number of words by a few signs), were well known, and kept distinct.

Below is given a short vocabulary, collected from the second letter to which we have above referred, and from which the illustrations have been drawn. It is one from Margaret Fox to Edward Burrough on the subject of some books he was publishing, but where the necessity for using cypher arose is not easy to see. Also in the Howgill letter this does not explain itself, unless it was owing to the religious character of its contents, which we may presume from the frequent recurrence of the name of God.

The vocabulary is arranged in alphabetical order; and, however incomplete, is interesting as being the first step towards the elucidation of the Howgill letter, and also as exhibiting parts of a hitherto unknown cypher used by Friends of the seventeenth century.

It would be very satisfactory if some readers of THE JOURNAL could throw any further light upon this interesting subject.

J. GUTHLAC BIRCH.

CYPHER SYMBOLS EMPLOYED IN THE
LETTER FROM MARGARET FOX TO EDWARD BURROUGH.
(17th Cent. c. 1660.)

A.		C. (could)	
a.	→	committed.	ϕ 1 ³ (? ted)
accusations.	∟ ρ (a.k.o)	courage.	2 7 (c.o.g)
am.	(	crime.	5 1 (crim)
and.	-		
answer.	→ √ (n ? s. m)	D	
any.	2.	d.	3
arm	∩ (arm)	dear.	3 ^o (d. ear)
art	√ (art)	deceit	8 7 ^o (d. strid)
as	S	do	7
author	∩ √ (a ? s. o)	down.	2
		dragon.	∩ 7 - (dr. g. n)
B.		E.	
b.	1	e.	2
be.	6	either	I - (e. then)
beloved.	6 2 ^o (6 ? ed)	everlasting	li
bind.	1 7 (bind)	eternally.	I O. (e. ? ly)
boldness.	1 2 3 (6 ?)		
books.	4	F	
brother.	2 3	f.	7
		false.	7 7 (f. l. o)
C.		friends.	7 7
c.	1	from.	2 2 (f. r. m)
can.	5		
cast.	5 8 (ca. st)	G.	
carry.	5 √ (ca. m. g)	g.	7
chain.	7 -	gather.	7 - (g. then)
clear.	5 √ (cl. s)	yet.	7 ^o (g. t.)
corrupt.	ϕ		

LETTER IN CYPHER.

G. (could)		M. (could)	
give.	γ.	man's.	λ
god.	γ'	may	λ'
		me	6
H.		mind's	λ
have.	z	moved.	λ' (m:ed)
heads.	λ'	mover.	λ' (m:er)
him	λ	my	3 (me)
his	~		λ (m:it)
I.			
I.	.	N.	
in	✓	not.	7
if that	γ 6	nothing.	4
injury.	λ γ		
is.	'	O	
it.	~	o.	c
		of.	c
J.		offered	c' (of:er:ed)
justly.	~B. (j:st:l:y)	or	✓
		other.	σ
K:		out	c (l.t)
keep.	σ	own	λ
know.	✓		
L.		P.	
law	λ	p.	σ
lay.	c:	person.	σ 0
let.	λ (l.t)	person.	σ 0' (p:s:n)
lies / mds	~	pit.	σ 1 (pit)
love.	~	power.	σ v (ver)
		prefer	σ 1' (p:fer)
M		punish	σ - h (pun:ish)
m.		put	σ 1 (p:t)
magistrates	λ m		

r. R.	v	u.	
restore .	v ₂ (r. str)	up.	c'
		upon	v
S:			
s.	p	w.	
satisfaction	p!q?y. (s.t.sj.c.tn)	wire	v
seal	p c (s.l)	way	v
self	v	whatsoever	w
set	p! (st)	where	o
shall	h (s.l)	which	o
seized.	p p' (s.o.ed)	whose	Op
sister	p q (s. str)	who	o.
slander	v v f'	with	o
so	S.	would	s
		write	v i (w.t)

T.

t.	l
taken	h
that	v.
the	! (t)
they	t
there	v
therefore	v v (h.m.f.)
their	v.
thing	v z.
this	z
those	p
thou	t.
through	z.
try	z
to	z
transgressed.	h y p' (tr. s.d.)
tread	v' (tr. d.)
trud	v o (tr. d.)

From the above we gather the following phonetic symbols.

i. y.	.
er. or.	v
ed(t)	> (')
en. on.	-
st	s
then.	v

Joseph Williams's Recollections of the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

(Concluded from page 20.)

As instances of the lawlessness around I may mention two events that happened about the time : A family of the name of Atkins lived at Coolamaine. On the breaking out of the rebellion they fled to Wexford, but when the town was taken by the rebels, returned to their house. Seeing them pass by we brought them in and gave them some refreshment, buttermilk or something of the kind. A few days after, they were taken prisoners by the insurgents, and marched along the road at the back of the house near the kiln on their way to Wexford. The party conducting them halted just outside our place, and the old smith, before mentioned, came to me in great alarm, saying the escort had been heard talking among themselves and declaring that I ought also to be taken. He begged me to hide so that they might not be able to find me, but I said, "No ! If they want me, let them come here and take me." I did not like to show any want of confidence by hiding or securing, seeming afraid in any way, but I acknowledged his kindness of intention towards me. One of the Atkins told me afterwards that the story was a true one, the men were talking as had been reported to me.

Our attention to the Atkins nearly brought us into trouble in another way. The owner of a tup or fulling-mill, close to ours, lived with his family on the opposite side of the stream to us. One of the daughters about this time went into Wexford, and on her return came to us in great apparent distress, declaring that while in town she had heard that in revenge for our conduct on the occasion referred to, the rebels intended to burn our house and mill. She said that she had been obliged to take an oath not to tell this, but that for friendship to us she warned us of our danger, and so urgent was she for us to go to a neighbour's for safety, that I went for a little, but could not be easy to remain. My father so far believed her tale that he remained walking about the yard all night in expectation of the

assault. We afterwards found out that the whole was a story, made up to get us out of the house and mill that the girl and her family might take possession of both.

The following annoying circumstance may also be told. A young fellow, about 16 or 17 years of age, who had not been out with the rebels, collected a number of children and paraded them about like soldiers. Amongst them was a little boy who had been much noticed by my mother and sister, and had frequently been about the house. There were some twenty boys in the company, armed with sticks, their leader having some kind of gun. They came one day and demanded drink. We offered them water or milk, but their captain was determined to have something stronger. It so happened that there was just then in the cellar a keg of mead, not fit for drinking, and my sister, when the party got into the house and found their way there, stood with her back to it and pointing to the empty beer casks, told the boy that we had none to give him. "But what's that behind you?" asked he. "Only mead that is not fit for drink," said she. "We'll taste it," he remarked, "and if it's not right we'll leave it," and made her bring it into the parlour where the whole party soon busied themselves upon it. A woman of the neighbourhood coming in told them such things were for the fighting men, not for them. "If *they* had got it, it wouldn't have been here for us," replied the lad.

The Sixth Month Monthly Meeting was adjourned to the Third Day before the Quarterly Meeting. I had hoped to attend it, but was too poorly to do so. We were none of us at the Quarterly Meeting. The Friends coming thither from Dublin in their own vehicles had frequently to alight and move the dead bodies out of the way. On the Meeting day a young man, who lived above Castlesow, sent down his servant girl to ask me to go to him. I told her I would do so if I could, and I accordingly went up. He was at home with his sister, and he told me that he wanted to see me in order to charge me if I valued my life not to venture to Meeting again, as he had heard I had done. Morgan Byrne, such was the name of my new friend, had been a yeoman, and had deserted to the rebel side. Most likely he knew that the fortunes of his party were on the decline, and wanted in good time to make friends with loyalists. When the insurrection was put down he was obliged to hide from the Government, and wandered from place to place,

often coming here to supper, but I was always unwilling to let him stay long lest he might be arrested in our house, and I frequently told him that I never should be able to convince those around that we had not betrayed him ; but he always had full confidence in us.

We knew scarcely anything of the movements of the royal troops. Reports were frequently brought in, but generally false, and even when they were at Oulart Hill, the day before the battle of Vinegar Hill, we were ignorant of the fact. About 6 o'clock on the morning of the battle we could hear the cannon, and from the high ground near the haggard, I could see the smoke and guess that the fighting was at Vinegar Hill or Enniscorthy. I noticed the difference between the report of the cannon and mortars. About 9 or 10 o'clock the firing ceased. We sat down as usual, it being our Meeting day (Fifth Day), and before the sitting was over several fugitives from the battle hurried by. The servants were in great excitement. My sister asked one of them what was the news, " Oh, we may all lie down and die," was the reply. Some said that the fight was to be resumed at Wexford, but there was nothing of it.

The next day (Sixth Day) I went into the field and met two soldiers, who took my watch, a shilling that I had in my pocket, and my penknife. They talked of taking me prisoner, and I said I should like to let the people at home know beforehand. This induced them to come over to the house, where they took my father's watch, also some money from my sister, and one of them turned out an old tea-chest in which were my silver shoe buckles and two bad shillings. These latter he carried off and left the buckles behind. We told them we were Friends and took no part with either side, and, satisfied with their plunder, they left us in peace.

I had a similar encounter about this time. Being on the high ground behind the house I saw a quantity of smoke to the south-west, and having heard a report that the houses of two of our neighbours were likely to be burned, I went towards the place to see whether they were on fire. I was espied by a party of yeomen, and two of them came towards me across the fields. When I saw what they were about I stopped, and one of them called me over. I thought it best to go up boldly, as if I were not afraid. He asked me some questions as to where I was going, and I answered that I had just come up from my place to see where the fire was. He put his pistol to my head, and, as he confessed after-

wards, was on the point of shooting me, when a comerade of his, John Crane, rode up and called to him to stop, for I was a friend of his. He (John Crane) told me afterwards that he was in such a hurry to save me and so confused at seeing the great danger I was in, that he could not in the least remember my name, though he knew it well, having served his time with my uncle, Richard Neale, in Waterford.

Some time after the battle of Vinegar Hill, it came to my knowledge that a great many women, wives and daughters of farmers mostly, were sheltering in the out-houses belonging to our place, refugees chiefly from Enniscorthy and the neighbourhood, where the army was in possession. There were several, too, of a better sort hiding in the meal-room, amongst them two sisters of Morgan Byrne. This party had brought beds and bedding with them, and kept themselves closely concealed, having got in through the trap door by means of a ladder, which they pulled up after them. Large parties of soldiers were frequently in the house, and yet the whereabouts of these fugitives was never suspected. Those hiding round in the sheds, etc., had been there a good while before we knew, and we took little notice of them, except giving them food when they came begging at the door, such conduct being safest for all parties.

One morning, just at this time, an officer, with a party of, I think, the 4th Dragoons, passing by, halted, and sent in to inquire whether we could supply them with food. It so happened that a loin of veal was roasting at the fire for the family, considerably increased just then by the uninvited guests before mentioned, and a piece of bacon boiling for the servants and others, besides which a quantity of barley bread had been baked. Hearing of the officer's question I went out to speak to him, my father being deaf and infirm, and invited him and his company in, my sister setting the veal and a piece of wheaten bread before him in the parlour, while the daughter of the owner of the tup-mill supplied the men in the kitchen, in two or three divisions, with bacon, barley bread, and milk.

The officer was very civil and asked me whether there were any rebels hiding in the neighbourhood, telling me if I knew of such, to desire them to lay down their arms and get protections from the Government. At this very time I knew that a number of men, who had been more or less concerned in the rising, were crowded into a sort of covered

passage for the mill-stream in the yard, crouching in as they could with their feet in the water. I had not seen them myself, but I knew of their whereabouts, and that their terror was extreme at the nearness of the soldiers, all making sure that, if discovered, they would every one be forthwith dragged out and shot. So close were they to the troops that the man farthest out could see the latter through the grass at the entrance of their refuge. In answer to the officer's question I said generally that there were doubtless people hiding round, and that if I saw them, as I might very likely in the morning or evening, that I would give them his message. When he and his men were gone, I went to the party in the mill-yard and repeated his words, telling them that I left them to do just what they thought best, I taking no responsibility in the matter. There was such danger of suspicion as to betrayal that these precautionary words were needed. Almost all of these men eventually took out protections, though in many cases the injunction as to giving up arms was not attended to.

A week or ten days after the visit of the officer just mentioned, my sister and I were appointed to buy some clothing for a family of Friends whose house and almost all they possessed had been burned. While going into Wexford, we passed hundreds of the country people on their way in to take out protections or returning from the same errand. When we reached the bridge leading into the town I was stopped by a guard there. I told the officer on duty that my business had nothing to do with protections, but he would hear nothing, and sent me to the office under an escort of soldiers. Fortunately for me, Colonel George Le Hunte was the presiding officer there, and when he saw me from the window, he called, "Come here, Joe," desiring me to join him in the room where he was. When I had told him that I should want a pass to get by the guards—"Fill him up a protection," he called to his clerk; "No," said I, "I will not have one. I have not been concerned in the Rebellion, and I will not let it appear as though I had." "You are right," he answered, and desired that a pass only should be prepared for me, to save me from annoyance or interruption in going about my business.

The Settlement of London Yearly Meeting.¹

At the present time, when London Yearly Meeting, after having uninterruptedly held its sessions in the Metropolis since the days of Charles II., is about to meet at Leeds, in Yorkshire, it may be interesting briefly to recite the date and places of some of the early meetings more or less closely connected with the establishment of this the governing body of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Australasia. Details of its origin, as might be expected in any case, and especially under the circumstances of fiery persecution attending the rise of the Friends, are involved in some uncertainty, but it is not difficult to trace in the proceedings of the General Meetings held in various places, some of which were formerly styled Yearly Meetings (an incomplete list of these is given below), and in the periodical gatherings of the preachers or "public Friends," the progress of the movement which called London Yearly Meeting into existence and determined its character. It would appear as if annual gatherings of the "public Friends" were held in London in 1661 and succeeding years, with occasional intermissions, probably through the stress of persecution, and that the first Representative Yearly Meeting met in 1673. In the next four years, meetings of "public Friends" only were held, and the second Representative Yearly Meeting for the whole country followed in 1678. Since that date there has been no intermission in the annual sessions of the Representative Yearly Meeting in London.

The Circular Yearly Meetings, held subsequently in various places, must be distinguished from the Representative Yearly Meeting possessing legislative and administrative functions, whilst the Circular Yearly Meetings were almost exclusively occasions for evangelistic effort.

¹The following authorities may be consulted: Historical Introduction to the two-volume reprint of the *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting . . . 1681 to 1857*, written by James Bowden; Introduction to Part 3 of the *Book of Christian Discipline*, written for the edition of 1834 by Samuel Tuke; John Barclay's *Letters etc., of Early Friends*, 1841; *The Journal of George Fox*, 8th edition; Barclay's *Inner Life*; Beck and Ball's *London Friends' Meetings*, p. 53.

1654.

SWANNINGTON, LEICESTERSHIRE.

“A general meeting. . . . To this meeting several Friends came from various parts.”²

1656.

BALBY, YORKSHIRE.

For the northern counties. Epistle issued “To the Brethren in the North.”

1656.

NEAR SKIPTON, YORKSHIRE.

1657.

SKIPTON, YORKSHIRE.

Probably held. George Fox wrote, under 1660, “This Meeting [at Skipton] had stood several years.”

1658.

JOHN CROOK’S, IN BEDFORDSHIRE.

“General Yearly Meeting for the whole nation . . . lasted three days . . . many thousands of people were at it.”³ Probably held at Beckering’s Park, near Ridgmount.

1658.

SCALEHOUSE, NEAR SKIPTON, YORKSHIRE.

Epistle dated 24th of Fourth month, from “Friends out of the Northern Counties of York, Lincoln, Lancaster, Chester, Nottingham, Derby, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland.”⁴

1658.

CAMBRIDGE.

For the eastern counties.

1659.

HORSHAM, SUSSEX.

Counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hants. Epistle.

1659.

CHIPPENHAM, WILTSHIRE.

Wiltshire and parts adjacent.

1659.

BULL AND MOUTH, LONDON.

1659.

SKIPTON, YORKSHIRE.

For the northern counties. Epistle dated 29th of Fourth Month.

²*Journal*, i. 199; 469n.

³*Journal*, i. 418-427. See *JOURNAL OF F.H.S.* i. 41n.

⁴*Journal*, i. 418n; *Letters*, p. 286n.

1659.
DURHAM.

Durham and adjacent counties. Epistle dated 1st of Eighth Month, and addressed to Friends who were to meet at Skipton on the 5th.

1659.
SKIPTON, YORKSHIRE.

For the northern counties. Fifth of Eighth Month.⁵

1660.
BALBY, YORKSHIRE.

“Yearly Meeting at that time was held in a great orchard of John Killam’s, where it was supposed some thousands of people and Friends were gathered together.”⁶

1660.
SKIPTON, YORKSHIRE.

“A General Meeting of men Friends out of many counties, concerning the affairs of the Church.”⁷ Epistle dated 25th of Second Month.

1660.
SKIPTON, YORKSHIRE.

Probably held late in the year.

1661.
KENDAL, WESTMORLAND.

Epistle dated 1st of Ninth Month.

1661.
LONDON.

“From thence [Skipton, 1660], it was removed to London the next year, where it hath been kept ever since, as being looked upon a more convenient place.”⁸ There is not any record of a meeting held this year.

⁵*Letters*, p. 292n.

⁶*Journal*, i. 467-469; ii. 516.

⁷*Journal*, i. 469; 470.

⁸George Fox’s *Concerning our Monthly and Quarterly and Yearly Meetings*, dated Fifth Month, 1689, printed in *Letters*, pp. 311-317.

George Fox mentions in his *Journal* that “general meetings” were held in Westmorland and Devonshire in 1657, in Westmorland in 1660, in Somersetshire, Westmorland, and Cumberland in 1663, in Yorkshire in 1666; and in Cornwall in 1668, and that “general men’s meetings” were held in Staffordshire, Cheshire, Wales, and Worcestershire in 1667, and twice in Somersetshire in 1668, but it does not appear from his reference to them that they exercised any executive functions. The Yearly Meetings held in York, mentioned later in the *Journal*; do not come within the scope of this article.

1662-1665.

No known records of any national gatherings in these years.

1666.

“General Meeting of Publick friends.” Epistle dated Third Month.

1667.

No record of Meeting held.

1668.

“General Meeting of Publick friends.” Second Month.

1668/9.

“General Meeting of Publick friends.” Epistle dated 16th of Eleventh Month, 1668. Margaret Fox says, “In that time I went down into Cornwall with my son and daughter Lower, and came back by London to the Yearly Meeting, and there I met with him [George Fox] again.”⁹

1670.

“The next meeting will be held about the time called Easter, in the year 1670, at London.”¹⁰ No record of the holding of this Meeting, however, has yet been met with. The Index to the first edition of George Fox’s *Journal*, prepared, presumably, by Thomas Ellwood, gives under “Meetings,” a reference to a Yearly Meeting at London, 1670, mentioned on page 349, but this must have been the Yearly Meeting of 1671. Indexes to later editions, except the edition published in 1827 which slavishly followed the first, omit the date in this reference.

1671.

Attended by George Fox just before his departure for America. Epistle dated 13th of Fourth Month.

1672.

Ministers only. Epistle dated 29th of Third Month. The minutes made this year are the first appearing in the thirty-one volumes of Y.M. minutes, preserved in D., which contain the official annual records from that date to 1904.

⁹ Margaret Fox’s *Testimony* to her husband, in his *Journal*, ii. 517. It is not certain, however, whether the reference is to this Y.M. or to the one held earlier in the same year.

¹⁰ From Y. M. Epistle of 1668/9.

1673.

Representatives consisting of six for London, three for Bristol, two for Colchester, and one or two for each of the Counties of England and Wales. Ministers could also attend if they wished. Epistle dated 26th of Third Month.

1674-1677.

Ministers only. Epistles dated 27th of Third Month, 1675, and 12th of Fourth Month, 1677.

1678-1904.

Representatives. Epistles dated 24th of Third Month, 1678, 11th of Fourth Month, 1679, 3rd of Fourth Month, 1680, 24th of Third Month, 1681, from which year to the present time there has been an unbroken succession.

Robert Smith and William Dewsbury.

Att a quarterly meetinge at Erith, the third of the 4th month, 1673.

Robert Smith appeared in this quarterly Meeting, and acknowledged that through some reportes that he receiued in the wronge part their was for a time some prejudice begott in him against William Dewsbury, which occasioned him to speake some thinges reflecting on him behind his backe, wherin he seeth he was to blame ; And for the future hopes so to walke as that he may give no offence in that Matter, nor any thinge of the like Nature, neither to ffriendes of truth nor others. And he desires that all that he hath spoken, that hath not had the Savour of truth, reflecting on y^e Meetinge Or on any perticuler, May for Euer be put downe in himselfe, and others, so as to die out of their Minds.

ROBERT SMITH.

A true Copy of what he writt his name to :

Wittnesse JNO PEACOCK.

*From Huntingdonshire Q.M. Minute Book, 1670-1699,
deposited in D.*

Joseph Rule, the Quaker in White.¹

One of the most estimable men and, withal, singular characters, which eighteenth century Quakerism produced, was undoubtedly the subject of this notice.

From particulars furnished to *The Friend* (London) of 7th Month, 1872, by the late William Bennett, of London²—from an original letter addressed by Joseph Rule to William Allen, of Ratcliff Highway, with some pencilled notes, which was formerly in possession of the late James Marsh, of Stansted, Essex³—from the manuscript *Diary* of Rebecca Butterfield, of Stone Dean, Jordans—and from other sources, we are able to give a picture of this worthy man.⁴

Joseph Rule was born at Poplar, in Middlesex, probably in the last decade of the seventeenth century, and had but few educational advantages. He became a waterman on the river Thames, and was called a “Lack-a-daysy man” from his custom, when in difficulty or danger, of making use of this expression, instead of swearing.

He was convinced of Friends’ principles at a silent meeting at Ratcliff, and afterwards believed it his duty to exhort the people out of doors, and sometimes in meetings. Some Friends could not reconcile themselves to his singular appearance (of which presently), and his labours in the Society were accordingly much restricted. About

¹ To be distinguished from the “White Quakers” in Ireland, of the middle of the nineteenth century.

² Reprinted, with brief biography, in 1882.

³ Now in D., Marsh MSS.

⁴ In addition to the above-named, there is a curious reference in a note to p. 63 of *Dr. Free’s Remarks upon Mr. Jones’s Letter*, 1759, respecting a meeting “on the 12th of February, 1759, at a Woman’s in the BOROUGH who is one of the People called QUAKERS. *Joseph Rule*, formerly a Waterman, who goes about in a broad-trimmed white Hat, with long Beard, and white Cloaths, and used to preach on *Walworth-Common* against the *established Church*, was seen to *attend upon the Occasion*.”

There is also in existence, in manuscript, *Jon. Collier’s Account of his Journey to Barnstaple with Jos. Rule and Thos. Byrd in November, 1749*. See Henry T. Wake’s *Catalogue*, No. 368.125.

Recent references may be found in Summers’s *Jordans and the Chal-fonts*; *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, iv. 165; etc.

this time, apparently, he went through London preaching to the people in the streets the necessity of repentance, carrying in his hands a small white Bible, which afterwards was in possession of the late Sarah Dimsdale.

Joseph Rule was accustomed to dress mostly, if not entirely in white or undyed clothing, including a white hat; he used a white stick also, and, in his later years, his long white hair and beard added to his singularly striking appearance. He is said to have adopted white clothing in order to attract attention, and to obtain an entrance amongst people of influence and rank; and his faithfulness and humility being exemplary, he was much beloved and respected by all classes of the community.

Joseph Rule was a frequent and welcome visitor at the once celebrated Wanstead House, Essex, then the seat of Earl Tylney, where he was often engaged in rowing this nobleman's family on the water in the grounds, and it is said that the Earl offered him a permanent residence there. Wanstead House, which was built in 1715, was a palatial residence, but through the reckless extravagance of the Hon. William Pole-Tylney-Long-Wellesley, afterwards Earl of Mornington, who married the unfortunate heiress of the estate, Miss Tylney Long, the house was pulled down in 1822, and its magnificent contents dispersed. The poor lady died of a broken heart three years later.

Joseph Rule stayed several times in Betts Street, Ratcliff Highway, at the house of his friend, William Allen, a brewer, uncle to William Allen, F.R.S., the chemist and philanthropist. His carriage in the family is described as loving and innocent, and at times he would communicate edifying counsels, especially to the children.

For some time Joseph Rule resided alone in great simplicity in a white cottage in Upton Lane (existing in 1872), which was built for him by Zachariah Cockfield. In consequence, however, of the attempted intrusion of a thief, he became so much alarmed that he left Upton, never to return.

Zachariah Cockfield was for many years a Captain in the Norway trade, and later a timber merchant at West Ham, where he died in 1786, advanced in years, his widow dying there also, in 1799. They were the parents of Joseph Cockfield, hence Joseph Cockfield Dimsdale, which accounts for the possession of Joseph Rule's Bible by Sarah Dimsdale.

In 1749, Joseph Rule was resident at Clareham (Claverham), co. Somerset. In 3rd Month that year, he was at Stone Dean, Chalfont St. Giles, and Jordans Meeting, accompanied by George "felps," from Maidenhead; they held a public meeting at Jordans, and then Joseph Rule went to Uxbridge.

He was at Stone Dean again a fortnight later, as the guest of Abraham Butterfield, had "a little meeting" on Fifth day, and staying over First day, went to Wycombe.

He was again at Jordans on two occasions in 1757, lodging at Stone Dean, and at Joseph Lovelace's.

In 1762, John Wesley met him in the neighbourhood of London, and says in his *Journal*, under date, Friday, March 5th, "I had a long conversation with Joseph Rule, commonly called the White Quaker. He appeared to be a calm, loving, sensible man, and much devoted to God."

In 1765, when an old man, Joseph Rule removed, as he writes to William Allen, 8mo. 26th,

furder up into ye hill countrey near to ware Isaac foster Lodged with me at a litel vilage called Landvare [or, Londvear, co. Monmouth, query; Lanvair Iscoed, some six miles W. of Chepstow], and I Rent of ye fammer where he was with me a private [?] house; where I live Retiered, Labouring to compose my mind in heavenly things. . . . I am near three Miles from Meeten, ye friends hear are very few, and very poor; hear is one Publick friend that often apears in a Large Testemony, a very honest; poor man, but I have nothing to Say in meeten; ye poor peopel of ye nighbourhood are very friendly with me, and comes to my house to Se me; but I am much allone; I have a fine prospect as I walk in my Garden that I can Se many Miles and se ye endlis shoer, so thus, my dear friend; I Live comforably with content." ⁵

This letter is addressed to "My very Kiend and much Esteemed friend, Willam, whom I Love in ye Truth." The letter reads like one written by the early Friends in its quaint diction. He refers to times of depression, of deliverance therefrom, and of renewed hope. He salutes William Allen and his excellent servant, France, to whom he sends love, as also to his correspondent's son, John Allen, "thy man, John, and to thy brother, Job [father to William Allen, F.R.S.], and Isaac Foster, and friend Headen, and when thou feel thy mind free to write to me, I Shall be Glad to hear." He also was glad to learn "that thy [brewing] coper and thing dus very well."

The next year, 1766, Joseph Rule was resident at

⁵ Transcribed literatim from the original in D.

Cowbrey Farm, near Ross, co. Hereford, which, since pulled down, was situated in a retired and beautiful valley, in a richly wooded part of Herefordshire, and was the native place of William Bennett's wife, Elizabeth, *née* Trusted, with whose grandparents Joseph Rule resided. Elizabeth Bennett was the younger daughter of Imm and Mary Trusted, of Cowbrey, the former of whom was one of the sons alluded to by Joseph Rule below. In a very interesting account of E. Bennett in *The Annual Monitor* for 1892 we find that she died in 1891, aged 92, her father having died about 1816, and her husband, whom she married in 1828, about 1873.

In a letter dated 4th Month 17th, 1766, Joseph Rule writes from Cowbrey farm a loving epistle to a Quaker correspondent, in which "the earnest prayer of poor Joseph Rule" is that the "blessed state of immortal bliss may be the joyful lot of your souls and mine, with all the faithful." He adds:—

I am well in health, and my lot is cast into a sober, loving, religious family, that are very tender of me, and offered for me to live with them freely for nothing, but I would not impose on their Christian love. . . . It is a large farm; I have a delightful room that looks into the garden. They have three sons—very sober, virtuous, young men,—who work on the farm, and we live in much love together; and the Friends are glad I am come amongst them. The townspeople [at Ross] are very friendly; and many of them come to Meetings. I think, if the Lord will, to go with the farmer's wife and sons to Bristol Yearly Meeting. She is a heavenly-minded woman. I have sweet, retired, and solitary walks to compose my mind, and a neat parlour, private to myself from the family, for they keep many servants. So I live very happy in this the last stage of my life; through the Christian love of thee and the rest of my friends; whose hearts the Lord has opened in much kindness to me.

Farewell in Christ our dear Lord;

JOSEPH RULE.⁶

In 1767, 4th Month 15th, Joseph Rule came to live at Joseph Lane's, at Jordans, Bucks.

This year we find him attending the burial at Jordans of Rebecca Charsley, and in 1768 that of Martha Howard and of Mary Child. In 9th Month, this year, he was present at the Monthly Meeting held at Jordans, and a month later at the funeral of Rebecca Mildred there, when Samuel Fothergill and Isaac Sharples were also present, and he was again at the Monthly Meeting in the 11th Month.

In his latter years he was afflicted with the chalk gout, and would frequently put his bare foot out at the chamber window in order to ease the pain, and shut down the sash.

⁶ Transcribed from *The Friend* version, not from the original.

In the year 1770, 3rd Month 11th, "our friend, Joseph Rule, departed this life [at Joseph Lane's], and was buried the 18th of the same at Jordans, Isaac Sharples, Thomas Whitehead, and Joseph Rose [being present], a very large and good meeting." The Chalfont St. Giles parish register adds, "a noted Quaker."

William Allen's account further states that

being so remarkable a man; although it was winter [another account erroneously states it was summer, and it really was spring, or, perhaps, "Blackthorn Winter"], and a retired place, a very large concourse of Friends and others attended his Funeral, so that insted of bringing the Coffin into Meeting, it was set in the bottom of an amphitheatrical Hollo in the Ground [so well known to those acquainted with Jordans], and the multitude ranged around; many testimonies [were] delivered; and before the Company withdrew; a Shower of snow descended and Clad the whole assembly and Coffin in white.

A fitting circumstance truly, as attending the interment of such a white-apparelled, white-souled saint!

William Bennett's account adds that Isaac Sharples repeated the words, "Behold, an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile."

To conclude, it may be interesting to note that Joseph Rule's grave at Jordans was one of the very few identified, some fifty years ago, when head-stones were placed over the graves of members of the Penn, Penington, Ellwood, Vandewall, Green, and other families. The date, however, 1765, was erroneous owing to the imperfect Friends' registers. The Butterfield Manuscript and the Chalfont St. Giles Parish Register clearly show that Joseph Rule lived until 1770, and at the instance of W. H. Summers, now of Hungerford, the date was amended some ten years ago.

JOSEPH J. GREEN.

Early Friends and the Use of Tobacco.

14th of 4th mo. 1691. It being considered that the too frequent use of smoking Tobacco is inconsistent with friends holy profession, it is desired that such as have occasion to make use thereof take it privately, neither too publicly in their own houses, nor by the highways, streets, or in alehouses or elsewhere, tending to the abetting the common excess.—HARDSHAW M.M., *Lancashire*.

“George Fox” in the “Dictionary of National Biography.”

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

A volume of Errata to the *Dictionary of National Biography* has lately been issued. It is very useful; and it might be enlarged. For instance, there are no Errata to the article, “George Fox.” The writer of that article desires to correct some mistaken statements, and to improve one or two others.

P. 117.

“His mother, Mary Lago”; *add* “died in 1674.” See *Journal of George Fox* for that year.

P. 118 *a*.

“John Machin, lecturer at Atherstone.” This is a wilful blunder, which unfortunately has misled others. Observing that names were often wrongly given in *The Journal*, the writer imagined that “Macham” was put for “Machin,” though there was no evidence that Machin was “lecturer at Atherstone” as early as 1645. The right description is, “John Macham, prebendary of Lichfield.” This Macham was a Dorsetshire man, B.A. of Lincoln College, Oxford. See Walker’s *Sufferings of the Clergy*; Foster’s *Alumni Oxon*.

P. 118 *b*.

“‘One Brown’ prophesied great things of him.” This was Robert Brown, a Fifth Monarchy man, who was put into the sequestered living of White Lady Aston, Worcestershire, and ejected after the Restoration. His subsequent career is obscure, but on 30th January, 1688, he received a call (though not a Baptist) from a Baptist congregation at Plymouth, and died there on 22 Feb., 1689. It is said that he died “by excessive preaching”; how far this malady proved fatal to his hearers is not stated. See *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, iii., 19; Calamy’s *Account, and Continuation*; Palmer’s *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, 2nd edition; Ivimey’s *Hist. Eng. Baptists*, vol. ii.

P. 119 a.

"The term [Quaker] got into the House of Commons' Journals as early as 1654." Perhaps its earliest appearance in print is in Thomas Hall's *The Pulpit Guarded*, 1651.

P. 119 b.

"Baxter's remark"; *read* "Calamy's version of Baxter's remark."

P. 119 b.

"Removed the remaining elements of insubordination." This is true, up to date; but some reference should have been made to the Story-Wilkinson and Rogers schism, 1675-86.

P. 120 a.

"Margaret writes to her husband"; *add* "then in London."

P. 120 b.

"His marriage on 18 Oct., 1669"; *read* "his marriage at Bristol on 27 Oct., 1669." See *Journal*; and Webb's *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*.

P. 120 b.

The reference to Leslie's *Theol. Works*, 1721, is correct, but the passage about Fox's "straight hair" first occurs in Leslie's *Defence of The Snake in the Grass*, 1700. It should be added that the "curl" of Fox's hair is specified in *Journal*, orig. edit., p. 259.

P. 121 a.

The portrait "in the possession of Mrs. Watkins" was subsequently acquired by Joseph Smith, who sold it to an American purchaser.

P. 121 b.

"Wesley . . . never mentions Fox." Unhappily this is not so. He does once, in this connection: "St. Augustine himself (a wonderful saint! as full of pride, passion, bitterness, censoriousness, and as foul-mouthed to all that contradicted him as George Fox himself)." See Wesley's *Works*, ix., 296.

P. 121 b.

"*Nineteenth Century*, April, 1889"; *read* "March, 1889, 'The Value of the Witness to the Miraculous,' p. 451."

ALEXANDER GORDON.

Prize Essays on the Causes of the Decline of the Society of Friends.

In Third Month, 1858, advertisements appeared in various newspapers notifying that "A Gentleman who laments that, notwithstanding the population of the United Kingdom has more than doubled itself in the last fifty years, the Society of Friends is less in number than at the beginning of the century . . . offers a prize of One Hundred Guineas for the best Essay that shall be written on the subject, and a prize of fifty Guineas for the one next in merit." The adjudicators were Frederick Denison Maurice, Professor J. P. Nichol, of Glasgow, and E. S. Pryce, of Gravesend. Their decision on the over 150 Essays submitted was given in 1859.

The name of the "Gentleman" is still unknown. A correspondent writes that it was not any Friend of the name of Rowntree, as appears to be implied on p. 28. Can any reader state certainly who gave the prizes?

The following Essays, printed about this time, formed part of the "Decline" literature. The titles of others written for the competition would be welcomed.

<i>An Essay on the Causes of Decline</i> , by "Quantum Mutatus"	1858
<i>Quakerism Past and Present</i> , by John Stephenson Rowntree, first prize	1859
<i>The Peculium</i> , by Thomas Hancock, second prize	1859
<i>Essay on the Society of Friends</i> , by Samuel Fothergill	1859
<i>The Society of Friends</i> , by Joseph John Fox ("Ora et Labora")	1859
<i>A Fallen Faith</i> , by Edgar Sheppard, M.D.	1859
<i>The Hibernian Essay on the Society of Friends</i> , by a Friend of the Friends ("Seek and ye shall find"), said to be by Joseph Fisher Alexander, of Limerick	1859
<i>The Society of Friends, its Strength and Weakness</i> , by Edmund Fry	1859
<i>The Quakers or Friends, their Rise and Decline</i>	1859
<i>The Decline of Quakerism</i> , by Robert Macnair, M.A.	1860
<i>An American View</i> [by Samuel M. Janney?]	1860

<i>The Society of Friends and their Powerful Witness</i> [by Hudson Scott ?]	.. .. .	1860
<i>The Sure Foundation</i> , by William C. Westlake	.. .. .	1860
<i>Quakerism versus The Church</i> , by an Ex-member	.. .. .	1860
<i>Man's Restoration</i> , by William Brown, jun.	.. .. .	1860
<i>An Inquiry into the Laws of Organized Societies</i> , by William Logan Fisher..	.. .. .	1860
<i>Quakerism, Catholic and Evangelical</i>	.. .. .	1863
<i>Friends or Quakers?</i> by a Friend to Quakers	.. .. .	1864
<i>An Honest Confession of the Cause of Decadence</i> , by a Member	.. .. .	n.d.
<i>Nehushtan. A Letter addressed to Friends, on Peculiarities of Dress and Language</i>	.. .. .	n.d.
<i>The Principle of Ancient Quakerism</i>	.. .. .	n.d.
<i>Reflections on the Early History and Present Declension of the Society of Friends</i> , by "Clemens."	.. .. .	n.d.

A Friend writes, "I believe William Thistlethwaite also submitted an essay to the judges, a good deal of which was afterwards published in his *Lectures on the Early History of Friends in Bristol and Somersetshire*, 1858."

Numerous reviews of above books, and references to the subject they deal with, may be found in the periodicals of the time. See also Susanna Corder's *Remarks on the "Prize Essays,"* 1860.

A fresh interest in the competition has been recently aroused, and various enquiries on the subject have of late reached the Library Department at Devonshire House.

Nicholas Waln to Arthur Howell.

Arthur Howell, an eminent minister, was in the habit of leaving his communications till late in the meeting, often beginning when it was nearly time for meeting to close. One day, Nicholas [Waln, another well-known minister] walked up to him and said,

"Arthur Howell; what's the reason;
Thou art always out of season?
When it's time to go away;
Thou must always preach and pray."

From "Centennial Celebration of Arch St. Meeting House, Philadelphia," 1904.

Meetings in Yorkshire, 1668.¹⁵

Continued from page 36.

North Ryding	Meetings.	Townes belonging to Meetings.	Names of some prsons belonging to each Meeting.
Thes 4 Meetings one Monthly Meeting	Malton	Old Malton Holme ¹⁶ Hovingham Rullington ¹⁷ Scamston Langton Setting- ton	Rog ^r Hebden, Thomas Thom- son, Will ^m Browne, Geo : Cliffe, John Gibson, Will Spencer, Rob : Browne, Tho : Johnson, John Clark, Nich : Hopperton, Will ^m Sollett, Rich : Carr, Fran : Clark, Tho : Dob.
	Marrish	Pickering Thornton Wrellton Asleybye	Roger Skelton, Rog ^r : Chap- man, Robert Smailes, Step : Keddy, Rich : Foster, Rich : Camplin or Campland.
	Burdall	Acklam Leauening	
	Barton	Crome ¹⁸ Boomer ¹⁹ Shirifhutton Strensill Thornton	Chr : Hallyday, Tho : Agar, Ralph Green, John Hicks, Christo : Hardistye, Mich : Nichollson, John Pickerin, Thomas Scott.

¹⁵ The following are the principal authorities for the topography of Yorkshire :—

Yorkshire, London, 1610 ; *The North and East Ridings of Yorkshire*, London, 1610 ; *The West Ridings of Yorkeshyre, with the most famous and fayre Citie of Yorke described*, London, 1610 ; Performed by Johan Speede.

Villare Anglicum : or, A View of the Towns of England, Collected by the Appointment of Sir Henry Spelman, Kt. 1655.

An Alphabetical Index of all the Towns, Villages, Hamlets, &c. in the County of York and the County of the City of York. Being a second edition of *Nomina Villarum Eboracensium*, with many improvements, and references to find each place in Tuke's Map of the said County ; York : Printed for J. Tuke by C. Peacock, and sold by all the booksellers in the city and county of York. 1792.

The 1816 edition of *Nomina Villarum Eboracensium* is in D., but the Library lacks the Map. John Tuke was a land-surveyor, of York, son of William Tuke. He died in 1841, aged eighty-two years.

MEETINGS IN YORKSHIRE, 1668.

North Ryding	Meetings.	Townes belonging to Meetings.	Names of some prsons belonging to each Meeting.
Thurske Thes four meetings one Monthly Meeting.	Craike	Sutton Hubye Toullerton Thoulterup ²⁰ Stillington	Valintine Johnson, John Lupton, James Cookson, Geo : fallowfeild, Richard Smith, Rich : Dobson, Josyas Cookson, Mach : Todd, John Tayler, Willm Woodworth.
	Wildon	Thursk Bolke ²¹ Oulstead Greife ²² Ampleford	Isack Linsley, Mathew Day, Benia : Mason, Willm Thurnam, Willm Crosbye, Willm Clarkson, John Deighton, Thomas Jackson, Bryan Peart, - Willm Woodworth.
	Burrabye	Osmotherley Thimelbye Allerton Keybecke	Geo : Robinson, Tho : Foster, Cuthb : Tyreman, Tho : Waidd, Willm Robinson, Robert Bulmer, John Foggett, Robert Paul, Geo : Windraw, Jo : Duning, Thomas Tireman, Anth : Blaiklocke, Nicholas Robinson, T. Apleby.
	Bildail		Valentine Jackson, Thomas Howgell, Geo : Baites, Thomas Coultas.
Richmond Thes four Meetings one Monthly	Hartforth & Cattericke belongs to Richmond		Fran : Smithson, Phillop Smales, Robert Gosling, John Chayter, Thomas Johnson.
	Swaldaile		Nicholas Raw, Ralfe Peacocke, John Key.
	Wenserdale And Coverdaile		Richard Robinson, Barth : Haryson.

North Ryding	Meetings.	Townes belonging to Meetings.	Names of some prsons belonging to each Meeting.
meeting	Massam	Paterick Brunton Well Burton	Robert Lodge, Willm Pratt, Math : Beckwith, Rich : Haw- ley, Rich : Whorlton, Thomas Whitton, Will Beckwith.
	Gisburgh Thes 5 Meetings one Monthly Meeting	Stoxley	Carlton Eaton ²³} }	Fr: Rowntree, Christopher Man, John Scarth, Willm Chapman.
Airson			Thomas Jackson, James Jackson.
Gis- brough		Scugdail Lazenbye Lacsonbye	Geo : Robinson, Sen ^r . & Jun ^r ., William Robinson, Robert Jackson, Edw : Hunter, Willi Barker.
Leverton		Rowsby Morsom Hinderwell Elerbye Lealam ²⁴ Westerdail Danbye	Phill : Scath, Rob : Porrett, Will ^m : Tiplady, Rob : Tiplady, James Stones, Rich : Shipton, Willm Wood, Jo : Barker.
Rosdail		Farndail Hutton in ye hole Gillimore Kirbye Moorside	Henry Wilson, Jo : Stockdale, Robert Pearson, Jc: Robin- son, John Brookbancke, Christopher Stockdale.
These three—	Scar- brough	Seamer Orton ²⁵ Eaton ²³ Wikehoulme	Peter Hodson, Jo : Grime, Jo : Carye, Johnathan Robinson, Ralph Hoper, Rob : Mellow, Christ : Shepard, Will ^m : Hart, Geo : Allattson, Tho : Stainrigg, John Storr, James Mason.

North Ryding	Meetings.	Townes belonging to Meetings.	Names of some prsons belonging to each Meeting.
meetings one monethly meetinge	Silpha	Harwood dale Burniston Hacknes Stainton Daile Sufeild	Rob : Himer, Rob : Trott, Rob : Johnson, Jo : Dickon- son, Phillop Bellerbye.
	Whitbye	Fyling daill Mytan Hill ²⁶ Ravens Hill Eastraw ²⁷ Lairpooll ²⁸	Sam : Nellist, Geo : Vaughan, Jo : Tiplady, Joseph Lyell, Will ^m Lotherington, Will : Heslam, John Hall, Josias Blenk [horne], Jo : Ryder, Jsack Hay, Jacob Hudson, Tho : Marwood, Robert Wilson, Rich : Thornell.

¹⁶ Probably, South Holme.¹⁷ Rillington.¹⁸ Crambe.¹⁹ Bulmer.²⁰ Tholthorpe.²¹ Balke.²² Perhaps, Griffen Farm.²³ Ayton.²⁴ Lealholm.²⁵ Irton.²⁶ Mitten Hill.²⁷ Eastrow.²⁸ Larpool.

To be concluded.

Wheat for William Penn.

Dover River in Kent County,
the 12th of July, 1704.

Receiued on board my Sloop Called the Callapatch of
& from William Rodeney, in good order & well Con-
ditioned ffifty two bushells of Wheat, being for the use of
W^m Penn, Esq^r, Prop^{ry} & Govern^r, &c. And to be delivered
at Philad^a unto m^r James Logan, Sec^{ry}, J say, Reced the day
& yeare afores^d p me

BENJ : WHITE.

Copied from the original in D (Penn MSS. 5).

Friends in Current Literature.

Three volumes have now appeared of the family memoirs entitled, *Among Ourselves: To a Mother's Memory, being a Life Story of principally seven Generations, especially of the Morris-Trueblood Branch, including not only Descendants of Benoni and Rebecca (Trueblood) Morris, but their Relatives and Connections*, written by Sarah P. Morrison (Plainfield, Ind.: Publishing Association of Friends). The volumes are headed respectively, "Out of North Carolina," "Catherine [Morris] and Her Surroundings," and "Catherine and Her Household." Though primarily intended for members of the family whose fortunes are followed through several generations, the contents of these volumes are well worth perusal by a much wider circle. There are some interesting illustrations. Volume the fourth is in preparation.

A melancholy interest attaches to the *Genealogical Sketch of the Descendants of Samuel Spencer, of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, Ferris and Leach, 1904), owing to the decease of the author, Howard M. Jenkins, before its publication; but we are told in the Preface, written by the author's son, Arthur Hugh Jenkins, that most of the materials for the book had been collected prior to his father's death. Samuel Spencer emigrated to Pennsylvania about 1700; in the publication of records of his descendants, H. M. Jenkins has added another to the important family histories which have come from the pen of our American Friends.

The transcript of portions of the Diary of John Smith, of Burlington and Philadelphia, by Albert C. Myers, entitled, *Hannah Logan's Courtship, A True Narrative* (Philadelphia; Ferris and Leach, 1905), is another contribution to past American History, which will be much appreciated, and especially so, as we are therein introduced to the inner life of Colonial Quakerism of the first half of the eighteenth century. The reader will follow the daily events of John Smith's life with interest, and sympathise with him in the various delays which occur in the negotiations for his marriage with the daughter of James Logan, Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. Many explanatory notes are given, and the book is furnished with a sixty-two page Introduction, numerous illustrations, and a full Index. It forms a companion volume to *Sally Wister's Journal*, by the same editor.

The first publication issued by the Friends' Historical Society, of Philadelphia, is most valuable and interesting. It consists of the proceedings of the Centennial Celebration of the Meeting House at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, held in Sixth Month, 1904, when papers were read by George Vaux, Susanna Kite, Francis B. Gummere, Frances Tatum Rhoads, and Isaac Sharpless, dealing with past events in the Quaker world of Philadelphia. These papers are printed in full, and illustrated by numerous reproductions of old and rare portraits and pictures. The addition of a full Index would have added greatly to the usefulness of the book.

In *Antiquarian Notes*, Vol. III., Part 30, the editor, G. Eyre Evans, of Aberystwyth, has an article on "Presbyterianism in Caermarthenshire, A.D. 1710," being the records of the visitation in that year of Edward Tenison, Archdeacon of Caermarthen, in which there are a few references to "Quakers." In the parish of Llacharn (Laugharne), there was a Friends' Meeting, attended by two families. The Meeting House appears to have occupied the site on the cliff, where now stands the Congregational Chapel. In the parish of Llan Ddewi Welffri there was a family of Friends, and in that of Llan Deilo Fawr "a meeting consisting of about six families." Of Llanllwch the Visitation record queries, "If there is not a Quakers' Meeting at this place?"

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* for January, 1905, contains a letter from George Fox to Friends in Bucks County, Pa., dated London, 3 mo. 20th, 1685, printed from a MS. in the Etting collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

George Fox's Will has been printed, *literatim*, in the *Friends' Intelligencer* (Philadelphia), of 1 mo. 7th, 1905.

The Sunday Magazine (London: Isbister, Feb., 1905) contains an illustrated historical article on Friends in Wooldale, Yorkshire, of the families of Jackson, Dale, Brook, etc.

A hitherto unpublished letter from John Bright to Moncure D. Conway, dated, "One Ash, Rochdale, April 9, 1885," appeared in *The Daily News* (London), of the 28th ult.

NORMAN PENNEY.

Friends' Reference Library. (D.)

The following list gives short titles of some books and pamphlets not in the Library, which the Committee would be glad to obtain. Other lists of *desiderata* will be sent on application to the Librarian, Norman Penney, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Elizabeth ATKINSON'S *Brief Discovery*, 1669; Sarah ATKINSON'S *Mountebank Tumbler*, n.d.; Alex. ARSCOTT'S *Considerations*, Dublin, 1815, *Primitive Testimony*, Bristol, two editions, 1732; Thomas ANDREWS'S *Modest Inquiry into . . . T. Eccleston's Reply*, 1709;

Henton BROWN'S *To Friends in Southwark*, folio, 1741;

Stephen CRISP'S *New Book for Children*, 1681; Elijah COFFIN'S *Questions on Luke and John*, and *Mother's Catechism*; William CODDINGTON'S *Demonstration of True Love*, 1672; Eliza COLTMAN'S *Familiar Letters*, 1811, *Instructive Hints*, and *Plain Tales*, c. 1816; James COOPER'S *Vaccination Vindicated*, 1811; Morris COPE'S *Authentic Extracts*, 1858;

David DUNCAN'S *Outward Revelation*, 1st edition, 1863, *Essays and Reviews*, 1st and 2nd editions, 1861;

John FENWICKS' address, folio, 1675;

HEADINGLEY Orphan Homes *Reports*, 1866, 1873, 1876, 1888;

HUBBERTHORNE'S *Answer to the Oath of Allegiance*, broadside, 1660;

John JEFFRYS'S *Serious Address*, Phila., 1753, *Dubl.* 1784;

KEESE'S *Conciliation*, 1866, and *Theology Simplified*, 1867;

LIVERPOOL Friends' Institute *Reports*, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 16th, 17th, 24th; Dr. LETTSOM'S *Life of Captain Jon. Carver*, 1781;

Isaac MICKLE'S *Reminiscences of Old Gloucester*, Phila., 1845; Isaac MARTIN'S *Journal*, Phila., 1834; MANCHESTER Friends' Institute *Reports*; any before 1858, also 1862, 1864, 1865, 1868, 1871, 1872, 1884 to 1887, 1892, 1896;

Sydney PARKINSON'S *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas*, 1784; William PENN'S *Sandy Foundation Shaken*, Unitarian Association edition, 1888; POCKET CALENDAR, London, 1789; Eli K. PRICE'S *Address to Friends*, 1865; James PARNEL'S *Answer to a Book printed by E. B.*, n.d.;

William PATTESON'S poems in *The Lover's Manual*, 1753; Isaac PAYNE'S *Introduction to Geography*, 1806, and *Atlas*, 1808; John PAYNE'S *Evangelical Discourses*, 1763, *Tables of Interest*, *Considerations*, *Letter to a Young Gentleman*, *Of the Imitation of Christ*, 1763, 1769, 1785; Agatha PEARSON'S *Considerations on the Women's Queries*, c. 1832; PEARSON'S *Great Case of Tithes*, 1730 (without Appendix), 1801; Rebecca PEIRSON'S *Kindness to Animals*, 1862; Judah PADDOCK'S *Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Oswego*, London, 1818, New York, 1818; Edward PARRISH'S *Phantom Bouquet*, 1862; Israel PEMBERTON'S *Account of Conferences . . . Indians*, 1756; John PEMBERTON'S *Testimony*, Dublin, 1798;

Dr. TUKE'S *Insane in U.S. and Canada*, 1885;

Mary WEIGHTMAN'S educational works, 1787, 1791; Joseph WOOD'S *Letters of an Architect*, 1828, and other works.

Fifth List of Members.

*Names received in London from the 1st of 1st Month to
the 8th of 4th Month, 1905.*

Backhouse, James	Pidduck, Charles W.
Bancroft, William P. (U.S.A.)	Procter, John W.
Bunhill Fields Prep. Meeting	St. Austell Prep. Meeting
Bunting, Morgan (U.S.A.)	Shoemaker, Benjamin H. (U.S.A.)
Canterbury Prep. Meeting	Sinton, Walter L. (U.S.A.)
Catchpool, William	Smith, Elizabeth Pearsall (U.S.A.)
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Deacon, Howard (U.S.A.)	Wiggins, Margaret B. (U.S.A.)
Lawrence, Piety E. (U.S.A.)	Willets, Joseph (U.S.A.)
Malton Preparative Meeting	Yale University Library
Moore, James M. (U.S.A.)	
Penketh Preparative Meeting	
Pennsylvania State Library	

Editorial Forecast.

The Editors have pleasure in announcing that they hope to publish, as opportunity offers, a series of brief biographies of prominent Friends, of which the following are already promised: David Lloyd, by Joseph S. Walton; Anthony Benezet, by Allen C. Thomas; Caleb Pusey, by Albert Cook Myers; Francis Daniel Pastorius, by Charles F. Jenkins.

The following articles, in addition to those already announced, are either in hand or promised: Robert Barclay and Hai Ebn Yokdhan, by Rufus M. Jones; "Swarthmore College Library," by Arthur Beardsley; "William Miller at the King's Gardens," and "Early Friends in the North of Scotland," by William F. Miller; "Disused Burial Grounds in South Yorkshire," by Charles Brady; Letter from John Woolman to Jane Crossfield; "Memoriall of Meetings in the Isle of Ely," 1668.

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