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Nathaniel Wilmer (c. 1650-1711),

QUAKER MERCHANT AND SHIPOWNER OF LONDON, AND FRIEND OF WILLIAM PENN; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS BIBLE.

NATHANIEL WILMER was the second son of Captain Nathaniel Wilmer, of the parish of St. Dionis Backchurch, London (and later of Cashel, Ireland), a "citizen and grocer" of London, also described as a "citizen and armourer."

This Captain Wilmer was the third son of John Wilmer, M.A., born at Sherborne, co. Warwick, circa 1584, and for some forty-three years the Puritan incumbent of Northill, co. Bedford, and formerly curate to the celebrated Puritan divine, William Gouge, M.A. (1575-1653), of St. Anne's, Blackfriars. John Wilmer, whose ancestry will be found in the *History of the Wilmer Family*,¹ was buried in 1655, described as "minister of God's word." By his wife Mary (?) Hoget (or Hoggett), he had a family of twelve children, five of whom were clergymen in the Church of England, and of these, two were ejected for nonconformity in co. Sussex in 1662, viz., Samuel at Clapham-cum-Patching, and Thomas at Pagham. A younger brother, Isaac, was rector of Coombes in the same county, but, as Calamy informs us, died [in 1660] before the Act of Uniformity, but it is probable that he also was silenced.

Another brother was Elisha Wilmer, a "citizen and ironmonger" of London, who resided at Wapping, where

¹ Foster and Green, 1888.

he died in 1661. His only surviving daughter, Mary, the last of his family who survived the Great Plague, became a Friend, and from her the Quaker families of Mackett, Peirie and Willett descended, and the present Wilmer Mackett Willett, a clergyman of the Church of England, is also a descendant.

Of Samuel Wilmer's family, Ann married, in 1700, William Ridgeley, also a Friend, so that it will be found that descendants of three of these brothers at least became Quakers.

But to revert to Captain Nathaniel Wilmer. He was baptized at Northill in 1621, and was apprenticed to Lewis Bicker, a "citizen and grocer" of London; and in 1646, having several Wilmer relatives at Reading, of a family of town-clerks, etc., there, journeyed to Berkshire for a wife, and married Constance Sherwood, of East Hendred, of a county family connected with that of Bulstrode Whitelocke, some of which held the office of High Sheriff for their county.

Upon his marriage, Nathaniel Wilmer was settled at St. Dionis Backchurch, London; and in 1650, immediately after Cromwell's return from his work of "pacification" in Ireland, he held a Captain's commission from the Protector to raise a hundred men for transportation by way of Bristol or Chester to Ireland.

Prior to this, Wilmer's eldest son, John Wilmer, was born in London in 1647; he was later a Friend, a "citizen and merchant-taylor" of London, a silk merchant of Friday Street, and had a country home at Ealing. He died in 1723, having married thrice, into three well-known Quaker families, viz., those of Lamboll of Reading, Knight of Godmersham, and Myers of Aldingham. By his third wife, Mary Myers, he had, with other children, a daughter Grizell Wilmer (1692-1756), wife of Jonathan Gurnell (1684-1753), merchant, of London, and lessee of the Manor of Great Ealing, and friend of, and bill-discounter to, William Penn, from whom descend a great many Quaker and other families.

Captain Nathaniel Wilmer eventually settled at Cashel, in co. Tipperary, Ireland, and died there in 1654, aged thirty-three, in command, under the celebrated Colonel Richard Le Hunte, ancestor to the

present excellent Colonial Governor, Sir George Ruthven Le Hunte, K.C.M.G.

Captain Wilmer's will is dated 19 March, 1654. He refers to his two sons; John as "now in the tuition of his grandmother, Constance Sherwood [*née* Saunders, of Newbury] in the county of Berks"; and Nathaniel as "now in the tuition of his mother and my dearly-loved wife in Cashell." To these his two sons he gives lands in co. Cork, etc., amongst which were "three plow lands more or less as it was sett out and appointed to mee for my service in Ireland . . . they paying thereout the thirde part unto their mother my wife during her naturall life." He also leaves his wife interest in lands and houses at Cashel, and "my cattle, plate, household goods," etc. "To my welbeloved cozen Nathaniell Laurence² my guilt and silver rapier and to his child one silver spoone. To my trustie servant Richard Cornelius my white horse [charger, no doubt], and my wearinge clothes. I appoint my affectionate and loving wife executrix."

The will was proved by the relict Constance Wilmer at Dublin, 30 May, 1655, Colonel Richard Le Hunte and Thomas Barzey, gent. (one of the witnesses), giving a certificate or testimony that the will was that of the late Captain Wilmer.

Shortly after the Captain's death, his widow, Constance Wilmer, joined the early Quaker Church, probably through the preaching of Burrough and Howgill in 1655. In 1661, she, with her countryman, Joseph Coale of Reading, who died in prison there in 1670, aged thirty-four, addressed a quarto pamphlet to Thomas Fuller or Fulwar (1593-1667), Archbishop of Cashel, 1661-1667. It is entitled *Some Religious Affaires Signified in a Letter from one called a Quaker, to Arch-Bishop Fuller, in Ireland. Also some Queries out of Conscientious Scruples propounded to all the Bishops in general in that Nation, for satisfaction to doubtful consciences. As also some reasons shewing why we deny all other kinds of Profession of Religion, and are turned*

² He who was Puritan vicar of Keysoe, Beds., had married Wilmer's first cousin, Mary Hoget, of the family of Anthony Hoget, a former incumbent of Northill.

to this way, in which we now are scornfully called Quakers. For the Arch-Bishop of Cashel, these.

“ This is a true Copy [adds Constance Wilmer] of what was delivered to Arch-Bishop Fuller the 30th day of the 8th Month, but he seemed to deny to answer it, and told constant Wilmer and Mary Pearce,³ by whom it was delivered, that he could not tell how to satisfie them, & that it was not his work to do it, but they might come to Church & conforme themselves &c. And some other discourse they had with him, but no Answer is yet had to these sober Propositions.” The pamphlet treats of “ The true light,” “ New Birth,” “ True Ministers Called of God,” “ Tithes,” “ Persecution,” “ Baptism of Infants,” etc. Copies of this now very scarce pamphlet are in the libraries of Devonshire House, E.C., and Birmingham (Bevan-Naish collection).

We have no further particulars of Constance Wilmer, but that she was living at the time of her elder son's second marriage in 1684 to Phœbe Knight, of Godmersham and Dover ; her age was then about sixty-two.

Nathaniel Wilmer the younger was born apparently at Cashel about 1650. He was “ my young sonn ” in 1654, as we have seen, and by 1686 he had settled in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, London, as a merchant and ship-owner, and was evidently a prosperous man.

In Whitehead's *Christian Progress*⁴ we learn that he was one of the suffering Friends summoned by George Whitehead, together with the Informers, to appear before the two Commissioners appointed by the King (James II.), who were to report to him on the merits of these cases of suffering. Of those who were thus summoned there are four lists, those Friends who appeared in the first and second part of the case, those Friends who were not examined, amongst whom were Nathaniel Wilmer, Francis Stamper, William Crouch, William Bingley, etc., and fourthly the Informers.

It would appear that Wilmer was in partnership with

³ Mary Pearce was the wife of Richard Pearce, a distinguished Quaker apothecary of Limerick, and one who suffered for his principles. He issued, with his wife Mary, a trade-token, viz.,

Obverse—RICHARD. PEARCE. OF.=A MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Reverse—LIMERICK, APOTHECARY=R.M.P. 1668.

⁴ 1725, p. 595.

a Friend named James Brown, of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, who, in 1673, for refusing to bear arms, suffered distress of goods with Edmund Caryl to the amount of £5 11s. 6d.^s and who, in 1686, was under prosecution in the ecclesiastical court, but discharged.

In 1686, August 11th, Nathaniel Wilmer acquired a folio Bible, or at least had this date engraved on the covers, which date may possibly be that of the death of his mother, Constance Wilmer; of this Bible we will speak later.

In 1688 we hear of Wilmer in connection with the bankruptcy of Richard Watson, an excellent Friend, belonging to Stockton Monthly Meeting, the particulars of whose case are of singular and pathetic interest, and well deserve publication.

Under date "Stockton y^e 12th of y^e 12th month, 1688," we learn from the Monthly Meeting books that "the letter ordered to be sent to Na: Wilmoore [was] as followeth, [viz.] "

Friend Nathaniell Wilmoore, we are informed by Rich: Watson y^t thou art one of his Credittors & refuses to seeke releif upon y^e Commission of bankrupt sued out against him & y^t he supposeth thou art informed y^t he haith made some considerable resarve & haith not justly giuen up his estate; & at y^e request of y^e s^d Richard Watson, we being his neighbours & some of us his famillier acquaintance doe hereby certifie unto those whome it may Concern y^t to our knowledge y^e s^d Rich: Watson & Jane his wife, though by Law she was not oblided to doe it, haue giuen up all their Lands & tenements in Norton & Stockton; & we neuer heard, neither doe we belieue y^t they or either of them haue or euer had any land or tenement else where, & to y^e best of our knowledg we doe certifie y^t his estate in shipping is discouered & his books were giuen to y^e Commishoners at their first Comeing, their houshold goods & marchandise was giuen up, & as to money we belieue he had very little, & further more things not mentioned in his bookes some of us doath know he haith made discouery of, soe y^t soe far as we know or haue any just ground to belieue, they haue made noe Consealment but haue delt ingeanously in discouering & giueing up what was theirs; & therefore we think it hard y^t any friend should stand out & espetially y^t Na: Wilmoore should be y^e man because by diuers letters boath from thyselve & Ja: Browne we haue sene how seamingly thou didst Condesend to take a proportionall part prouided thou might fare no wors then other Creditors. We doe assure ye some of us are deeply Conserved & our debts as just & mannyfest as thine is & our endeauors to y^e utmost were used y^t we might haue releife.

^s Besse, i. 437.

Y^e nicety of y^e Commishoners were such y^t wee Could not be admitted of, which by y^e method Richard Watson put ye upon, there was noe hazard in thy case ; all friends here haue found themselves obbleiged for y^e truth sake as well as for their owne & R : W : sake to accept what y^e Estate would raise, & giue him discharge y^t he may be fully at Liberty to use his future indeauours ; he promising & we belieueing y^t if euer god shall here after enable him he will make further sattisfaction ; & y^t which did partly induce friends here unto ; was not only what we believed concerning giueing up of his Estate an account as afores^d but also because friends in y^e truth aduised him to put some of his Creditors suing out y^e Commishon of Bankrupt[cy] contrary to y^e aduice of some of his neer relations soe y^t friends boath from this monthly meetting & alsoe from our Quarterly meetting haue put to their hands to help indeauours y^t friends might not be excluded by reason of their testimony against swearing ; y^e obtaining of which preuili^dg friends accounted very well of ; & when all this is done y^t thou should be y^e only man to exclude thy selfe, we are sorry for it ; therefore our desire & aduice in loue & good will unto ye is y^t thou maist noe longer omit to act as others haue done ; & we are pswaied Richard Watson's endeauours will not be wantting to promote thy Interest what he can & if any thing Ly in our pour either by aduise or assistance we shall alwayes be redy to serue ye in what we may, & rest thy friends in y^e truth.

ffriends p̄sent at this meetting

For Stockton & Norton : THO : CHIPCHASE ; ROBT : PATTISON ; JA : WOOD ; JO^N WOOD ; RO : HARTBURNE ; THO : DODSWORTH ; W^M DODSWORTH ; NICO COCKFIELD ; W^M HARRISON.

For Darlington & Yarme : ROBERT TRUMAN, RA : REEDE ; LAUR : APLEBY ; THO : THORP ; DAN : ROBINSON.

For Shotton : JO^N WILKINSON, JO^N HALL.

The above letter is valuable as an illustration of the remarkable rectitude of the early Friends, of the care they took to clear the Truth, of their unselfish kindness to a brother in difficulties, and their earnest endeavours to assist him to discharge his liabilities. Richard Watson, whose large shipping business had long caused uneasiness to Friends, was a Friend evidently both beloved and esteemed by them. He was eventually restored to the fullest unity with his friends, settled in London, and in 1706 we find Richard Watson writing to his friend Richard Lindley of Yarm, cordially acknowledging a gift of £4 remitted him by Stockton Monthly Meeting.

Under date 18 July, 1689, we learn from the Burleigh Collection of State Papers⁶ that a warrant was issued by the Government "to search for and apprehend

⁶ State Papers Domestic, Warrants Book 34, p. 412.

Nathaniel Wilmer for corresponding with the enemy," probably with James II. or his adherents, for which it will be remembered Penn was also in serious difficulty, was imprisoned within the confines of his house, and finally cleared by the government of William and Mary.

In 1691 was printed a now very rare pamphlet (not in D.) entitled, *Some Letters and an Abstract of Letters from Pennsylvania, containing the State and Improvement of that Province*. Published to prevent mis-reports. Printed, and sold by Andrew Sow[l]e, at the Crooked-Billet in Holloway Lane, in Shoreditch, 1691 (Quarto, 1½ sheets). "This," says Joseph Smith in his *Catalogue* (vol. i. p. 849), "is a very interesting tract relative to the early history of Pennsylvania." It contains letters by John Goodson of Philadelphia to Penn, dated 1690; Robert Turner addressed to Nathaniel Wilmer; John Goodson to John and Susanna Dew; and refers to J. Tizack, I. W., Alexander Beardsley, W. Bradford, C. Pickering, R. Hill, William Rodeney, John Holland, Richard Morris and Francis Harrison.

The letter to Nathaniel Wilmer from his friend Robert Turner is as follows :

Nathaniel Wilmer, Friend,

My Love to thee, This comes Cover to the inclosed, for my Friend W[illiam] P[enn]. I know not but by his writing, he may before this comes to hand, be on his Voyage towards us; if so, then I desire, by the first opportunity presenting to send it back to me here, to be delivered to my own Hand. I hope the ship *Tryal* is arrived in England, before this comes to hand; if so, John Fuller, my Love to him, and to my old Friends from Ireland, if thou see any of them, the Lord preserve them and us.

I heard lately a Letter from Abraham Fuller⁷ from London, directed to John Fuller, giving some account of Ireland, and of some few Friends, God preserve them and keep them to himself; The Lord is Angry, Vengeance is his and he will repay it.

God prospers his People and their honest Endeavours in the Wilderness; and many have cause to Bless and Praise his holy Arm, who in his Love hath spread a Table large with us, even beyond the expectation or belief of many; yea, to the admiration of our Neighbouring Colonies; let the Murmurers, Repiners and evil Tiding Tellers say as they

⁷ A distinguished Irish Friend and Minister, of Lehinsey in King's County and of Moate Meeting. He was convinced about 1660; was a serviceable and hospitable man, and a sufferer for the Truth, and died in 1694, aged about 75 (see *Piety Promoted*).

will, God is amongst his People and the Wilderness is his, and he waters and refreshes it with his moistening Dew, whereby the Barren are become pleasant Fields, and gardens of his delight, blessed be his Name saith my Soul, and Peace and Happiness to all God's people every where. I should be glad to heare of the Faithful, and of their Welfare, especially of my Antient friends in Ireland, who sojourn in a land of great distress, wherein I have been,

Thy Friend in the Truth

ROBERT TURNER.⁸

We next hear of Nathaniel Wilmer from the Devonshire House Monthly Meeting books, where we find "a paper from a meet[ing] the 8-iii-1700 [is described as] being a testimony against Nathaniel Willmott [Wilmer in margin], ff[rancis] Plumsted to record it."

We gather from the Richard Watson bankruptcy case that Wilmer was evidently of an over-reaching character in commercial pursuits, and this may have been the reason for his disownment, or some other contributory cause.

Finally we find amongst the administrations in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at Somerset House (anno 1711 fol. 89) that "Nathaniel Wilmer, late of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, Co. Middlesex, bachelor; but deceased in the Merchant Ship *The Reward*, upon the High Seas [dying intestate], administration [was granted] 18 May, 1711, to William Arnold, the principal creditor; John Wilmer [of Friday Street], the brother and next of Kin, having first renounced."

⁸ It is evident by this letter that Robert Turner had been well acquainted with Constance Wilmer and her two sons, when they were all resident in Ireland.

"About the year 1657," say Wight and Ruddy (1751), "Robert Turner, having been instrumental to the convincement of a few who lived at Grange, near Charlemont in the Province of Ulster, this year [1660] their numbers being considerably encreased through the labours of other travelling Friends, a Meeting was settled there."

In 1658 Robert Turner issued a large quarto pamphlet entitled *Truth's Defence*. This has a preface by E. B., supposed Edward Burrough. It refers amongst other things to Robert Child, Priest of Bandon Bridge, co. Cork, and to one Humphrey Whittingh, Priest, etc. Robert Turner suffered persecution in Dublin in 1660 and 1661; by 1683 we find him owning lot 31, a plot of a thousand acres or more, on Delaware front, Philadelphia, his neighbours being Joseph Fisher and Thomas Holme; and these Friends owned similar lots in the High Street, numbers 22 and 24. There is "A Letter of Robert Turner's" in William Penn's *Further Account of Pennsylvania*, printed in 1685, which is stated by Joseph Smith to be "a very interesting letter from Robert Turner to Governor Penn, dated, Philadelphia, 3rd of the 6th month (August), 1685, giving an account of the original settlements and improvements."

We must now refer to Nathaniel Wilmer's Bible, which has recently and most unexpectedly come into our possession. It was purchased in London in 1912, by P. Mordaunt Barnard, M.A., B.D., an erudite bookseller of Tunbridge Wells, and by him sold to the present writer. It is a massive folio, 18½ by 12 by 5¼ inches, weighing over twenty-six pounds, and is handsomely bound in contemporary black morocco and silver, with leaves richly gilt, and was printed at the Theatre, Oxford, in 1685. The Old Testament title is wanting, and the only inscription now remaining gives the name of a former owner in 1804, viz., Alexander Croke, of Studley, Oxon. The Bible is printed in large Roman type, contains the Apocrypha, and the handsomely engraved New Testament title is an allegorical picture of the angel of inspiration dictating the gospel to the evangelist John. This Bible is well described in the old couplet of our childhood :

All bound in silver and edged with gold,
Its weight was more than the child could hold.

The covers of the Bible are richly ornamented with massive engraved silver corner-pieces, silver fillets, and plates for clasps, the latter of which, with other defects, having been carefully restored through the kindness and under the superintendence of our late friend, David Richardson, of Newcastle, who was greatly interested in this really splendid specimen of old binding. In the centre of each cover is a triangular silver plate upon which is engraved with other ornamentation, "Nathaniel Wilmer, His Bible, August XIth, 1686."

It is instructive to notice that at a time when Bibles were expensive and comparatively scarce, often no expense was spared in the binding of this greatest of earthly treasures.

To conclude, it is remarkable that this handsome folio should, after over two hundred years' alien possession, once more be owned by a kinsman of Nathaniel Wilmer, and a lineal descendant of his brother, John Wilmer, of Friday Street, London, who died in 1723.

JOSEPH J. GREEN.

Hastings.

Where Suffered the Boston Martyrs

EXTRACT from the Diary of Caleb Cresson, of Philadelphia, who died in 1816, aged 74, giving an account of a visit to Boston, Massachusetts, in Seventh Month, 1791.¹

2nd Day, 25th.—Had my horse shod, and chaise oiled and rubbed up by a coach-maker. Walked out to see the town, in company with Ebenezer Pope—first to Beacon Hill, which commands an extensive view of the town, the harbour, Castle Island (also many other islands in the bay within seven or ten miles), Gov. Hancock's house, Cambridge town and University, Bunker's Hill, where the bloody battle was fought between the British and Americans in the beginning of the late civil wars. A monument is erected on Beacon Hill, which must have cost a considerable sum, and on it are inscribed the memorable events of the distressing times we have of later years passed through.

We also viewed the Alms-house, Work-house, State house, Faneuil Hall, the Market, Long Wharf, and other public buildings and private dwellings, some of them stately and elegant. The duck² manufactory was a pleasing sight, and carried on to good advantage.

Our friend Ebenezer Pope informed me that he had made it a point to be particular in his inquiry, in order to ascertain the place where our Friends William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson were put to death, and he thought he could fix the spot within a few rods. The histories of Friends which mention the transaction are not explicit on that head—neither is it very material—yet when one is at Boston it seems quite natural to make some inquiry about it, tho' the inhabitants now show

¹ Copied by George Vaux, of Philadelphia, from a copy of the Diary in his possession. This Diary, comprising the years 1791 and 1792, was privately printed in 1877.

² Duck—a strong untwilled linen or cotton fabric, lighter and finer than canvas, used for small sails, men's outer clothing, etc. (*Standard Dictionary*, vol. i.)

rather an aversion to having the matter revived ; and, indeed, Christian charity would forbid our making the children answerable for the misconduct of their forefathers, whose deeds they condemn, both in word and conduct. However, there can be nothing criminal in endeavouring to fix the place where the tragedy was executed.

Ebenezer Pope told me several circumstances tending to fix the spot, which he led me to, very nearly. Some of them, for my own satisfaction, I will set down here.

He says, one of our historians mentions a boat, with some sober people, coming from Nantasket, to see the bloody business, who sat therein, while it was performed, in a little creek near the gallows. The entrance of this creek is still visible near Boston Neck, and the remaining ground towards the opposite shore, a little more than a quarter of a mile over, is still low, tho' it has been filled up considerably for building.

He further says that old Friend Bagnel told him of a conversation which he had with an Old Woman at Charleston, who informed him she was about ten years old when the occurrence happened, and got leave of her parents to go and see the execution, and after crossing Penny Ferry, as it was then called, she ran along the beach until she came in view of the gallows—which, by the present situation of land and water, tends to fix the place somewhere near where our Friend Pope supposed it to be.

Add to this his account of a Public Friend from England, who when here was concerned to make inquiry on the subject, and walking out to the place, and leaning on the fence, after a solemn pause, said, " Here lie my dear Friends : I smell their bones."

Also, a sober neighbour of his, being near the spot during the late troubles, related to him (that is E. Pope) as follows :—Ruminating in his mind on the judgments which then hung over the land, and being deeply thoughtful and pensive of the cause, was made, as by a secret impulse, to stand still, and a voice as it were run through his mind—Here lie the innocent Quakers, and the very spot, or place, seemed pointed out to him in a very particular manner.

All these circumstances unite to render it almost certain that somewhere near the place he showed me, the affecting tragedy was performed.

Bishop tells us that when their lives were taken, they were denied burial, and their naked bodies cast into a hole, and not permitted to be covered ; which was soon after overflowed with water, which probably might have been occasioned by the rising of the tide over the low grounds already mentioned.

I speak now of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, for as to Mary Dyer and William Leddra, Friends were permitted to take away their bodies.

This Friend Pope also related a conversation which lately passed between two of his neighbors—one of them grandson to Edward Rawson, who was Secretary to Governor Endicott, who spoke much in favour of the piety of the first settlers, and what godly people they were, compared to the present generation. “ Say you so ? ” said his friend ; “ I am of a different mind :—so far from thinking them virtuous, good people, I look upon them to have been the veriest devils that ever existed in human shape, and, to be plain with you, your grandfather was no better than the rest of them.” “ Why, what do you mean, sir ? ” said his neighbour. “ I mean as I say, sir ; that so far from being pious and godly, their cruelty and wickedness exceeded all example since the days of the Reformation from Popery. Have you never read the history of the Quakers’ sufferings in this country, sir ? ” No ! “ Then I will take care to furnish you with a sight of it, and I am persuaded from your uprightness and candour, you will join with me in utterly condemning the principles and practices of those who first settled in this country ; who, fleeing from persecution in their native land, became far before their persecutors in England in point of hard-heartedness and barbarity.” So he furnished him with Besse’s *History of the Sufferings of our Friends in New England*.

After some weeks he called upon him again, and asked if he had read it. He said “ Yes.” He then queried, “ What was his opinion of their ancestors now ? ” “ Why, sir,” he replied, “ I stand informed of what I

never before was acquainted with, and may acknowledge, with the Queen of the South, that the one-half had not been told me. So I am compelled to be of your mind, sir, and allow that they were not the men I apprehended them to be."

This was the substance of their conversation, being two Presbyterians, and it may reasonably be supposed that few of those now upon the stage have much knowledge of the proceedings of those early times against our innocent brethren and sisters, only for bearing their testimony to the Truth; for it has, without doubt, been the earnest endeavour of the writers and leaders amongst them, to mutilate and suppress all accounts which have a tendency to criminate and set in an unfavourable point of view the conduct of their forefathers. But faithful and impartial history will still preserve the truth of those transactions which cast such a shade of infamy upon the high professors of the Christian name in that day.

And something remarkable and memorable it will be, if in future time, in the very midst of the country where the persecution raged the hottest, that is, between Boston and Salem, our Yearly Meeting for New England should be established, and a standard for the Truth, as held by us as a religious society, be erected.

And if the professors under our name were but in the possession of what they hold up to the world, and acted agreeably to the principles we maintain, no doubt there would be a gathering from many of those sects, who are groaning under their heavy task-masters, and ready to say, many seeking religious minds among them, at least, "Who will show us any good?" sensibly feeling in the secret of their own minds, a want, which nothing outward can satisfy—a deficiency, which outward worship, service and ceremonies can not supply.

For indeed, nothing can satisfy the immortal part but that which is really Divine and Spiritual—agreeably to that Scripture testimony, "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth," that is, all who approach before Him in an acceptable manner.

Benjamin Furly, Quaker Merchant, and his Statesmen Friends

BENJAMIN FURLY was one of the wealthy people who allied themselves with Quakerism in its early days. He was born at Colchester in Essex, in the year 1636, and began business life as a merchant there.¹

In 1659-60 he assisted John Stubbs and George Fox in the compilation of *A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural, You to Many, and Thou to One*, a work of fifty-seven folio sheets, printed in thirty languages, the Chaldee, Syriac, Welsh, and French Battle-Doors being written by him. He possessed a very large and curious collection of books, which were sold by auction at Rotterdam in 1714, and realised £7,638 19s. The catalogue, entitled *Bibliotheca Furliana*, consisting of 400 pages, and dealing with over 4,400 volumes, was bought in, and afterwards sold by his second son to Archbishop Secker for the British Museum. This is interleaved with MS. notes, giving price and buyer of each lot.

Some time previous to 1660, Furly went to reside in Amsterdam, afterwards making Rotterdam his home, where he set up as a merchant, in the Scheepmakers Haven. In 1677 George Fox stayed there and held religious meetings at Furly's home in Rotterdam, and then Furly accompanied Fox, Keith and others through a greater part of Holland and Germany, acting as an interpreter. Later on in the same year he made a ministerial journey with William Penn. His house became the rendezvous of Le Clerc, Limborch, and other learned men, and there he entertained Algernon Sidney, John

¹ For fuller information, see "The Furley Family of Essex," by Gibbins, in *The Essex Review*, 1899; C. Fell Smith's *Steven Crisp*; *D.N.B.*; etc. Furly died in 1715/16, if the extract from the registers of St. Nicholas Parish, Colchester, refer to him:—"Benjamin Furley, buried among y^e Quakers, 9 March, 1715/16." (J. J. GREEN.)

Locke (1686-8), and Locke's pupil, the third Lord Shaftesbury, 1698-9.

Algernon Sidney constantly wrote to him during the years 1677 to 1679. Edward Clark, of Chipley, seems to have introduced Locke to him, and their correspondence lasted as long as Locke lived. Letters which passed between Furly and Locke, Sidney and Shaftesbury were printed in 1830 (for private circulation), by Thomas Ignatius Maria Forster, M.B., a descendant of Furly, and the owner of the manuscripts.²

The first letter written by Locke, dated the 26th December, 1686, is in a humorous vein, and deals with Furly's treatment of some of the Baptist writers of the period. He tells him not to expect to subdue his opponents with "a paper potgun."

The madness wherewith you expect to work such a miracle deserves a dipping and no doubt the Colonel [the Baptist protagonist] who is expert at it would do you this kindness. But whether when he had you under water he would not clap his hand on your head, and according to the method of his brother doctor of Scotland keep you there till he was perfectly assured of your being tamed, I leave you to consider.

And again :

You wish me with you, and desire I should make haste and so do I too, but I doubt whether you would be of the same mind if you knew one of my reasons. A cask of mum, an hogshead of cider, and, without doubt, even now and then a bottle of wine, or a zopie among, for a more effective remedy against phlegmatic humours and rainy weather ; this I suspect in my absence will make brave work, and heresie will arise in the "Lanterne"³ when so watered, and the mischief is, I cannot

² Dr. Forster writes in his Preface :

"The letters of Locke, of Algernon Sidney, and of the Earl of Shaftesbury published in this volume, addressed to Mr. Furly of Rotterdam, came by the death of that gentleman into the possession of my grandfather, Mr. Edward Forster, of Walthamstow, Essex, among other very curious manuscripts. At his death, which took place on the 20th of April, 1812, they became the property of my father, Mr. Thos. Furly Forster, of Clapton, at whose death, in October, 1825, they came into my hands, and were made my property by an act of his will dated April, 1824, together with a large collection of the MS. correspondence of some celebrated writers who flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries."

³ Dr. Forster thinks that this is a meeting of Quakers. More probably it was a group of literary men who met to discuss philosophy and other subjects.

On 26 December, 1686, Locke asks to be "remembered to all the assembly at the Lanterne." Also, 20 February, 1687, "Give my love and respect to the company in the Lanterne," and again, 19 January, 1688, he refers to some "Lanterne reasons."

find anyone to make my deputy over-seer. Our old master and you will, I know, be at it with "tother glassie," and our mistress, though she will not partake, yet will stand by, clap her hands, and encourage you to it; for my part I think I will best make Arent⁴ my vice-governor, who may often repeat to you his "wil ghy wel laeten."

The second letter, dated 29th December, 1686, makes further reference to the controversy between Furly and the Baptist Colonel. Locke says :

Methinks you should have let the year have ended in peace and not have knocked an old officer in the head with blunt downright truths, against the which, the art of fencing is not provided. I fear this second seasoning you have sent him will spoil his Christmas cheer; for your ingredients are very strong, and the dose something of the largest.

He concludes the letter by saying he encloses a present for one of the children, and wishes to be "remembered very kindly to Mrs. Furly our friend, and the young ones, especially Arent."

Locke himself appears to have taken some part in the controversy with the Baptist Colonel, as he writes on 20th February, 1687 :

As the Colonel is gone, I am glad with you that *our* MSS. stayed; 'tis something to comfort us in the loss of those notable discoveries we might have expected. I wish your heretical pravity and perverseness have had no hand in this tragedy. And may I not justly suspect what you call Colic, was heart breaking? I warned you long since what effect such kind of dealing might have on an old soldier and author.

He closes the letter by asking Furly to get someone going to England to carry a little book of philosophie but of four sheets and yet has nothing in it of affairs. Do me the kindness to send me word, for I am in distress to send one of my Epitomes. It will take up no more place than a letter.

⁴ Arent, Furly's second son, was Secretary to Charles, Earl of Peterborough, General and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Land Forces serving in the expedition against Spain; several of the orders dated in the camp before Bacelona, in 1705, are countersigned by Arent Furly, who, it is clear, must have left the Quakers before he could have accompanied Lord Peterborough.

There is evidence in a letter from Shaftesbury to Benjamin Furly, dated St. Giles, Nov. 4, 1702, that Charles, Earl of Peterborough, had written to Furly "*re* the preferring of some young man of your recommendation to his service in his great employment." Shaftesbury recommends that "it is better that this favour should be for Mr. Arent; since being your own son, a kind of foster child too to Mr. Locke, my Lord's great friend, he can enjoy the fruits of your recommendation and carry the force of your own and Friends interest with my lord, much better than a stranger can do."

Locke's silence between February and July, 1687, appears to have caused Mrs. Furly to think there was some offence; but this fear was removed by Locke's letter of 30th July, 1687, when he writes:

One cannot take amiss the mistakes of one's friends. But I should be sorry to have given any just occasion to your wives misapprehension. Had she been better acquainted with my way of living with those I am free with, she would have known that silence, when I have no business to write, is a liberty I take with none so much with the Friends I am most assured of, and with whom I think myself past ceremony. . . . This be sure I was anything rather than sullen; and I was so far from taking any offence, that I am not displeased at the opportunity of acknowledging, once for all, that I was never any where with more freedom and satisfaction. This to your wife to whom pray give my kindest remembrances. As for yourself, if I mistake not very much you and I are past these discourses.

In his letter of 6th January, 1688, he sends Furly a book about the "Quietists," called *Recueil des diverse Pièces concernant le Quietisme*, which costs 13s., and again remembers the children. Arent, whom he has nicknamed Teotie, is threatened with the loss of his usual present when Locke returns if he continues to grow stout, "and that, when I come, Jantie shall be my friend, and he no more."

That Furly influenced Locke a good deal is almost certain; the period of their friendship was that when Locke was busy with his famous *Essay on the Human Understanding*, and there is not the least doubt that Furly's library of over 4,000 volumes would be of great service to him. In a letter dated 19th January, 1688, Locke chides himself for arrears in correspondence; but excuses himself by saying he has been busy finishing his essay, *De Intellectu*, and goes on to write:

Had I not certain proofs that you are Pretty Good Enough in your own nature, I should suspect that you handle me thus smoothly with design to draw me in to be "hereticated" by you. The truth is, I find you have gone a great way towards spoiling of me already.

Both Locke and Furly were well acquainted with William Penn. Locke, it would appear, had met with Penn while in Oxford; both were ex-students of Christ Church College, and had in common the friendship of Dr. John Owen. Locke's biographer says Locke had

known William Penn as a promising youth in Oxford, and had probably, then and afterwards, helped in unrecorded ways.⁵ Penn endeavoured to obtain the King's pardon for Locke in the year 1685, but Locke refused it, saying "he had no occasion for a pardon, having been guilty of no crime." Locke, in his letter of 26th January, 1688, seeks Furly's help for a friend named Weinstein, who hopes for his assistance in the "intercession of the governor of Pennsylvania, to help him out of the briars." He asks for a reply by Tuesday, to be sent to his brother, "who may deliver it, if there be occasion to our Friend W.P[enn]."

Locke's further interest in Furly's children is evidenced in his letter of 2nd February, 1688, when he sends a copy book for writing exercise, being an alphabet of names, drawn chiefly from Furly's family; he also gives medical advice for one of the children that is ill.

The death of Mrs. Furly, in 1690, formed the subject of one of the last letters which passed between the two, and is dated from Oates,⁶ 28th April, 1690 :

Dear Friend,

Though I am very much concerned and troubled for your very great loss, yet your sorrow being of that kind which time and not arguments is wont to cure, I know not whether I should say anything to you to abate your grief, but that, it serving to no purpose at all but making you thereby the more unfit to supply the loss of their mother to your remaining children (who now more need your care, help and comfort) the sooner you get rid of it, the better it will be both for them and you. If you are convinced this is fit to be done I need not make use to you of the common though yet reasonable topics of consolation. I know you expect not to have the common and unalterable law of mortality which reaches the greatest, be dispensed with for your sake. Our friends and relations are but borrowed advantages lent us during pleasure, and must be given back when ever called for; for we receive them upon those terms, and why should we repine? or, if we do, what profits it us? But I see my affection is running into reasoning, which you need not; and can think of without any suggestions of mine. I wonder not at the greatness of your grief, but I shall wonder if you let it prevail on you; your thinking of retiring some whither from business was very natural upon the first stroke of it, but here I must interpose to advise you the contrary. It is to give yourself up to all the ills that grief and melancholy can produce,

⁵ H. R. Fox Bourne, *Life of Locke*, ii. 23.

⁶ Oates, near Laver, in Essex. Locke resided here for a time at the house of Sir Francis Masham; and died here in 1704.

which are some of the worst we suffer in this life : want of health, want of spirit, want of useful thought, is the state of those that abandon themselves to griefs, whereof business is the best, the safest, and quickest cure.

Locke returned to England on 12th February, 1688, and he did not forget the Friends, attending their meeting once at least, as is shown by a letter of his to a woman Friend, Rebecca Collier, and her companion Rachel Brecon, which is as follows⁷ :

Grays Inn,
November 21st, 1699.

My Sweet Friends,

A paper of sweetmeats by the bearer to attend your journey, comes to testify the sweetness I found in your society. I admire no converse more than Christian freedom, and fear no bondage like that of pride and prejudice. I now see that an acquaintance by sight cannot reach the height of enjoyment, which acquaintance by knowledge arrives unto. Outward hearing may misguide us but internal knowledge cannot err. We have something there of what we shall have hereafter, to know as we are known, and thus we with our other friends were even at the first view mutual partakers, and the more there is of this in the life, the less we need enquire of what country, nation, party or persuasion our friends are, for our own knowledge is more sure than another's is to us, thus we know in whom we have believed.

Now the God of all grace grant you may hold fast that grace of love and charity, that unbiassed and unbounded love, which if it decay not will spring up mightily as the waters of the sanctuary, higher and higher untill you with the universal Church swim together in the ocean of divine love.

⁷ Locke's letter appears in *The Annual Monitor* for 1828, preceded by a paragraph as follows :—" This letter was sent to Rebecca Collier, a member of the Society of Friends, after a meeting held in London, which he and King William III. attended, the latter incognito. It was accompanied by two papers of sweetmeats, one for Rebecca, and one for her companion, Rachel Bracken (to which the letter alluded). This meeting was so agreeable to Locke, that it removed his objections to a female ministry." The letter is dated 1696.

The letter also appears in Hare's *Gurneys of Earham*, 1895, i. 237, where the addressee is given as Rebecca Collins, and the date 1696. A question relative to this Friend appeared in *Quakeriana*, Dec. 1895 (ii. 184), but has remained unanswered.

There are two MSS. in D. containing this letter, one is written on paper with the watermark 1809. The latter gives the date 1699, and the Friends R. Collier and R. Brecon, while the former has Collier and Buckon.

In no case is there any reference to the source of the quotation. Nothing more is at hand regarding either Friend.

John Locke's views on women's preaching may be gathered from his Paraphrase on Paul's Epistles, see *Extracts* from this printed for John Hull in 1832.—[ED.]

Women indeed had the honour first to publish the resurrection of the God of love, why not again the resurrection of the spirit of love? And let all the disciples of our Lord rejoice therein as does your partner

JOHN LOCKE.

Benjamin Furly also had business and personal relations with Algernon Sidney. On 29th November, 1677, Sidney writes to him telling him of the death of his father, and asking his advice in reference to transmitting a large sum to France, where he intends to go for the purpose of buying an estate in Gascony, and settling down. On 13th April, 1678, Sidney writes to Benjamin Furly again, and tells him much of what is transpiring in England. Among other things he tells him of the trial of the Earl of Pembroke for murder, and also of the business concerning Friends in the House of Commons. He writes :

Your Friends seem to have succeeded well in the last week, before the Committee of the House of Commons, as to being distinguished from Papists, and it is hoped that if the House sit long enough to perfect that business, they will find ways of exempting them from the penalties of the laws made against those that in no degree resemble them ; nevertheless I find many Parliament men very bitter upon them in private conversation, as I think without knowing why.

In a letter of Sidney's, dated 31st January, 1678/9, there is a reference to an interesting money transaction with certain Friends.⁸ He writes :

Gerard Roberts who was to have paid me £297 10 0 the 16th of April last, has dealt very vilely with me, and Will : Mead and John Osgood who have the management of his business, not at all better, and to say the truth I having forborne to trouble him for my mony at Wm Penn's desire, as his friend and a man of exceeding good repute, amongst those of his own profession, could not find more niggling, shifting, cavilling, and indeed downright lying and knavery from the men of the worst repute in London, than I do from all three of them, and particularly Mead and Osgood are much more inclinable to cast unjust reproaches upon Wm Penn, than to do me the justice he adviseth, which, together with what is suspected of John Swinton, and hath fallen out with some others, will much impair the credit those of your profession have hitherto had.

Sidney goes on to deal with what is expected of the new Parliament, and writes :

⁸ The reference to this money transaction is omitted in the second edition of the Letters, published in 1847.

It is generally thought, men will be chosen everywhere that are averse to the Court, but some think those may come in who are more favourable to non-conformists, but I do not, seeing the same spirit still rules, that is as full of bitterness towards them as ever. I am

Your truly affectionate friend,

AL. SIDNEY.

Other letters refer to the best course of business to pursue as a consequence of the war, and the investment of money for Algernon Sidney's friends outside England for safety.

On 9th March, 1678/9, he again refers to the business with Roberts, Osgood and Meade. He writes :

The business of G. Roberts is certainly naught in all extremity, and the reputation Mead and Osgood had in your Society will make it prove of more prejudice unto the whole, than the gain they can be of advantage unto themselves. All that I now expect is, by W. Penn his interposition to get my money with the loss of three or four score pounds, and to be paid I know not when.

Other letters refer to the printing of a book, the Act for restraining the press being expired. And also the purchase of horses for the Earl of Essex.

Sidney, on his death in 1682, bequeathed to Benjamin Furly a large silver drinking cup, about eight inches in height. This was in the possession of Dr. T. Forster, of Walthamstow, as late as 1830.

It would be interesting to know what effect these friendships had on those who so rigorously persecuted Friends in this period. It would certainly not help to ease the persecution at all.

Locke, while in Holland, was making the acquaintance of the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III., and also the Duke of Monmouth. He was suspected of sending to England treasonable literature; his theology and philosophy and politics were all suspected. Algernon Sidney was indicted for plotting against the King, and was beheaded on Tower Hill, 7th December, 1682. The third Lord Shaftesbury, also friendly with Furly and a constant correspondent, was also a suspect at Court.

These relationships would be known by all in power; the system of spies and informers was too well developed for this to be otherwise. We know that the insurrection led by the Duke of Monmouth exercised Friends a good

deal in Essex, and certificates had to be signed and attested by churchwardens, overseers, etc., to show that Friends were in nowise concerned against the King. Church and State were then more closely allied than ever since, and it would need very little to lend colour to the idea that Quakers as such were desirous of overthrowing the Stuart throne, especially as many of the rank and file of Friends had been in the army of Cromwell.

Whether this be so or not, it is very likely that the kindness shown by Dutch Friends to Locke and Shaftesbury whilst exiles, helped to minimise the persecution when once William of Orange became King of England.

CHARLES R. SIMPSON.

London.

Benjamin Furly and his Library

THE catalogue of Benjamin Furly's library, a copy of which is in D., and another copy of which is in the British Museum, shows Furly to have been a very large collector of books and rare MSS. The letters, preserved in the British Museum, between John Locke and Furly show that he used his friends in the work of collecting.

Some account of Furly and his Library is given in the Memoirs of Zacharias Von Uffenbach, who visited Rotterdam in 1710; he had been a classmate, at Halle, of Justus Falkner, one of the early German Quietists in Pennsylvania, and later was attorney for Furly.¹

He writes :

On the morning of November 21st [1710] we went Op Te-Haaring Vliet to visit Benj. Furley an English Merchant, who was the chief of the Quakers in Holland, and possesses an enormous stock of books, mainly *suspectæ fidei*; he lives in a very fine house, and is a man of about seventy years of age, and of peculiar actions [sonderbaren Wesen].

We were ushered into his *comptoir* as it was called, but this appeared more like a library or museum than a mercantile counting house, as the

¹ See *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, vol. i.

walls were shelved and covered with books to the number of at least four thousand. They were mostly on Theological subjects, of the *suspectæ fidei* order, and appear to be well suited to Mr. Benjamin Furly's taste, who is a paradoxical and peculiar man, who soon gave us to understand that he adhered to no special religion.

Unfortunately we were not permitted to examine any of his books except the original manuscript of the *Liber Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, edited by Limborch, and this work only after earnest and repeated solicitation.

It proved to be a codex membranaceus in folio constans folios 203 and was neatly and plainly written. This was indeed a great curiosity, especially as it was found in the possession of a non-catholic. This was further instanced by the actions of the former Bishop of Utrecht, who upon that account doubted its authenticity and sent a clerical to compare Limborch's edition with this original. Mr. Furly would not permit this examination until the above clerical assured him that if he found the two works to agree, he would so certify to the fact officially over his hand and seal; this was done and it is now pasted on the cover of the volume (1710).²

I thought I should die from impatience, and although I repeatedly referred to the subjects of his books, and begged him to show us some of the rarest and most curious of the collection, the man was so excited that he failed to notice my request.

We were astounded that this man, a merchant, should be so well versed in Latin, Hebrew, etc., the more so as he formerly had no means at his disposal, and had only acquired them here of late. We complained that on account of his extended discourse we had failed to obtain an insight to his literary treasures, but even this hint failed and proved to be of no avail.

In his personal appearance, continues Uffenbach, Benjamin Furly is, as we had pictured him to be, an old, tall, lean, serious man who, although it was already cold and chilly, went about in a thin threadbare

² The Latin title of this work is given in the *Bibliotheca Furliana*. Translated it reads as follows: "Book of Maxims beautifully written on parchment, and bound between two wooden leaves; the autograph itself is written; and everywhere it is subscribed in the hand of the clerks at the inquisition, beginning only with the year of Christ 1607 [and going] as far as 1622; and by undoubted indications it is agreed to be the original manuscript derived from the archives of the Inquisition of Toulouse. The maxims themselves, as far as can be gathered from the resemblance of the handwriting, are written in the hand of Peter of Clav. . . . down to the eighth discourse, which begins fol. 97. The remainder of the book down to the end, is in the hand of William Julian; James Marquette has written beneath the Maxims almost throughout; [it is] the rarest book of all rarest ones, and of the highest possible price."

The original manuscript was bought in by John Furly at the sale of his father's library, and afterwards sold to Archbishop Secker, who presented it to the British Museum, where it now remains. It was translated into English and published by Samuel Chandler, London, 1731. A copy of this translation can be seen at the Ridgway branch of the Philadelphia Library.

gray coat ; around his head he wore a band of black velvet, as he stated for the purpose of keeping his hairs from coming on his face when writing.³

After the death of Furlly his great library was catalogued and sold at auction, commencing 22nd October, 1714, and lasting until the 27th.

An interleaved catalogue, evidently used by the family, is in the British Museum, and contains manuscript notes giving the numbers of each lot, the price obtained, and the name of the purchaser.

The following are specimens of the prices paid for Quaker literature :

1017. Katherine Evans and Sarah Chevers, Account of Sufferings, Lond. 1663	}	£	s.	d.
1018. Arise Evans, Voice from Heaven, 1653		5	0	0
1019. George Fox, Journal, 2 vol., Lond. 1709				
1037-1044. Eight works by George Keith, London, 1675-1699		1	0	0
611. Penn and Whitehead, Christian Quaker, 1674, folio		2	2	0
587. Robert Barclay, Works, 1692, folio		5	0	0

In all, the library consisted of 4430 lots, divided as to subjects in the following proportions :

SUBJECT.	NO. OF LOTS.	PRICE REALISED.		
		£	s.	d.
Theologia	2177	1823	4	0
Historia Ecclesiastica ..	250	1421	17	0
Historia Profana	586	738	13	0
Philosophia	377	346	12	0
Grammatica	249	265	18	0
Miscellanei	401	403	4	0
Manuscripti	39	52	11	0
Praetermissi & Omissi ..	208	1160	9	0
Curiositates	60	1367	19	0
Libri Incompacti	83	58	12	0
	<hr/> 4430 <hr/>	<hr/> £7638 <hr/>	19	0

³ Quoted by Julius Friedrich Sachse, *Benjamin Furlly, English Merchant of Rotterdam*, pp. 18ff. 1895.

Among the buyers was Jacob Claus, a prominent Dutch Friend, who bought a large number of Quaker and mystical works. He afterwards sold to Thomas Story a portion to the value of about £48; most of which, however, was lost at sea.†

It is interesting to note the large number of works on mysticism that Furlly had collected, and which in all probability had been used in the literary circle of which he was the centre. The works of Jacob Behmen were numerous, one set of twelve volumes selling for £15 15s. Here, too, were the works of Dell, Everard, Saltmarsh, Tauler, Giles Randall, Erbury, Chillingworth, and many others.

There was also a copy of Moses Amyraldi's *Defensio Doctrinae Jo. Calvinii de absoluta Reprobatione*. The author was the principal at the French College where William Penn studied after leaving Oxford, and who, with Thomas Loe, had no doubt greatly influenced him towards the idea of a universal salvation as against the doctrines of election and reprobation.

London.

CHARLES R. SIMPSON.

† See MS. inserted in a copy of Thomas Story's *Journal*, in D., with the following endorsement:

"Inventory of Books, &c.—Jacob Claus. Great part of these were lost at Sea sent in the vessell with Jn^o Padly, who Escaped by particular Providence."

Referring to a recent conference at Arch Street, Philadelphia, an editorial in *The Westonian*, First Month, runs: "It was not the way of our fathers, but it had in view no other end than that which our fathers strove for, and were they here, facing our problems and our conditions, we have little doubt but that they would have commended the Meeting and would have had their faith renewed."

It is a little-regarded truth that the act of the passing generation is the germ which may and must produce good or evil fruit in a far-distant time; that together with the seed of the merely temporary crop, which mortals term expediency, they inevitably sow the acorns of a more enduring growth, which may darkly overshadow their posterity.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, *The House of the Seven Gables*, chap. i.

Visions of John Adam, 1712

A BRIEF account of some remarkable visions and passages of John Adam^r of Yorkshire a little before and in the time of his travels in Holland and Germany, supposed to be in the 2nd and 3rd months, 1712.

I the said John Adam having drawings on my spirit to go to Holland on truth's service I was under reasonings of mind before I could give up thereto, considering my want of qualifications to go to a people of a strange language, but in some time I received encouragement in a dream or vision of the night season, in substance as follows :

I was in my vision in a very pleasant delightful plain where I was filled with heavenly enjoyments, and in a little time beheld a bright appearance approaching as a man but exceeding glorious beyond what I can express ; and the nearer he drew to me the more my heart was filled with love to him and also with holy admiration, reverence, and fear, and when he came nigh he spake unto me, saying :—" Wilt thou go with me and preach the Gospel in Holland." To which I answered, " I think myself very unworthy and unqualified to undertake so great a work, yet if thou please to accompany me with thy sweet and comfortable presence as I now enjoy it, I dare not deny thee." He said, " Thy request is granted, fail not to do it," whereupon I awoke with the evidence that it was the Lord Jesus Christ who had appeared unto me, and therefore I freely gave up and made ready for my journey.

^r John Adam (c. 1674-1731) lived at Welwick, in the Holderness district of Yorkshire. He commenced preaching at about twenty-five years of age and travelled in the British Islands, Holland and Germany. Some autobiographical references to Adam's earlier experiences are recorded by John Kelsall in his *Diaries*, under date 1730 (v. 210-213, MS. in D.), the writer concluding with the remark, " He seemed a very plain innocent man."

There are several copies of these Visions among MSS. in D. The matter here printed from a manuscript supplied by Edwin Fayle, of Dublin, appeared in *The Irish Friend*, iv. (1841), 150.

Accordingly I went to Hull, intending directly from thence to go to Amsterdam, and found that several ships were ready and putting out to sea for that port, but I was so seized with horror and darkness and as it were death, that I could not go on board any of them, seeing no way to escape destruction if I so went, but there being some other ships bound for London I was more easy to go in one of them than in any of those bound for Holland; tho' that also seemed dim and afflicting, yet there appeared a little glimmering of light, and it came to pass that the first night after we were at sea, after a time of calm, there arose a storm which increased so that the waves beat into and over the ship, besides which about midnight another distressed vessel came full upon us, fastened to ours whereby both were like to sink and perish together, and four men of that ship were cast thence by the waves into our ship and so saved, but after some time the ship loosed or broke from ours and passing athwart our stern sunk, and all therein perished, the shrieks of the people were very dismal and piercing to us, but through good Providence we got safe to London, and here I met my companion Joseph Richardson² and from thence we had a good passage to Holland. It is also to be noted as a very remarkable signal that the ships which had set out from Hull directly for Holland (in one of which I had purposed to have gone, had not Providence miraculously preserved me) were all lost the same night, being nine or ten in number, and the People perished.

We landed at Helvetsluice and traveled through Holland to Fredrickstadt in Germany where that night I had a vision as follows:—I thought I was standing alone in a large plain wherein for a time no other living creature appeared, after which I saw some appearance at a distance advancing gradually towards me and as it came nigh me a living sense arose in my heart that it was the Devil and also a caution or warning to me to prepare for war; so he came up, and stood, as I suppose, within ten yards distance off me in figure of a mighty giant or greater than any such I have read of, his raiment (if any) and colour

² Joseph Richardson (c. 1648-1717) lived at Brigg in Lincolnshire. He accompanied John Adam to Ireland in 1710. He was also in Ireland in 1716. See *The Journal*, v. 179, x. 174, 216.

was black and shining, his eyes dreadful, and on his head as it were a crown of moving fire, his aspect grim and frightful, but I was not at all afraid of him ; after a while he spoke to this effect :—“ So, John, thou hast got here.” “ Yes,” said I, “ I have got here.” “ More shame and contempt,” says he. “ Why so ? ” said I. He said, “ Because thou art led by a wrong spirit, and fled from thy reputation ; thy business and concerns which thou hast left behind are made wreck of and are become a dismal reproach in the country thereabouts, the religious people are filled with mourning and sorrow of heart, and the more loose sort shake their heads and hiss, ‘ This is he that pretends to inspiration, now we see the bottom of him that he is a deceiver.’ ” I said that I did not believe him nor his doctrine, for I apprized who he was, and beside I knew I left all things at home to my own satisfaction, and also my freinds committing them to that good hand which always provided for me and is with me still, therefore, “ I would have thee desist for I believe thee not.” “ Oh,” said he, “ thou art hard, but I will convince thee before I have done, for thou readest out of the mouth of two or three witnesses everything shall be established.” “ I grant it,” said I, “ with a proviso that those two or three witnesses are credible ones but if thou bringest two or three hundred there are none of them worth believing.” Then said he, “ The main reason why things are so is thy wife that used to be at the helm in thy business is dead, and this is not the first time thou hast been deceived in such undertakings, but the Lord being long suffering did not bring this judgement upon thee until now.” So being silent a while I saw at a distance something sliding along the ground, which, when it came nigh, appeared to be a coffin, and settled with the head towards me, the lid whereof opened of its own accord, so that I saw an appearance really and personally of my wife’s corpse, but a caution arose in my heart touch not the dead nor believe the living. Then said I to the enemy, “ It is but like the second part of the same tune, prithee, who was the master of all the Magicians of Egypt, it was thyself, and I suppose thou art no less cunning now, wherefore I believe thee no more than before, how came it to pass thou should make appearance of great things falsly

which the Almighty was pleased to do really for the confirmation of his people and confounding their enemies, ye could not all make a Louse." To which being silent, I told him they were permitted to do great things, yet it pleased the Almighty to shew that he could confound them in so small a thing, to which he made no answer. After some time of silence I saw afar off an appearance like a man which drawing near to me was so great a resemblance of a neighbour of mine who lived with me some years as a servant and behaved himself faithfully that not duly regarding the caution given me not to believe the living, I said in my heart, "Here comes my neighbour Thomas who being directly from home will tell me truly," and when he came nigh, I said, "So, Thomas, how dost thou do, and how do my wife, relations, and affairs at home?" He answered with seeming gravity and solemnity confirming what the enemy had said before with great illustration desiring me for the Lord's sake and for my own soul's sake and reputation to return home, and he said he had faith to believe that if I returned home speedily I might with his assistance which he would give me together with others retrieve and bring things to a degree of reputable order before I died; "but," said he, "if thou dost not comply with my advice and believe the foregoing testimonies, there is nothing for thee but Hell and damnation."

Whereupon I waked under a sense of horror, afflicting my companion, and prepared myself to hasten homewards, but in the interval a messenger came to the door with a letter to my companion Joseph Richardson which I stayed to hear read, the conclusion whereof gave an account of the welfare of my Wife and family, friends, relations, and affairs at home, whereby I was relieved in my mind and confirmed I was in my place, and that it was Satan by transformation who had so deceived and distressed me, and then I resigned to stay to do what service the Lord had for me in those parts.

"I feel," the poet wrote to a friend, "that love is victorious, that there is no dark it cannot light, no depth it cannot reach."

John G. Whittier, by E. E. Taylor, 1914.

Elizabeth Jacob, of Limerick, 1675-1739

AMONG the many names occurring in the article, "Friends Travelling in Ireland," which appeared in the last volume of THE JOURNAL, is that of Elizabeth Jacob, of whom the following particulars have been gleaned from various sources.¹

Elizabeth Jacob was the daughter of Thomas and Agnes Head, and was born at Ardee, co. Louth, Ireland. Her parents being Friends, she was educated in Quakerly fashion, partly in Dublin and also in England. Her first appearance as a Minister was in 1697. Two years later she married Richard Jacob, of Limerick (1666-1725), and removed to that city. In 1701, she travelled as a preacher in the North of England and later visits to the sister island took place in 1705, 1711, 1712, and 1729, her companion in some cases being Abigail Craven.²

The return of her companion and herself from Wales in 1712, after eight months' absence, is referred to in the above-named article. From the city of Worcester, on the 5th of Ninth Month, 1712, E. Jacob wrote *An Epistle in True Love, containing a Farewell Exhortation to Friends Families*, which the Author desired should be read in "Monthly and Quarterly Meetings throughout this Nation of England."³ A gloomy view is taken of the religious conditions prevailing at this time: "the spirit of the world, pride, and covetousness, fleshly ease, and self interest mightily obstruct the prosperity of Truth in the earth."

By the kindness of Elizabeth Jacob's descendant, Henry W. Jacob, M.A., M.D., of Great Malvern, we are able to print the following extracts from a book of

¹ MS. Testimony in D.; Leadbeater's *Biog. Notices*; Rutty's *History*; etc.

² For this Friend, see note on p. 81.

³ It would be interesting to know how far such a comprehensive request was complied with. Editions of this *Epistle* were printed in London in 1712, Dublin 1756, Waterford 1787, and Stockport 1816.

records of the Jacob family compiled by Robert Jacob, b. 1789, great-grandson of Isaac Jacob, and also a letter from E. Jacob to her son, Isaac Jacob, from Holland :

Richard Jacob of the Irishtown, Limerick, Cutler, 2nd son of Richard and Joane Jacob, was born 3rd mo. 7, 1666, at Halberton, near Exeter, Devonshire ; he was married in Dublin 7th mo. 12th, 1699, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas & Agnes Head of Ardee in the County of Louth, born 2nd 25th 1675 and they had issue viz :—an only son Isaac, born in Limerick 1st mo. 30, 1703.⁴

Richard Jacob, the father, died in Waterford 1st mo. 10, 1725 at his son's house, aged 59 years, wanting two months.

Elizabeth Jacob, the mother, an eminent minister of the Gospel, by whose ministry many were convinced, died at her son Isaac's house in Waterford 11th mo. 30, 1739. Aged 64 years & 9 months.

The following note occurs in the handwriting of Joseph Jacob :

My grandfather Richard Jacob continued in Limerick until about the year 1722, when he removed himself and wife to this city of Waterford (his only son my father having been settled here a little before on the death of his uncle, Joseph Jacob), he continued in this city until his death in the year 1725.

Elizabeth Jacob to her son Isaac Jacob (spelling modernised for the most part) :

Dear Isaac

Rotterdam y^e 21 of y^e 5mo.
1729.

This serves to acquaint thee and all my good friends that on y^e 16 of this instant we took shipping at Yemouth [?Yarmouth] near 7 in y^e morning and by the Lord's good providence landed here y^e next evening, having had a rough but quick passage. I was exceeding sick for near 30 hours, so that after I came to land I had lost my voice for two days, but through mercy am now bravely recovered. My companion⁵ got cold & was a little more sick than she was coming from Ireland. We are now at our friend — Jarred's, where I met with thy acceptable letter, part of it bearing date y^e 18 of 4^m and y^e other part y^e 23, the latter bringing the acceptable news of thy being recovered, the which was cause of joy and thankfulness to thy poor exercised mother. I also observe thou hath answered my bill, which I take kindly and am obliged to

⁴ Isaac Jacob married, firstly, Rebecca Penrose. She died in 1728, and in 1732 he married Susanna, daughter of Samuel and Susanna (Nicholson) Watson of Kilconner.

⁵ Susanna Morris (c. 1682-1755) was E. J.'s companion in Holland. In the Book of Jacob there is a letter from S. M. to Isaac Jacob, dated at Amsterdam, 19th of Sixth Month, 1729.

In a letter from the same source, Isaac Jacob to his mother, 7th of Fifth Month, 1729, there is a suggestion that Robert Jordan (1693-1742) of America might accompany E. J. to Holland.

thee for thy liberality in expressing thy readiness still to serve truth and me. I hope and believe y^e Lord will abundantly reward thee for it I hope even in this life.

I now shall proceed to give thee an account of our entrance in to this great city. We were directed by our friends the Gurneys to this friend's house. Both the man and his wife received us courteously. His wife is a good minister, and hath been long a suffering soul here. She is the great merchant Hope's own sister and he came to see us and behaved very courteously. Yesterday being first day we had two meetings. Y^e morning was very small, but y^e afternoon several of y^e townspeople came in and behaved soberly. I had a pretty close service amongst them and got my mind pretty easy, thanks be to God for it. Here is very few that bears y^e name of Quakers and less that deserves it, the more is the pity, friends' children both here and in England many of them being gone off. We had no need of an interpreter here, which was a great comfort to me, but on y^e 24 of this instant we intend to set forward towards Harlam, another great city, where we are to meet y^e friend which is to interpret for us, for there is no other meeting in this nation, which can understand us without one. Friends tell me here that I speak so clear and distinct that it will be no difficulty to interpret for me. The Lord grant it may be made easy to me for my poor mind have been sorely afflicted about it this long time.

This is a very low country and full of water, but seems to be neatly improved, but we have seen little of it, only friend Hope send his coach for his sister and us to a country seat he has a little way out of y^e city, where his wife met us and treated us with tea and fine fruit, which was a great refreshment to me. When we reach Amsterdam, which will be I hope 6 days hence, there I intend to write again a more full account. We are indifferent well at present as to our health. I heartily desire this may find thee perfectly recovered as to bodily health, and above all that y^e Lord may favour thee with his divine blessings, often replenishing thy soul with his celestial rain, that thereby thou may be kept fresh, green and living before him. My heart in much brokenness is often poured out in supplication unto the Lord in thy behalf, that in blessing he may bless thee and multiply his mercies upon thee every day and every way, and that if we should never meet in this uncertain world, we may so walk in a faithful obedience to his will, that our lot may be in that glorious city, where y^e wicked shall for ever cease from troubling and our poor souls shall be in eternal freedom and liberty, for ever to praise y^e Lord God and y^e Lamb, who is eternally worthy, saith my soul. I shall now leave thee to him which hath hitherto helped both thee and me through many difficulties, still desiring the continuance of thy prayers for my help and preservation, and that, if it be y^e Lord's will, we may see each other again to our mutual comfort in y^e interim. Accept of true love and paternal [*sic*] affection from thy poor mother

ELIZABETH JACOB.

Please to greet me dearly to brother and sister with all y^e children and all y^e Mores with Cousin Harris' wife and family with Aunt Diniss,

and in thy next let me hear if y^e glass-works proves well, and how things in general are amongst you. Give my love to Francis Anslow & wife, with Seelys and all y^e rest of friends, servants and neighbours. I wrote to brother Penros & forgot to date it, pray excuse it. Robert Wickam was writ [to] two or three days after. I think to write to cousin H. Harris some time hence. My companion's dear love is to thee, she hath a letter from her husband and her family is all well. When this comes to hand direct for me as thou did the last to this city.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Abigail Craven (c. 1684-1752), daughter of ——— and Dorothy Craven, afterwards Boles (or Bowles), and Watson, began her public ministry while on a visit to England with Elizabeth Jacob in 1712. The date of her marriage with John Boles⁶ does not appear—she was Abigail *Boles* in 1724, nor do we find the date of her marriage with Samuel Watson—in 1733 she was Abigail Boles, widow, and in 1735 she is described as “Abigail Watson *formerly Boles*.” It appears that by her marriage with Samuel Watson she became step-mother-in-law to Isaac Jacob, the son of her old companion in travel, he having married S.W.'s daughter by his first marriage. She was five times in England and once in America on Truth's service.

In “Some Account” of Abigail Watson, written after her decease by her husband (MS. in D. ; it is really only a record of her feelings during the last few months of her life), we read, “She found no engagement to travel abroad during the year before she died . . . but said, she found her Work was done, and nothing in her way. . . . God had been with her all her Life Long, and Now, I shall sing, sing, sing.”⁷

⁶ The following occurs in Elizabeth Jacob's letter to her husband, dated 21st Third Month, 1713, from Woodhouse, “Came to this place to see John Boles and found him pretty cheerful, yet his recovery seems very doubtful, but if it be the Lord's will, he can effect in his time. I thought of a meeting at Cashel this day, but John desires it might be here, which I have consented to, and in the evening at Clonmel and in the morning I desire to Dungarvan, and to have a meeting there and so to Cork to the Quarterly Meeting, and I hope after home as quick as possible.” (“Book of Jacob.”)

⁷ This reminds us of an anecdote recently told by a North of England Friend, who, in his youth, when walking to the Meeting House, which was opposite the Wesleyan Chapel, was overtaken by the Wesleyan minister, and thus addressed: “Come in with us to-day. You'll have to sing in Heaven, you may as well learn now.”

Samuel Watson (1686-1762) was the son of John Watson (1651-1710), who, with his father, crossed to Ireland as a Planter, in 1658. The family home was Kilconner, co. Carlow. Samuel Watson married firstly Susanna Nicholson (d. 1726), and thirdly Deborah, widow of Henry Fuller and daughter of John Barcroft.

MS. Test. in D.; MS. Journal of Mary Weston in D.; *Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill*; *Life of Jane Hoskens*; *Smith's Catalogue*, i. 62; *Leadbeater's Biog. Notices*; Watson and other MSS. in D.; THE JOURNAL, x.

The following allusions to Abigail Craven, *aft.* Bowles, in the Book of Jacob have been sent us by the kindness of Dr. Jacob :

(a) RICHARD JACOB to ELIZABETH JACOB:—Limerick, 16th of 1st mo. 1711. "Dority received Aby's letter and desires me to inform Aby that she is very well."

Postscript to above:—"Dear Mother, I am very well & my dear love is to thee and to Abigail. This is all from thy affectionate son,
"ISAAC JACOB."

(b) ELIZABETH KAY to ELIZABETH JACOB:—London, the 28th of 6th mo. 1711. "Dear Friend and Sister, after the salutation once more to thee and thy husband with companion A. C. and all my friends."

(c) ELIZABETH JACOB to RICHARD JACOB:—Hull, the 30th of 4th mo. 1712. "I had a letter from Henry Gouldney last week with one from Isaac in it, who made a groundless complaint of me and my dear companion of our not writing in two month's time, which I hope before this comes to hand will be taken out of the way, so shall not say much of it, knowing our clearness."

Postscript to above:—"My companion's dear love is to her mother and you all."

(d) RICHARD JACOB to ELIZABETH JACOB:—Limerick, 18th of 5th mo. 1712. "We are all much as when thou left us; so is Dority and hath her dear love to Abigail. . . . Susanna Moody hath long expected a letter from Abigail; she desires to be remembered to you both. Ben Craven was here about ten days ago and was well. My dear love to thy companion, our dear friend."

Postscript to above:—"Dear Mother, I am glad to hear that thee and my cousin Abigail are well. . . . I am with very dear love to thee and dear Abigail. . . . I am thy son, ISAAC." (Direction: "for Daniel Abraham att Swarthmoor neer Ovston [Ulverston], in Lancashire, England, for Elizabeth Jacob.")

(e) ELIZABETH JACOB to RICHARD JACOB:—"Liverpool, 25th of 6th mo. 1712. Give my kind love to Dorothy and let her know her daughter is well."

(f) BENJAMIN HOLME to ELIZABETH JACOB :—“ Fairfield, 1st of 7th mo. 1712. Give my love kindly to thy companion. I believe she is so exemplary in her conduct that she gives a good savour to many. I would have her to be encouraged.”

(g) Postscript to letter from ELIZABETH JACOB to RICHARD JACOB : “ Dublin 11th of 3rd mo. 1713. . . . Please to give my dear love to mother and Dorothy ; tell her Abay is well.”

(h) ELIZABETH JACOB to RICHARD JACOB :—“ Woodhouse, 21st of 3rd mo. 1713. Please to give my love to Dorothy and tell her her daughter is well. A. C. dear love is to her mother and friends.”

(i) MARY RUSSELL to ELIZABETH JACOB :—“ Tottenham, 9th of 8th mo. 1713. . . . Please to give my dear love to thy husband and little son, though unknown, I love them for thy sake, so shall conclude with the salutation of my very dear love to thyself and dear A. C., who I believe will be concerned for my great loss.”

(j) ELIZABETH GOULDNEY to ELIZABETH JACOB :—London, 1st of 12th mo. 1713. “ Greet me with much love, nearness and true affection to A. C. Tell her my cries and supplications cease not to the High and Holy one, on her behalf, as I hope her’s doth not on mine. Dear W. Penn we think gains some ground of his distemper, he is and hath been all along very sweet in his spirit and his company very edifying.”

(k) HENRY GOULDNEY to ELIZABETH JACOB :—“ London 1st of 10th mo. 1713. Pray give us some account of dear A. Craven, how it is with her, and if she grows in a service, to be sure, if she dont neglect her gift but gives up in obedience, there is a good work for her to do.”

(l) HENRY GOULDNEY to ELIZABETH JACOB :—“ London 20th 5th mo. 1714. It pleaseth me when I hear of thy welfare and many good services thou art heartily engaged about, and methinks I still would hope, when the acceptable time comes, thou will be enabled to give up, and with thy dear companion, honest Abigail, wilt make us another visit, that she may be an help-meet with thee in thy exercise and travails, and if it would not strip thy dear husband too much, that thy beloved Isaac accompanied thee also, who I understand grows bravely and is in good esteem ; it would be a comfortable visit, which thine ever was, to friends generally.”

(m) ABIGAIL CRAVEN to ISAAC JACOB :—London, 15th of 4th mo. 1717. “ Dear Isaac, Thou hast been often in my remembrance, with desires for thy preservation from all those hurtful things which youth is prone to, that thou may be kept in thy innocency and simplicity, which truth leads to, remembering thy Creator now in the days of thy youth. . . . Think nothing of thy learning, for it signifies nothing to making thee a wise scholar in Christ’s school, but learn of Him who is meek and low, so thou may find rest to thy soul, if thou art willing to take his yoke upon thee, which with desire it may be so, I rest thy loving friend and well-wisher,
ABIGAIL CRAVEN.

“ My companion’s love is to thee.”

Truth's Affairs in America, 1709

4 mo. 17th 1709: Thomas Chalkley's Brief Account of Truth's Affaires in America, but more p^ticularly of Pensilvania.

Truth prospers in the General, in a blessed manner, the f^rriends of it are in love and Unity one with another, it has great Credit amongst those of the best fashion and highest Rank, and its loved Received & Jmbraced by many of y^e poor (the Lord our God be praised) a Good spring of Disciplin and wholesom order is Growing and Jncreasing in y^e American Quarter of y^e World (among friends) viz^t in Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, the Jarseys, and in some parts of New England, p^ticularly Road-Island, in all w^{ch} provinces there are some large meetings of friends, but Especially in Pensilvania, in this Province there are 30 setled meetings, and above Twenty Meeting houses, most of y^e largest Built of Brick, and Stone, here are also a Great many young people w^{ch} have been bro^t up in Plainness, and Industry, and are not acquainted with the Corruptions of the Times, and Almighty God is concerning faithfull Elders on their behalfe, y^t they might be Nortured & bro^t up in y^e fear of y^e Lord God, and in y^e faith of Christ.

As to Philadelphia, the Chief City in this Province, there are two large Meets^s therein, and a large Remnant of faithfull friends, But some of our youth as in other Cityes are too apt to Run out into pride and Extravagant Trading, which wounds and brings Barrenness on y^e soul, and Grieves the faithfull, who are concerned to warr agst^t it, here is no Tithes in this province soe no sufferings on y^t account, But in Maryland friends bear a faithfull Testimony agst^t y^e Hireling Priests, Friends in those parts of y^e World Generally bear a living Testimoney agst^t all manner of outward War, there are no manner of Preparations for it in this province, and not with standing the Enemy on one hand and y^e Jndians on y^e other

yet there hath not been any Warr or Bloodshed in this province, since it hath been settled by friends, w^{ch} hath been in y^e other Provinces, soe y^t friends have good cause to be faithfull in y^t Noble Testimony & peaceable Principle of not meddleing with, nor learning warr, w^{ch} tends to y^e Destroying men and Countrys, and in the maine it may truly be said that Truth prevails in a good degree in this Quarter of y^e World, and y^e blessing of y^e most high is among his people, w^{ch} is life for ever more in w^{ch} divers are Raised Audably to bless and praise the Lord for all his mercies, who in Christ is worthy forever.

From the Minutes of London Y.M. iv. 65.

How Elizabeth Pike Outwitted the Highwayman

YEARS ago, before the days of railroads, one stormy night, an Irish woman Friend—Elizabeth Pike¹—the wife of a well-known banker, was travelling by stage-coach up to Dublin. The only other occupant of the compartment was a man. Suddenly the vehicle stopped and an altercation was heard outside. The man exclaimed “Robbers! I have three hundred pounds, and will put it into my boot where it will not be seen.” He just had time to do so when the door was torn open and a clumsy gun was pointed at them, accompanied by a demand for money. “I have none,” said the man. “Yes thou hast some, because I saw thee put three hundred pounds into thy boot just a moment ago,” interposed Elizabeth Pike. The crestfallen victim had to pass over the money, the coach door was banged to, and they proceeded on their way.

The unhappy man was loud in his denunciation of his fellow-traveller the rest of the journey. But she held her peace. The next morning he very early received a communication from her, at his hotel, enclosing three hundred pounds and explaining that she at the time of the adventure was sitting on six thousand pounds in banknotes and had acted as she had to protect the larger sum.

For quick mother wit that is hard to beat. But it would seem to prove that if people are opposed to lying and physical violence they have to use their brains instead, and that is much better.

WILLIAM C. ALLEN, in *The Westonian*, 11 mo., 1913.

¹ Perhaps the Friend of that name mentioned in Leadbeater's *Biographical Notices* (c. 1726-1797), *née* Pim, wife of Joseph Pike, of Dublin.

Proposed New and Complete Edition of the Journal of John Woolman

THE publication of an edition of the *Journal of John Woolman*, faithfully following the text of the original manuscript which has recently become accessible, must be of interest to all Friends, and to many others. Of the three copies, all of them in the author's own hand, the two earlier are deposited at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, and the third and final manuscript is owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. All three have been deposited by descendants of the Journalist. John Woolman evidently copied for the printer the rough drafts of the earliest sheets, not long before he sailed for London in 1772. His accounts books, of which there are two, bear silent evidence of the care and forethought which led him to settle all his worldly affairs with scrupulous exactness before setting out on that journey from which there was to be no return.

Many editions of Woolman's *Journal* have been published, some of them of very recent date, but it is a striking fact that not since 1837 has there been any attempt to collate the printed text with the original manuscript. This was done by John Comly in that year. Neither he nor his predecessors, however, ventured to follow the original text, although his name does not appear upon the title page; but their daring omissions and the verbal commonplaces which they inserted reduced the simple and vivid phrase to something less vital. With it all, the famous *Journal* yet remains a model of direct and simple style despite the fact that entire pages and paragraphs, carefully copied out in Woolman's very clear and fair hand for publication, have been entirely omitted—in one edition, an entire chapter! Some of the omissions deal with such interesting subjects as inoculation and the law, while two are remarkable dreams, one of them at the age of *eight*.

The Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia proposes to print a final edition of the famous *Journal*, which will closely follow the original text, accompanied by biographical notes of each person named. Letters and manuscripts of Woolman are very rare. His "A.B.C." book, or Primer for children, of which there were three editions, the first probably about 1769, has disappeared.¹ It is a rare little paper-covered thing, possibly not more than three or four inches in length, and very valuable. A copy is much desired. Anyone who owns or knows of the existence of such material will perform a real service to the Society in its efforts to set forth the work with accuracy, and do fuller justice to the hitherto little-known personal life of John Woolman, by communicating with

AMELIA M. GUMMERE,
Haverford, Penna.

An Atlantic Crossing in 1726

In *The Life and Travels of Samuel Bownas*, 1756, p. 136, we read :

"I left my home the 22d day of the Tenth Month, 1726, to Pool, being to take shipping there, but the ship was not quite ready; and when it was ready, the wind being against us, were obliged to stay there about five weeks, so I had sundry satisfactory opportunities both amongst Friends and others.

"All being ready and the wind fair, we set sail the 24th of Eleventh Month with a fair wind and pleasant weather, which carried us a considerable distance off the land; but it held but three days and then it was very contrary hard winds after that, which made me very sick and other ways out of order. . . . We had a very long and tedious passage, being eleven weeks and two days upon the sea, from land to land, and on the fourteenth of the Second Month 1727 we landed at Hampton, otherwise Kickatan, in Virginia."

¹ This statement may be true as regards America, there is a copy of the third edition in D. [ED.]

Friends in Current Literature

REVIEWERS have differed considerably in their estimate of W. Teignmouth Shore's *John Woolman, His Life and Our Times* (London: Macmillan, 8 by 5½, pp. 273, 5s. net). Most agree in thinking that there is little of "Our Times" in the book, but many interesting and sympathetic sketches of the life and work of Woolman have appeared in periodical papers in consequence of this publication. The following are the closing words of "The Church Times" review of March 13: "Many will be grateful also for the light which is thrown on the beliefs and habits of the Quakers. And it can never be anything else but helpful to read how a man deliberately set himself to follow, as best he knew how, the footsteps of Jesus Christ." We think that what may be termed the historical and descriptive interludes are very valuable. We only regret that we could not, after much search, find in our archives more illustrative matter for the Author.

The Joseph White who is introduced so abruptly on p. 273 is mentioned three times in Woolman's Journal. He lived in Bucks Co., Pennsylvania; began to preach when twenty; visited England in 1758; died 1777, aet. 64. ("Piety Promoted"; Corder's "Memorials"; and other books and MSS. in D.).

The paper by William Charles Braithwaite, read at the Reading Summer School, 1913, entitled *Lessons from Early Quakerism in Reading*, has been issued in pamphlet form (Reading: Poynder, 8½ by 5½, pp. 18).

Jesse Edgerton, of Damascus, Ohio, has issued a volume of his poems under the title, *A Brook by the Way* (8½ by 5½, pp. 222). The book is illustrated with a picture of the Author (1845—), of his home in Damascus, of the old Meeting House at The Ridge, near Barnesville, O., of Stillwater Meeting House (ice-bound), and of the Boarding School at Barnesville when attacked by fire in 1910 and as re-built to-day. Two poems are here reprinted:

AMBROSE BOONE.

1871.

Ambrose Boone, a minister, from Canada, died suddenly at the home of Robert Ellyson, at Middleton, Ohio, Twelfth Month 7th, 1871, while on a religious visit to the Meetings of Ohio Yearly Meeting. His remains were carried to his home in Ontario, Canada.

Fold his hands upon his bosom !
Gently lay the stranger down ;
For the toils of life are ended,
He has won a Heavenly crown !
Stranger friends had gathered round him,
Watching o'er his couch of pain,
As the slender ties that bound him
To the world were cut in twain.

Far from home and all its pleasures,
 From the home he loved so well,
 Earnest in his Christian mission.
 In a foreign land he fell.
 Fell as came the solemn message
 That his work on earth was done,
 Foremost in the path of duty,
 Falling with his armor on.

From beyond the ceaseless surging
 Of Ontario's restless wave,
 Came he in the Master's service,
 With the message that He gave :
 Yet before the task was finished,
 In His boundless love, the Lord
 Called him, may we hope in mercy,
 Home to reap a rich reward.

In that land of fadeless beauty,
 Where the ransomed spirits dwell,
 Where the glory far surpasses
 All that mortal tongue can tell ;
 Now released from pain and sorrow,
 Freed from every doubt and care,
 He, we humbly trust, is mingling
 With the Church Triumphant there.

SILENT WORSHIP.

1886.

I sat among the worshippers,
 The silence was unbroken,
 For not a word of prayer or praise
 By mortal tongue was spoken ;
 The silence, sweet and solemn, fell
 Upon the gathered throng,
 But the gospel's living current
 Flowed precious along,

From vessel unto vessel,
 From prostrate soul to soul ;
 The bowed in spirit felt the power
 Of living virtue roll.
 And waiting in the Master's name
 To know His sovereign will,
 There fell upon the spirit's ear
 The whisper, " Peace, be still."

Ah ! the great Minister was there,
 Dispensing heavenly good,
 Unto the luke-warm ones, reproof,
 Unto the hungry, food ;
 And some who came in poverty,
 Faithless and destitute,
 In this sweet silence felt their faith
 And confidence recruit.

Oh, 'tis a precious privilege,
 With worldly thoughts laid low,
 Silent before the throne of Grace,
 In penitence to bow :
 Oh, 'tis a precious privilege
 To feel, as true, His word,
 That they shall have their strength renewed,
 Who wait upon the Lord !

Oh, gracious God ! a rebel, I
 Against Thy power have striven,
 And yet presume to come to Thee,
 Craving to be forgiven ;
 Then let me humbly bow with those
 Who on Thy mercy call,
 And while they feast grant me the crumbs
 That from Thy table fall.

The latest addition to the series " Friends Ancient and Modern " of the Friends' Tract Association (London) is *John G. Whittier, Poet, Reformer, Mystic*, by Ernest E. Taylor (London: Headley Brothers, and New York: Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, pp. 40, one penny or five cents). This is an admirable production and cheap withal—four illustrations inside and one on the cover, the last-named representing a statuette group of Whittier, Beecher and Garrison interviewing a female slave with infant in arms.

Frank T. Bullen's latest book *From Wheel and Lookout* (London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 7½ by 5, pp. 277, 4s. 6d. net), contains a chapter entitled " A Quaker Mate."

" John Penn " for the mate, and " Brotherly Love " for the vessel, are certainly names Quakerly, but the spirit of the story throughout is anything but that of a peaceable spirit. After an exciting shipwreck, John Penn and his lady love are picked up by a whaling vessel manned by mutineers—in order to protect the lady the Quaker mate first kills the captain and then, " with a swift glance around for firearms, rushed out into the cabin " !

In *The Decorator* for January, there is a full account of the presentation by the Incorporated Institute of British Decorators of the gold medal of the Institute to Metford Warner, a well-known and highly esteemed London Friend, accompanied by a very good portrait and a picture of the medal.

In the *Pembrokeshire County Guardian* there is a column headed " The Pembrokeshire Antiquary." Under this caption are now appearing

Others of the series are George Fox, Elizabeth Fry, Stephen Grellet, Francis Howgill, Joseph B. Braithwaite, Daniel Wheeler, George Whitehead, Margaret Fell, Joseph Sturge, Dr. William Wilson, William Penn, Thomas Ellwood and Richard Hubberthorne. About 104,000 of these biographies have been circulated.

several articles by (Rev.) P. D. Morse of Wolf's Castle, on "The Quakers in Pembrokeshire." In the second article, our late Friend, George Phillips of Haverfordwest (d. 1889, aged sixty-seven), receives warm eulogy. He was born of a Wesleyan family, but he united himself with Friends in 1857, when thirty-six years of age. For long he was the only Friend in the county.

In the *International Journal of Apocrypha*, dated January, there is some account of "A Quaker Translation of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, 1827," prepared by Luke Howard, of Tottenham (1772-1864). These works by Luke Howard are in D., as also his "Book of Tobias," and "Apocrypha of the Book of Daniel," and other publications.

Several papers report interviews with John Gilbert Baker, F.R.S., "the world-famous botanist and horticulturalist, who for so many years occupied the position of keeper of the Herbarium at the Royal Gardens, Kew" (*Morning Post*, 14 i. 14), and who was presented with an address of congratulation on his eightieth birthday. In one interview Gilbert Baker narrates his Quaker upbringing and school-life at Ackworth and York, and mentions some noted school-fellows, as Joseph and John S. Rowntree, Henry Seebohm and George and Henry Brady.

"At request of Hon. George Vaux, Jr., chairman, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1913," the *Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissions to the Secretary of the Interior, 1912-1913*, has been sent us from Washington, D.C. The Report deals with such live subjects as Agriculture, Irrigation, Health, Suppression of Intoxicants, and information respecting various Indian tribes—the Pimas, Apaches, Navajo and the Five Civilised Tribes.

The Annual Report of the Ackworth Old Scholars' Association for 1913 is full of interest, but the editing and printing should be improved. There is something wrong with the Presidents, as Samuel E. Brown is said to be the holder of that office 1912-13 in one place and Caroline C. Graveson in another. In one obituary notice the dates are hopelessly out—born "1814," at Ackworth "1815-9," married "1900," died "1913, aged 38 years."

A three-column review of the career of Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651-c.1720) appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, Mass., of January 12, under the heading "Pastorius [*sic*] Versatile Writer."

There are short articles, with portraits, of Dolly Madison (1768-1849) and Lucretia Mott (1793-1880) in *Happy Women*, by Myrtle Reed (New York and London: Putnam, 8½ by 5½, pp. 174).

We have received from the offices of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, 15, Devonshire Street, London, E.C., a *Report of the Deputation to Madagascar, July—October, 1913*, consisting of a report presented

by the three Deputations of the London Missionary Society, the F.F.M.A., and the Paris Missionary Society, and of the report presented to the F.F.M.A. Board by its own Deputation—Richard Beck, Charles E. Stansfield and Henry T. Hodgkin. The work of the Deputation will certainly mark an epoch in Christian activity on the Island, and should be studied by all Friends alive to the importance of efforts for the spread of the Gospel in all lands. This 196-page pamphlet may be obtained for one shilling.

Mary J. Taber, of New Bedford, Mass., an ex-Friend, author of "Just a Few Friends," has written another book, *Bathsheba's Letters to her Cousin Deborah, 1831-1861* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 7½ by 5, pp. 253). Here is one letter:

" 11th mo. 6th, 1838.

" *Dear Cousin Deborah*

" I had a 'heart to heart' talk with mother to-day, or I set out to have one. I told her I was growing wickeder every day. . . . She said, 'What ails my child? I never heard such talk. I shall have to send thee to bed without thy supper if thee does not stop right now.' So that was the end of my heart to heart talk with mother."²

Several articles by Edward Grubb, which appeared in last year's volume of "The British Friend," have been gathered together into pamphlet form, entitled *Separations: Their Causes and Effects. Studies in Nineteenth Century Quakerism* (London: Headley, 6½ by 4, pp. 159, 1s. net). The Separations referred to are those in America in 1827, 1842, 1845, and 1854, and the "Beacon" Controversy in England in 1836. There are also chapters on Joseph John Gurney, The Rise and Spread of Pastoralism, The Present Position, and The Problem of Correspondence. Large use has been made of books and tracts in D.

In the third number of *Present Day Papers, A Monthly Journal for the Presentation of Vital and Spiritual Christianity* (Haverford, Pa., and Headley Brothers, London, 6d. per copy, or 6s. 6d. per year post paid), there are articles by Eleanor D. Wood, Georgina King Lewis, George H. Ferris, Clarence C. Clark, and others. It is to be hoped that the appearance of the magazine may improve as time goes on, at present it must be considered poor—the page-headings are specially weak, and the inner title page and half-title unattractive.

Our Friend, Joseph Burtt Davy, has recently resigned his post as Government Botanist in the Department of Agriculture in South Africa, and has become Botanist to the Agricultural Supply Association of Johannesburg. There is a several-column account of his new work, in the Johannesburg *Sunday Post*, of January 25, under the title "How to Grow Maize. Mr. Burtt-Davy's New Activities."

NORMAN PENNEY.

² It is to be feared that there are Quaker parents to-day equally out of touch with the thoughts and feelings of their children.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D. = The Reference Library of London Y.M., at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Camb. Jnl. = *The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

D.N.B. = *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

F.P.T. = "*The First Publishers of Truth*," published by the Friends Historical Society, 1907.

H.S.P. = The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, located at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

JOHN WOOLMAN'S ANCESTRY.—Is anything known of the English ancestry of John Woolman? The name John Woolman occurs in the Quaker records at Painswick, Gloucestershire, down to 1691.

JOHN BELLERS AND ROBERT OWEN.—We have received the following interesting extract from the *Life* of Robert Owen, written by himself (Effingham Wilson, 1857, vol. i., p. 240):

"I have been reminded of several occurrences deserving notice in this volume.

"One of these is the accidental discovery, by Francis Place,¹ when he was re-arranging his library and putting out what he deemed useless and worthless printed papers, as these were being swept out, of an old pamphlet written 150 years before by John Bellars. As Mr. Place was at that time very much interested in my 'New Views,' he immediately brought this pamphlet to me, saying, 'I have made a great discovery—of a work advocating

¹ Francis Place (1771-1854), reformer and writer. See *Life*, by Graham Wallas, 1898.

your social views a century and a half ago.'"²

FRIENDS AND PEACE.—Margaret E. Hirst, of 5, High Street, Saffron Walden, Essex, has been appointed by the Woodbrooke Extension Committee and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to prepare a history of the Peace principles and practices of the Society of Friends from George Fox to modern times. Our Friend would be very glad to receive

(i.) information of any early unpublished instances of the statement of peace principles by Friends, and

(ii.) striking and unhackneyed matter bearing on the question.

WORCESTER AND BRISTOL.—Harold Waring Atkinson, of Northwood, Middlesex, has presented to **D.** a MS. list of boys at school at Worcester, *circa* 1764,

² This was Bellers's *Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry*, 1695. Robert Owen (1771-1858) circulated 1,000 copies of this tract, and included it in the appendices to his *Life*.

probably made by Thomas Beavington, of Ross (1754-1837), and also a list of Friends in Bristol, 1819.

PEGG THE POTTER (xi. 45).—There is further reference to William Pegg in Mrs. W. H. Bell's book on *Old English China*, recently published :

"Mrs. Hodgson tells again the story of an English potter, improvident and starving, who, in a New York window, saw some forged pieces signed with his name, and hurled a stone through the window. He died that night in the cells—a tale in little of the world and neglected genius. These men were sensitive craftsmen with strict consciences and pride in their work. How strict their consciences could be is seen in the story of Pegg the Quaker, a flower-painter of the Derby school. He stood like Gobbo between his promptings as a man of art, who loved what was beautiful, and his conscience as a man of religion, who thought that to practise art for decoration's sake was sinful. At one time he tore himself from the factory and made stockings for a livelihood : ' I was employed in making neat silk stockings ; but I felt uneasy at the kind of work, because the hose was more for show than use. I often blushed with guilt when I reflected on it, considering that I was as much wrong in that kind of work as in painting china. I gave it up and took to cotton work. In that I was more easy ; but I had to put some ornament (for what was called clocks) in the cotton hose, that gave me some uneasiness ; but I prevailed on my

employers to let me make the stockings without clocks, and that gave me relief.' The artist in Pegg would not, however, be denied. For a time he went back to the factory ; and it is only just to the common-sense of the Quaker brethren to record that he went back with their absolution and approval. Nevertheless, Pegg died a fishmonger."

STATISTICS OF AMERICAN FRIENDS, c. 1860.—Can any of our readers give approximately the number of Friends in America of all bodies about the year 1860 ?

HISTORY OF FRIENDS' FOREIGN MISSION WORK.—Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, 15, Devonshire Street, London, E.C., is collecting material in reference to the development of foreign missionary interest in the Society of Friends. He would be glad to correspond with any of our readers who possess letters or documents likely to bear on this subject.

DEATH OF HENRY T. WAKE.—The following is taken from the columns of the *Mid Derby Courier*, of 10th January, 1914 :

"The Society of Friends at Fritchley, for which the village is noted, has lost their veteran member, Mr. Henry Thomas Wake, who passed away on Thursday of last week at the age of 82.

"The late Mr. Wake was born at Whittlebury, Northamptonshire, on April 29th, 1831, and was a descendant of Hereward the Wake, immortalised by Kingsley. He received the earlier portion

of his education at Brackley Grammar School, afterwards being at Towcester Church of England Academy. In connection with his scholastic days at the former place, he used to relate that the pupils there were required every month to emulate the scholars under the control of Wackford Squeers, a bucket of brimstone and treacle being brought round, and each pupil being required to swallow a spoonful of the mixture. At the age of sixteen he obtained an appointment as clerk in the Colonial Bank, London, where he stayed three years, and afterwards, through the personal influence of the late Earl of Southampton, he secured a good position as a clerk in the draughtsman's office at the East India Co.'s offices and was a calculator of ship's tonnage. Whilst there he became acquainted with Ruskin and Thomas and Jane Carlyle, and, at the request of the latter author, Mr. Wake designed the book plate, afterwards used by Carlyle.

"It was during his stay at the East India offices that he became attracted to the tenets of the Quakers, a fellow clerk drawing his attention to several Friends' publications. The late Mr. Wake then secured George Fox's writings, and was so impressed by them that, although born of parents of Wesleyan persuasion, he gradually drifted towards the Friends' Society, ultimately becoming a member. This decision resulted in his giving up the position he held with the East India Company.

"Shortly afterwards Mr. Wake obtained a position as tutor with William Sutton, of Scotby, Carlisle, where he stayed three years.

From there he removed to Cocker-mouth and was in business in that place as a dealer in antiquities and books pertaining to the Friends' Society. In 1879 he came to reside in the neighbourhood of Fritchley and lived in the district to the close of life.

"The late Mr. Wake leaves a widow and seven children, most of whom are resident in Canada. One of his sons died recently at Whitehaven. His grandchildren are also very numerous.

"At the interment, which took place at the Friends' Burial Ground, Furnace, on Monday, a large number of people were present, including representatives of the Society from Fritchley, Matlock, Nottingham, Stockport, Birmingham and London.

JOHN STORER, OF NOTTINGHAM (ii. 134, vii. 145n, x. 120, 129, 259).—The names of John Storer's parents were Jonathan and Rebecca; they were not Friends, at least at the time of John's birth, 1725/6. John Storer married Sarah Northin, of Norwich, in 1762. Their daughter, Sarah, was born the same year, and a short time afterwards the mother died. Sarah, junior, married Thomas Jowitt, of Nottingham, late of Leeds, in 1784.

John Storer married, secondly, 1764, Hannah, daughter of Thomas and Hannah Sparrow, of Maplestead, Essex (*Corder Family*, 1885). Hannah Storer, widow, deceased anno 1821.

Hannah Storer, *sister* of John, married Joseph Robinson, of Birmingham, 1763 (see *THE JOURNAL*, x. 51n).

“ Quakerism Past and Present ”

The Quakers Past and Present, by Dorothy M. Richardson (London : Constable, 7½ by 5, pp. viii. + 96, 1s. net). This is a well and freshly-written book. Miss Richardson, though bearing a Friendly name, does not come of Quaker stock; she has only recently become acquainted with Friends and their principles, but the book shows much insight into conditions past and present. Her chapters are entitled : The Birth of Quakerism, The Society of Friends, The Quaker Church, The Retreat of Quakerism, Quakerism in America, Quakerism and Women, The Present Position. The subject is treated from the mystical and conservative point of view. Of J. J. Gurney we read :

“ Coming of old Quaker stock, though religious and pious and full of zeal for the salvation of the world, he never grasped the essentials of Quakerism,” but “ His strong persuasive personality revived the enthusiasm of the imitative mass of the Society and once more the Quakers faced the world. . . . They were a little band, tempered and disciplined by their century of quiet cultivation of the Quaker faith and method, and they were at once available for a share, strikingly disproportionate to their numbers, in the evangelical work of an awakening Christendom ” (pp. 82, 83).

The chapter “ Quakerism and Women ” is timely :

“ Amongst the Quakers the particularized home, with its isolated woman cut off from any responsible share in the life of ‘ the world ’ and associating mainly with other equally isolated women, is unknown. . . . She is in touch with her stake and her responsibility in regard to every single activity of the Meeting of which she is a member. . . . Because amongst the Quakers, in a very true and deep sense, the world is home and home is the world, because, in other words, the inner is able without obstruction to flow out and realize itself in the outer, the sense of family life, of home, and fireside, is particularly sweet and strong ” (pp. 78-80).

It is somewhat surprising to read (p. 56n) that “ Penn attempted to *bribe* the secretaries when the charter was drawn up, to abolish the *Penn* prefixed to *Sylvania*,” but in a letter to Robert Turner, he writes : “ I went to the king to have it altered . . . nor could twenty guineas more to the Under-Secretary vary the name.”¹

There is a slight anachronism on p. 68—the “ walking purchase ” came before not after the Revolution.

¹ Quoted in Webb's *Penns and Peningtons*, 1867, p. 329.

ERRATA.—On p. 4 of last issue, for Nottingham read *Northampton*. On p. 15, n. 2, for Mary (Burlingham) Southall, read Mary (*Prichard*) Southall.

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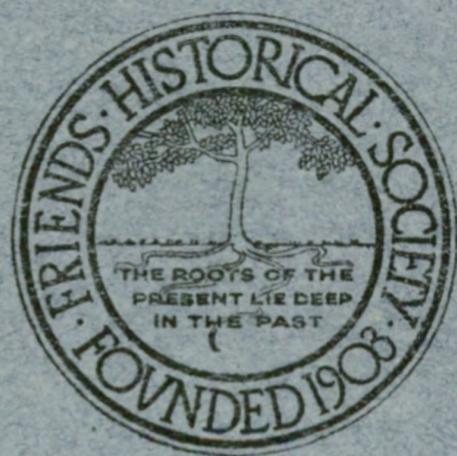
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