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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

VOLUME TWENTY-TWO
NUMBERS ONE TO FOUR
1925

London
THE FRIENDS' BOOKSHOP
140 BISHOPSGATE, E.C.2

American Agents
FRIENDS' BOOK & TRACT COMMITTEE
144 East 20th Street, New York, N.Y.
GRACE W. BLAIR, Media, Pa.

Edited by
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*Benjamin Lay,
one of the earliest Advocates of
Negro Emancipation?
1718.*

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editor: NORMAN PENNEY, LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.
Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2

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Our Quotation—14

“Quakerism helped to bring religion down from the clouds into the field of everyday life. Speculation was idle, co-operation and practical assistance had much greater value than nebulous theories.”

REES, *The Quakers in Wales*, 1925, p. 138.

Friends and the French Prophets

THE *Baptist Quarterly*, of October, 1924, (new series, vol. ii. no. 4) has an article on the French Prophets, written by a Vice-President, Thomas S. Penny, J.P., of Taunton, based on a document lent to the Baptist Historical Society by Major F. Kennedy, C.B., of The Manor, Kingston, Taunton. Here is an extract:

The rise of the French Prophets was due to Louis XIV. In 1685 he expelled all Huguenot ministers from France, so that the Protestants had to depend at best on lay preachers. . . . The prophetic movement spread to England, where there were already people heeding the revelations of Reeve and Muggleton. . . . The impulse passed to James and Ann Wardley, who, at Manchester, headed an offshoot of the Quakers; and from them sprang the community popularly known as the Shakers. These emigrated to America, where the present spiritual descendants of the Cevennes prophets are still to be found from Maine to Kentucky, some 1,700 all told.

We have a full account of the proceedings of this strange body of people in *A Copious Account of the French and English Prophets who infested London during 1707 and the following years . . . and a complete exposure of their infamous Practices*, by D. Hughson, LL.D., London, 1814, included in *Memoirs of Religious Impostors*, by M. Aikin, LL.D., London, 1823. (Among the "impostors" are Joanna Southcott, James Nayler and Lodowick Muggleton.) In this *Account* are included extracts from *A Brand pluck'd from the Burning, Exemplify'd in the Unparallel'd Case of Samuel Keimer*; a very rare pamphlet, London, 1718 (one copy in **D**).

Prominently identified with the French Prophets were Sir Richard Bulkeley (1644-1710), F.R.S. (see *D.N.B.*), a deformed man, of whom it was prophesied that he should become straight, but who died before it resulted; John Lacy (1664- see *D.N.B.*) who "was ordered to leave his lawful wife and take Elizabeth Gray, a prophetess," it being prophesied that a son should be born to prove that the union was of Divine command, but twice in succession daughters arrived (Keimer, *Brand*, p. 57). There is a very rare tract in **D** entitled *The Honest Quaker: or the Forgeries and Impostures of the Pretended French Prophets and their Abettors expos'd, in a Letter from a Quaker to his Friend, giving an account of a Sham-Miracle, performed by John L——y, Esq., on the body of Elizabeth Gray, on the 17th of August last*, London, 1707. Bulkeley, Lacy, Dr. Byfield and John Davis are mentioned. It is said that Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) had some attraction towards the Prophets, also his friend, Nicholas Faccio (1664-1753), mathematician and fanatic.

We have previously quoted a reference in *The Baptist Quarterly* to JAMES and ANN WARDLEY, but we have not found any further reference to this couple, "who, at Manchester, headed an offshoot of the Quakers." Of some others connected with Friends who were led away we have collected information given below:

In the minutes of Westminster M.M. 3 mo. 5. 1708, we read:

A paper being brought in from MARY WILLIS, widow, and read, wherein she condemns herself for going to and joining with those they call the French Prophets, and suffering the agitation spirit to come upon her and to exercise herself thereby in our meetings, she is advised to forbear imposing her preaching upon our public meetings for worship till Friends

are better satisfied (quoted in *London Friends' Meetings*, by Beck & Ball, 1869, p. 253).

There is a curious line in Joseph Smith's *Catalogue* (i. 611): "*Finkley, A. He joined the French Prophets." Keimer notes a person named "ANNA FINKLEY, a widow, in Joyner's Street, who was of good repute, who invited the prophets home to her house to refresh themselves"; and in his "List of the Principal Characters" Keimer includes A. Finkley and another "formerly among the people called Quakers but disowned by them." She was probably the person hinted at by Joseph Smith but of mistaken sex. The * denotes ex-Friend.

In the same list Keimer includes: "GUY NUTT, a Prophet, who goes in plain habit, but not owned by the people called Quakers." This Guy Nutt is referred to by Pickworth, ex-Quaker (*Charge*, 1716, p. 322):

The Holy Spirit spoke through his faithful servant and their once well approved Friend Guy Nutt, on the 12th of November, 1710, to an Assembly of their People in Meath Street in Dublin—they laid Hands on him, pulling, and forcing him out of their Assembly; he, being the while under the Operation of the Spirit, said, "You were turn'd out of the Synagogues your selves and now you turn others out."

Also "ANNE STEED, formerly among the people called Quakers, but disowned by them." We must give some attention to this Anne Steed. Here again, for some unaccountable reason, Smith gives (*Cata.* ii. 622): "*Steed, Ann. She joined the French and English Prophets." After some resistance, she finally came into intimate relationship with Samuel Tomlinson, "who generally went under the Denomination of a Quaker (but disown'd by that People, who have no Unity or Fellowship with any that walk irregular in their Lives, tho' they may wear the plain Habit and frequent their Meetings" (Keimer, *Brand*, p. 71). Tomlinson was a butcher in Newgate Market. Several visions of Anne Steed are reported by Pickworth (*Charge*, pp. 25, 233—"our dear Friend Ann Steed," 328 ff; Keimer, *Brand*, pp. 71 ff.). The following vision is dated "in the sixth month, Anno 1709":

I beheld the Lord Jesus Christ at my Left-Hand, in a Personal Appearance in a large Room, where were a great many of the chief Leaders of the People called Quakers, some of which had Crowns upon their heads, amongst whom were Theodore Egleston, George Whitehead,

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William Bingley, John Feild, William Warren, George Owner [? Oldner], William Pen, John Butcher and Samuel Waldenfeild, all sitting. Francis Moulton ["a believer among the Prophets"] coming in, went directly to Theodore Egleston, laid both his Hands upon his Crown and went away with it; notwithstanding I saw a Chair set for him in Christ's glorious Kingdom upon Earth now near approaching, which he might obtain if he pressed hard for it, but, if there, he might content himself without a Crown." George Whitehead's crown, "more magnificent than the rest," was taken off "with an angry snatch"—William Bingley's "fell from his Head," also John Field's. William Warren's "totter'd exceedingly, as if it also was a going to fall, but I did not see it fall." George Owner's was "different from the rest" but "tottered" as William Warren's. The seer "beheld William Penn, John Butcher and Samuel Waldenfeild with their Crowns on their Heads," and prayed that they might be humble enough to take them off themselves and lay them down at the feet of Christ.

Keimer writes :

On one occasion the believers were commanded each to buy the largest and fairest apple that could be bought for Money, and write our Names thereon; accordingly I being sent of an Errand, bought the best I could light on, at Stocks-Market, for which I gave a Penny. . . . This I kept several Months, as choice as possible under Lock and Key, until it was rotten, and then, to the best of my Remembrance I eat it. Ann Steed, being unwilling to have her Apple spoil'd, made a Dumplin with it, as I was inform'd: But what the rest of the Believers did with theirs, I cannot tell (*Brand*, p. 27).

MARY KEIMER, sister to Samuel, who styles her "a jolly young woman who dwelt in Southwark," came into contact with Friends on several occasions. In November, 1710, Mary Keimer and Mary Beer attended Friends' meeting in Bristol, when

the Spirit through Mary Keimer declared as follows: "The Lord hath sent forth a Voice . . . behold, the great and terrible Day of the Lord is at hand . . ." When Mary Keimer began to speak, one of the Quaker women that had been preaching before, cried out: "A Spirit of Divination!" . . . and another cried: "Pull them down, pull them down." . . . One Paul Moon¹ cried out: "How durst thou pretend to speak here in the Name of God with such a vain Head-Dress on?" (*Pickworth, Charge*, pp. 324-326).

¹ Paul Moone (-1726) was a currier in Bristol. "Was one of the most prominent Friends in Bristol and an ancestor of the families of Barrow, Cadbury, Gibbins & Lloyd (viii. 134). He travelled in Ireland as a Minister in 1693 (x. 162), and was present at the Welsh Y.M. at Abergavenny in 1710 (*Kelsall, Diaries*, i. 109).

Samuel writes of his sister :

I have seen my sister, who is a lusty young Woman, fling another Prophetess upon the Floor, and under agitations tread upon her Breast, Belly, Legs, &c, walking several Times backwards and forwards over her, and stamping upon her with Violence. This was adjudg'd to be a Sign of the Fall of the Whore of Babylon (*Brand*, p. 54).

Pickworth tells us that WILLIAM PENN "could not be easy until he had prevail'd with me to conduct him to one of their assemblies, as privately as possible might be, some Evening, in hopes of finding the Spirit with which they were agitated." He attended meetings at the houses of Joseph Tovey, tallow-chandler, in Lombard Street, and soon after "at the house of one Hodgkin, another profess'd Quaker's house near their meeting-place in the same street; he obtain'd his Goaler's Leave and took Coach with me thither" (*Defence*, 1734, p. 7). The result appears somewhat indefinite.

Pickworth mentions other visits by Prophets or Prophetesses to Quaker meetings—HANNAH WHARTON at Worcester, in 1712; MARY TURNER at Y.M. in London, 1705; JAMES JACKSON, in a general way (see *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 465).

Thomas Story came into contact with some Prophets in 1735, at Chesham, Bucks. He writes :

After the Meeting I had Conversation with a considerable Man in the World, inclinable to the Camisars or French Prophets, by whom I perceived they expect such a Dispensation from God, as that all the Gifts in the primitive Times shall be restored, viz. working Miracles, Prophecy, healing, raising the Dead &c. (*Journal*, p. 717).

SAMUEL KEIMER tells us he was born of sober and honest parents living in the parish of St. Thomas, Southwark. The family consisted of parents, son, and daughter Mary. They had as a neighbour, a good Quaker woman, about whom Samuel was much concerned that she "should everlastingly perish for want of submitting to the Ordinances." Samuel, after being at the Merchant Taylors' School, was apprenticed to Robert Tookey, printer in "Christopher's Court, in Thread-needle-street," a Baptist.

About this time the French and English Prophets began to make a noise : I got leave of my Master for half a Day to go abroad, not acquainting him with my intended Business, and went to a Meeting of the said

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prophets in Southwark. As soon as I entered the Room, I observed a Woman, well drest, on her knees and a Man standing before her with his hands on her head, uttering several sentences, mixt with strange Hiccups and Shakings of his Head forwards and backwards, his Body, as it seem'd to me, jumping while he was speaking. This man's name was John Lacy, Esq. and the Laying on of Hands was *the Gift of Blessing*.

He then describes how his sister was affected, the date of these experiences being "about the beginning of the Sixth Month, call'd August, in the year 1707." His mother soon followed, and not long after, the son, who was "blessed" by Elias Marion.

In 1713, Keimer married "one of the same Opinion in religious matters," and set up for himself as a printer and "quickly had very great Business by printing a great number of private treasonable Libels against the late Queen and her last Ministry." But after being a master-printer about two years, troubles beset him, having "acted very madly and bewitchedly; and went into the prison of Ludgate [a prisoner for debt] and got to be removed by Habeas Corpus to the Fleet." In prison he met with "James Smith, one of the people called Quakers, dwelling near Aldersgate-Bars." He next ran a newspaper and gave such offence in certain matters that he was committed to the Gatehouse in Westminster, "the Fifth Time of my being a State Prisoner and the Seventh from my first dwelling in Blackfryers, most of which owing to the infatuating whimsies I had suck'd in while among the Prophets." Before the close of his autobiography, 6 vi. 1718, he wrote:

I own and esteem the Truth as held forth and witness'd to by many of the People called Quakers. . . . I have no outward Communion with that People, nor know not whether ever I shall.

In 1723 Keimer appeared in Philadelphia (leaving his wife in England) with a press and printing materials. Benjamin Franklin applied to him for work. He wrote in his *Autobiography*:

Keimer's printing-house, I found, consisted of an old shattered press and one small, worn-out font of English. . . . Keimer made verses and his manner was to compose them in the types directly out of his head. (Everyman edition, p. 32, see also pp. 42, 62, 70, 73, 74, 80.)

Keimer did some work for Friends particularly in connection with an edition of Sewel's *History of Friends*,

towards the cost of which Richard Hill of Philadelphia gave him £121 and James Logan £60 (*Antiquarian Researches among Early Printers of Friends' Books*, 1844, p. 55). The account of him in *D.N.B.* states that he joined Friends in England (which is incorrect) and that some printing of his gave such offence to American Friends that "he was disowned by the Monthly Meeting, 29 Sept. 1723"). Franklin writes: "His credit and business declining daily, he was at last forc'd to sell his printing-house to satisfy his creditors. He went to Barbadoes, and there lived some years in very poor circumstances."

HENRY PICKWORTH (?1673-?1738) lived at Sleaford, Lincs., and later at King's Lynn in Norfolk, with rooms in London. At first he supported Friends and he appears to have been in the position of "Elder and Overseer." He married Winifred Whitchurch (c. 1674-1752), who was a Minister, and they had five sons. In 1714 he was disowned "for that he has long been of a contentious mind and has joined those called French Prophets." In 1716 he published his *Charge . . . against the most noted Leaders of the Quakers, in their Church Capacity*. This volume of 408 pages lays bare his Charge under twenty headings (all set out on his title page) and he had thought of adding to this list of "Foxonian iniquities." Later, other anti-quaker writings were published—1734, 1735 and 1736. The cost of printing must have been great, but apparently he could stand it—"the Lord my God hath been graciously pleased to add as many Hundreds of Pounds to my Substance in this world, as there is years since the Death of King William" (*Charge*, p. 299). The rights or wrongs of the controversy cannot here be discussed.

The Friend (Lond.), vol. 18 (1860), p. 224; *D.N.B.*; MSS. in D.

Some of the religious exercises of the Prophets are not unlike those of some of the early Friends fifty years before:

Anna Maria King, a girl of twelve years old, was seized, and under agitations spoke with much assurance: "There is not one tittle of what I have spoken shall pass away," reminding us of Mary Fell's message, when eight years old,

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to Priest Lampitt, and Lady Margaret Hamilton's warning to Oliver Cromwell (Camb. *Jnl.* i. 439, 293), when, perhaps, of tender age.

The uninspired and mistaken prediction of the resurrection of Dr. Thomas Emes (see *D.N.B.*) has a parallel in the case of Susanna Pearson (Camb. *Jnl.* Tercent. Supp., p. 375).

The following statement reminds us of many similar occasions recorded in the history of early Friends :

A Scots prophet came up to London and was commanded to go to St. Paul's Cathedral. . . . No sooner had the priest ended his sermon . . . up starts he, and with a very loud voice utters the following warning : " Repent, repent," with many more words. One of the vergers took him out and he was dismissed to the rage and fury of the mob. . . . The mob cried out, " Pump him, duck him, to the Thames with him." He was taken before the Lord Mayor.

The quakings and movements of the body were repeated by the Prophets and later by the first Methodists. In reference to these manifestations of excitement among Friends, we read in the tract, *The Irreligion of the Northern Quakers*, 1653 : " I heartily believe these quakings to be diabolical raptures " (quoted in Gummere, *Witchcraft and Quakerism*, 1908, p. 18).

Hughson writes : " It unfortunately happened for their predictions that none of these things happened, but quite the contrary," and we know that some Quaker predictions failed of effect ; indeed ex-Quaker Pickworth has taken the trouble to record five hundred false prophecies, taken from the books of early Friends, in his *A True and Faithful Relation*, 1736, with the oft-repeated refrain : " So he is a false Prophet also, like the rest of them."

George Keith, in the Preface to his *Magick of Quakerism*, 1707, " finds that the pretensions of those Camisars do in so many things run parallel with the pretensions of the Quakers, both in Affirmations and Arguments."

Another point of similarity was their objection to ministers. Keimer records that " one if not more of the Prophets had prophecy'd that the Parsons should become such a Derision to the People, by means of that Spirit of Prophecy, that their Canonical Garments should be sold Four for a Shilling ; the Spirit thro' John Lacy calling them Soul-brokers " (*Brand*, p. 42).

By the kindness of Mr. T. S. Penny we have made the acquaintance (by correspondence) of Major F. Kennedy, "a descendant of Francis Moulton, who lived in Hatton Garden, and whose daughter married my Huguenot ancestor, Charles Portalés. Portalés was closely associated with Elias Marion, Nicholas Faccio, John Lacy, and others." Major Kennedy is in possession of many papers and articles of interest connected with his Huguenot ancestors. One, which has been in our hands, is a quarto manuscript of 56 pages, dealing with the "operations" in the Cevennes and in "the Kingdom of England" (begun in June, 1706). Several Friends (or ex-Friends) are named and there are records of visits of bands of Prophets to Quakers' meetings in Colchester, Chichester, and elsewhere in 1708.

A Memento of Margaret Fox?

A recent addition to the collection of objects of Quaker interest in D is a piece of velvet measuring 11 inches by 13 inches, said to have belonged to Margaret Fox, of Swarthmoor Hall. It was presented by Mrs. Vere O'Brien, of Ennis, Co. Clare, Ireland, who received it from her aunt, Mary Forster, a sister of William Forster, of Tottenham. There is a slip of paper attached which reads :

"This piece of velvet is said to be Part of a Cloak or Robe, once belonging to Margaret Fell (afterwards Fox), of truly valuable and respectable Memory, given to me by my cousin Benjamin Birkbeck when I was at Settle in about 10th Mo : 1801."

We find that Benjamin Birkbeck (1757-1819) married Jane, daughter of Nathaniel English, of Leeds, in 1784. They lived in Leeds and then at Settle. Jane Birkbeck was the great-great-great-grand-daughter of Margaret Fell, through the line of her eldest daughter, Margaret Rous.

The velvet was sent for examination to the Keeper of the Textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, who replied on 9th June :

"Dear Madam. Your letter relating to the piece of velvet alleged to be part of a cloak worn by Margaret Fox, has been handed to me for reply.

"We have carefully examined the velvet & hardly think it is probable that its date is earlier than the end of the 18th century. It may quite well be of English manufacture, since the velvet industry had then been established in this country for over a century."

Leading the Way

BEING a Series of Brief Sketches of Quaker Inventions and Discoveries, and of Friends who have Led the Way in various directions.¹

Continued from vol. xx, page 131

XCV

“The first line of regular packet ships between New York and Liverpool was established in 1817 by two Friends, FRANCIS and JEREMIAH THOMPSON. This was the old Black Ball Line, which made semi-monthly sailings for Liverpool.

“The second line of packets was started by Byrnes, Trimble & Co., the Trimble being GEORGE T. TRIMBLE, who was a Friend.” (William H. S. Wood, *Friends of New York in the Nineteenth Century*, 1904, p. 16.)

XCVI

ROBERT MURRAY (-1786) “became the largest shipping merchant in the country. . . . He erected a grand old house and entertained in princely style. He imported and used the first private coach in New York, which he called his ‘leathern conveniency,’ to appease the feeling of the citizens who considered him as ‘putting on too much style.’” (William H. S. Wood, *Friends in New York in the Seventeenth Century*, 1904, p. 10). Robert Murray was the father of Lindley Murray, the grammarian.

XCVII

JOHN KEESE III (1773-1860), of Cardington, Ohio, “when about sixty years of age invented an apparatus for taking a correct map of the heavenly bodies and also calculating longitude by the fixed stars. He found afterward that he was anticipated in this last invention by a

¹ The Editor would be glad to receive information regarding other inventions, discoveries, etc., or regarding other claimants to any of the inventions or positions introduced. The length of the Sketch bears no proportion to the importance of the subject.

German astronomer. . . . He constructed several models for improvement in machinery for planting corn. . . ." (*Keese Family History*, 1911, p. 26.)

XCVIII

ROBERT ABBATT, SENR. (d. 1763), established the first water-supply in Preston, Lancashire, in 1729, by means of wooden pipes—tree-trunks bored through. The corporation fined him for supplying water on "Good Friday," so he declined to supply it on Fridays afterwards, his reason being that all Fridays should be Good Fridays.

IX. 151.

XCIX

WILLIAM LOCKWOOD (1782-) was a builder in Woodbridge, Co. Suffolk. He invented a Portland Cement, about the year 1817, to supersede the dark coloured Roman Cement in use previously. His search for suitable stone for the manufacture of it took him into Derbyshire, So. Wales, Dorsetshire and Leicestershire, where he found the best. His son, William Lockwood, gives an account of these journeys in *Woodbridge in the Olden Time*. He did not patent his invention, and a few years later a Leeds man, Joseph Aspdin, made a similar discovery and took out a patent in 1824.

W. L. must have been a Friend when he invented his cement. He was a volunteer in 1813, but his principles altered soon after, and he broke the points off both his weapons (as an officer he was allowed to keep them), "turning the sword into a pruning knife," "and the halberd he made serve for a linen prop in his wife's drying ground." Several of his children were at Ackworth School—Susanna entered in 1817 and William in 1819.

Information from H. C. Hunt, of York.

C

PHINEAS DAVIS (1795-1835), "in honor of whose memory the citizens of York are interested in preserving the old Meeting House there, was a native of New Hampshire. In 1809, at the age of fourteen, he arrived at York, Pa., 'bare-footed, wearing a straw hat, with a bundle under his arm containing a few precious belongings,' after a weary and

lonely journey from his New England home. He was taken in by Jonathan Jessop, a Quaker watchmaker, who taught him his trade. He succeeded well at this trade but interest in natural philosophy and chemistry led him to experiment with steam as applied to motive power. He, as a partner in the firm of Davis and Gardner, was responsible for the building of the first iron steamboat built in the United States, as well as the construction of the first engine used on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in which anthracite coal was successfully employed.

“ At the age of twenty, Phineas Davis became a member of the Society of Friends, and at his untimely death at the age of forty it was written : ‘ Though his loss to the great field of mechanical improvement will be deeply felt, the community will suffer a greater loss in the impressive example of his excellent life.’ ” (*Friends’ Intelligencer*, Third Month 29th, 1924.)

Lives by John C. Jordan, 1904, and H. C. Ulmer, 1924, with illustrations.

CI

WILLIAM WESTON YOUNG (1776-1847) has several notices in Mardy Rees’s *Quakers in Wales*, 1925. He was a wonderful man, both physically and mentally. He could write prose and poetry, paint on canvas and china, survey land, and lift a blacksmith’s anvil of several hundredweights. He was an inventor and discoverer of the Dinas sand for the making of a superior fire-brick. After his marriage at Bristol in 1795, he removed to Neath and with the exception of three years in Worcester and five in Bristol, their married life was spent in Wales. His wife was of the Davis family, of Minehead, a daughter of Robert and Hannah. Elizabeth (Davis) Young (1765-1842) kept a diary, which was printed in 1843, under the title : *Christian Experience of Elizabeth Young*. It began in 1791 and ended in 1840.

CII

MARGARET MORRIS (1737-1816) was a daughter of Dr. Richard Hill, of Maryland, and wife and widow of William Morris, to whom she was married in 1758. In the *Recollections of John Jay Smith*, 1892, p. 242, we read : “ Thomas Gilpin told me she was recognised as a skilful doctress.

. . . At one time during her residence at Burlington, when physicians were scarce, so great was the demand for her services that she visited her patients in a carriage which was regularly brought to her door for the purpose. It is not known whether any charge was made. . . . This is, perhaps, the first recorded instance of a female physician in practice. She was known to have thirty small-pox patients at one and the same time."

CIII

THOMAS ALLGOOD (-1716), though "only an artisan, was a great discoverer, and his knowledge of chemistry was unique. He devised the means of manufacturing copperas . . . and also a process for extracting oil from Cannel coal. His fame rests chiefly upon his secret process for making Japan ware.

" EDWARD ALLGOOD, son of Thomas, greatly improved his father's patent.

" WILLIAM ALLGOOD, grandson, brought the works at Pontypool to their highest point of perfection." (Rees, *Quakers in Wales*, 1925, p. 253.)

CIV

Cropper, Benson & Co. " started the first line of packets that sailed on stated days between England and America with mails and passengers; their ships carried 'dummy' guns" (*Dingle Bank, the Home of the Croppers*, by F. A. Conybeare, 1925, p. 6).

James Cropper, 1773-1840.

Robert Benson, c. 1750-1802.

NOTE

No. XL. C. Francis Jenkins " was born in the country north of Dayton, Ohio, in 1868, of Quaker parents. Spent boyhood on farm near Richmond, Indiana. Attended . . . Earlham College. Came to Washington, D. C., in 1890. . . . Has over three hundred patents and maintains a private laboratory in Washington. Is . . . founder of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers. Has several times been honored by scientific and other bodies for original research and attainment." (Jenkins, *Vision by Radio*, 1925, p. 4.)

No. XXV. Job Roberts was born in 1757. "He was the first to bring and breed merico sheep in Pennsylvania. In 1804 he published *The Pennsylvanian Farmer*. His integrity won the respect of all who knew him" (Rees, *Quakers in Wales*, 1925, p. 251).

To be continued

Held to Ridicule

In the Mayor's Court in Norwich, held 6 ix. 1675 :

"Mrs. Mary Pease is permitted to show two Meere maids & a devouring great eating Quaker, at the sign of the Angel [in the Market Place] from this day till Thursday senight."

Friends could not let this pass without a protest ; we find a minute of the M.M. as follows :

"Whereas there was a man (with others) who was termed a presumptuous eating Quaker, that went about giving forth that he was a Quaker, going about to deceive people, endeavouring to render them and their principle odious, friends were ordered to go and give a testimony against them, whose names are under written.

"Samuel Duncon, Tho : Murford, Tho : Plumstead, Antho : Alexander, Will : Weymer."

From a history of Quakerism in Norwich, by Arthur J. Eddington, 1924, in MS.

We should be glad to know how the "testimony" was carried out and whether, in so doing, the Friends came into contact with the "Meere maids." Mrs. Pease may have seen a copy of the pamphlet, *The Monstrous Eating Quaker*, published about this time, which with the pamphlets, *The Quaker turned Jew* and *The Quaker and his Maid*, Ellis Hookes "confuted by plain evidence to undeceive the ignorant, clear the Truth, and stop debauchery." (Smith, *Cata.* i. 971, *Adv. Cata.* p. 18.)

The Ancestry of Quakerism (?)

"The Quakers were leavened by Fox, and Fox by the Ranters, and they by the German Enthusiasts, and those by Ignatius Loyola and he by the Pope."

HENRY PICKWORTH, ex-Quaker, *True and Faithful Relation*, 1736, p. 66n. Several times repeated in his books is the statement that George Fox was originally taught the doctrines of Ranterism by one Hinks a Ranter, whilst they kept sheep together.

The Quaker Family of Bevan

BY the publication of *A History of the Bevan Family* we can add another to the "Quaker incursions into family history."¹

This book of 144 pages has been written by Mrs. Audrey Nona Gamble, *née* Bevan. The author traces the family back to the last Prince of Glamorgan, Jestyn ap-Gwrgant, about 1030 A.D. The Quaker period, as in similar family chronicles, provides much material. Mrs. Gamble writes :

We should regard WILLIAM BEVAN, the Quaker (1627-1701/2) . . . as the Father of our Family, for, emerging from the shadowy past, he takes definite shape and personality. . . . Researches amongst Quaker documents have brought many new facts to light concerning his life and religious beliefs.

William Bevan was a merchant in Swansea, a Quaker *ante* 1656 when he gave a meeting-house to Friends. A letter is extant in **D** in which Bevan asks the help of Bristol Friends to counter the proposed marriage to a non-Friend of his daughter Mary, resident in the city.

In the Glamorganshire portion of Rees's *Quakers in Wales*, 1925, we read that Bevan was put in prison and in chains for using his boat to bring back two Friends who had been turned out of the town (pages 79 and 90 and more respecting the Bevan family).

We now come to SILVANUS BEVAN (1661-1725), son of William, merchant of Swansea. He married Jane Phillips (d. 1727), daughter of William Phillips, a Swansea Quaker, in 1685, and had eleven children. He was not so enthusiastic a Friend as his father. Of the children SILVANUS BEVAN (1691-1765) became the founder of the famous Plough Court Pharmacy ; Mary (1698-1784) married William Padley, of Swansea, at the Bull and Mouth Meeting House in

¹ See vol. xx. p. 2

London, in 1726, and had issue; Susanna (1701-1784), spinster, removed to London and resided at Hackney near her brother Timothy; Timothy (1704-1786), the stem father of the branch of the family traced downward by Mrs. Gamble; Paul (1706-1767).

Chapter two deals with SILVANUS BEVAN (1691-1765), of Plough Court. He left Swansea for London and married Elizabeth Quare in 1715 (*Camb. Jnl. Supp.*, p. 339) and later Martha Heathcote, but had no children to grow up.

His brother TIMOTHY BEVAN (1704-1786) followed him to London and became a partner in the Plough Court firm. Timothy married in 1735 Elizabeth Barclay (d. 1745), daughter of David, of Cheapside. By this wife he had three children in succession named Silvanus. Timothy Bevan married, secondly, in 1752, Hannah Springall, *née* Gurney (1715-1784, see xx. 73). The noted Quaker, Joseph Gurney Bevan (1753-1814, see xx. 72) was their only child. SILVANUS BEVAN (1743-1830), the surviving son of Timothy and Elizabeth Bevan, was educated at Hackney, probably at the school of Forster and Hodgkin (xx. 85). He was only a short time at Plough Court and in 1767 he joined his uncle, James Barclay, in the more congenial work of Banking. (Mrs. Gamble here gives a résumé of the history of Barclay's Bank.) In 1769 he married, at Devonshire House, Isabella Wakefield (1752-1769). "Isabella's story is both brief and pathetic. The poor little Bride of seventeen lived but seven months after marriage, died of fever and was buried at Bunhill Fields" (p. 47). The widower married again in 1773, a non-Friend and was, in consequence, disowned by the Society. Thus, in this direct line, the Quaker element began before 1656 and ended about 1773.

In another line there were Quaker Bevans for another century.

PAUL BEVAN (1706-1767), the youngest son of Silvanus Bevan (1661-1725) and his wife Jane Phillips (d. 1727), had a son, SILVANUS BEVAN (1743-1830). This Silvanus had a son named PAUL BEVAN (1783-1868), who married, firstly, Rebecca Capper (c. 1783-1817), daughter of Jasper and Ann Capper (*Piety Promoted*), and secondly, Judith Nicholls Dillwyn (1781-1868), daughter of William and Sarah Dillwyn, of Walthamstow, in 1831 (*Annual Monitor*, 1869, p. 8).

His collection of books became part of the present Bevan-Naish Library in Birmingham (ii. 91ff). Paul and Rebecca Bevan, of Tottenham, had a son, WILLIAM BEVAN (1812-1876), who married Sofia Read and had five children: the late PAUL BEVAN, Mary Crewdson, Antonia Williams, Constance Topham and Elsie Blomfield (p. 135); also a son SAMUEL BEVAN, who wrote *Sand and Canvas; a Narrative of Adventures in Egypt, with a Sojourn among Artists in Rome*, with a plate representing a "Friends' Meeting in Rome." It is said that when Paul Bevan, in an admonitory tone, said: "Samuel, Samuel," the son rejoined: "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth"! Presumably Paul Bevan's sons left Friends. Bevan Quakerism came to an end in this branch of the family.

Addendum

Dr. Bevan Lean, of Sidcot, Somerset, writes:

So far as I know, there was no connection between my grandfather, Dr. Thomas Bevan and the Bevans who were bankers and chemists. My grandfather was a Welshman, of a Swansea family, and joined the Society of Friends in Swansea. I believe all his sons left Friends when they were young men.

But the Bevans came from Swansea, as stated early in this review. Might not some branch of the family of William Bevan, the first Quaker, have lapsed and after many years returned to the faith in the person of Dr. Thomas Bevan, of London? In *My Ancestors*, by Norman Penney, 1920, we find this note (p. 146):

Hannah Marishall Bevan (1798-1874), daughter of William and Hannah Bennett, married Thomas Bevan, M.D. of London in 1827. Dr. Bevan died in 1847, and was followed soon after by two sons. Hannah Bevan settled at Darlington and her daughter Marianna married William Scarnell Lean. H. M. Bevan was a Minister (see *Annual Monitor*, 1876, p. 3).

Thomas, son of Dr. Bevan, was the author of several papers on the subject of "Lindley Murray Hoag and the Society of Friends," in 1853. He wrote under the name of "Custos." For L. M. Hoag (c. 1808-1880) see xi. 17 and other vols.

The Barclay Family

After Bevan comes Barclay. The Rev. Charles W. Barclay, vicar of Little Amwell, Herts., from 1881 to 1921, and husband of Florence (Charlesworth) Barclay, author of *The Rosary* and other books, has issued Part I of *A History of the Barclay Family*, 11½ by 8, pp. xx + 105, and twenty-nine pages of pedigree, illustrated. (London: The St. Catherine Press, Stamford Street, S.E.) This volume deals with the Gloucestershire part of the family, 1066-1405; a second volume is promised to "contain a full account of the Scottish and English Barclays, and some information with respect to the American branches."

The pedigree printed as an appendix to the volume covers the period from Roger de Berchelai to the present time—1066-1924, thirty-one generations. The editor has been very careful to describe the war-record of the modern members of the family—one would have been glad to know something of their civil occupations. A refreshing change meets us here and there in: "County Council of London," "Missionary in India," "Missionary in Japan."

John Woolman to Rachel Wilson, 1772

By the kindness of Mrs. Vere O'Brien, of Ennis, Ireland, the Friends' Reference Library has received the original letter of John Woolman to Rachel Wilson, dated 30 viii. 1772, printed with slight variation in the Rancocas *John Woolman*, p. 310, and in the *New Century Journal*, p. 239, but without the following postscript:

"I commit this letter to the hands of Our Antient friend at greyrig meeting at whose house I write with desire for him not to send it to thee, but keep it laid by till he hath oportunity to give it to thee.

"I have sent no letter by post in England, and if thou feels a Concern to write to me and art easie to wait an oportunity of conveyence Some other way than post or flying Coaches I believe it would be most acceptable.

" J.W.

"flying Coaches I mean those coaches which run so fast as oft to oppress the horses."

The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove

BY courtesy of Sir Alfred E. Pease, Bart., we have had in our hands a copy of his type-written book on *The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, dated 1907. It is a thick quarto volume opening with an introduction to the Gurney family, with genealogical tables, and then occupied with letters of Joseph Gurney (1757-1830) see xx. 71ff), of Lakenham Grove, or The Grove, Norwich, and Index to his Journals. Sir Alfred Pease has readily given leave for extracts to be taken and we have freely availed of this permission as our readers will soon discover and, we hope, appreciate.

The following are some matters of interest culled from this book.

Bachelors in Leeds Meeting

Joseph Gurney to his sister, Rachel Barclay, at 108, Cheapside, London, 9th August, 1776 :

“ We got to Leeds ; being first day we accordingly went to meeting with our host Eman^l Elam, & at the conclusion of it shook hands with numerous F^{ds} who gave us numerous invitations to numerous houses. Indeed this place for freedom & hospitality puts me the most in mind of my own native city than any I have been in. Each Friend has connection with the other, & every door is open for the reception of strangers. If I was inclined to account for this amiable sociability in any other way than as it proceeds from goodness of heart, I shou’d say that the number of old Batchelors promoted it, who, having no Companion to share their solitary hours, are prompted to fly to the Company of Strangers for relief, there being in this meeting but 22 married Couples out of 80 Familys.” (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 5, p. 31.)

The Elam family was a well-known Quaker family of Leeds, from about 1710. (*The Friend* (Lond.), vol. 21 (1881), p. 122.) There is a news-cutting in **D** which describes Emanuel Elam as “ a considerable American merchant in woollen-cloth. He retired from business several years before his death in 1796 with a fortune of near £200,000 . . . His brother Samuel . . . ”

Samuel Neale

Joseph Gurney to Elizabeth Gurney, “ 24th June, 1783 ” :

“ I left Cork last seventh day after taking leave of many Friends at whose houses I had been entertain’d with great attention. Sam^l Neale

lives in a most delightful situation on the side of a hill & has a garden in which he takes great delight, the best stock'd with fruits of all kinds & in the highest perfection, with which he seems to profit—both in body & mind—in mind as it affords him a comfortable retreat & in body as it supplies his table amply with good vegetables, & fruits the most delicious; indeed he seems the most perfect emblem of peace & plenty I think I know. I am sorry to say it is very different with poor Eben^r Pike. . . .” (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 8, p. 18.)

For Samuel Neale, see vols. ii, vii, x, xiii, xvi, xx.

Elizabeth Walker

If the following refers to Elizabeth Walker of New York State, it must have been less “fearful” than supposed, as this Friend died in 1827 (not 1821 as given in xvi. 15, xxi. 40).

Joseph Gurney to Jonathan Hutchinson, of Gedney, Lincs, 25 xii. 1824:

“I heard at Needham some fearful news of poor Elizabeth Walker. She had been at Petersburg 2 or 3 days, probably not suffer'd to remain there, and left it in a small unaccommodating vessel. I think to Embden a voyage of about 3 days. But the Vessel had not been heard of for a month, the fear is that it is lost, but I yet hope something may turn up. . . . The ravages of the Floods in that city [presumably, Petersburg] have been dreadful; the Wheelers are safe. In the midst, our Fr^d Th^s Shillitoe sat in his lodgings unconscious of the extremity of the case, whilst 3 women were drown'd in the very next house to him.” (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 17, p. 61.)

Mary Leaver

Joseph Gurney to his mother, from Cardiff, vii. 1776:

“On our way to the Passage we took a meeting which Mary Leaver had appointed at Kingsneston. She is an excellent Minister and a most facetious sensible Woman.” (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 5, p. 3.)

Esther Tuke

Joseph Gurney to his brother, John Gurney, from Sheffield, viii. 1776:

“We went through the works of a Fr^d whose name is Wyland [Hoyland]. He introduced us to his sister, Easter Took, wth whom we spent, in a most agreeable manner, that afternoon, and smook'd a pipe wth her in the evening.” (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 5, p. 39.)

Bachelor Payton

In a long letter from Joseph Gurney to his mother at Robert Barclay's, 108, Cheapside, London, dated viii. 1776, we read:

“At Matlock we soon got acquainted with several, and particularly the brother of Catharine Phillips [née Payton], an old Bachelor, who has many peculiarities, mixed with a number of good qualities. He

attended us all the time & shew'd us all the civilitys in his power." (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 5, p. 54.)

William Massey

Joseph Gurney, at Spalding, to his wife, 8 x. 1805 :

" I am now under the roof of a kind and wealthy Friend, in a house perfectly neat, with manners in part after the old fashion & in part partaking of the new. For instance I had a most excellent room and bed but no water in it. I went down to wash in a very neat kitchen & in a pewter bason. Thou hast perhaps heard of Will^m Massey, my present Landlord, son by marriage to Jno. Bateman." (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 11, p. 16.)

John Kendall of Colchester

Joseph Gurney, at Brentwood, to his wife, year only given, 1814 :

" Our first visit of interest [at Colchester ?] was to John Kendall. He is nearly bed-ridden & not so neat in bed as I wish to see old people, but his faculties were alive & his love peculiarly so. I think he may live some time [he died early in 1815, aged 88 years]. He ask'd me to kiss him which I cou'd not refuse tho' it was not just what I lik'd, though I felt much love to him." (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 11, p. 23.)

John Taylor, Preacher and Schoolmaster

Joseph Gurney to his wife, from London, 20 v. 1794 :

" I met my f^d P. Tucket and a very clever man, Taylor of Bristol, who came from the Dissinters into Society. He was a famous (I believe) preacher amongst them and now says a few words amongst us. We had much discourse together & thy Husband's active member was very busy. He seems master of all the Priestlian & other Doctrines even of more modern philosophy. Such a man bearing the simple standard of Quakerism felt therefore like encouragement to me, with whom the art of reasoning has, secretly, too great an influence." (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 11, p. 2.) See vol. xviii. 81.

Clarkson's Life of Penn

Joseph Gurney, of Norwich, to Priscilla H. Gurney, at 2, Queen's Parade, Bath, 20 ii. 1813 :

" I yesterday called on Uncle Bland. He has had much to do of late in looking over some sheets of Clarkson's Life of William Penn. It seems as if it wou'd be a pleasant and an useful work. Uncle B. has furnished some anecdotes and is a good corrector." (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 13, p. 19.)

Henry Frederick Smith, Schoolmaster, Darlington

Joseph Gurney to Priscilla H. Gurney, 24 i. 1819 :

" E. Fry has lately been to Blackwell [village near Darlington] with her two boys [probably, John Gurney, b. 1804 & William Storrs, b. 1806] to place them under the care of Fredk. Smith, Jr., who has a promising

school there. Our eldest grandson [Jonathan (1812-1820), son of Jonathan and Hannah (Gurney) Backhouse] goes with them and Hannah seems pleased with the opportunity of bestowing her guardianship to them all. (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 13, p. 257.) See xix. 105, 107, xx. 25.

John Revoult

Joseph Gurney Bevan, at Hackney, to Joseph Gurney, at Norwich, xii. 1774 :

“ I do not know whether I told thee John Revoult was in Exeter Gaol. His Creditor, it seems, has consented to let him out provided he can pay his fees, for which end he had only about a third of their amount. D. Bell & myself have directed the remainder, about 4 guineas, to be advanced towards the release of our former preceptor.” (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 14, p. 5.) See xix. 25, 28, xx. 82, 86.

Cupid among Gurneys

Joseph Gurney Bevan to Joseph Gurney, 8 ii. 1775 :

“ The joy on the occasion of Jack’s offer to Katherine will be very general. Everybody loves him, therefore every[one] will be pleased to see their favorite united to a woman of whom either acquaintance or fame must have taught them the excellence. . . . Thy observation of the great influence of Cupid in your family is just. . . . I do not seem inclined to claim my privilege as a Gurney & put in for a share of the little archer’s influence & I think thou may pass at least two or three years more in celibacy without any slight to the power of love.” (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 14, pp. 7, 8.) J. G. B. married in 1776 and J. G. in 1784.

Accident to Elizabeth Fry’s son John

Emma Gurney, aft. Pease, at Wanstead, to her sister, Hannah C. Backhouse, at Darlington, “ June 20, 1818 ” :

“ Edward Chapman has just called here with an account that John Fry [1804-] had set fire to a pound of Gunpowder and blown up his face in a terrible manner. His hair was singed and his eyebrows and lashes off, which Astley Cooper says will not grow again. They say that had not the window been open the room would have been blown up where all the children were in bed. Rachel Fry dashed a bason of water into his face which they say was of the greatest use, as it prevented the Gunpowder from shrivelling up the skin. Edward says he is a most curious figure, his face entirely covered, with a slit for his mouth. They are fearful that he is feverish to day.” (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*.)

“ A Perfect Model of True Hospitality ”

Joseph Gurney, at Waterford, to Elizabeth Gurney, at H. Thrale & Co^s, Southwark, London :

“ Reach’d the house of Rich^d Shackleton at Ballitore, where he resides King of a colony of Friends, who are plac’d in & about that delightful

Village, which is situated in a pleasant Valley, well cloath'd with trees & water'd by a lucid brook. The houses are chiefly inhabited by branches of his family & the stile they live in is the most perfect model of true hospitality & primitive simplicity I ever was witness to. 'All Friends & all Strangers find a welcome here, & whilst there remains a place at the board or half a bed in the house, no one is turn'd from the door. The evening we got there, there were so many in the house that even *man & wife* were obliged to be separated to make room for lodging. And the true motherly kindness the excellent woman (R. S.'s wife show'd to all her guests was peculiarly pleasing, as her care of them was accompanied with a chearfulness which remov'd all fear of giving her trouble ; whilst her good husband was alike attentive to every individual but without any of those shackles [!] which frequently make such attention irksome.'" (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 8, p. 8.)

The Appeal of Joseph Foster, 1814

A letter from Joseph Gurney to his wife, dated from Brick Lane, Spitalfields, London, 5 mo. 24, 1814, gives some account of the appeal of Joseph Foster :

" The Committee on Appeals reported they were ready with their decision on Joseph Foster's business. The appellant had a long wail. He began, however, about 12, spoke an hour and the meeting adjourn'd. We began again this afternoon at 4 and he held out till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. The respondents are to begin their reply tomorrow at 4. . . . The subject is really important, conducted on his part with much ability & temper, & I expect we shall find the respondents not less able than himself. Our J. J. G. has been Clerk to the Committee and an able agent in it. The subject is interesting. The real question is within a nutshell but the branches are very extensive. I am pleas'd to find our Sons interest'd in it and not a little knowing, at least so Henry appeared to me in our walk. The subject, thou knowest, is on what is call'd the Divinity of Christ and a *thin partition* tho' important, I think, divides us.

" Tomorrow morning we are in expectation of the Dutchess of Oldenburghs Company at Devonshire House. This intimation is given to Samuel Gurney thro' Charles Buxton, who has been with her Russian connections." (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 11, p. 24.)

Joseph Foster (c. 1761-1835) lived in state at Bromley Hall (xvi. 10, 13). He was a well-known philanthropist. William Ball has some verses on " Joseph Talwin Foster and his Father, Joseph Foster (of Bromley)" in his *Notices of Kindred and Friends Departed*, 1865. William Ball writes :

" The Father to Christ's cause was bound,
And fitting was his word,
' I die a Christian,' when the sound
Of sudden call he heard ! "

Joseph Foster died suddenly at Dorking.

J. J. Gurney and E. Fry in Ireland

Joseph Gurney, to Jonathan Hutchinson, of Gedney, Lincs., 29 iii. 1827 :

“ J. J. G. travels in admiration [i.e. wonder] from day to day of his dear sister's powers & self-possession. Their introductions & their views have been peculiar—from Friends to the Secretary of State, and from him to the Vice Regent—from both assured of their utmost protection and giving them facilities to visit all prisons & public Institutions. Marquis Wellesley appointed a private interview with them and his Lady (deem'd very high & a *Roman Catholic*, had Betsy to console her in her sick room, who found her most quiet & humble. . . . They have had their conference with Catholic priests & *Bishops* (if I am right) with the Archbishop of Dublin, *Maghee*, (the writer on the atonement) and many other Divines—with the Judges of the Land on Capital punishment . . . & so countenanc'd altogether that E. Fry was plac'd by the side of the Judge of Assize at his desire when the prisoners were tried. . . . Their way has been studded with many anecdotes [for one see G. K. Lewis's *Elizabeth Fry*, 1909] but one of the most curious is from Londonderry. They arrived at the Hotel there before they were expected, but as soon as known, the Bells of the Cathedral began to ring, & when they went forward to visit the Jail, the Mayor & Corporation huddled on their gowns & follow'd them in all haste. They afterwards dined at the *Bishops*, and the next morning when they were to have a public meeting, the Bishop & his Wife were the persons personally to inspect the preparations for it. The Bishop then advis'd a Meeting in the Dissenters Meetinghouse. It was held in the evening, & the Bishop, his Lady & many others from the palace were perceiv'd by J. J. G. & E. F., seated just before them—seated in a *Dissenters Mt.* house & heard the *Quakers* preach, & two of those *Quakers females*. Some symptom of toleration ! ” (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 17, p. 66.) A different view of this visit to Ireland appears in Mrs. Greer's *Quakerism*, 1851, pp. 165 ff.

Dr. Arnold on Quakerism

Dr. Arnold wrote to Rev. F. C. Blackstone, in 1835 :—

“ I have always thought that the Quakers stand nobly distinguished from the multitude of fanatics, by seizing the true point of Christian advancement,—the development of the principles of the Gospel in the improvement of mankind. It is a grievous pity that some foolishnesses should have so marred their efficiency, or their efforts against wars and oaths would surely ere this, have been more successful.”

From Dean Stanley's biography of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, 3rd ed., 1890, p. 264.

Forwarded by J. Ernest Grubb.

On Turning Plain

LETTERS and Journals of the Gurney family of about one and a half centuries ago, contain interesting records of movements among birth-right Friends in the direction of a closer adherence to the outward semblance of Quakerism in life, dress and speech, accompanied with a closer attachment to its religious obligations.

In volume xx we printed several letters from Joseph Gurney (1757-1830) to his cousin, Joseph Gurney Bevan (1753-1814), which gave a glimpse of the youthful life, at that period (1772-1776), of prosperous Friends of the gayer type.

Letters between J. G. Bevan and J. Gurney in 1774-1775 of the same type appear in *The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, sect. 14, dealing much with horses, excursions and other subjects dear to the youthful aristocrat. From 1775 to 1791 there is a drop in this correspondence. Meanwhile the cousins have married and more serious subjects form their correspondence, as will be seen in the following letters :

Joseph Gurney writes from Norwich to his cousin, Joseph Gurney Bevan, at Row Court, Lombard Street, London, " 9th 11mo. 1791 " :

" If I am to be bro^t to a plain & honest confession, as a man of common reflection I really feel shame that my resolution is yet too weak to break off from the sports of the Field, tho' I cannot but look upon them as enemies to my peace. Hunting I have left off & coursing I seldom follow, but the Gun sticks by me & I fear swallows up the reward I might have felt for giving up the others ; and thus by being but half willing, that evil part which remains grows stronger & stronger. . . . I can leave off shooting, but to *make covenant* staggers my will, and with the next excursion the glee for the sport revives, tho' the day does not end in quite such vivid colours as it was wont to do. . . . Something of the same nature thou hast had to struggle with tho' not so long resisted nor of so deep a dye.

. . . . A word in *due season* is some times a help, but I do not wish to *save my Pheasants* by *encreasing* thy scruples, tho' I wou'd not have thee expect any more as they are rather a rare article with us."

Joseph Gurney became a Minister and travelled as such, but he was never so exact a Friend as Joseph Gurney Bevan, who received from James Jenkins the title of "our chief disciplinarian" (xx. 71ff). Later letters deal with tithes and taxes, religious education of children, a naval militia, first cousins marriage,¹ plainness of speech, etc.

Joseph Gurney writes to his cousin, 26 vii. 1808, respecting his daughter Hannah, later Hannah Chapman Backhouse (1787-1850), the travelling Minister :

" Our dear Hannah, I may inform thee, continues, we trust, to endeavour after the right thing—the change in her has been with us a matter of mingled joy & anxiety & perhaps of suffering too ; at least it has placed us in a spot in some measure novel, in which whilst we participated with her in her sacrifices, we had to be watchful over ourselves least any thing in us or from us should stimulate or discourage beyond the safe boundary, & from this, thou mayst suppose we have left her much to herself. She is now at Earlham & I do not find she desires to withdraw from her usual associations, whether in or out of Society, or that she seeks the fostering countenance of those more nearly devoted to it. She appears to be a Girl of a strong mind & of sound good sense, not so likely to take anything upon trust, as to follow her own convictions. I desire that she may not soar above her guide. I have confidence that whether she walks in a more or less narrow path than her parents have done before her, they will have strength of mind to rejoice. I trust with joy unfeigned." Thankfulness is expressed that the other children are "keeping aloof from the common gaities of life Tho' their views may as yet be more circumscribed than their elder sister."

¹ John Gurney, of Earlham (1781-1814), married his first cousin, Elizabeth Gurney, of Keswick (1784-1808), in 1807. J. G. Bevan's attachment to Rachel Gurney, sister of Joseph (of The Grove), *circa* 1770, was broken off, they being first-cousins. For such marriages see London Y.M., 1675, 1747, 1801.

J. G. Bevan writes to J. Gurney, 7 i. 1808 : “ No friend in his full senses ever thought that plainness of speech behaviour and apparel made up the whole cross. . . . I have not yet seen many [spiritually] baptized friends who have not a considerable degree attended to those outward things. I therefore am apt to think them, rightly understood, important things: though I know that the disposition, that rather piques itself on looking down on them, slips in readily enough.”

The same to the same, 14 ix. 1812 :

“ I have been gladdened, according to my measure, by hearing that thy name-sake [Joseph John Gurney] had assumed the speech & appearance of a friend.”

He concludes :

“ I am generally at the house of my cousin Paul at Tottenham, whose wife, now with me, is the writer of this & my principal caretaker,” owing to the loss of his wife and to his blindness.

On the other hand J. G. Bevan wrote, in Tenth Month, 1806 :

“ I am sorry to see so many of my young cousins hastening away from the restraints of what I think truth, to the spirit and liberties of the world, yet I retain an interest in their concerns & if I could have my own wishes should see them oftener.”

The private Journals of Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845), *née* Gurney, also bear evidence of this interesting movement among Friends :

1798. *Aet.* 18, a year after her conversion under the ministry of William Savery :

“ Ra & I had a very serious talk to-day upon religion & quakerism, she fearing I should turn plain and I giving reasons for it. . . . I do not believe that she or any one else can prevent my being a true Quaker if I think it right to be one. . . .”

“ This day I have said *thee* instead of you.”

“ Charles Lloyd was here. I felt calling him by his name and *saying thee* to him.”

“ I still continue my belief that I shall turn plain. . . . I find it almost impossible to keep up to the

principles of friends without altering my dress & speech.
 . . . They appear to me a sort of protector to the
 principles of christianity in the present state of the world.
 . . . I think I am a Quaker at heart. . . . I should
 never be surprised to see us all quakers."

"It is odd to me & I believe it is to herself ["Chrissy Gurney"] that she *is not a Quaker*, but she is good without it, but I think she would be happier with it."

1799. *Aet.* 19. Visiting at Hampstead:

"I think I really tryed to act right. It was about wearing a cap which is a step to appearing like a friend, & when the cap is once worn the fasson of the head does not require so much attention. I first put on my cap, then I fear'd I was mistaken. I did it without sufficient authority in my own mind, & I felt it my duty to consult the feelings of dear Rachel & I took my cap off, put on my turbon, determined to try to do right about it. However, after much uncertainty I felt most easy to appear like a quaker & wear my cap which I did."

"I did one thing this morning that required a little courage. I put my handkerchief over instead of under my gown. It was rather a cross to me. Dressing plain is not much a cross to me. I have felt it at times humiliating, but more often I think I wish to have my dress more simple."

"To-day I took up a little cross in dress which was leaving off the band to my cap. If I believe it right, I hope not to wear it again, but yet if I don't see it better not to wear it, do not leave it off."

There are also references in Elizabeth Fry's Journals to the "turning plain" of other Friends:

1798. "I met a young woman, Elizabeth Pryor, who I believe is turning plain."

"Yesterday I was with a girl turning plain. She & I had much talk & I did not quite like the foundation she appeared to go upon."

At Earham, 6 mo. 23 and 24, 1808, E. Fry entered in her diary the same information as that afore given by her uncle:

"On 1st day D. Darby & R. Bird were at meeting & cousin S. Alexander. I certainly do believe that there is an advancement spiritually in the family & a drawing

nearer to friends. I heard yesterday that dear Anna Buxton had begun the simple language & I believe means to alter her dress.

“Yesterday I dined at the grove & my aunt told me that dear Hannah meant to alter her language and put on caps and handkerchiefs. This I think gave me more comfort than the news of yesterday about dear Anna. I did not look for it in her. Truly there appears a great revival & a striking visitation amongst the youth. O Lord preserve them.”

Anna Buxton, afterwards wife of William Forster, was a birthright Friend, but early taught the accomplishments and introduced into the gaities of fashionable life. The following is taken from the *Memoirs of William Forster*, chapter xvii :

Anna Buxton was a fine, lovely girl of remarkable refined and elegant manners, and George III. noticed her with much kindness and affability. [She was living with her mother at Weymouth, see vol. xiii. p. 165.] But continued intercourse with the fashionable world soon lost its charm. . . . Without any marked human instrumentality, strong religious convictions had already taken hold of her mind and these were confirmed by the death of her first-cousin, Elizabeth Gurney, wife of John Gurney, Jun., of Earham.

The modern Friend may smile at the importance felt by the Friends of this period of things which to him seem of little moment, but to the Friend of the “middle-age” the outward appearance was closely allied with the spiritual life—the Quaker dress with the Quaker faith—and *the one helped the other*. We may well believe that Elizabeth Fry’s Quaker dress was a distinct aid to her philanthropic work ; her personal appearance, as she sat in the Mansion House at dinner, conversing with Prince Albert and Sir Robert Peel, supported the inward beauty of her life, as also when at a cold luncheon, she sat by the King of Prussia, who told her that she was the best friend he had in the world and must pay her a visit at her own house.

There are forms of worldliness from which the Friend of to-day is called to “turn” if he would follow the leading of Truth. May he act as conscientiously as they did of whom we have written.

Quakerism in Staffordshire

REV. A. G. MATTHEWS, M.A., of Oxted, formerly of Tettenhall Wood, near Wolverhampton, has written a useful book, *The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire*, with some account of the Puritans, Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers in the county during the seventeenth century (London : Congregational Union, 7½ by 4½, pp. 275). Under the heading of "Henry Haggard, of Stafford," is recorded a dispute in 1654 at Harlaston, between Thomas Pollard, Baptist minister, of Lichfield, and Richard Farnsworth, the Quaker, with a reference to the resultant discussion in print by Farnsworth, Pollard and Haggard (p. 35. see Smith, *Adv. Cata.*). "The activity of the Quakers was chiefly directed, though by no means confined, to the Moorlands about Leek." Richard Hickock, of Chester, was at Leek in 1654 and Thomas Hamersley, of Berry Hill, a Baptist, became a convert (pp. 36, 38). He went to Newcastle (Staffs.), and was the means of detaching Humphrey Woolrich from the Baptist to the Quaker persuasion (p. 39). Sir Bryan Broughton (), of Beaudesert, was a leader in the county and arch-opponent of dissent ; he set himself to unravel plots and destroy plotters believed to be at work in the district and elsewhere. At first he included Quakers with Baptists and Independents, but he later cleared the Quakers as refusing to fight and being only well wishers to the rebels (p. 60). Under the heading of "A Quaker Funeral," we have the account of the attendance of John Gratton, when "prisoner" at Derby, at the funeral of Robert Mellor, of Whitehough, in the parish of Ipstones, in 1684 (p. 81). According to the Return of Conventicles in 1669 there were Friends' meetings at Cheddleton at Thomas Hamersley's, Ipstones (Robert Mellor), Dilhorne (George Amery), Bramshall (Francis French), Horton Helid (William Yardley), Leek (William Davenport), Houghton (Peter Littlelin) (pp. 89ff.).

The following is a list of Friends houses licensed under the Toleration Act :

- 1700 Richard Bowman, Stokely Park, Tutbury.
John Wilcockson, Cauden.
- 1703 Thomas Woolrich, Shawford.
- 1705-6 Samuel Radford, the Bottam, Leek.
New building erected on the land of Walter Pixley, near to
the house of one Thomas Bennett.
- 1706-7 Thomas Silvester, Fradley, Alrewas.
- 1723 Samuel Jesse, Burton-on-Trent.
Elihu Hall, Longnor.
- 1730 John Timis, Stonylow.
- 1731 John Simpson, Long Low, Madeley.
- 1754 New erected building, Tamworth.

The above are given as "Quakers"; there may have been other Friends' houses not described as such. Instances of judgments on persecutors (p. 62) remind us of similar statements in "The Journal of George Fox." The author has fallen into the not uncommon error of stating that the Conventicle Act prohibited "more than five persons" being at a meeting, whereas the Act reads "five or more." See xvii. 100, xix. 137.

In the course of his investigations, Mr. Matthews noted various references to Friends in Staffordshire and kindly sent the following :

"One indenture dated the 3rd of the month called December, 1671, wherein William Heath of Kingsley in the county of Stafford, grants unto Humphrey Wall, Thomas Duce, of Dovebridge, John Scott, of Stramshall & Walter Pixley of Uttoxeter, one parcel of land lying in Stramshall aforesaid containing in length 20 yards & in breadth 12 yards lying at one end of a croft, for a burying place in trust for the use of the people called Quakers."

[This at the s.w. angle of the field in which Stramshall church stands and locally known as the "Quakers' Bit." Redfern says men digging for marl struck lead coffins there.]

"One copy of a deed of gift wherein Robert Heath of Nether Tean conveys unto the people called Quakers one messuage house lying & being in Uttoxeter in a street called Carter Street for certain uses therein expressed ; that is to say the house aforesaid to be for a public meeting house for the worship of God & that part of the land thereto belonging to be set apart for a burying place for ye aforesaid people, & also that there shall be paid out of the profits arising from the said premises yearly & every year by the said people the sum of one pound eleven shillings for the use of publique friends in the ministry for provision both for man & horse when they come to the meeting. Nominating & appointing Walter Pixley, John Alsop, Richard Bowman and Thomas Shipley trustees to take care that all things contained in that grant be fulfilled to the times, intent, & meaning thereof. Dated the 27th of the month called March, 1700." (Redfern, *Uttoxeter*, 2nd ed., pp. 245ff.)

Staffordshire. Hundred of Totmonslowe. Grindon.

"The presentment of the constable of Grindon according to the book of articles delivered to him by the High Constable, this 19th day of July 1662.

(2) These present Richard Buxton, Symon Buxton, James Smyth, George Epworth and Richard Addams of Grindon, husbandmen and such as are called Quakers, who do frequently meet at Richard Buxton his house in Grindon aforesaid." (Sleigh, *History of Leek*, p. 196.)

Writ to the Sheriff of Staffordshire.

"Forasmuch as at the general gaol delivery held for the County of Stafford in the said county upon Monday the one & twentieth day of July in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles

the Second of England & before Sir Robert Hide, Knight, one of the King's most honourable Justices of the Common Pleas & Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Knight, & other of the King's most honourable Justices of the Common Pleas . . . Henry Fidoe of Wed[ne]sbury, . . . ironmonger, Robert Nayle of Wolverhampton, yeoman, & Thomas Wall, of Dudley . . . were legally indicted & convicted upon their respective trials as Quakers that maintained the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever (although before a lawful magistrate) is altogether unlawful & contrary to the word of God and for that they did assemble themselves together at one time from their several habitations into the dwelling house of one Samuel Whitehouse in the parish of Tipton . . . above five in number under pretence of joining in a religious worship not authorised by the laws of this realm contrary to an act of Parliament in that case lately made & provided, upon which conviction the said Henry Fidoe is fined 20s and the said Robert Nayle & Thomas Wall at £5 apiece.

“In case of non-payment distraint on goods or if no goods the house of correction for 3 months with hard labour.” (Gaol Book 1656-1679. Assizes 2¹ Record Office.)

Contributors to the erection of a meetinghouse at Stafford in 1674: Walter Pixley of Uttoxeter £2. George Godridge of Doveridge £1.10.0. Humphrey Ball of Doveridge £1.10.0. William Hixon of Tean, £1.10.0.

Banbury, Co. Oxon

BANBURY, CO. OXON.—Extracts from transcripts at Bodleian Library, Oxford.

1704, April.

“Edward Wills, Quaker, was buried y^e 30th day.”

1704, May.

“Andrew Long was married at y^e Quakers Meeting House, y^e 8th day.”

1705/6, February 8.

“Rob^t, son of Jno. Baker, Quaker, baptized, Neathorpe.”

Information from Col. H. Southam, Woking.

FICTION.—The novel: *A Fair Jacobite, A Tale of the Exiled Stuarts*, by H. May Poynter, published in 1904, has references to “Hannah Penn.”—“‘Why is a Quaker neat, Aunt?’ ‘Whether ’t is by nature or religion, I could not say. The only one I am acquainted with is Hannah Penn and she always was as properly neat as a pink’” (p. 62). Our author represents *Hannah Penn* to be acquainted with the life of the exiles at St. Germain (chap. vi), whereas it was Penn's first wife, *Gulielma Maria*, who is said to have paid yearly visits to France. Queen Maria Beatrice is made to speak of her “faithful friend *Hannah Penn*, now, alas, no more” (p. 142). An aunt of the heroine of the story living in Kent “joined the Society of Friends and was about to betake herself to their colony in Hertfordshire” (p. 239).

Dorothy Ripley

Unaccredited Missionary

THE principal authorities for the life and travels of Dorothy Ripley (1767-1831) are autobiographical. She wrote fully, hoping to profit by the sale of her books.

In 1810 appeared in New York a 12mo volume: *The Extraordinary Conversion and Religious Experience of Dorothy Ripley*, containing 168 pages, and an eight-page address to the Mayor and Corporation of New York, dated 7th month, 1810. A second edition followed in 1817 (copies in **D**), printed by Darton, Harvey and Co., of London. The Preface was written "On Board Ship Herald, 10th mo. 1809," and there follows an address "to the impartial reader of every denomination," dated "London, 21st of 7th mo. 1817." Later, a further record of her experiences, entitled: *The Bank of Faith and Works United*, was issued in Philadelphia, in 1819, and Whitby, England, in 1822. The second edition (copies in **D**) has a Preface dated: "Whitby, 4th 9th mo. 1822." The first volume covers the period from birth to a return from America in Eighth Month, 1803, and the second begins a few months later and leaves its author at Charlestown, South Carolina, in Third Month, 1806. The copies in use for this article were presented to **D** by the late Joseph T. Sewell, of Whitby, with some notes of his from lectures on their author.

Dorothy Ripley, daughter of William Ripley,¹ of Whitby, Yorkshire, was born "24th 4th month, 1767." She came early under strong religious influence, her father being a close friend of John Wesley. When three years old, playing on the floor, a voice sounded in her ear: "It is a sin to play; rise and pray." Her father died in 1784, aged forty-five, her mother in 1802; a brother, William, died in 1782, aged nineteen, a sister, Mary, in 1788 and another sister, Ann, in 1796. Sisters Sarah and Catherine were living in 1805.

As Dorothy grew up, she became much attracted to

Friends, using the plain language and the numbers of the months, and wearing a Quaker bonnet. She would spend several hours a day reading Barclay's *Apology*. A request for membership was made, but hearing nothing in reply for two years, she asked the reason, and could only obtain as answer: "We cannot tell." She writes:

They knew not what to think of me, for there were none in that part who had received the Lord Jesus Christ after this manner.

Friends distrusted her motive and her prudence, and they may have become aware of her proposed travels in the interests of "poor Ethiopia's children," and that she would expect a certificate if a member; for she states:

The Lord commanded me to "go ten thousand miles," to provide neither gold nor silver and leaning on no arm of flesh.

Individual Friends, however, had a personal regard for her. Although Jonathan Sanders, of Whitby, had his doubts, his son and daughter-in-law, George Sanders, a prominent Minister, and Jane, his wife, were her warm friends; also Mary Linskill² stood by her.

On the 29th of Twelfth Month, 1801, at three o'clock in the morning—a non-member and without official approval—Dorothy Ripley left home on her long journey. It was six in the evening before the carrier's cart reached Malton, "where a Quaker family, named Mennell,"³ gave her a night's lodging. In York, she met William Crotch,⁴ who was travelling in the ministry.

He enquired whither I was going. I told him I was proceeding to Washington. He said: "I have a certificate and yet have not gone to America, and art thou going without one?" My answer was: "I have not a certificate written with pen and ink, yet I believe my way will be made plain."

Joseph and Mary Awmack⁵ entertained her in York, where she met "Eliz. H."⁶

On the 4th 1st month 1802 I walked nine miles that afternoon and then rode in the waggon all night to save expence of a bed and to be ready for break of day, that I might set off on foot again.

En route for London, Dorothy had some serious talk with the wagoner, and on arrival he conducted her to Devonshire House, where she met Samuel and Mary Brady,⁷ and at the meeting heard Priscilla Hannah Gurney, "an highly favoured minister." S. and M. Brady took her to their home in St. Mary Axe, hard by.

I was with this kind family twelve nights and purposed sailing from London, but could not get a passage to America under fifty guineas Some worldly Quakers said to me: "Well, thou wilt go from here to Bristol and from thence to Liverpool and thence home to Whitby," which I answered in silence.

On the way to Bristol, D. Ripley met Sarah Kingsley⁸ in Reading, who was a daughter of Samuel Brady; at Newbury she was entertained by a tinner in one of the almshouses. At Bath, after walking up and down the city, she went to Thomas Witton's⁹ shop and said: "Art thou a Quaker?" After T. Witton had proved her by many questions, he invited her into his house. William Daverall¹⁰ offered her a bed. At meeting next morning David Sands¹¹ preached, also P. H. Gurney,¹² who invited Dorothy to her house to tea. D. Sands said to her: "I would have thee consider well what thou art about, for I have only found one old England." These two Friends sent our traveller on to Bristol to John and Margaret Waring,¹³ who proved friends to her.

I got to Bristol after ten, so I went straight to meeting, although my shoes were very wet in walking twelve miles through the mire. The Lord provided all my stores and paid twelve guineas for my passage.

On the 13th of Second Month, 1802, D. Ripley left England in the brig *Triton*, Gilbert Howland, Quaker captain. The Warings and William Lewis¹⁴ bid her farewell.

Since I have left Whitby I have travelled five hundred miles in faith, and am now surrounded with blessings, with this testimony that God will land me safe.

Arrived off Rhode Island at sunbreak on the first of Fourth Month, Thomas Robinson,¹⁵ a Friend, was told by the mate that "there was a woman on board, and he supposed that she was a public friend; which excited Sarah Robinson to send for me immediately to dine," this couple being very kind to the new arrival and at meeting placed her in the gallery between her hostess and "another minister whom I knew when on a religious visit to England." At the afternoon meeting Dorothy spoke and prayed, and later went on board again for New York, which was reached 7 iv. 1802. Here she made the acquaintance of R. and E. Bowne.¹⁶ These Friends and John Barrows gave her a letter of introduction to Ann Miffin,¹⁷ of Philadelphia.

Her companions in the stage across New Jersey were two men, one from Boston and the other from Philadelphia. During this night journey, the two men assaulted her

bent on my destruction, if possible, before the day approached. Struggling till I was weary, I overcame those two monsters of iniquity, and God gave me the victory over them, till they lay with submission and shame at my feet.

Dorothy Ripley attended the Philadelphia Y.M. 1802. Four Ministers labored with her to give up the thoughts of going to Washington to interview President Jefferson, but James Pemberton¹⁸ said to them: "Let her alone, and let her pursue her own prospect, for you will see stranger things happen soon than this—a woman going alone." Phebe Pemberton and Ann Miffin accompanied her to Darby, and gave her into the charge of John Hunt¹⁹ and his wife, who forwarded her to Chichester,

but left me in sorrow, from the opposition of S. T.,²⁰ who could not think of setting such an insignificant person forward to visit the President,

but she allowed her black man to take her in the chaise to Wilmington. Here, Samuel and William Canby²¹ befriended her, and the latter took her further, to Stanton to Thomas Stapler's and on to Charlestown to S. Hog's and Baltimore to John M'Kims,²² reaching Washington on the fourth of Fifth Month.

I had a letter of recommendation to Dr. Wm. Thornton,²³ and went to deliver it as soon as we got into the city, where I found many gay persons, with three Secretaries, spending the evening cheerfully together. J. M.²⁴, Secretary of State, had his wife present, who politely gave me an invitation to make my home with them, and General [Henry] Dearborn, Secretary of War, offered to accompany me to the President.

In the morning I went to visit the President, accompanied by General Dearborn, Dr. Thornton, and my old friend, W. Canby, who with myself were all introduced to him by the Vice-President, who conducted us to his sitting-room, where he received us with handsome conduct, and listened to my tale of woe. I said my concern was, at present, for the distressed Africans "I also wish to have thy approbation before I move one step in the business, understanding thou art a slave-holder."

The President then rose from his seat, bowing his head and replying: "You have my approbation and I wish you success, but I am afraid you will find it an arduous task to undertake." Enquiring how many slaves the President had, he informed me that some time since he had three hundred, but the number was decreased.

From Washington, William Canby and his protégée went to Snow Hill, where they were entertained by Samuel Snowdon,²⁵ and to Baltimore where James Carey²⁶ received them; and at Wilmington Dorothy left her companion and travelled alone to Philadelphia where she remained a week at the house of her dear friend Ann Mifflin.²⁷ Still travelling northward, she was a night at Margaret Morris's²⁸ in Burlington, N.J., and by way of the homes of Sarah Morris, Thomas Potter, R. and H. White and J. Shotley's²⁹

at Rahway, she arrived in New York on the 23rd of Fifth Month, 1802, to attend the Yearly Meeting.

Early next month, several Friends having entrusted Elizabeth Bowne with money for the traveller, she went by sea to Alexandria, Maryland. On the way another trial overtook her, by the conduct of a young man, afterwards referred to as C. A.,³⁰ a professed Friend.

This young man being disposed to take undue liberties with me, was sharply reproved, and hated me excessively in consequence, and could think of no other remedy to prevent him being exposed, except making me appear in the sight of others what he was in the sight of God and in my eyes, a vile person.

P. and M. Wanton entertained our distressed traveller and took her to Occoquan Mills, whence Elizabeth Ellicott³¹ accompanied her on a horse she lent her, *via* M.M. at Waterford, to Richmond, Va. Here new troubles beset.

E. E. took me to M. Jenney's³² who were full of company, and who had set forward a rogue for an honest Quaker, therefore they said they would have nothing to do with me Attending the meeting for worship, I was greatly consoled by M. Newbole's³³ testimony, which reached my condition.

Mahlon Janney relenting somewhat, D. Ripley dined at his house and there was "a sitting from five to seven, during which M. Newbole supplicated," but at night Dorothy was turned out, Sarah Janney telling her "in a harsh spirit very unlike a Christian," she could not sleep there. A stranger gave her a night's lodging.

S. J. told me since, that she asked this friend [Elizabeth Ellicott] to take me home and entertain me, and would now give me a night's lodging herself.

Passing again to the South she halted at the house of I. and A. Hirst and then at that of their parents, I. and M. Hirst, where "S. S., her daughter," was helpful. A public Friend, R. Smith, lent her a horse for the next stage.

Bardard Taylor went with me to South Fork meeting, which was very small indeed.

I was baptized into the state of every meeting, wherever I came, although I was commanded to remain silent.

W. and M. Reeder are next noted, entertaining "with a degree of hospitality," at whose house B. Taylor left her with great fear, not knowing what would become of her, but M. Reeder gave her his promise to set her to Rector Town. She reviews her journey in the words:

I have been led a long round, against the minds of many well-disposed Quakers, who fear the truth will suffer on account of my singularity, and they do not consider disobedience or wilful neglect will do more harm.

2d 7th mo Joseph Gourley took me to Fauquir Court-House, a place where Friends are entertained in the best manner, free of expence, if they are moving from a religious concern.

Friend Gourley still accompanied his charge; they over-nighted at J. and M. Sharp's, and the next day attended a meeting some miles further, after which Robert and Unice Painter³⁴ took her under their care and J. Gourley returned the forty-five miles home again.

"I heard of a young man who was willing to take me forty miles, but I felt very uneasy with it," yet all went well, and passing through Stafford and Fredericksburgh and holding several services at one of which many young Baptists were present, they reached Caroline County, and she attended the week-day meeting in borrowed clothes, her own being wet through and she having no change.

They judged very hard things of me, having such a poor appearance. J. Terrell³⁵ looked sternly at me and asked where I came from. I said, "England." He answered, "Thou art an Irish woman"; and a sister of M. T. replied, "So I think." J. T. then looked at me again, with his dark mind enveloped with sin and secret iniquity, and accosted me thus: "Thou has left thy country for no good deeds, and art a lewd

woman." "I think the same," said the relation of this man, who was an Elder, and she the clerk of the monthly meeting. He then said: "Thou art a desolate woman." I immediately affirmed that I was under the care of Providence and therefore could not be desolate. . . . Much more he said of an insulting nature. I close this melancholy day with saying, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

The next morning the woman Friend came into my room, that was clerk of the meeting, who was a woman advanced in years. Her business I had no need to ask, for she like a tyrant demanded me to rise, saying I was a discredit to women and I had come there for none of my good deeds . . . I should be examined by a magistrate and be put into the work-house to be taught to work. J. T., the Elder, afterwards asked a number of questions and tried to compel me to comply with their base opinion of me so that if there had been any evil in my soul, they would have brought it to light.

But help was at hand.

A Friend, Christopher Anthony,³⁶ an aged Minister, had ridden twenty miles without breakfast, not knowing why, till he arrived, and rescued me, ordering the Terrells to send me forward, which Matthew Terrell was very glad of, because he had already agreed to take me along with his wife. My false accusers being put to shame, I arose and saluted the woman friend and said: "I forgive thee." They were sharply reprov'd by some deeply exercised minds belonging to that yearly meeting for their rash censure.

The Quarterly Meeting for Caroline County, Virginia, convened the ninth of Seventh Month, 1802, C. Anthony ministering helpfully.

Having felt sympathy with me, he proposed to Friends that they should sit with me a little, as they had done in Philadelphia, when he was present; but they said that as I was not one of them, they would

not have anything to do with me, which was quite agreeable to me for I desired no further instruction.

Clark Moorman³⁷ was the next host, who had set forty of his slaves free in one day.

At his house I record the goodness of the Lord to me, for I have beheld some proud, haughty, unfeeling women since I came into Virginia, and am ashamed that they bear the name of Quakers.

And now the last stage of the long journey Southward was reached. T. and C. Harris³⁸ took the weary traveller home with them, and the former drove her into Richmond, pointing out to her "the workshops of Solomon and Gabriel, who were the ringleaders of the blacks who determined to destroy Richmond." The first call was upon a widow, A. C.

but her door was shut against me so far that she testified vehemently if I stayed in her house she would leave it. My virtue was there abused by C. A. whom I met on my way to Alexandria.

But friends were raised up, and M. and M. Davis³⁹ welcomed her with the words: "We can receive thee the same as if thou hadst brought a certificate with thee." C. A. endeavoured to poison the minds of these Friends and also of Samuel and Sarah Parsons,⁴⁰ with a view to shut their doors to her.

He laboured to convince those friends that I was a base woman, and then entangled himself by saying that I was willing to comply with his request and that he supposed me a person of that description, which made him offer.

At the request of the beslandered woman, eight men and five women met her (her accuser declining to be present) and sat three hours together in consultation and enquiry. The following was issued as a result, and C. A. passes out of the history:

"The bearer hereof, Dorothy Ripley, having been among us several weeks, during which time some disagreeable reports had gotten out to her prejudice, in

consequence of which, and at her request, we, the undersigned, met together to make the necessary enquiry relative thereto ; which being done, we could not find that those reports ought to lessen her in the esteem of any, believing they proceeded from prejudice. And the said Dorothy is (in our opinion) an innocent, well-meaning person who claims the care and sympathy of Friends.

SAMUEL PARSONS.
 THOMAS LADD.
 GEORGE WINSTON.
 SARAH PARSONS.

“ Richmond, Virginia, 8th mo 22d. 1802.”

J. Winston sent me a few lines to trust in God and inclosed in a paper a piece of drab muslin for a gown, and one pair of silk gloves, which were gratefully received as I was in want of both.

After six weeks in Richmond, D. Ripley returned to Baltimore City, meeting again several Friends she had met on her southern trip and others, as Jacob Branson⁴¹ of Stafford, James Ladd⁴², Emma Cobb, J. Christy, Nathaniel Ellicott, Sarah Matthews, William Morgan, of Georgetown, Hannah Little, J. Schofield, M. and S. Atkinson, B. and S. Gilpin at Sandy Spring⁴³, and Samuel Snowdon at Snow Hill.

About this time, Dorothy Ripley, revealing the subjects occupying her thoughts, exclaims :

Lord, bear me up while I travail in spirit for the African race, and while I mourn for the recovery of the Jews and the restoration of the ten tribes who were led away captives by Shalmaneser, King of Assyria,

subjects not usually occupying the minds of Friends.

During Y.M. at Baltimore, x. 1802, D. Ripley was the guest of J. and C. Thornbrough. Mary Mifflin⁴⁴ invited her “ to dine with a goodly company of women Friends who were ministers. I think there were twenty of us, and some nigh four-score years old, a beautiful sight such as I had not seen before.”

Fearing the fever prevailing in the city, she returned to Snow Hill with S. Snowdon, having a free discussion on the subject of slavery with this Quaker slave-owner. Arrived again in Washington, she made her way to Hannah Little's but found the house full of "more honourable friends," so lodged near "with some tender people." Next day John Woodside, a Methodist, called and took her to his house, where she was hospitably entertained by J. and E. Woodside.

On the following Sunday she was invited to attend the Methodist meeting, but felt that her way would be closed among Friends if she went among Methodists. Having a Divine intimation, however, that if one way was closed another would open, she replied: "I think I will go with you." This was a distinct turning-point in her life. An invitation to preach at night was given and accepted, and her work in Washington City and elsewhere henceforth was largely and more freely carried forward in non-Quaker surroundings.

Aided by her Methodist friends she journeyed to Baltimore, and called on James Carey, expecting a rebuff, but this kind man welcomed her and sent for her baggage. It had been passed round that she had left the Quakers and some of them were "kind enough" to send word of this in different directions.

We cannot dwell on our author's extra-Quaker proceedings, save to say that she was introduced to many prominent people at a Methodist Conference, including two Bishops, Whatcoat and Asbury, and was soon at work among the members of this religious community and at her special concern among the African slaves.

Assisted by a donation from Martha Carey, D. Ripley went forward to Philadelphia and was kindly received by James and Phebe Pemberton. Attending Friends meetings (but not business meetings) she received much comfort from the addresses of Jesse Kersey⁴⁵ and George Dillwyn⁴⁶ and from Martha Routh⁴⁷ from England. She met also "Mary Morton⁴⁸, formerly named Robinson, from Rhode Island."

P. P. was led to deal very plainly with me, having told her that I should return to England and come back again. She advised me, if I left this country,

to settle quietly down, and not think of returning again, fearing my way would be shut up among Friends, which she warned me of. Painful hath it been to me to be thus saluted, when I must be sent on a mission of love by my God, whom I dare not refuse to obey.

Meetings were held with the Africans, to the great relief of her mind, early in May, 1803.

Of the Y.M. in New York she writes :

It was large and attended by some precious friends I rejoice that I ever met with this people, whom I often lament for, because so many live not in the pure Principle of Truth.

Dorothy Ripley left New York on the 28th of Sixth Month, 1803, accompanied to the wharf

by my sympathizing friends, R. and E. Bowne, R. Lawrence⁴⁹ and Susannah Judge⁵⁰. R. Bowne has exerted himself much in behalf of the rights of Africans.

The vessel was *Young Factor*, and "Capt. Saban Gardner took twenty guineas for my passage and victualling in the cabin." Gravesend was reached on the fifth of Eighth Month, 1803 ; and at once fresh troubles bestrew her path, when the Gravesend boat which she had boarded, and on which she "felt wretched beyond description and exceedingly sick," had landed her on shore in Billingsgate.

After avoiding some "ruffians" who offered to help her with her luggage, she escaped "this sink of iniquity," and went to a Quaker's house where she thought there was safety. Here she was the scorn of some of the servants with whom she breakfasted. S. and M. Brady again befriended her and she met David Sands again at the house of Joseph Smith.⁵¹ With help from some Friends, for her coachfare, she set out for York, 7th of Eighth Month.

When I went to M. A. [Mary Awmack] she was greatly surprised to see me and addressed me thus : "Where hast thou come from? We thought we had got fairly shut of thee when thou wast gone to America, and would have no more trouble with thee."

However, Joseph Awmack provided her with means to proceed to Whitby. The last call was on John and Mary Armitage, who, contrary to expectation, received her with the words: "We are glad to see thee, to bring tidings of thyself," but who catechised her as to her work in connection with the Methodists.

Thus, on the 14th of Eighth Month, 1803, after travelling ten thousand miles by land and sea, this unaccredited missionary reached her home. But it was not to rest for long.

I was made to understand that my things must be prepared against the latter end of twelfth month, 1804, and that a new mission must be given me to go forth twenty thousand miles.

Here ends the volume of Dorothy Ripley's *Religious Experience*, and here we must, for a while, leave her, hoping later to gather together what scattered data of her further movements we can find, as given in her *Bank of Faith and Works* and elsewhere; and also to present some thoughts on her life and mission.

NOTES

¹ William Ripley (c. 1739-1784) was a follower and companion of John Wesley (*Proceedings of Wesley Hist. Soc.* iv. 127, vi. 37). His daughter published, in Philadelphia, in 1827, some *Memoirs* of her father (not in **D**). J. H. Cunningham was the printer.

² Mary Linskill, widow, was one in whom "beauty, wisdom, riches, honour, virtue and piety all met together" (quoted in lecture by Robert T. Gaskin, of Whitby). Mr. Gaskin adds: "In twenty years Mary Linskill had known an equal number of persons received into membership amongst the Friends, but none, she said, had been ornaments to their profession." David Sands calls her "a true mother in Israel" (*Journal*, 1848, p. 78).

³ George Mennell (1761-1822) was a draper in Malton. In 1792 he married Hannah, daughter of Matthew and Lucy Hutchinson. They removed to York where they died. They had one son, George, who only lived seven months.

Information from George Henry Mennell, of York and London, 1925.

⁴ William Crotch (d. 1805) came into contact with Dorothy Ripley again on the other side of the Atlantic. There is an account of his remarkable life and sad death in vol. xv. See also vols. xvi, xvii, xix, xx.

⁵ Joseph and Mary (Collier) Awmack were worthy members of York Meeting.

⁶ This was, probably, Elizabeth Hoyland (1757-1839). She is mentioned later, by name, in the narrative. As Elizabeth Barlow, of Sheffield, she married, in 1781, John Hoyland (1752-1831), of the same town. In 1818 J. and E. Hoyland removed to Northampton. John Hoyland appears to have left Friends and to have returned later. E. Hoyland was a Minister. They both died at Northampton (ii. 137). See Testimony, ms. in D. There was another Elizabeth Hoyland (1761-1827), daughter of William and Mary Hoyland, of Sheffield, who went to America and married Thomas Walker (*Bulletin F.H.S.* vi. 93; *Journal of David Sands*, p. 179; *Memorials of New York Y.M.*, 1846).

⁷ Samuel and Mary Brady lived in St. Mary Axe, in the City of London, near to Devonshire House. They moved later to Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk.

⁸ Sarah Kingsley (c. 1769-1833) was the wife and widow of Robert Henry Kingsley, who at the time of marriage in 1801 was also a resident in St. Mary Axe. He died in 1812, aged forty-one. She died in London.

⁹ The name of Thomas Witton appears in connection with Bath. He died in 1844, aged 80, a Friend. At the death of his wife, Mary, in 1814, she was apparently a non-member (so marked N.M. in register of death).

¹⁰ In the Bristol and Somerset Burial Registers appears the name of William Deverall, millwright, of London, who died at Salford, near Bath, in 1808, aged forty-two.

¹¹ David Sands (1745-1818) was a Minister from Cornwall, State of New York. He came among Friends by conviction, and laboured abundantly in his own land and in Europe. His service was specially fruitful in New England. In 1771 he married Clementine Hallock. See his *Journal*, London, 1846; vols. vi, vii, ix, xv, xvi, xvii, xx.

D. Ripley writes that David Sands was the first Quaker Minister she ever heard. He was, on the whole, favourable to her mission. In 1804 he wrote: "Shouldst thou think it right to return to America, I shall (if living) consider it my Duty to do what I can for thee, and hope thou wilt consider me unshaken in my love and regard for thee."

¹² Priscilla Hannah Gurney (1757-1828) was a noted Minister (see vol. xx). At the time of their second meeting she was probably on a visit to Christiana, her sister, in Bath; Bath became her home later.

¹³ John Waring (-1837) was of the Alton family, and removed to Bristol in 1777. His wife was Margaret.

¹⁴ Doubtless, William Lewis (1753-1816), of Bristol, of whom a little book of *Memoirs* was printed in Bristol in 1819. "His mind becoming gradually convinced of our religious principles, he was admitted a member of our Society in the year 1798" (*Annual Monitor*, 1818, p. 18). He was a Minister about fourteen years, but did not travel far from home. Samuel Emlen (1730-1799), of Philadelphia, when on a visit to Europe, was helpful in establishing Lewis in the implications of Quakerism (Elizabeth S. Pennell, on Samuel Emlen, in *Quaker Biographies*, vol. iii. 1909).

¹⁵ Thomas Robinson and Sarah, his wife, of Newport, R.I., were great entertainers of visiting Ministers. Rebecca Jones was there in 1793 and writes that their "daughter Mary is like to become 'a crown' to John

Morton. They have passed one meeting" (*Memorials*, 1849, p. 204). In 1795 T. and S. Robinson were, apparently, living at Vergennes, in Vermont. Joshua Evans writes in his *Journal*, vi. 1795: "At Vergennes, in Vermont, I met with Thomas Robinson and his wife, kind friends who came from Rhode Island to settle here." (Comly, *Miscellany*, vol. x (1837), p. 73.)

¹⁶ These were, probably, Robert and Elizabeth Bowne, of New York, mentioned in *The Thomas Book, giving the Genealogies of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., the Thomas Family descended from him, and of some Allied Families*, by Lawrence Buckley Thomas, D.D., New York, 1896. Robert Bowne (1744/5-c. 1818) was one of the first directors of the Bank of New York and for twenty-four years vice-president of the New York Hospital (ms. note in D). "Robert was a very wealthy man and had a large house, which, as he was very hospitable, was usually full of guests. It is said that he rarely sat down to a meal without a table-ful of visitors" (W. H. S. Wood, *Friends in New York in the Nineteenth Century*, 1904).

¹⁷ Ann Mifflin (-1815) was the wife of Warner Mifflin (1745-1798), of Philadelphia, and a well-known Minister. She was a daughter of George Emlen, 3rd. (Emlen pedigree, ms. in D.)

¹⁸ James Pemberton (1723-1809) and Phebe, his third wife, were very kind to Dorothy, although she could not see it right to follow their advice. They reappear several times in the narrative.

¹⁹ John Hunt (c. 1753-1836), of Darby, Pa. In "Sarah Watson's Narrative," given in volume ii of Comly's *Friends' Miscellany*, we read: "Called at Darby and dined with John Hunt and his wife [Rachel]. Were entertained with much freedom, and I was delighted with viewing their garden, the beauty of which, like Solomon's house, exceeded the description that had been given of it" (p. 190). There is an obituary notice of John Hunt in vol. ix of the *Misc.* and references in *The Journal of John Comly* (1773-1850), pp. 313, 319, 523. He was an Elder.

²⁰ The Friend who opposed and hindered the "concern" of Dorothy Ripley is given by her with initials only, "S. T." It appears probable that Sarah Talbot was the Friend. She was the wife of John Talbot, of Chichester, Pa., and travelled as a Minister in both hemispheres. Sarah Watson writes: "Lodged at John Talbot's, in Chichester. . . . His wife had travelled, in spreading the gospel, through England, Ireland and Scotland, and entertained us with enlivening anecdotes. . . . She appears to be a mother in the Church and in the neighbourhood in which she lives" (Comly, *Misc.* ii. 191). She was in Europe from 1796 to 1800. We feel sorry for her attitude towards poor Dorothy and hope that she felt somewhat condemned when she heard of the successful visit to the President.

²¹ Samuel Canby lived at Brandywine and attended Wilmington Meeting of which he was a prominent member.

Sarah Watson, a travelling Minister of Pa., "put up at William Canby's; a family where peace seems to have built her nest, and religion united in rendering every disposition conformable to domestic harmony; and that charity, which is properly termed love, appears to preside over all their conversation" (Comly's *Miscellany*, vol. ii (1836), p. 192).

²² The McKim family, of Maryland, appears in *A Sketch of "Old Town" Meeting House, Baltimore*, 1881. John McKim left in his will a bequest of ten thousand dollars to found a free school, which was established in 1821, and money was left by his widow, Mary, for charitable purposes.

²³ Dr. William Thornton (1761-1828) was a Friend of wealth and position. "He became the friend of Washington and in 1802 he was made the first Commissioner of Patents" (Jenkins, *Tortola*, 1923, chap. x).

²⁴ This was James Madison (1751-1836), who was Secretary of State in both the administrations of President Thomas Jefferson (b. 1743, d. 1826), and became President in 1809. Madison's wife was Dorothy (Payne) Madison (1768-1849); she was a Friend and thus likely to be interested in her name-sake. See *Dorothy Payne, Quakeress*, by Ella K. Barnard, 1909; vol. vii. p. 38; *Bulletin F.H.S.* iv. 47.

The Vice-President was Aaron Burr.

²⁵ Probably Samuel Snowdon (1766-1823), who married Elizabeth Cowman in 1796, and had issue. See *The Thomas Book*, 1896, p. 516.

²⁶ James Carey (1751/2-1834) was a Quaker merchant and banker and also interested in the negro population. He married into the Ellicott family.

²⁷ Elizabeth Drinker wrote in her Journal, 12 v. 1802:

"Nancy Mifflin, with Dorothy Ripley, were here this evening. D. Ripley is lately from Great Britain, under a sense of duty to go to the city of Washington, there to set up a school to instruct young negroes in reading, writing, &c. She has been to Washington and has received encouragement from Jefferson, ye President and others. William Canby went with her; she seems inclined to unite with Friends, and that they should unite with her, tho' she is not a member" (*Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 1889, p. 371).

²⁸ Presumably, Margaret Morris (1737-1816), daughter of Richard Hill, of Maryland, and wife and widow of William Morris, to whom she was married in 1758. An article on her "Revolutionary Journal" appeared in *Bulletin F.H.S.*, vol. ix (1919), pp. 2ff. There is a portrait in *Recollections of John Jay Smith*, 1892, p. 14. See Gummere, *Friends in Burlington*, Phila., 1884, p. 58.

²⁹ That is, Joseph Shotwell (1747-1817), of Rahway. He is mentioned several times in volume ix of Comly's *Miscellany*, which prints the Journal of Robert Willis (1713-1791), who lived with Joseph Shotwell upwards of twenty years (see pp. 296, 314, 317, 335). Mary Whitall (1803-1880), in her *Memoir*, 1885, p. 18, inserts a letter from her father, John Tatum, dated 1815, in which he writes: "We lodged at Joseph Shotwell's. They are rich and have no children." Shotwell occurs also in the journals of William Reckitt and Daniel Stanton. In 1774 he married Elizabeth Greenleaf, of Philadelphia (Shotwell, *Annals of our Colonial Ancestors*, Lansing, Mich., 1895-7, p. 149).

³⁰ We cannot identify the youth, "C. A.", and perhaps it is well so. A foot-note states: "This young man, C. A., has been disowned by the Monthly Meeting of which he was a member." We do not find any mention of this among disownments in *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia*, 1905. Christopher Anthony, mentioned later, had a son, Christopher, who would at this period be about twenty-six years of age. In 1812 Ann Anthony (wife of Christopher Anthony) with her infant children, James and Mary Ann, removed from Cedar Creek to South River (*ibid.* p. 123). But this "C. A." may not spell "Christopher Anthony."

³¹ Ellicott, of Maryland, was a well-known wealthy Quaker family, established near Baltimore City, since 1772, and founders of Ellicott

City (*Sketch of "Old Town" Meeting House, Baltimore, 1881, p. 12*). George and Andrew Ellicott are mentioned in Comly's *Miscellany*, vol. vii (1835), p. 295ff. and the family in *Journal of Negro History*, vol. iii, pp. 99ff, in Robert Sutcliff's *Travels, 1811, p. 106*, and *The Thomas Book, 1896, pp. 294ff*.

Nathaniel Ellicott (b. 1763), who married Elizabeth Ellicott in 1790 (*The Thomas Book, 1896, p. 296*), is probably the Friend mentioned by Dorothy a little later in her narrative.

³² Mahlon Janney and Sarah his wife lived near Fairfax, Loudoun County, Virginia. James Pemberton and other Friends, when returning from exile in Virginia in 1778, "were received with much kindness by Mahlon Janney and his valuable wife Sarah" (Comly's *Miscellany*, vol. vii (1835), p. 76). Poor Dorothy had a less pleasant experience, having suffered by following in the wake of "a rogue." In 1807 the Janney family with others moved west into Ohio (Weeks, *Southern Quakers, 1896, p. 272*).

³³ This M. Newbole was, probably, the wife of Clayton Newbold, of New Jersey. In the *Journal of William Blakey* we read: "Reached the house of our kind friends, Clayton and Mary Newbold. They appear to live in great affluence and plenty. On parting with them and their hopeful family of children, my mind felt an earnest engagement that the glory of this world might not mar the beauty of the heavenly Canaan in our view," anno 1790 (Comly, *Miscellany*, vol. iv (1833), p. 105).

³⁴ Robert and Unice Painter were visited twice. Unice attracted Dorothy because the former "had on a short striped gown and a checked apron, with a large flapped beaver hat, so that her clothes were very plain and simple." She and her husband had lived together thirty-three years on their plantation.

³⁵ The Terrell family resided in Caroline County, Virginia. Members thereof appear to have become Friends before 1730 (Weeks, *Southern Quakers, 1896, p. 101*). There is frequent mention of the name in *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia, 1905*. There was a sharp division in the family respecting the *bona fides* of Dorothy Ripley. A note to the name "J. Terrell" states: "I have since learned that I. T. has been disowned by his monthly meeting."

³⁶ Christopher Anthony, of Virginia, was a well-known Minister. He shewed our traveller much kindness. He was, perhaps, the Friend of that name whose family is given in *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia, 1905, pp. 24, 44*—wife Judith and her four children (she died in 1774) and wife Mary and her eight, between 1766 and 1793.

³⁷ Among portfolios of manuscripts preserved in D is a typed copy of a letter from Thomas H. Tyrell to Benjamin Seebom, written in 1848: "I promised to give thee some account of the trials and exercises my grandfather Clark Moorman, of Caroline City, Virginia, passed through before he was made willing to set his slaves free. . . . He was then a young married man with three small children, had commenced the world poor, but by his industry had got hold of considerable means, which he laid out in the purchase of slaves for his growing family . . . so concluded he could not liberate them." A committee was appointed to visit him, and it paid numerous visits without success and finally he decided not to see them again. One more attempt, however, was made; Caleb Jones and others called, took their seats and said nothing. "When dinner time came he was called in from the fields and found the Friends

awaiting him. They all sat down together, as he said with his mind braced against anything they might offer. They sat in silence about an hour, when C. Jones observed: 'Well, Friends, I reckon we had as well ride.' They said farewell without one word on the subject of their visit, to his surprise and mortification. . . . He soon became deeply exercised on the subject, and had a dream in which it clearly appeared to him that himself, with some Friends, was taken up to heaven, to the Pearl Gate, which was opened for their entrance by a little black boy; and while Friends were entering, he made several attempts to go in, but the little black boy always presented himself in the way. . . . He awoke much distressed and told his wife: 'If I live until morning I will liberate every slave I have. I am determined I wont be kept out of heaven by a little black boy.' "

³⁸ Thomas and Clotilda Harris, of Hanover County, Virginia, were useful Friends at this period. There is a list of children born to them between 1787 and 1809 in *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia*, 1905, p. 10, see pp. 102, 104, 135. These may be the Friends who so kindly entertained Dorothy Ripley and forwarded her on her journey to the South.

³⁹ Perhaps, Micajah and Mary Davis, of South River M.M., the births of whose children are given in *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia*, 1905, p. 28, see also pp. 118, 135.

⁴⁰ Samuel and Sarah Parsons lived at Bellville, Goochland County, Va. They had two children according to *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia*, 1905, p. 15, born in 1783 and 1786.

⁴¹ Jacob Branson (d. 1845) and Rebecca, his wife (d. 1834) were parents of Ann Branson (1805-1891), whose *Journal* was printed in Philadelphia in 1892. Jacob Branson and family removed in 1805 from Virginia to Flushing, Belmont County, Ohio, having previously followed the emigration from Pennsylvania to the South.

⁴² James Ladd (-1806), of Virginia, travelled over many fields sowing the Gospel seed. He accompanied Barnaby Nixon (1752-1807) on several religious journeys, and Barnaby was with his "cousin James Ladd" a few days before the latter departed this life (Comly, *Misc.*, vol. xii (1839), pp. 109, 113, 130ff). John Salkeld (1672-1739), Quaker humorist, once remarked that on one of his journeys he "breakfasted with the Ladds, dined with the Lords and slept with the Hogs" (xiii. 3).

⁴³ Bernard Gilpin married, August 21, 1793, at Sandy Spring Meeting-house in Montgomery Co., Md., Sarah, third dau. of Richard and Sarah (Coale) Thomas, who d. April 29, 1805. Thus runs the record in *The Thomas Book*, 1896, p. 327.

⁴⁴ Mary Mifflin (1742-1823) was a daughter of Joshua and Mary Pusey, of London Grove, Pa. At nineteen she married Joseph Husband, who died in 1786. Later she joined in marriage with Daniel Mifflin and resided in Va. and after his death her home was, for a while, in the City of Baltimore. She died at Deer Creek.

⁴⁵ Jesse Kersey (1768-1845) was of Chester County, Pa., He was preaching in Europe in 1804 and 1805. He first appeared as a Minister in his seventeenth year. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Moses Coates. In 1814 he visited the South in the spiritual interests of the slave. "In his early years he was afflicted with a troublesome and dangerous

disease, for the relief of which he was advised to take opium. . . . This rendered his ulterior existence very uncomfortable unless sustained by opium or some other stimulant" (Testimony in *Narrative*, Phila., 1851). But, "there was a dignity and nobleness about him that commanded respect and gave evidence of an exalted aim" (*ibid.*).

⁴⁶ George Dillwyn (1738-1820) lived at Burlington, N.J., when in America. From 1784 to 1802 (with a break of two years) he made England his home, residing in Essex and other parts. His wife was Sarah, daughter of Richard and Deborah Hill. It was written of him when in London: "He appears to glide like a swan on the smooth waters of gospel purity, when his heart is heavy as lead" (*Gathered Fragments*, London, 1858—a short record of a long life).

⁴⁷ Martha Routh (1743-1817) was in America in 1794 to 1797 and was there again from 1801 to 1805.

⁴⁸ For Mary (Robinson) Morton see note on Thomas Robinson. She and her husband, John Morton, were prominent Philadelphia Friends. William Kite wrote of her in his poem "The Arm Chair":

"Of polished manners, and of graceful mien,
Lovely in life was Mary Morton seen;
Each native talent, sanctified by grace,
Was kept obedient, in its proper place.

She dug for water in a weary soil
Till bubbling life-springs recompensed her toil.

Select Miscellanies, vol. v (1851), p. 112.

Mary Morton was associated with Elizabeth Coggeshall in religious work (Comly, *Miscellany*, xii. 127; *Bulletin F.H.S.* ix. 21).

⁴⁹ The Lawrence family was a well-known Quaker family in New York. There was a Richard R. Lawrence who was a partner with R. Bowne in mercantile pursuits. See *Friends in New York in the Nineteenth Century*, by William H. S. Wood, 1904.

⁵⁰ Susanna Judge (c. 1753-1827) was the daughter of Joseph and Susanna Hatton, of Ireland. Thomas Lightfoot married Susanna Hatton; and with them to America went the daughter, Susanna, and several sons, settling at Uwchlan, Pa. In 1776, Susanna, Junr., married Hugh Judge (c. 1750-1834). In 1804 H. and S. Judge moved from New York to the State of Maryland and in 1815 to Ohio.

⁵¹ According to his *Journal* David Sands's London host was Joseph Smith; he is mentioned on pp. 88, 95, 158. This was, probably, Joseph Smith, of Broad Street, banker, who left considerable money for charitable purposes in London and in Yorkshire. He removed into Yorkshire and died at Thornton-in-Craven, in 1813. His widow, Rachel Smith, died in the following year. His house in London was a great centre for travelling Friends.

"Take heed of watching over one another with an evil eye to spy out weaknesses and to discover nakedness, but watch one over another with a pure, single eye."

WILLIAM DEWSBURY, works, p. 23 (1689).

Some Data Respecting Leeds Meeting

1672

The premises belonging to Leeds Meeting were purchased of Thomas Cummins, Meadow Lane, for 64 Pounds in 1672.

The number interred from 1672 to 1706 was 209 in 34 years.

1688/9

A subscription made towards building a meeting-house amounted to £142 . 7 . 6. The first meeting was held the 24th of 7 mo—the same year the River Air was begun to be navigable.

1695

The wall built in the Burial Ground cost £16 . 4 . 6.

1697

Agreed that the week-day meeting begin at 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

The Monthly Meetings were held at the following places :

1 mo. at Thos. Green.	7 mo. T. Greens.
2 mo. Leeds.	8 mo. Leeds.
3 mo. In Tykes.	9 mo. Halifax.
4 mo. Leeds.	10 mo. Do.
5 mo. Munkinholes.	11 mo. Jos ^a Laycocks.
6 mo. Rastrick.	12 mo. Halifax.

10 mo. 21, 1698

Only one Trustee remaining, the following Friends were appointed Trustees for the premises belonging to Leeds meeting :

John Arthington.	Sam ^l Jackson.
Benj ⁿ Horner.	John Cowel.
W ^m Benson.	John Barlow.
Moses Hulley and	Joshua North.

12th day July, 1699

The Licence granted for holding meetings at the meeting-house & at Rich^d Armisteads, Benjⁿ Horners & W^m Pycocks at Leeds, also at W^m Bensons at Armley & Joshua Norths of Wortley.

23 6 mo. 1699

Agreed that a meeting be held on first-day evening at 5 o'clock. in rotation first at Benjⁿ Horners, 2 Rich^d Armisteads, 3 at William Pycocks of Leeds. Wortley, Armley, & farnley friends left at liberty to appoint one for themselves.

1706

A meeting begun to be held at Leeds on 6 Day Evening.

(1710 ?)

Mo. Meeting held at follow^r places :

1 mo. Liversedge.	7 mo. Liversedge.
2 mo. at W. Hollins.	8 mo. W house.
3 mo. Todmorden.	9 mo. Brighouse.
4 mo. Leeds.	10 mo. Do.
5 mo. Jos ^a Laycocks.	11 mo. Jos ^a Laycock.
6 mo. Shaw Hill Do.	12 mo. Do. nr. Halifax

1709

Expences of stable East end of meeting-house £53 . 18 . 2.

Extracts from a manuscript belonging to Charles J. Holdsworth, once in the possession of George Tatham, of Leeds.

Extracts from the Minutes of Southwark Monthly Meeting

" RUDE BOYS "

1690 6m^o 13th

John Haddon & W^m Poole to Looke after y^e meeting house Doors to keepe out Rude Boyes for this Meeting.

FREE TEACHING

1697⁷/₈ xith m^o 19th

Its Agreed that the Rent of Schoole Roome att the park Meeting house that George Choaly , att 4^{li} P. Annum is to Cease the next Quarter day: and that in Lowe thereof hee is to take as many poore Friends Children to Learne them as is Equiuolent to y^e 4^{li} P. Annum Rent Which he Agrees to doe When this meeting shall Order them (noe Rent to bee paid duering this Meetings pleasuer).

ACCESS TO BURIAL GROUND

1698 9th m^o 23th

Paid for a Keay for y^e service of the Turnpike or Rayle in Whites Grounds which is giuen for the service of ffriends one Ocatione of Buryalls goeing to the New Buryall grong and is left att Joseph Wasseys for that seruice Granted by William Allerd. 9d.

DISORDERLY MARRIAGES AND BURIALS

1698⁸/₉ xith m^o 18th

This day a paper Was Rece^d from the Quarterly Meeting complaineing of Seuerall Iregular practises in cass of Marraiges as makeng of greate Dinners, att tauerns or other publick places Ill practises att nights—its the desirr of this Meeting that those practises bee wholly Auoiud it being a dishoner to our Holy profession as allsoe y^e frequent vsse of Hearses and Coaches att buryalls to bee Auoided Except vpon Some Extreordinary Ocatione.

WEARING MOURNING

and Vpon y^e Deceace of neare Relations its obserued Some Women of late goe into black two much Imitateng the worlds Customs in that they Call moringe to be Wholely Auoied. . .

and Sleeping in Meeteings to bee wholly Auoied all the Aboue Euill practis is desered y^t they may bee Avoied

" PENNY POST OFFICE "

1690. 8th m^o 8th

Paid John Haddon for Phillip Maybanck a poore friend att Deptford 5 shillig & Samuell Judson is Desierd to see If they can gett him a place in penny post Office & make Report to next Meeteing.

Meeting-Houses Licensed under the Toleration Act

October 8, 1689. The people called Quakers [Brighouse Monthly Meeting, Yorkshire] have the following places for worship and give notice to the Justices :

At Stansfeld at the houses of James Stansfeild, James Bancroft, John ffeelding.

Four in Langfield at houses of Thomas Sutcliffe, Anthony Crossley, John Greenwood, Joshua ffeelding.

One each at houses of Abraham Shakelton of Wareley, Henry Broadbelt of Midgley, Joshua Smith of Sowerby, Abraham Hodgson of Scircoate, Jonathan Laycocke of Scircoate.

From Oliver Heywood's *Nonconformist Register*, printed in 1881, p. 144.

In the Parish Register of the Collegiate (now Cathedral) Church of Ripon occur two accounts of the same event which seem worthy of record in these pages.

" 1701 May 4.—Ann Chapman born a Quaker¹ & haveing continued 19 years in that opinion was baptized by Christopher Wyvill, S.T.P. D: R: the day & year above written—Witness: Wm: Thomson, Vic: "

" 1701 May 4.—Ann Chapman born a Quaker and haveing continued in that opinion 19 years was (by Baptismn) according to y^e faith of y^e catholick Church made a Christian y^e day and year above written.—Witness: William Thomson, Vicar Chorall of y^e Coll. Chu. Rip: "

From Canon Fowler's *Memorials of Ripon* (Surtees Soc., II., pp. 271 and 324), we find that Christopher Wyvill, third and youngest son of Sir Chr. Wyvill of Burton Constable, Bt., by his wife Ursula, eldest daughter of Conyers, first Earl of Holderness, was born in 1653. He was D.D. and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dean of Ripon from 1686 to 1710. William Thomson, B.A. was Vicar Choral 1701-1715.

WALTER J. KAYE.

¹ Anne, daughter of Richard and Margaret Chapman, was born 6 xii. 1682 and registered in Pickering Monthly Meeting. [ED.]

“The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox” to be known hereafter as the Cambridge “Journal of George Fox” Supplement

AS in the case of the two previous volumes of the *Cambridge Journal* (ix. 66), so in regard to the Supplement, we propose to insert notes from time to time, in the form of addenda or corrigenda, which may help those who consult this book.

1.—Page 331.—Further information respecting RICHARD WHITPAIN appears in *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. ix. no. 1 (March, 1924), p. 46. His sons Zachariah (1665-1693) and John went to Philadelphia about 1686. The father had built for Zechariah a “great house, 60 foot in breadth and 56 foot in depth,” on the east side of Front Street, below Walnut. William Penn wrote in 1687: “Taking into consideration the great expenses of Richard Whitpain to the advancement of the Province, and the share he taketh here [in England] on all occasions for its honour, I can do no less than recommend to you for public service his great house in Philadelphia, which, being too big for a private man, would prove you a conveniency above what my cottage affords.” It is known that in 1701 and in 1704, “the great front room” in Whitpain’s house, then in the tenure of Joseph Shippen, was occupied by the Assembly. At the time of Richard Whitpain’s death in 1689, he owned 7,000 acres of land in the Province. Wissahickon Creek was at first named Whitpain’s Creek. (*Penn and Logan Correspondence*, 1870, p. 276n., but was he a “settler”?) Mary Whitpain (page 337) was his wife and widow. EDITOR.

2.—Page 327.—On the authority of Sophia Hume (1702-1744), a prominent Minister, we are told that “EDWARD HAISTWELL, who was once said to be a Servant to George Fox, married a rich Merchant’s Daughter, and was afterwards esteem’d very rich; but running into Grandeur, he among other Things had Pictures hung up in his House, at the Sight of which William Edmundson was so wounded that he weightily said thereon, ‘Surely the Lord will visit for these Things.’ Some Time after, a Hand turn’d against this rich Man, so that instead of his own saying he would leave off Trade when he had arrived to four Hundred Thousand Pounds, his Bills were return’d upon him, and he fell short with his Creditors, ending his Days in that State” (*Extracts from Divers Ancient Testimonies*, London, Luke Hinde, circa 1756). Sophia Hume seems rather hard on Haistwell. Apparently he did not lose caste. His name appears among “noted Friends” present at London Y.M., 1704 (Kelsall, *Diaries*, i. 25, 30), at which meeting he offered £25 towards some publication fund. There is no indication in the record of his death which would imply any breach of Friend-ship.

We have not yet found any reference to Edmondson’s “weighty” words.

JOHN E. SOUTHALL.

56 ITINERARY JOURNALS OF GEORGE FOX

3.—Pages 264, 376.—SIMON CLEMENT was an uncle of Hannah (Callowhill) Penn. When Pickworth, ex-Quaker, in his *Defence*, 1734, refers to the closing days of the life of William Penn and avers that he died at Bath in a condition of lunacy (p. 5), Clement signed a certificate that Penn's illness was a palsy, and that he died at his own house at Ruscombe, and he gives "a description of the dispensation of Divine Providence which terminated his earthly career" (Armistead, *James Logan*, 1851, p. 72). Hannah Penn depended much upon him for help in many things (*ibid.* p. 74). James Logan wrote a long letter to Clement from Philadelphia, May 17, 1729, giving an account of his illness (*ibid.* p. 105). In the sale-catalogue of books belonging to the Penn family, dated 1872, there are two items by Clement, in ms., viz. "Journals of travels to Vienna, Hungary and other eastern European places in 1710 and 1715," and a treatise entitled: "Maxims of true Spiritual Religion," etc. Copy of catalogue in **D**. EDITOR.

4.—Page 349.—There is evidence that the ROBERT LANGHORNE of the first line of the note 205.1 is the same as the man mentioned later who "cut his own Throat being Lunatick." See *A Charge*, etc., by Henry Pickworth, 1716, p. 298, where this ex-Friend gives a list of moral offenders, including Langhorne, and also a list of offences including: "another cut his own Throat." EDITOR.

5.—Page 351, note 211.1.—The Friend of Devonshire House who wore GREEN APRONS was Susanna Row (1719-1804). In an article in *The British Friend*, for 1851, p. 227, we read: "The green apron has been nearly if not wholly laid aside. There was here and there an ancient woman who used it within the last ten years," which brings the probable date of its disappearance down to a later period than that implied in the note.

A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW.

6 —Page 367, note 245.2.—For city read *country*. Lüneburgerheide is the name of a vast barren stretch of moorland. Heide = heather.

T. E. HARVEY.

7.—Page 320, note 107.2. Amelia M. Gummere, the editor of the Rancocas edition of *The Journal of John Woolman*, 1922, draws attention to the note on JOSIAH ELLIS, and writes to the Editor in a recent letter: "Josiah Ellis married, for his third wife, 7 mo. 16. 1697, Mary, the daughter of William Adams, of Monmouth and widow of Thomas Wilcox, goldsmith, of the Savoy. He had many children and grand children, all his wives having left descendants." Sarah Sawyer may have been Ellis's second wife. Josiah's son Benjamin emigrated and married Mary Abbott in 1720 and their daughter, Sarah, married John Woolman in 1749.

8.—Page 368, note 252.2.—With reference to the PEACE OF NIMEGUEN, our attention has been drawn to a book in **D** entitled: *The History of the Treaty at Nimueguen with Remarks on the Interest of Europe in relation to that Affair*. Translated out of French, London,

1681, 8vo, pp. viii + 288. The copy of this book in **D** belonged to Sir John Rodes and has his autograph on the title page, and also the words: "K: W^m Reign a remarkable & Entertaining Treatise" (so first spelt and altered to Treatise). Sir John appears to have purchased the book for £0 2s. 8d., in 1692.

9.—Page 324, note 112.2.—A full account of the sudden death of MICHAEL RUSSELL, in Gracechurch Meetinghouse, in 1702, is given in *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, pp. 187, 188, in a letter from John Tomkins to Sir John Rodes, 9 xii. 1702. There is another recital of the event (to be taken *cum grano salis*) by Henry Pickworth, ex-Quaker, in his *Charge of . . . Perjury. . . . against Quakers*, 1716, pp. 104, 202, 304, esp. 202:

" . . . Michael Russell, who, having in their Gracechurch Street Meetinghouse religiously forsworn himself by declaring That if he preferred not Jerusalem before his chiefest Joy, then let his Tongue cleave to the roof of his Mouth and his right hand forget its Cunning—wherein, as he was known to do otherwise, God was pleased to answer his Prayer with a Vengeance by striking him with Death on the Spot, as a perpetual Warning to all such presumptuous Presumers."

10.—Page 370, note 257.4.—It is mentioned here that the name or initials of SAMUEL NEWTON were struck through where they occurred in the Haistwell Diary. This is probably explained by statements in the *Life of Mr. John Pennyman*, ex-Friend, 1696; on page 56 we are told that Newton "cheated many of several Hundred Pounds and then fled beyond sea" and on page 286 we read: "S.N. was a great preacher, of a fiery spirit, broke in much debt and fled beyond from his creditors." He is also mentioned on pp. 14, 17, 22, 26, 51, 124.

EDITOR.

Money for the Queen's Use

ISAAC NORRIS TO JAMES LOGAN in Europe, from Philada., 28 vi. 1711.

"We have raised £2000 for the Queen's use, to be paid to the Governor, & by him to such persons as she hath already or shall appoint to receive the same. We advised with the most substantial of Friends, foreseeing the clamours and uneasiness, but concluded nothing of that kind should prevent us from doing what we apprehended our duty. The result of much thought and consideration, as well as argument, was that we did not see it inconsistent with our principles to give the Queen money notwithstanding any use she might put it to, *that* being not our part but hers."

Penn and Logan Correspondence, ii. 436.

“Strift”

The discovery of the Quaker use of this word in an earlier surrounding than hitherto found has aroused a fresh interest in a word about which some discussion arose, as we remember, some years ago. This discussion reached the ears of the editor of the *New English Dictionary*, for we read, *s.v.* Strift :

“ The word seems to have survived to some extent in the traditional religious phraseology of the Society of Friends; the use of it in the Epistle of 1893 gave rise to much discussion.”

The use of the word is traced in the *Dictionary* from early times to the year 1710, from which date it was said to have been lost for a hundred years, until revived by Joseph John Gurney in 1815 in the words “ in the *strift* of death,” and again, “ a period of some *strift* and loss ” (*Memoirs*, 1854, i. 107, 374).

The last utterance of Elizabeth Fry (sister of J. J. Gurney) contains the word—“ Pray for me. It is a *strift* but I am safe ”—in 1845. The Epistle for 1893 contains : “ Take comfort from the thought that others have passed through as great a *strift* and have come forth into peace and happy trustfulness.”

The appearance of the word in the Epistle evoked an interesting discussion. Isaac Sharp wrote in *The Friend* (Lond.), 22 Sept., 1893 :

“ The use of the word *strift* in the Epistle has given rise to some controversy. The question has been asked by many whether *strift* was not, by a printer’s error, substituted for the word *strife* ; others have asked whether the word was a ‘ coined ’ word, formed on the analogy of gift, drift and similar words.”

In a letter to Isaac Sharp, Dr. James A. Murray wrote : “ The word is not current English and there is no evidence of its use in modern times.” He added that the word was used by writers down to 1710 in the sense of “ striving, earnest contention,” rather than that of “ stress, conflict, strife.”

It would seem as though the word had descended in the family of Gurney, for the earliest mention of it we have found is in the manuscript volume : *The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, compiled by Sir A. E. Pease in 1907. In a Testimony written in 1770 by Elizabeth (Kett) Gurney, to the memory of her husband, John Gurney (1715/16–1770), of St. Augustine’s, Norwich, we find : “ I was apprehensive he might have a *strift* at the last, . . . but it pleased Divine Goodness to favor him with an easy passage.”

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

The Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City.

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Friends' Book and Supply House, Richmond, Ind.

Many of the books in D may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to the Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

The Great Plague and the Great Fire of London, 1665, 1666

Two fine volumes, written by Walter G. Bell, F.S.A., F.R.A.S. (*not* the Friend of that name, recently deceased, see "The Friend" (Lond.), 1925, p. 577), give the history of these events in standard form (London, John Lane, 1. 8vo. *Fire*, popular ed., 1923, pp. xvi+387, 10s. 6d., *Plague*, 1924, pp. xiv+374, 25s., both fully illustrated).

There are Quaker references in both volumes. In *Fire*, Humphry Smith's "Vision," printed in 1660, is quoted in part; "Solomon Eagle, of Defoe's Plague narrative, if not himself an historical character [!] was a type of other Quakers"; Thomas Ellwood is quoted; Quakers said that the fire was a judgment on their persecution, "the devout were agreed with singular unanimity that the fire was the judgment of God, but by whose hands and for what ends, opinions widely differed" (p. 198).

In the *Plague* volume there are numerous references to Friends and a letter from Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fell appears, taken from the Swarthmore MSS. Their sufferings in the Plague year are detailed. The following appears in the Burial Register of the church of Allhallows Bread Street:

"Aug. 16. Mrs. Clements wife of Jacob Clements in the quakers ground—plague."

"Sept. 1. The sonn of Mr. Clements at the quakers new ground—plague."

"Sept. 3. Mr. Jacob Clements att the quakers ground—plague."

"The Quakers have a contemporary record [George Whitehead's "Christian Progress." p. 300] that the first Plague death within the City wall was in Bearbinders Lane¹ at a house a few doors distant from that of Edward Brush" (p. 21).

"The Quaker dead in London during the year of the Great Plague totalled 1,177. That is shown by the Friends' Registers, meticulously kept. It may be that in the confusion of the time some were omitted.

¹ The position of Bearbinders Lane may be seen in the map which appears as frontispiece to the Camb. "Journal" Tercent. Supplement.

. . . King Charles had been curious to ask if any Quakers had died of the pestilence. Learning that such was the case he remarked that the Plague could not be regarded as evidence of Divine displeasure at the treatment they had received " (p. 181, quoting Evans, " Friends in the Seventeenth Century," 1876, p. 364). There is a picture of Bunhill Fields Friends' ground, showing the grave, marked by a stone, of George Fox.

In the *Indiana History Bulletin*, vol. i. nos. 11-12, September, 1924, a section headed " A Contraband Camp " reveals the story of the work of Job and Tacy Hadley, members of the Society of Friends, who felt a call to leave a comfortable home in Indiana to help the negroes, then (1861) considered as contraband of war, in a crowded barracks at Cairo, Illinois, on the Mississippi River. Job Hadley (b. 1816) was brought up among the slavery elements in North Carolina and he gives stirring accounts of the experiences of runaway slaves.

" I was well acquainted with a place where a man lay seven years right in the forks of the public highway without being discovered or taken."

" I knew a woman who lay in a cave on a hillside near a creek, I think for five years, until her health so failed that she risked being out in the day time and was seen by a boy who for the sake of a reward told where she was and she was taken but soon died and was buried without a coffin."

" Our nearest neighbor, after scandalously abusing an old woman, jumped on her with his feet, and she died a few days after."

" I still am impressed with a feeling of respect for the noble character of the upper class of slave owners."

Our Friend, Prof. Harlow Lindley, has resigned the directorship of the Indiana Historical Commission and returned to his position at Earlham College as Professor of History and Government and Librarian.

The *White Star Magazine* for May, 1925, gives a column, headed " Sixty Years in Shipping," to a sketch of the life work of Edward Clibborn, of Southampton (1842-1925). As head of the Passenger Department of the White Star line, our friend was helpful to many Friends in their passage to and fro across the Atlantic.

" The Living Church " Series of books, published by James Clarke & Co., London, contains *The Church's Debt to Heretics*, by Dr. Rufus M. Jones. On the wrapper we read : " Dr. Jones here traces, from ancient right on to modern times, the witness of the heretics to the truth as they understood it." In his Preface the author, expressing the difficulty of selection, remarks, " There have been too many heretics for one small book ! " (pp. 256, 6s. net.)

The Autobiography of *Theophilus Waldmeier* (1832-1915) has recently been re-issued under the editorship of Stephen Hobhouse, M.A. (London : Friends' Bookshop, pp. xvi + 317, price 7s. 6d. net.)

The Quaker Seekers of Wales is a story, written by Anna B. Thomas, of the Lloyds of Dolobran, founded on fact and illustrated by views of Dolobran Hall, The Gaol of Welshpool, etc.

In the *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. ix, no. 1 (March, 1924), pp. 45ff, there are valuable notes on the family of Armitt. RICHARD ARMITT left Leek, in 1700, for Philadelphia, the certificate stating that he had "followed his trade in London and made some voyages to Spain and other places." He occupied several prominent positions in his new home—"to collect the money for chimney firing," "to keep the Fire Engine in repairs, and play the same once a month, for £3 per annum." He married Sophia Bockenhoven, a Minister among Friends, in 1701. She died in 1740 and her husband in 1748.

JOHN ARMITT (1702-1762), son of Richard, was a prominent Friend and Minister. He was probably the Friend who saw to the sea-stores for three Friends crossing the Atlantic in 1756 (ii. 94). He married Mary Emlen (1708-1791), daughter of George Emlen, *s. p.* She was an Elder (see of her in *Jacob Lindley*, 1893, pp. 67ff).

STEPHEN ARMITT (1705-1751) was another son of Richard Armitt. He married in 1732 Sarah Whitpain, great-grand-daughter of Richard, of London. Their eldest daughter, Sarah, married James Logan, Junr., *s. p.* Their son, JOHN ARMITT (1737-1781), married, in 1762, Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Howell and sister of Arthur Howell, the eminent Quaker Minister. She died in 1807, aged 66.

From the *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. ix. no. 1 (March, 1924), we cull the following, under the heading of "Early Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends":
 "24th of Seventh Month, 1742.

Edmond Peckover from Great Brittain, on a Religious Visit to these parts, produced to this Meeting a Certificate from a Monthly Meeting at Fakenham in the County of Norfolk dated 27th of fourth Month last.

John Haslam from Great Brittain, on a Religious Visit to these parts, produced a Certificate from the Monthly Meeting at Warmsworth in the County of York dated 4th of last month. . . ."

"31st of Tenth Month, 1742.

Andrew Bradford being now deceased the Friends appointed to get the materials belonging to the Printing Press from him are now desired to continue their endeavours to get them from his Executors."

"27th of Third Month, 1743.

A Certificate from Abington Monthly Meeting dated the 25th Second Month last on behalf of Anthony Benezet and his Wife was well received."

"24th of Fourth Month, 1743.

Cadwallader Foulke acquainted this meeting that Stephen Benezet had been lovingly spoken to respecting his declining to attend our Religious Meetings . . . and had joined himself in Society with the Moravians"

This issue of the *Publications* also contains notices of William Smith, one of the exiles to Virginia. He died in Philadelphia in 1782. Also a reference to Robert Parrish, a Friend, who died in 1815, having lived in Philadelphia seventy-two years.

The Literature Committee of the Society of Friends has prepared a "tercentenary collection of studies," entitled: *George Fox: Some Modern Appreciations* (London: Swarthmore Press, pp. 182, 6s. net). The principal writers are eight Friends—T. Edmund Harvey, J. W. Graham, Herbert G. Wood, Rufus M. Jones, Elbert Russell, Margaret E. Hirst, Robert Davis, Edward Grubb—and one non-Friend, J. St. Loe Strachey, the editor of "The Spectator," who writes most appreciatively of the Journal of George Fox in a review of the Tercentenary edition² ("the story of the man who founded the noblest Christian Society in the world").

The "Shorter Articles and Extracts" are by writers connected with the Anglican, Catholic, Methodist, and Unitarian Churches.

The Literature Committee does not insert any disclaimers of approval of all sentiments expressed in the book, but we cannot think that it would accept the statements, or wish them promulgated, of, for instance, "The Catholic Times," that "love of outward form" distinguishes Friends from other Nonconformists (p. 170), or the inaccuracy that the Society began with "a few harassed groups of men and women in the seventeenth century" (p. 176)! The Chronology and Bibliography are good, except that there was not any edition of the Journal of George Fox of 1902—this was a reprint of the bi-centenary edition of 1891. There is a slip on page 158—1687 should, of course, be 1657.

There is a very valuable article in the *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, vol. 14, no. 1, Spring Number, 1925, on "Some Stage Quakers," by William W. Comfort, of Haverford, Pa. He traces references to Friends in theatrical literature from 1677 to 1919. The first is "The Country Innocence or the Chambermaid Turned Quaker," classed as "miserable comedy without saving trait." The last was a drama, "The Inward Light." President Comfort concludes: "It is evident that what struck worldly men and women most in the personality and creed of the Quakers was the plainness of their manner of life, the peculiar jargon which they were believed to speak, their objection to certain worldly amusements. . . . They are throughout regarded as a peculiar people . . . and some credit is given them for the virtue of simplicity, honesty and personal righteousness."

This essay is followed by "Friendly Testimony Regarding Stage-Plays," by Ezra K. Maxfield.

Two Homes, by a Grandson (Plymouth: Brendon, pp. 102, printed for private circulation, 1925). The author, Samuel M. Fox, introduces

² Mr. Strachey also reviewed the Camb. *Journal Tercentenary Supplement* in his paper of June 13.

us to two homes in Falmouth—Wodehouse Place and Glendurgan—inhabited by Alfred Fox (1794-1874) and his wife Sarah Fox (1804-1890), daughter of Samuel Lloyd, of Farm, and to descendants. Portraits of the grandparents appear. The book will interest many besides members of the widely spread family of Fox. Copy presented by the author.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, New York, February 2nd, has an article entitled "Matinecock Quakers, Organized in 1671, Planning to Celebrate 200th Anniversary of Sturdy Meeting House, Built in 1725; Missionary Founded Long Island Sect at Oyster Bay in 1659." There are views of meeting-houses at Westbury, Matinecock, Manhasset (Cow Neck), and Jericho.

One hundred years ago on the day on which this is written—4th of July, 1825—began the Norwegian emigration to the United States. The American-Scandinavian Foundation of New York City issued a special number of *The American Scandinavian Review*, in June, in celebration of the event. The "Restaurationen"—the Norse Mayflower is the title of an informing illustrated record of this event and Friends appear in connection with it. Cleng Peerson (1782-1865), Lars Larson (1787-1845), at whose house, in 1816, the first Friends meeting was held, Elias Tasted and others are named. The passengers on the "Restaurationen" received the not very euphonious name of "Sloop-folk." Our Friend, Henry J. Cadbury, of Cambridge, Mass., has prepared a sketch of the Quaker Sloop-folk, which, we hope, may be available for our readers in days to come. For Norwegian Quakerism see "'Saints' in Norway," by Frederick Smith, 1814; "Friends in Norway," by George Richardson, 1849; art. by Albert J. Crosfield in "F.Q.E." 1894; various newspaper articles; etc.

Dingle Bank, the Home of the Croppers, a Recollection, by Frances Anne Conybeare (Cambridge: Heffer, pp. 69, illustrations and family tree, price 3s. 6d.), gives the principal features of the lives of James Cropper (1773-1840) who married Margaret Brinsden, and his son, John (1797-1874), who married Anne Wakefield in 1820. J. and A. Cropper left Friends about 1836 and joined the Baptists. There are portraits of James Cropper, Anne Cropper, Eliza Cropper, wife of Joseph Sturge, and others.

A valuable résumé of the life and work of Georgina King Lewis (1847-1924) has been written by her niece Barbara Duncan Harris, followed by an autobiography. Our Friend was a daughter of the noted Congregational minister, John Stoughton, D.D. (d. 1897). Her interest in Friends was increased by reading Caroline Stephen's "Quaker Strongholds." She became a Friend, and was recorded a Minister in Croydon Meeting in 1899. Her husband was Henry King Lewis, the head of a publishing house in London. Mrs. King Lewis's work in South Africa and in Bulgaria is outlined. She had an interview with Pope Pius X in 1906, and spoke on behalf of the sufferers in the Congo

country. (The previous Quaker interview was that of Stephen Grellet with Pius VII in 1819 and a later one was between Joseph G. Alexander and Pius X in 1907. Mrs. Lewis kissed the Pontiff's hand and J. G. Alexander is said to have shaken hands !)

Georgina Stoughton was at the school of Sarah (Stickney) Ellis, at Hoddesdon, Herts—"a majestic woman, a fine teacher. . . . Mrs. Ellis sat in state once a week, in a large hall, to receive each girl, who had to pass the ordeal of opening the door, walking some distance to her chair, then with a slight bend of the figure she had to shake her hand."

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, vol. xlix. no. 2 (April, 1925) has a useful article on "A Rare Dutch Document Concerning the Province of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century." This is the pamphlet (in English) "Detailed Information and Account," etc., published by Robert Webb. Amsterdam: Jacob Claus, Bookseller in Prince Street, 1686.

At the date of the pamphlet Robert Webb had been seven years in the Province. According to the Friends' Register in Philadelphia he died in 1700 as a non-Friend. His wife, widow of John Barber, was a Friend. Very little is known respecting this Robert Webb.

The same issue has an article on the "Parentage of Major John Fenwick, Founder of Salem, New Jersey." (For a considerable account of John Fenwick (1618-1683) see reference in xviii. 37.) Fenwick and his children arrived at Salem, N.J., in 1675 in the *Griffin*. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Covert, Knight, of Slaugham in Sussex, whom he married c. 1641. Fenwick's second wife was Dame Mary Rogers.

The subject of the parentage of John Fenwick is continued in the issue of July, 1925.

We give a warm, though tardy, welcome to another book by Maude Robinson—*Wedded in Prison and other Quaker Stories* (London: Swarthmore Press, pp. 206, illustrations, 6s. net). These are not "anecdotes," but well-written sketches from family records and personal knowledge. They range in date from 1662 to 1880. "Wedded in Prison" refers to the Luxfords of Sussex; "A Young Man of the Law" is based upon the early life of Thomas Story, 1690; "The Hunger is upon us" deals with famine in Ireland, 1846. There are twelve stories in all. We think that in the illustrations hats should be on heads rather than in hands.

A History of the Quakers in Wales and their Emigration to North America, by Rev. T. Mardy Rees, F.R.Hist.S., of 24, Rugby Avenue, Neath, S. Wales (Carmarthen: Spurrell, 9 by 5½ pp. xii.+292, 15s. net). This is a wonderful collection of information. We are giving it careful reading, and hope to deal further with the book in our next volume. Meanwhile the small edition is running through.

Recent Accessions to

JN addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading "Friends and Current Literature," the following items have been added to **D** during the last few months :

As Pants the Hart and other Devotional Addresses, by J. Rendel Harris, 1924, 249 pp.

Plague, Pestilence and Famine, by Muriel A. Payne, relating relief work in Russia, 1923, 146 pp.

The Revival of Europe. Can the League of Nations Help? By Horace G. Alexander, Selly Oak College Publications, No. 7, 1924, 215 pp.

Life of Nathaniel Greene (1742-1786), an ex-Quaker and Major-General in the American Army, by Simms, 1849, 393 pp.

Quaker Thought and History. A Volume of Essays, by Edward Grubb, 1925, 182 pp.

Some New Letters of Edward Fitzgerald, edited by Barton, 1923, 186 pp. Some letters from Bernard Barton.

National Ideals in the Old Testament, by Henry J. Cadbury, 1920, 281 pp.

Old Trails and New Borders, by Edward A. Steiner, 1921, 208 pp. Considerable reference to Friends' work on the European Continent. The author attended a Sunday meeting in Paris and found that "most of them were from England, as evidenced by their heavy boots, solemn demeanour, unemotional features and unmistakable English voices" (p. 64).

Vision by Radio—Radio Photographs, by C. Francis Jenkins, 1519 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C., 1925, 140 pp. and 75 full page illustrations. Presented by the author.

The Race Problem and the Teaching of Jesus Christ, by John S. Hoyland, Hislop College, Nagpur, India, 1925, 196 pp., 3s. 6d. net.

The Thomas Book, of Thomas and Allied Families, compiled by Lawrence Buckley Thomas, D.D. New York, pp. xxi + 627, 4to, large paper copy. Presented by John Dymond Crosfield.

The Brinton Genealogy, 1924, data collected by Gilbert Cope and edited by Janetta Wright Schoonover, Trenton, N. J. 8vo, pp. 800, with illustrations and a fine index. Presented by Ellen S. Brinton, Narberth, Pa. The book is "a history of William Brinton, who came from England to Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1684, and of his Descendants."

William Brinton (1636-1700) left England in the Spring of 1684, with his wife, Ann, leaving his three daughters. He joined the Keithites. His wife Ann (née Bayley, 1635-1693) remained a Friend and belonged to Birmingham Meeting.

Keese Family History and Genealogy from 1690 to 1911, by Willis T. Keese, Cardington, Ohio, 1911, 48 pp. and illustrations, dedicated to the descendants of John Keese II. (1729-) of Flushing, L. I. (whose mother was Mary Bowne), and of Elizabeth Titus, his wife, married 1749. There is a sketch of the Bowne family of the "Mansion House," Flushing, and pictures relating thereto; also a record of the life of John Keese III. (1773-1860); and an account of the settlement of Friends in Peru, N. Y., in 1787, including some strong aspersions on visits in 1828-9 of "several English Friends of orthodox proclivities for whom New York Friends paid an enormous sum for a span of horses, carriage and harness, and sent out advertisements for a series of meetings, sowing dissension broadcast" (article in Keeseville paper in 1879, included in the account).

Johnson and Eliza Brewer

The following is taken from the ms. Journal of John Candler, in D:

1850. 8mo. 29. In Ohio.

"As the Hicksites have present possession of the meetinghouse at Mount Pleasant, the Friends of that place cannot occupy it for their week day meeting and consequently repair to Short Creek, where a meeting fell in usual course to day. We gladly repaired to it and met there about a hundred of our fellow professors.

"There were present two ministers from Canada West, travelling by certificate, JOHNSON and ELIZA BREWER, who both preached, the latter in a very earnest, edifying manner. Her remarks on Love and the need of preserving it as an essential of the Christian character, were touching and beautiful. Here was a woman from the backwoods of Canada, subject, as all such women are, to continued domestic toil, and having very little leisure for reading and mental improvement, standing on Gospel ground and preaching Gospel truths with power. It is surprising how Religion informs and refines the mind, and gives even to the poor of this world, an elevation that neither colleges nor wealth can bestow. The school of Christ is the only school in which the human mind is raised to its right standard."

There is a long section of *The Loyalists*, by William King Baker, 1922, concerning Brewers. Eliza Brewer and Rachel Cronkhite were present at London Y.M. in 1876.

William Penn's First Charter to Pa.

The following is taken from a pamphlet prepared by Albert Cook Myers and gives the story of "William Penn's First Charter to the People of Pennsylvania, April 25, 1682." On the first page is a reproduction of the signatures of the witnesses to the execution of the Charter. They are Christopher Taylor, Charles Lloyd, William Gibson, Richard Davies, Thomas Rudyard, James Claypoole, Francis Plumstead, Thomas Barker, Philip Ford, Edward Prichard and Andrew Sowle, with two persons not Friends—Nicholas More who was already a prominent Pennsylvanian and Harbert Springett, a first cousin of Gulielma M. Penn. The signing took place in George Yard, Lombard Street, London.

"The Charter, which without doubt was carried to Pennsylvania on the ship *Welcome* by Proprietor Penn on his first arrival in the fall of 1682, was confirmed, together with the Laws agreed upon in England, at the first legislative Assembly, held at Chester, Pennsylvania, in early December, 1682. The Pennsylvania settlers, however, lived but a short time under their first Charter from the Proprietor. In actual practice some of the provisions of the document proving unsuited to the needs of the colonists, Penn, in conference with the representatives of the people, revised it, signing a second Charter to the Province at Philadelphia, April 2, 1683. On that occasion, in the presence of the Provincial Council and the Assembly, the old Charter was returned to him with 'y^e hearty thanks of y^e whole house.' The presumption is that this superseded first Charter of 1682 was carried back to England on the ship *Endeavour* by Penn on his return sailing in August, 1684.

"From that time there is a hiatus of a century and a half in its history. Then, in April, 1861, it reappears as an exhibit at the Society of Antiquaries in London as the property of a member, Richard Almack, of Melford, near Sudbury, in Suffolk. He had known of it for 25 years, and had received it by bequest from a brother antiquary, William Dalton, who died in his 94th year. An earlier owner is said to have been the noted Norfolk antiquary, Sir John Fenn (1739-1794).

"In 1893 it was acquired from Mr. Almack's son, Henry H. Almack, of Melford, through an English Quaker bookseller, Henry T. Wake, of Fritchley, Derbyshire, for £320, by Dr. Edward Maris, an Orthodox Quaker of Philadelphia. It was purchased in April, 1902, from the latter's estate, for \$5000, by a Philadelphia collector, George C. Thomas, whose heirs disposed of it at auction in that city, November 18, 1924. It was bought for \$21,500 by a New York dealer, Gabriel Wells. From him it was purchased, December 27, 1924, for \$25,000, as a gift to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for preservation with similar historical records in the State's archives at Harrisburg, this amount being raised by popular subscription from several thousand individuals and institutions through the efforts of the *Public Ledger*, of Philadelphia.

"ALBERT COOK MYERS."

A Graveyard Grievance

frinds J am concernd to answer Joseph Worth Letter which I know nothing of sending which I was much surprised at when the frind said it was the mind of the meeting he should have all the benifets of the burialls Except them brought into the meeting which is very sildom I did make answer if it ware the mind of the meeting I would be contented but I spok without consideashon to make any defence for my self frinds aboue twenty eight years agoe I was taken a seruant Jnto this meeting and the meeting told me thir was a purqus for me which the graue maker John Coll was to have one shiling to dig a graue and I was to haue Six pence to give my Attendance at the gate to keep the Rude children out and shut the gates and that was what we could demand but when frinds please to give vs any more we ware to deuide the money the graue maker was to haue tow thirds my selfe one John Coll and William patrick ware graue makers pritty many years and J belieue wee did honostly by each other we did neuer quarell but since Joseph came he hath been vneasey to give me any thing so J do not quarell with him and he gos and get the mony but he will not deuide any to me so that J haue not had one farthing for a great many burialls some brought Jn the meeting and had the meeting to wash a boue stair and had nothing and J have been vnwilling to Lay any complant before the meeting nor neuer did since J haue Liued heer but my being so Easey with him he now couitts all Jnto his hands and writs he is willing to saue something to keep him when he is old but frinds J think it vncharitable to couet part of my bread now J am Anchant and Jnfirm after so many years seruis to Lay by mony now he is young and strong an Jn good buisnes and no chary frinds J hope will consider it and order Me something J may demand for J give the same Attendances to the poorests corps that comes but When sick and then my daughter stands Jn my plase J am obligd to pay for the meeting cleaning aboue stairs for J am not Able to carry the water vp and down

J haue writ brokenly and where I haue mised I desire to be Excused from

ELISABETH GREENE

From Ratcliff Monthly Meeting Papers in D.

“ Capt. Tho. Taylor, of Brighouse, died Apr. 27 [1684], a rich Quaker, aged 63.”

“ Capt. Taylors wife, of Brighouse, died Oct. 28. Buried in their Garden with head upwards standing upright by her Husband, Daughter, &c. Quakers. Aged 60.”

Nonconformist Register, compiled by Oliver Heywood, printed 1881, pp. 69, 70. See vi. 23ff; *Camb. Jnl.* i. 422, *Tercent. Supp.* p. 286.

A Quaker Newswriter

Continued from vol. xxi, p. 40

ANOTHER letter from Richard Cockin to his niece, Mary (Sanderson) Fox, refers to some adverse comments on remarks made by his niece at the last Y.M., with expression of his avuncular concern lest there should be any lowering of the religious principles for the upholding of which her father, John Sanderson, had passed through much trial from the opposition of his parents and in other ways.

VI

“ 19th of 5th mo. 1837. . . . After last Yearly Meeting divers Friends who were at it, expressed to me their surprise, and some the sorrow it occasioned them, some observations thou made in the Womens Meetings, which had impressed them, as if thou was in danger of supporting those Members of our Society, who were publikly disapproving of some of the practices and sentiments which the Society, from being first gatherd to become united in religious fellowship, had professed to believe in—my hearing thereof made me very sad, and at the same time I could not believe it would be the case that thou would be induced to doubt the soundness or scriptural accordance of those religious Principles, which cost thy beloved Father [John Sanderson (1781-1841)] so much humiliating subjection of his natural inclination ; at the time he through the clearist conviction of it's being his duty to embrace them—and also the risque of incurring the displeasure of his affectionate Parents and the loss of the esteem of those whose confidence he had gained ; indeed my Father told me that his Parents were so afflicted with sorrow on thy dear Father's first hinting to them the secret attraction that he had felt towards the Society of Friends, that he went to inform his Landlord

therewith ; who, instead of (as he expected) would have advised him what steps to take to prevent his Son from indulging such thoughts, told him, that he rather ought to be glad that his Son thought so much about religion, when so many young Men were so thoughtless about it, which tended very much to reconcile his Parents—and altho' thy beloved Father had many conflictingly trying exercises to pass through during his being in the family of Alderman Newman, in the having to addop't a change of Apparel, language, and deportment, which produced self-abasing humiliation ; yet such was the fact that when he informed Alderman Newman with his prospect of commencing business he was told that if he could recommend a Friend to succeed him he should be allowed liberty of conscience.

“ It was at the time thy dear Father was in that situation, in the early part of the year 1776, that I went to London ; and our Parents living in the same village [Arthorpe, near Doncaster], and we having gone together to Doncaster to School, also having been apprentices in the same Town, I very early after getting to London, went to see thy Father, whose different appearance, solid deportment, and watchful, circumspect behaviour was very striking, and his great kindness in inviting me to come and see him in an evening, altogether had an attractive influence over me.

“ And at this time thy Uncle Shillitoe was Clerk to Smith, Wright & Grey, where I first used to call upon him, at the Banking House in Lumbard Street. . . . We used to meet frequently in evenings at my cousin, Eliz. Boultons : whether thy beloved Father and Uncle were then received Members of Society, I can not recolect, but they both were before me.

“ It was not by reading R. Barclay's Apology, or by hearing extraordinary Preachers that we became convinced, that the religious Principles of Friends were more in accordance with the spirituality of the Gospel dispensation and doctrine of Christ and His Apostles, then what we have been educated in, but from the emediate unfolding of the Holy Spirit and by searching the Scriptures in order to ascertain that we were not deceived.

“ Within the last two or three years, on my hearing the part that some of the Ministers of our Society were acting

(some of whom I had in years that are past highly esteemed), has again and again caused me to seriously meditate how deplorably awful it would be, now at my eleventh hour, to have been for many years holding erroneous sentiments on what my eternal happiness depended, and I have afresh endeavoured to solicitate Divine assistance to enable me to ascertain with clearness whether the religious Principles I had adopted, were not in accordance with the Divine will, or not in accordance with the revealed written declaration of Jesus Christ and His Apostles."

After the expression of a hope that his niece would not in any respect be hurt by his noticing this—"uniting with those who appeared to be disposed to obstruct what (in the judgment of Friends generally) was calculated to promote the best interests of our Society," R. Cockin continues:

"I am told that a Friend who I for many years loved and esteemed as a Minister, has now published in print that quakerism proceeds from the bottomless pit; and another Minister who I also much esteemed, has commenced administering the typical ceremony of water baptism, and that some of the Members of our Society residing at Leeds and at Kendal have been to Manchester to have this ceremony performed upon them—but how it is administered or what efficacious effects are attributed there to, I have not been informed. . . . My thus hearing such extraordinary reports makes me ready to say, what shall I next hear?"

"But it is high time for me to turn from these afflicting considerations, and consider what I can inform thee with that is of a pleasanter nature."

Then follows a relation of the visits of Friends on the way to Y.M.—Jonathan and Hannah Backhouse, who, "after accomplishing their visits to the Meetings of Friends in various Counties, intend to reside some time at Manchester before returning home"; and Edward Pease, "one of my long loved correspondents."

The date of the letter would incline us to suppose that the subject known as the Beacon Controversy was in some way referred to at Y.M. 1836 by Mary Fox.

To be continued

Anecdotes of Benjamin Lay

THE following, by John Hunt, of New Jersey (c. 1740-1824), appeared in *Friends' Miscellany*, vol. iv, Phila. 1833 :

“ 12th of 3d mo. 1785, in conversation with our friend, John Forman, of North Wales, mention was made of Benjamin Lay. I said, I thought he was the first Friend that bore a testimony against slave-keeping. He said, ‘ No ; there was one John Farmer, a Friend, on a visit from England, that had a very powerful testimony against the oppression of the black people ’. He informed me that at a meeting in Pennsylvania, this John Farmer bore his testimony against slave-keeping, and a great man, who kept negroes, being there, got up and desired Friends to look on that man as an open enemy to the country ; and some Friends, also rather bearing against him, persuaded him to make something like an acknowledgment. This so struck John Farmer that he sunk under it, declined in his gift, and never went back to England, but died here. On his death-bed he said he was entirely easy about every thing but that of flinching from his testimony at that time and in that manner.

“ John Forman gave me further information concerning Benjamin Lay’s testimony in several respects, one of which was against smoking tobacco. He said he saw Benjamin come into the Yearly Meeting and seat himself between the galleries of the men and women with three long pipes stuck in his bosom. There he sat till meeting was ready to break up ; then he rose, dashed one pipe down amongst the ministers on the men’s side, another amongst the women, and the third amongst the common people—as much as to say they were all of a piece.

“ At another time Benjamin came into the Yearly Meeting with a bladder filled with blood in one hand and a sword in the other. He ran the sword through the bladder and sprinkled the blood on divers Friends, and declared that

so the sword would be sheathed in the bowels of the nation if they did not leave off oppressing the negroes.

“ He had a testimony against drinking tea, and once stood behind the tea-table and preached all the time the company were drinking tea. Another time he took some tea cups and broke them to pieces in the most public place in the market. By such singular methods did Benjamin Lay consider himself called upon to arrest the attention of people on subjects that he had a testimony against.

“ John Forman said Benjamin used to go barefoot, wore tow trousers and a tow coat very much darned ; that he sometimes lived on acorns, chestnuts and cold boiled potatoes, and wore his beard. He once noticed him going from the Yearly Meeting and thought his countenance bespoke innocency and righteousness.

“ 1787. In conversation with Abraham Matlack, Benjamin Lay’s act in breaking the teacups was mentioned. He told me that his father, being at market, saw the transaction, and that Benjamin, being a very little, light man, the boys of the town gathered round and not willing to see the tea cups broken, one of them went behind him, stuck his head between his legs, took him upon his shoulders and carried him off, whilst the others bore off the remainder of the tea tackling.”

BENJAMIN LAY (1681-1759) was born at Colchester in the county of Essex, of Quaker parents, who were of insufficient means to provide their son with a good education, so that he possessed no more than the rudiments of learning. He was apprenticed to a glove maker but at the age of nineteen he went on to a farm and later gratified his ambition to be a sailor. In 1710 he married and settled in his native town. His wife, Sarah Lay, became a Minister ; she predeceased her husband. There was no family. In 1717 he was disunited from Friends. In 1718 he removed to the island of Barbados, and established himself in a mercantile business and began work on behalf of the slave with which his name is particularly associated. A wave of opposition to his advocacy of freedom for the slave carried him away from the island and landed him in Philadelphia, in 1731.

Lay’s personal appearance is thus described by Roberts Vaux, from whose *Life of Lay*, published in Philadelphia in

1815, many of these facts are taken : " He was only four feet seven inches in height ; his head was large in proportion to his body ; the features of his face were remarkable and boldly delineated and his countenance was grave and benignant. He was hunchbacked, with a projecting chest, below which his body became much contracted. His legs were so slender as to appear almost unequal to the purpose of supporting him. He had a large white beard." Curiously, his wife very much resembled him in size, having also a crooked back. [See illustration].

" His independence of opinion and freedom of expression, rendered him an unwelcome emigrant ; his sentiments met with vigorous opposition from every quarter. In 1732 he took up his residence at a house he had built in the form of a cave known as Hope Cave and there with his wife he lived a very frugal existence." His biographer gives a somewhat different account of his action at the Y.M. at Burlington, N.J. " He prepared a sufficient quantity of poke-berry (*Phytolacca decandra*) to fill a bladder he contrived to conceal within the cover of a large folio volume, the leaves of which he had removed." Appearing in military guise he attended the meeting, addressed the company, and with his sword pierced the bladder and sprinkled the contents over the people.

He entertained notable persons to dinner in his cave.

Later, he and his wife went to reside with John Phipps, near Abington meetinghouse and not long before his death he had the great joy to know that the Friends had decided to disown such of their members as would not desist from holding slaves.

His published writings included : *All Slavekeepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage*, which was printed in 1737 by Benjamin Franklin, a friend of Lay. But it did not meet with the approval of the Society of Friends. In 1738, Philadelphia Y.M. made the following minute : " John Kinsey was ordered to draw an advertisement to be printed in the newspapers of Philadelphia in order to inform all whom it may concern that the book lately published by Benjamin Lay was not published by approbation of Friends ; that he is not in unity with us, and that his book contains false charges as well against particular persons of our Society as against Friends in general " (quoted in *Bulletin F.H.S.* viii. 5, see iii. 158, x. 58.

The home of JOHN FARMER was at Stansted in the county of Essex. With certificates from his home-Meetings he went to America and seems to have visited largely in that country. At the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia in 1713 he produced certificates from various parts recording his excellent service. In 1715 he again crossed the Atlantic and was in Maryland with Richard Townsend, a Minister who had visited Friends in England and who died in 1737 (Comly, *Misc.* viii. 281, 286). In 1716 he was involved in controversy in New England, being in strong sympathy with the negro population. "He no doubt lost his patience on finding that his testimony in this respect had not a ready entrance among Friends." In addition to biting remarks he used his pen to maintain his views and "published several papers on the subject of slavery, about 1717, most, if not all of which were disapproved of, by Friends" (Smith, *Cata.* i. 584). The Y.M. of Ministers and Elders at Newport, R.I., disowned him until he should recall his papers, and when he arrived in Philadelphia, his conduct in reading his pamphlets in meeting as well as out was equally objectionable, and the action of the northern Meeting was endorsed. Against this he appealed and threatened to carry his appeal to England. The action of Philadelphia Q.M. is mentioned in Rancocas *John Woolman*, pp. 28, 29. To this Meeting he addressed a paper "against Slave-holding, the Casting of Lotts, &c." He was dealt with "for disorderly practices in sending and Publishing papers tending to Division."

There is an account of Farmer in *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 28 (1855), p. 316.

"To what, in every month amount
 Its sum of days, we thus may count:—
 The fourth, eleventh, ninth and sixth,
 To thirty days in each are fixt;
 The second twenty-eight alone,
 And all the rest have thirty-one;
 But when 'tis leap year, we assign
 Unto the second twenty-nine."

Printed on back of title page of "An Almanack for the Use of Friends,"
 1794.

The Earl of Winchilsea to Sir John Finch

1665, Oct. 20. Pera.—“ To divert your more serious thoughts with a little pastime, I send you inclosed a letter of an English Quaker come to this city, not to convert the Great Turke to Christianitie as most of the wandering apostles of that sect pretend, but to move him to commence an other warre against Germanie. How slight soever this matter might seeme in proceeding from a braine so wholly phrensicall, it might yet have cost deare and proved of ill consequence to our nation here, had I not timely taken this mad fellow out of the Turkes handes into my owne custody, and happily intercepted his letters as they were carrying to the Vizier, the coppies of which I send you herewith enclosed under his owne hand. I trouble you the rather with this story because I found about this Quaker a passe or certificate given this person by Mr. Clutterbuck of Ligorne, which though it were not much significant farther then to testify he was an Englishman and in that respect to treat him with that kindnesse as is due to all subjects of his Majestie from those in peace and amitie with him, yet it may well be interpreted a countenance and encouragement to that sort of sactaries, who are ready to beleive that the least civilitie towards them is an immediate motion from God in favour and confirmation of their profession. And therefore pray represent to Mr. Clutterbuck his errour herein, and give warning to all other merchants at Livorne to be carefull for the future how they encourage these enthusiarrs, especially to divert them from their intentions for Turkey, in regard that their madnesse may probably be paid for at the charge of the publick.”

From the Report on the Manuscripts of Allan George Finch, Esq., 1913, vol. i, p. 400. Livorne=Leghorn.

The Earl of Winchilsea was British Ambassador to the Porte, 1660-1668. He had had previous experience of trouble with wandering Quakers. See *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 430, with reference to Richard Scosthrop and Daniel Baker. We do not know the Friend referred to in the letter.

Lukens, Quaker Clock-makers

In the *William and Mary Quarterly*, the Historical Magazine published by William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia, April, 1922, there is an article on "Christ Church, Norfolk, Bell & Clock," in which we read: "Henry [?Isaiah] Lukens, of Philadelphia, was in his day perhaps the best known of the American clock-makers. Messrs. Riggs & Co. are his successors. To the Lukens firm was entrusted the order for the Christ Church clock. The cost was \$863.63. After long service the clock was removed to the College and continues to mark time. When the clock was taken down, the following inscription was found upon a plate attached to the main frame: 'Isaiah Lukens/Fecit. No. 14./Philadelphia Nov. 12,/1820.'"

By the kindness of Charles F. Jenkins we can present some information respecting this Quaker clock-maker:

"The Lukens were descendant from Jan Luken, who came over as one of the body of Germans from Crefelt, reaching Germantown in 1683.

"Isaiah Lukens was the son of Seneca Lukens and Sarah (Quinby) Lukens, who were married 10th mo. 6, 1777. Isaiah made the clock in the tower of the State House, Philadelphia, in 1839 for \$5000.00. It was later removed to the Town Hall in Germantown and is still in use, keeping good time. He made a visit to Europe and was a founder and vice-president of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, and died 11th mo. 12, 1841. His father was a clockmaker before him. Both were members of the Society of Friends. Isaiah's mother died in 1843 and was buried at Horsham Friends Burial Ground. She left, surviving her, five children, thirty-seven grandchildren and thirty-five great grandchildren."

Diary of Samuel Mickle

The fourth and last instalment of extracts from this Diary have appeared in the Year Book for 1924 of the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania (1420 Pine Street, Philadelphia). Previous instalments will be found in *Notes on Old Gloucester County*, 1917, and in the Year Books for 1921, 1922, and 1923. The Diary is in the possession of Frank H. Stewart, historian to the Society. Samuel Mickle (1746-1830) was a well-known merchant of Woodbury, N.J., and a worthy member of the Society of Friends.

Here are a few extracts :

1821

" April 22. Wm. Foster from Island of Guernsey here on a religious visit—speaks very broken English."

[who was this Friend ?]

" October 8. Nathan Yarnall of Philad., deceased."

1822

" February 28. A meeting for Amos Peasley to-morrow from neighborhood of Crosswicks, N.J., formerly of New Hampshire."

" July 2. Hannah Yarnall (widow of Peter) deceased at Byberry."

[In December visits of Priscilla Hunt and Daniel Prickett from Indiana and Rachel Wainwright from Salem, are noted.]

1824

" February 29. Wm. Foster of Island of Guernsey at meeting."

" April 26. Jacob Branson and Wm. Flanner, Friends from Ohio, at meeting."

" May 7. S . . . h S . . . n . . . s communicated to me y^e P.M. a circumstance before now unknown to me. viz.: that I, having in my absence left my writing room door open, my beloved wife [who died in 1809] (in my absence) invited her into it, and they had a choice time inspecting my diary, &c."

[The Separation caused the following among other entries :]

1827

" August 16. Quarterly meeting day for business, but none done by reason of not being select, Isaac T. Hopper, a disowned person from Philad., continuing to sit all y^e time of said meeting though much advised to withdraw."

1828

“ January 28. Monthly meeting but alas the disorder and confusion, 2 or 3 more up and speaking at y^e same time. Some disowned and some dealing by their respective meetings were here intruding on and in the meeting, and would not withdraw altho often requested so to do.”

“ June 30. Monthly meeting in which Hicksites clerk officiated, and after they had done and withdrawn, Isaiah Green, a Hicksite, intruded and obliged y^e Orthodox Friends to adjourn upstairs into y^e select meeting room, and after time came down again and finished y^e business.”

“ August 26. Sarah, wife of Amos Peaslee, deceased about 5 y^e morning, and rather suddenly and unexpected by the family. Her husband in y^e State of Ohio, sowing y^e seeds of Secedership as a minister.”

[Last entries :]

1829

“ April 24. Rec'd money for a debt contracted 12 mo 19, 1752, upwards of 46 years standing.”

“ June 29. Late y^e P.M., on going up the kitchen stairs with a bottle of ink in one hand and an inkstand in y^e other with ink in it, on my taking y^e last step for y^e room floor, I hit my toe against y^e step and fell into y^e room with them in my hands, spilt ink out of y^e inkstand on y^e carpet and over one hand, broke and bruised my left shin in two places, and hurting back and both hands, but y^e skin on knees not broken nor bottle broken.”

HADWEN RECORDS WITH ASHWORTH PEDIGREE AND NOTES.— J. Theodore Hadwen, of Sandiway, Cheshire, has presented to D a typed copy of above. There was a line of five Isaac Hadwens, 1687—1737, 1723—1776, 1753-1842, 1793-1865 and 1824-1876, all born Friends.

Isaac Hadwen, 1st, married, in 1714, Sarah, daughter of John Moore, of Eldroth Hall, and Sarah, his wife, *née* Blaykling (1690-1761), a Minister. Isaac was a clockmaker, in Kendal. In 1718 he visited Friends in America in company with John Danson. He went to America a second time, in 1737, on a business visit, landed at Hampton in Virginia and was about to return, when he was attacked by fever and died at Chester, Del., 29 vi. 1737. So states a record written by Isaac, 3rd. His trade was followed by Isaac, 2nd. Alice Hadwen (1680-1718), step-sister of Isaac, 1st, married, 1699, Thomas Savage, of Clifton (xix. 83). Isaac, 2nd, married a Barlow; Isaac, 3rd, a Gaylard; Isaac, 4th, an Ashworth; Isaac, 5th, a non-Friend, and resigned his membership.

The Ashworth records are taken from the *Memoir of Henry Ashworth* (1794-1880).

Joseph Woods to William Matthews

JN the letters of Joseph Woods to William Matthews, written towards the end of the eighteenth century, and now preserved in **D**, we find some quaint allusions to London Yearly Meeting.

Joseph Woods (1738-1812), "woollen-draper, of White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street, London, was a member of the Society of Friends, who took a prominent part in furthering the work of the Anti-slavery Society." He married, in 1769, Margaret Hoare (1748-1821), second daughter of Samuel Hoare and his wife, Grizell Gurnell. Margaret Woods was a gifted woman; extracts from her *Journal* were printed in 1829, and also published in America in 1850.¹ From their eldest son, Samuel (1772-1853), is descended the present Frank Theodore Woods, bishop of Winchester, who comes of Quaker stock from both parents, his mother, Alice Octavia Fry, being a grand daughter of Elizabeth Fry. Another son of Joseph and Margaret Woods, Joseph (1776-1864), was an architect; see Joseph Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, ii. 955. He was unmarried, his sister, Margaret (1778-1868), lived with him at Southover, Lewes. He died aged 87 and his sister, aged 90, their deaths being given in the *Annual Monitor*.

Joseph Woods has been described as "a man of small fortune and bad health"; his letters indicate his interest in poetry and literature generally, also the welcome he gave to new thought in his desire for wisdom and knowledge. But as regards the Society of Friends he was strongly conservative and treated any change with seeming impatience and intolerance.

Family Records and Pedigree, compiled by Edward H. Woods, 1918; copy presented to **D**, in 1919, by Elizabeth Woods, of Woburn Sands.

William Matthews was a resident of Bath. He appears to have left Friends. He died in 1816. For his writings see Smith, *Cata*.

¹ The seven volumes of the original diary, covering the years 1771 to 1821, are in **D**. *Practically all the personal references in the original have been omitted in the printing—a great loss* (xiv. 42).

In June, 1784 (Letter 33), Joseph Woods writes :

“ With respect to the Yearly Meeting we have had, as usual, line upon line and precept upon precept. A fresh cargo of half-a-dozen choice Friends arrived from America just in time for the feast of tongues. It was remarked, as a good omen, that a large supply of fresh Turbot arrived the same day. The saints cannot be fed now, as formerly, with *two* small fishes. Four or five Americans were here before. They assume, I think, somewhat of the dignity of confessors, as if they had suffered a degree of religious persecution. They speak like oracles, without doubt or hesitation, how much soever of both some of the hearers may have, in admitting their doctrines. Whenever our forms differ from theirs, they are continually reminding us of the practice in Philadelphia, as of the example of a superior Court.²

“ With the assistance of these wise men and women from the West, Esther Tuke has been enabled to establish her favourite point of a womens Yearly Meeting, since which two or three of them have opened the book of Lamentations and began to prophecy of woes to come.

“ Robert Valentine,³ like a shepherd’s dog, keeps up a continual barking at the poor sheep, to make them keep close together, and to terrify the straglers. He cares not for drawing, but is altogether for driving men into religion, and tells them plainly that if they will wear powder in their wigs, which is not of the Lord’s ordering but Satan’s, they must perish everlastingly. I am always glad when this week of bustle, of noise, and, I had almost said, of nonsense, is over.”

In 1786 (Letter 41) Joseph Woods writes :

“ The Yearly Meetings have been crowded, both male and female. I wish, from the congress may not be engendered a monstrous brood of innovations in practice and exacerbations

² The same might be said of English Friends visiting America. English Ministers in America, at the time of the Separation, through lack of knowledge, hindered rather than helped ; and there has been a danger, in recent years, of the undue urge of the adoption of old-world methods in new-world activities.

³ *c.* 1717-1786. He was a native of Ireland and emigrated to Pa. in early life. A somewhat similar estimate of his energetic defence of “ the precious Testimonies ” may be read in vol. xxi. p. 10.

of zeal. A proposal for altering the time of the Yearly Meeting is, however, the only one of consequence, I think, this year, which, being born of the Women, is committed to the Men to nurse for another year; but being a weakly, rickety child, it is much doubted whether it will live. Are there no traces of these things to be met with in Revelations?

“For my own part I walk on a slow and languishing pace, joining in experience with Sam Spavold⁴ that I am going down the hill of life, and that I do not regret it.”

In Letter, no. 45, we read :

“The Women Friends held long meetings and appeared very willing to be invested with greater power, but it was somewhat limited by the prudence of the Men.”

In 1792 (Letter 57) it is reported :

“Our Yearly Meeting has been conducted with much moderation and harmony. Luckily we had no Americans to tell us what the practise is in their Country, and our Irish Brethren seemed contented to eat of the Fat of the Land without murmuring. The women (I ask pardon, I mean our women friends) sent no proposals of innovation. They told us, however, as usual, that the Lord had owned them, an expression which, being so often repeated, seems to imply a fear that they should find no owner.”

In 1799 he writes (Letter 65) :

“The female part of the Yearly Meeting (now growing into great consideration, and which perhaps in a few years may be the upper house) were strongly impressed”

In this same letter he refers quite appreciatively to one woman Friend :

“An American woman friend of the name of Hannah Barnard⁵ is much admired here as an eloquent Preacher. I think she has been at Bristol, perhaps at Bath. On seventh day last I understand she was at Windsor and preached in the Town Hall to a numerous Auditory. I heard her but

⁴ *c.* 1708-1795. Lived in London and later at Folkestone and Hitchin. Travelled extensively in the British Isles as a Minister. See *x.* 129.

⁵ For Hannah Barnard, of the State of New York, see vols. *x*, *xv*, *xx*, *xxi*; *London Y.M. during 250 Years*.

once. She speaks with great propriety and even an elegant assortment of words. She appears to be a woman who has both read and thought."

Richard Scoryer and His School

Ratcliff Monthly Meeting 29 $\frac{11}{mo}$ 1695.

William Sanders is Desired to Speak to Rich^d Scorey to know how many Poor friends Children he is wiling to Teach in Consideration of his acomodation at y^e Meeting house or how much money he vallevs his Accomodation there at & make reporte next Meeting.

Ans^r, With Submission to the Meeting; J understood, that the meeting freely offered the Room's for the Accomodation of a School, upon the Last yearly-meetings advice; nothing being mentioned to me of paying any money under consideration of Rent or otherwise. But if now the meetings mind be, that a Yearly Rent ought to be paid, Then J judge the Meeting should propose how much, Because no particular member ought to take that to itself, w^{ch} belongs to a meeting, Now when this is done, Then can the first part of y^e Query be Answered; and consequently the Second part also;

But seeing my Time is short being less than a Quarter, and also have laid out some pounds in accomodations for a School, and have freely bequeathed the Same unto the Meeting, for Encouragment towards a present and future School; J believe the Meeting will find that J may be Excused from any further charge upon the account of Accomodation; leaving, leaving the Meeting to do therein As God shall direct them w^{ch} is the needfull at present, from your real friend.

RD. SCORYER

Wansworth y^e 8th 12th m^o 169 $\frac{5}{8}$

Meetinghouses Registered under the Toleration Act

"The People called Quakers [Brighouse M.M.] have the following places for worship and give notice to the Justices, Oct. 8, 1689:

"One at Robert Cowlings of Northowram, Daniel Sutcliffes of Stansfeld, John Eccles of Nether Woodhouse, Jonas Prestons of Rastrick, Richard Hansons of Brighouse, Thomas Greens of Longliver-
sedge, William Pearsons of Okenshaye, Edmond Horsfalls of Green-
house, John Marshlands of Quarmbye, Timothy Hoyles of Broadcarr,
Robert Walkers of Staincliffe, Martha Phillips house of Bowlinge, William
Cookes of the same, John Winns of Bradford, Jonas Bonds house of
Bolton, Thomas Bonds house, Eccleshall, John Kays house of Birkhouse
in Shelley."

Extracted from Oliver Heywood's *Nonconformist Register*, printed 1881, pp. 144, 145.

A Suitor Commended

y^e 23^d 3^{m^o} 1734.

Cousin Birkbeck

Respected Kinsman

We p̄sume that A Few Lines from us in Relation to the Character of our Esteemed friend Josiah Forster will be acceptable, inasmuch as we understand, he makes suit to Cou^s Jane. He is aman of Great parts and Abilities, both natural and acquired, endued wth a good undstanding, quick in his Disposition, ready in Comprehension and w^t is the best Qualification seasoned wth A Good Degree of Truth, so that the more we grow acquainted wth him, the more we value him ; and believss that he's a growing man in Religion, he is well accounted of amongst Friends being of a sober Life and Conversation, Chast and reserved, he's a Serviceable Man in the Church, being sound in Judgment and Zealous for the Good Cause.

As to his School its in a flourishing Condition w^{ch} may be likely still to Encrease if he Succeed in the Affair. We speak encourageingly believing Cou^s Temper agreeable to his Disposition and hopes it may tend to their Mutual Good both here and hereafter.

So concludes wth Dear Love to you all (that is both the Families) your Loving and Affectionate Kinsmen & Kinswoman

HENRY BRADFORD
& JOHN BRADFORD
ELIZABETH BRADFORD

Endorsed: "To William Birkbeck in Settle in the County of York. By Bradforth Bagg. This."

Josiah Forster (c. 1693-1763), probably the first of the name Josiah, left his northern home at Chester-le-Street, Co. Durham, in 1710 for London, where he was occupied as a teacher in the Friends' School and Workhouse in Clerkenwell, and became a member of Bull and Mouth Monthly Meeting. In 1723, he married Hannah Hands, of Birmingham, and opened a school at Coventry. Their son, Josiah II, was born therein

1726. Hannah Forster died in 1733, aged 34, and was buried at Warwick. In 1734, Josiah I married Jane Birkbeck (1709-1797), daughter of William Birkbeck, of Settle, Co. York. In 1741, the family moved to Bury St. Edmunds, Co. Suffolk, and they appear to have lived at Settle and also two years in Birmingham before establishing themselves at Tottenham, near London, in 1752, where a Friends' school was established.

Among the children of Josiah and Jane Forster were Sarah (1735-1826); Mary (1739-1827), married William Fairbank, of Sheffield; Ann (1742-1797); Deborah (1743-1834); Elizabeth (1745-1841); William (1747-1824), the Tottenham schoolmaster, some of whose letters have been printed in *The Journal*.

The above letter was probably written from Coventry. Henry Bradford (1698-1771) married Elizabeth Fisher, of Kendal, in 1724.

The original letter, in a tender condition, is in **D**.

A Militia-Substitutes Club

C. Brightwen Rowntree, of Saffron Walden, sends us the following extracts from the minutes of Felsted M.M. in Co. of Essex. Were such Clubs in existence in other parts of the country?

FELSTED MONTHLY MEETING

4 v. 1762

Minute 11. "Report being made to this Meeting that John Wallis, Junr., of Felsted, has entered into a Club to hire substitutes for such members of the club as should happen to be drawn to serve in the Militia, which thing came to the knowledge of friends by it's happening to be his lot to be drawn: This Meeting appoints Jos. Smith, Junr., Jos. Thresher and R. C. Sims to visit the said John Wallis on the account and make report to next Meeting."

12. "In order to prevent the like in others, the same friends are desired to take an opportunity as soon as possible of advising and cautioning every particular member of our Meeting liable to be drawn for a Militia man, from having the least hand in any practice so very opposite to our Christian Testimony."

FELSTED MONTHLY MEETING

3 vi. 1762

Minute 7. "The Friends appointed visited John Wallis, Junr., on account of his having entered into a Club by whom a man was hired in his stead, as it happened to be his lot to be drawn for a Militia; and the s^d John Wallis, being present, says he did it ignorantly, not knowing it was contrary to our principles. If he had, should not have done it."

Jacob Bell, Chemist and Artist

JACOB BELL (1810-1859) was the son of John and Elizabeth Bell, of Westminster. He was sent to school at Darlington at twelve years of age, presumably the seminary, conducted by Henry Frederick Smith (see xix. xx. xxii.). Then he entered his father's business as a chemist in Oxford Street. His faculty for art was considerable, especially upon the grotesque and humorous side. Evidence of this may be found in **D**, in which there is a volume of tracts, the authors of which are represented by his pencil caricatures. In 1841 he established *The Pharmaceutical Journal*, with the assistance of Thomas Southall (1794-1861), of Birmingham (xi. 15), and others. As editor of this periodical Bell is described as "Jacob Bell, F.L.S., M.R.I." In 1850 he contested St. Albans as a Liberal and was returned to Parliament, but the borough was disfranchised.

The following is taken from *My Autobiography and Reminiscences*, by W. P. Frith, 1890, under the heading "The School of Art" (pp. 27-29) :

Whilst I was in the school there were two expulsions : one in the person of a youth from Jersey, who, in spite of a notice in large letters always visible to him, that " Silence is indispensable in a place devoted to study," persisted in singing French songs in a piercingly shrill voice and in laughing at Mr. Sass, and singing louder than ever when the professor disappeared. The other discharged student was my old friend Jacob Bell, so well known afterwards as the intimate and valued friend of Sir Edwin Landseer, the purchaser of so many of that great artist's works, and, I may add, of my " Derby Day," all eventually bequeathed by him to the National Gallery. Bell went through the drawing from the flat with much tribulation, and at last began the fearful plaster ball, in the representation of which he had advanced considerably ; but he also had arrived at the limit of his patience, and on one fatal Monday morning, after witnessing an early execution at Newgate, he drew the scaffold and the criminal hanging on it, in the centre of the ball. We were grouped round the artist listening to an animated account of the murderer's last moments when Sass appeared. The crowd of listeners ran to their seats and waited for the storm. Mr. Sass looked at the drawing, and went out of the studio—a pin might have been heard to drop. Bell looked round and winked at me. Sass returned and walked slowly up to Mr. Jacob Bell, and addressed him as follows :

“ Sir, Mr. Bell ; sir, your father placed you under my care for the purpose of making an artist of you. I can't do it ; I can make nothing of you. I should be robbing your father *if I did it*. You had better go, sir ; such a career as this [pointing to the man hanging] is a bad example to your fellow-pupils. You must *leave, Sir !* ”

“ All right,” said Bell, and away he went, returning to the druggist's shop established by his father in Oxford Street, where he made a large fortune, devoting it mainly to the encouragement of art and artists, and dying prematurely, beloved and regretted by all who knew him.

It is reported of his father, a rigid Quaker, who watched with disapproval his son's purchases of pictures, that he said to him one day : “ What business hast thou to buy those things, wasting thy substance ? ” “ I can sell any of *those things* for more than I gave for them, some for twice as much.” “ Is that verily so ? ” said the old man. “ Then I see no sin in thy buying more.”

When Bell first appeared at Sass's, he wore the Quaker coat ; but finding that the students showed their disapproval in a marked and unpleasant manner—such, for instance, as writing “ Quaker ” in white chalk across his back—he discarded that vestment, and very soon afterwards was himself discarded by the Quakers. His dismissal happened in this wise. At “ Meeting ” the men sit on one side of the chapel, and the women on the other. Bell disliked this arrangement, and finding remonstrance of no avail, he disguised himself in female attire, and took his place in the forbidden seats. For a time all went well, but a guilty conscience came into play on seeing two of the congregation speaking together and eyeing him suspiciously the while ; he took fright, and catching up his petticoats, he went out from “ meeting ” with a stride that proclaimed his sex. For this he was, as I have heard him tell many a time, expelled from the community.

There is an article on Bell in *D.N.B.* and also in the *Biographical Catalogue of the Friends' Institute, London, 1888.*

Meetinghouses Licensed under the Toleration Act

Yorkshire, Oct. 8, 1689 :

“ One meeting place in the hamlet of Wooldale [xix. 102].

“ One at the houses of Henry Jackson of Tottyys [xix. 102], John Bradford of Ossett, John Attack of the same.

“ One at Joseph Naylor's of Ardsley [was he a descendant of James Naylor, who was an Ardsley man ?], Richard Lawtons of Midgley, John Whaleys of Langfeld.”

Oliver Heywood's *Nonconformist Register*, printed 1881, p. 145.

Editor's Forecast

At the last meeting of the Committee it was decided to issue volume XXII. complete, four parts, at one time. This issue is now in subscribers' hands.

Manuscripts awaiting publication comprise the following, among others :

Notes on the Ashby Family.

Dorothy Ripley (conclusion).

The Story of Besse's Sufferings.

Bethlem Hospital Minutes *re* James Nayler.

Extracts from the Diary of Dr. William Thornton.

Rachel Reed and Stephen Grellet.

Scenes from the Life-history of Joseph Metford (1776-1863).

Some Swarthmore MSS. from the collection of Sir George Whitehead.

Joseph King at London Y.M., 1779, and General Meeting at Longtown, Cumberland, 1780.

Notes on the Ancestry of George Fox.

Gleanings from some old Account Books (Scotland).

Photographs of Devonshire House

Friends taking leave of the old Headquarters will be glad to take with them the series of photographs prepared by Walter Benington. This consists of twenty-three bromide prints on toned paper, 7½ inches by 6 inches. The photographs shew the Yard, Cavendish Court, the Corridor, the Large Meeting House, the Old Meeting House, the Reference Library, the Committee Rooms, the Recording Clerk's Office, the Strong Rooms, the Institute, and Portrait Gallery. Considering the unpictorial nature of some of the subjects, the photographs are excellent. The Strong Rooms, with their difficult lighting, are wonderfully clear. The view of the Recording Clerk's Office is eloquent evidence of the need of new offices.

Information from Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2, or Walter Benington, Queen Anne's Chambers, Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C.1.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D—Friends Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Camb. Jnl.—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 2 vols., 1911.

Camb. Jnl. Tercent. Supp.—*The Short Journal and the Itinerary Journals of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1925.

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

F.P.T.—“*The First Publishers of Truth*,” original documents relating the establishment of Quakerism in England and Wales, 1907.

F.Q.E.—*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*.

Rancocas John Woolman—The Rancocas edition of *The Journal of John Woolman*, edited by Amelia M. Gummere, Phila. and London, 1922.

Smith, Cata.—*A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, compiled by Joseph Smith, 2 vols., 1867.

ABSTRACT OF WILL OF RICHARD MARSH OF BRISTOL AND LONDON, MERCHANT.

Dated 1703, Nov. 20.

Richard Marsh of London, merchant :

I give to my grand-daughter Ruth Mead, wife of Richard Mead, physitian, £1000. To her sister Bethshua Marsh £1000 at marriage or 21. To my two grandchildren Rachel Jones and Edward Haistwell £1000 apiece at marriage or 21. To my kinsman John Whitty £1000, the better to support his poor relations. To John Kent and Ann his wife £1000 for their children. To Robert Ruddle and Ann his wife £1000 for their children. To my executrices £500. To Hannah Henry, spinster, £500, to be divided in case of her decease between my grandson Edward

Haistwell and her sister Ann, wife of John Brookes, hosier. To my nephew Richard Whitty, junior, brother of John Whitty aforesaid £300. To Grace, wife of Philip Harman, wine-cooper, £300 for her children. To Ann Kent aforesaid, only child of my last wife, £500. To my apprentice James Peachey £250. To my cousin Joseph James and his wife in Bristoll £200. To my kinswoman Susannah Lake, dau. of Andrew Lake of Honiton £150. To John Drew, mariner, £150. To the poor of Lynn [Lyme] Reges where I was borne £150, to be distr. betw. poor sailors and poor sailors' widows. To my brother-in-law Richard Whitty, senr., £100. To Jane Drew, widdow of Roger Drew, mariner, £100. To John Bayley, mariner, £100. To John and Ann Stacey,

my servants £100. To the poor Quakers in Bristoll £100. To the poor Quakers in London £100. To the publick workhouse in London £100, and to the workhouse managed by the Quakers in the said city £100. To William Browning my father-in-law [or step-father] in Lyme Reges £50. To Sarah and Grace, daughters of my brother-in-law Richard Whitty senior, £50 apeece. To Thomas and Rebecca Garrett, formerly my servants £50. To widdow Davis late wife of Robert Davis, she lived formerly at the George in Lyme Reges £50. To the schools for poor boys in White Chappell £50. To Charles Hollingworth £50 at the expiration of his apprenticeship to set up the fishmonger's trade. To my brother-in-law Abel Hulet £50. Charles Harris of Wickham £30. To Jane Earl, dau. of Roger Drew, £20, and to Mary Hodder and Jane Hacker daughters of John Hacker, decd., £20 apeece. To widdow Phillpott late wife of John Phillpott, mariner, £20. To Nurse Hayo £20 and to Jane Bird who formerly waited on Rachel Jones £20. To Michael Jones £20. To Mary wife of John Whitty aforesaid £10. To Marke Warkeman, wine-cooper's daughter £10 and to Elizabeth Popleston late wife of John Hollard £10. I give to widdow Hughs, John Thomas, mariner, and John Clarke, porter, all three in Bristoll £10 apeece. To widow Putner, widow Parker, John Feild, John Butcher, Thomas Haistwell and Anthony Haistwell £10 apeece. To the two sons of John Burgis, decd., £10 apeece. To James New, shipwright in Bristoll £10. To William Holloway, cooper, Thomas Bates,

cooper, and widdow Baines, sailmaker, £10 apeece. To Thomas Smith and each of his four partners being porters £10 apeece. To Thomas Prickett, joyner, £10. To the poor of Up-Lyme, Dorsett £10. To Ralph Beames, mariner, ten pounds. To Nathaniel Milner and his wife £10. To Henry Burbace, cooper, and Edward Crowfoot, porter, £5 apeece. To every servant living with my son and daughter Haistwell at my decease 40^s apeece.

The residue to my daughter Rachael Haistwell and my granddaughter Rachel Jones equally, sole executrices. Edward Haistwell and John Kent my sons-in-law, Robert Ruddle, John Whitty and Henry Peil, overseers, to whom £100 each.

In witness whereof, &c.

(Signed) RICHARD MARSH.

Wits., Gwynnett Freeman,

Matt. Hobson,

Benjamin Thomson.

Codicil. To my dau-in-law Ann Kent, plate, etc. To my coachman John Stacie and his wife Ann, furniture, &c My stock in the East India Company 25 Nov., 1703.

(Signed) RICHARD MARSH.

Wits. J^{no}. Rushen, Robert Hill.

London 28 November, 1703.

My dear child Rachel Haistwell. I have made thee and my granddaughter Rachel Jones to be whole and sole executrices, &c. And my desire you after my decease to take care of my funerall to be buried in the burying place of friends at Limehouse where your mother and grandmother was buried. To the children of Jone Hobard as marryed a carpenter I would have you give them £10

each, and the son of Elishua Portrie as was in the shipp Hamsher to India £20, and unto the poor woman as brings the News Papers to our house £5. I have [given] in legacies 12806^{li} and all my debts as I owe at present is 560^{li}. My estate at this time doth amount to more than as much again as I have given away. My dear and loving child if I have not settled my estate to thy good liking I desire thee to forgive me I tooke the best care as I could, and have left somewhat to all my relations and friends, &c., &c.

There is a considerable account, written by J. J. Green, of Richard Marsh (c. 1630-1703/4), Quaker, of Bristol, and references to other persons mentioned in the will, in *F.Q.E.*, 1907, pp. 477-490. He married three times, his second wife, whom he married in 1666, was Ruth Cox (d. 1684). Their three sons died in infancy. Of the three daughters Rachel (1670-) married Edward Haistwell. It is interesting to think how much more we now know of Edward Haistwell than was apparently known at the date of J. J. Green's "Marshes and Meads."

TONES IN PREACHING (xiii-xvii, xix, xx).—Emma Gurney, *aft.* Pease, to her sister, Hannah C. Backhouse, no date but *circa* 1822:

"I have a decided aversion to friend's gossip but my mother desires me to inform thee of a new minister risen up among us, Lucy Aggs, junr. She has spoken occasionally for the last month or two well, audibly, and collectedly. As yet she has avoided tone and I hope will continue to do so for

it is a great take off" (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*).

Lucy Aggs (1789-1853) was a daughter of Thomas and Lucy (Gurney) Aggs, of Norwich. Her first "appearances" in the ministry were in the year 1822. She took several short journeys with Sarah Squire, visiting local Meetings and holding services for the poor. She died at the house of her brother-in-law, John Brightwen, at Thorpe, near Norwich. MS. Testimony; *Biog. Cata. Lond. Fds'. Inst.*

WILLET HICKS (xx. 94).—"Willett Hicks was said to be a portly dignified man, who always dressed in good style and travelled about in his own carriage with coachman and footman. [See xix. 3.] He was a minister of the Society and an eloquent and fluent speaker. From his grand and dignified appearance he was called the 'Bishop of the Quaker Church.' In 1819 he was liberated by the Meeting for a religious visit to England, but he combined with his 'concern' a very considerable interest in stocking up with goods to send to America, from the sale of which he realized large profits. Friends in this city considered that he was going a little too fast, living in too much style, and all that sort of thing, for a Quaker minister and dealt with him on account of it. But somehow the matter blew over and the records were dropped from the minutes of the Monthly Meeting" (William H. S. Wood, *Friends of New York in the Nineteenth Century*, 1906, p. 20).

Other references to Willet Hicks are to be found in the lives of Mary Whitall (p. 19), Christopher Healy

(p. 162), John Comly (pp. 154, 167, 523) and Samuel Mickle (August 12, 1813). There is a reproduction of a silhouette of Willet Hicks, in D.

WILLIAM SINGLETON (xiv. 108, 113, 118, 119).—There is a reference in the history of the Adult School Movement, recently published, to William Singleton, living in Nottingham in 1798, a member of the Methodist New Connection Church, who was the founder of Adult Schools in that city, assisted by Samuel Fox (p. 12). He was probably the father of William Singleton, Ackworth scholar and master; and the dates given xiv. 119 would more likely refer to the father than to the son; at least, if born "c. 1770," the son was too old to enter Ackworth as a scholar in 1806! The more probable time of the son's birth is that given in *The Bibliography of Ackworth School*, 1889, "about 1797." Singleton Junior has been described as "a fine-looking man, erect and dignified, with his hair combed straight back, and cut at the neck like a girl's" (Benson, *The Lune to the Neva*, 1879, p. 38, under the name of Doubleday). The connection is an interesting one.

GEORGE FOX'S FINANCES.—"One of the most curious examples of the note of triumph which sounds through the whole of the *Journal* is the character of George Fox's references to money. It is not quite clear from what source he received his supplies of money, but the probabilities are that he never had any very large amount. Nevertheless he never seems to feel poor. Of sixteen references

to money I noted in the *Journal*, only one suggests that he was at all hard up. Nearly all the others suggest exactly the reverse. For example, he made it a principle not to attend weddings,¹ but when asked, it was his custom to call later on the newly-wedded pair, and 'if they were poor I gave them money.' Indeed, he gave generously to the poor whether they were newly-wedded or not. And he seems at times to have given away his money to people regardless of whether they were poor or not. Speaking of one sojourn in Kendal, he says, 'I had silver in my pocket, and I was moved to throw it out amongst the people as I was going up the street.'"²

From an address by President Aydelotte, of Swarthmore College, Pa., at the Fox Tercentenary Meeting at Haverford College, 17 v. 1924, printed in *Bulletin F.H.A.*, vol. xiii. no. 2.

BOOK OF MIRACLES.—In the original mss. of *The Journal of George Fox*, under date of 1666, we read: 'Wee had a large meetinge att a Constables house on whome ye Lord had wrought a great miracle [{ as in ye booke of miracles may bee seen }].'³

¹ This is true of his earlier life only. During his later life in London and district he was frequently at marriages. See *Camb. Journal*, Tercent. Supp. pp. 75, 76, 160, 199, 209.—[EDITOR.]

² See *Camb. Journal*, Tercent. Supp., p. 21.

³ The signs [] imply that the enclosed words were omitted from all printed editions of *The Journal*, except the *Camb.* edition, and the { } imply that the words within formed an insertion in the ms. by the same hand.

See Camb. *Journal*, ii. 106. Among the testamentary dispositions of George Fox is the following: "The Book in which y^e Lords power was Manifest at y^e Breaking first of the Truth, where itt may bee seen. Some are Miracles that his power wrought, you may print if you will" (*ibid.* ii. 348). And among writings catalogued in *The Journal* mss., under date of 1675, we have another notice of this Book: "[{ & alsoe another booke of miracles wherein ye wonderfull power of God was seene}]" (*ibid.* ii. 313).

We have searched in vain for any "book of miracles" among extant Quaker records, but we have recently found what may be a reference to such a book in *A Short Account of the People called Quakers*, by Henry Pickworth.

Pickworth, ex-Quaker, was detailing what he believed to be parallel views held by Friends ("Foxonian Quakers") and the Family of Love, or Familists, under the leadership of Henry Nicholas, and among many "authorities" for this similarity of doctrine and practice, he gives: "*Private Miracles in Manuscript*" (p. 50). This may refer to a copy of "The Book of Miracles," and is the only reference we have found to such a collection after the references in *The Journal* mss. What a find it would be if the Book should re-appear!

THOMAS STORY'S WILL (xxi. 92).—Having had the opportunity to consult a copy of the will, with original signatures, preserved in the grangerised edition of his *Journal* in D, we can correct some

of the names misread in the badly-written copy used for the printer:

The messages referred to were Justice-town, *Broomyknow*, Pears-*piel*, Linehow and *Holesyke* (otherwise *Wabyhole*). The sister-in-law, widow of Edward Shippen, was *Francina*; she was Anna Francina Vanderheyden (*Pa. Mag.* v. 453 n.).

THOMAS TOMPION (xix. 46).—In *Notes and Queries*, March 21, there is an article on Thomas Tompion, in which it is stated that this Quaker watchmaker was born at Northill, Beds, and according to the register for the year 1639 at the record office at the Shire Hall, Bedford:

"Thomas Tompion, son of Thomas and Margaret Tompion, was baptized Julie 25." Other members of the family are named in the article.

SLEEPING IN MEETING (xi. 116, xiii. 3, xxi. 26).—In a book written against George Fox and Friends generally, by Henry Pickworth (?1673-?1738), an ex-Friend, living in Lincolnshire in 1716, entitled *A Charge of Error, Heresy, etc.*, we find this note:

"An Impediment their Hearers are now almost irrecoverably infected with; under a sorrowful Sense whereof, one of their Preachers lately told us at Sleaford, That finding them almost all a Sleep in their Meeting at Gainsborough, amongst others he had visited, he was forc'd to clap his Hands hard together, stamp his Feet often upon his Form and thrash them near two Hours by the Clock to awake them to hear him" (p. 147).

AUTHOR WANTED.—In days gone by we frequently heard the following words quoted by Friends. We recently met them in a letter written by Peter Bedford in 1860. Whence did this poetical sentence originate? "Fruitful in the field of offering and joyful in the house of prayer."

HATS.—"An old great aunt of mine, Eunice Mitchell, from Nantucket, said she had but once seen her husband's father without his hat on, and she lived in the same house with him. Another old Friend, Townsend Hawkshurst, once entering a room where some Friends were dining, exclaimed, throwing up his hands: O, sorrowful, sorrowful, a whole tableful of men with their hats off!" (Wood, *Friends of New York in the Nineteenth Century*, 1904, p. 15).

FRANCES HENSHAW, LATER PAXTON AND DODSHON (xxi. 66).—Further research (or perhaps we should say, a chance discovery, as in looking for other data we found as below) has revealed the name of the Friend of Balby, given by initials only. In Toft MSS. (vol. i. no. 11) in D there is a copy of a letter from Thomas Smith, dated "Balby, near Doncaster, 8th moth 27th 1736," addressed to Thomas Sutton, the

guardian of Fanny Henshaw. He writes:

". . . The occasion of my giving thee y^s Trouble is on acco^t of thy Neice F.H. who I understand has been a considerable time under great Dissatisfaction of mind on a Religious Acco^t" etc., a long letter.

Sutton writes:

". . . I had an opportunity of seeing your letter to Miss Henshaw w^{ch} I have perus'd without prejudice and take the liberty to answer it without either flattery or animosity, for in writing to her your motive was good. Had your arguments been so, you had found her readier than perhaps you imagin'd to have conceded to them" etc., a very long argumentative epistle.

A letter from Thomas Smith, Junr., to Joshua Toft, 25 vii. 38, mentions "Fanny" several times. She took vocal part, in a private religious gathering, with Richard Massey, who, with Joseph Smith, was visiting Balby.

Smith of Balby was a well-known family. Thomas (1682-1747) was "a man of intelligence, honour & general esteem" (Ecroyd, *Smith of Cantley*, 1878, p. 37). He married Mary Cooke. His son Thomas (1712-1767) followed in his father's footsteps. His wife was an Aldam.

Among references to the Wadsworth family of Yorkshire given in *The Nonconformist Register*, compiled by Oliver Heywood, edited by J. Horsfall Turner, Brighouse, 1881, is the following:

"Mr. Henry Wadsworth near Luddingden was well and dead in an hours time, buried in his garden Apl. 10, 1678, aged 66. A great Quaker, very rich."

“Llyfr y tri Aderyn”

The first reference to Quakers in Welsh appeared in Morgan Llwyd's classic: *Llyfr y tri Aderyn* (the Book of the Three Birds), which was published in 1653—The Three Birds, a mystery for some to understand, and others to deride, being a discourse between the Eagle, the Dove, and the Raven. According to popular opinion in Wales, the Eagle represented Cromwell; the Dove, the Puritans; and the Raven, the Cavaliers. The Dove, in our opinion, expounds the religious views of Llwyd himself. The Raven, after flying abroad, reports that he had seen the Pope, the other day, in Rome, “quaking in his chair.” The Eagle asked: “Is he among the Quakers? Why does he quake?” The Raven answered: “Certain prophecies are terrifying him.”

Morgan Llwyd [(c. 1619-1659, Lloyd, Floyd)], the most spiritual Welshman of his age, was, up to a certain point, a Quaker. His preaching prepared the soil for the seed of Truth, as proclaimed by Fox and his followers. When “priest” at Wrexham church he refused to accept tithes. He advocated free communion, outward baptism was not vital. . . . “The Baptism of Christ is the one great Baptism, and that is the heavenly water in the second birth,” he wrote. The mysticism of George Fox appealed powerfully to Llwyd, the greatest of Welsh mystics; consequently we are not surprised that he sent two “triers” from his Church to George Fox at Swarthmoor, to test his doctrine.

The above has been taken from *The Quakers in Wales*, by T. Mardy Rees, 1925, pp. 8, 9. For Lloyd see *Camb. Jnl.* i. 422; Norris, *John ap John*, 1907; etc.

Sir Daniel Fleming and Friends

In April, 1925, there was a sale in London of documents from Rydal Hall, belonging to the Fleming family. Three lots refer to Daniel Fleming's dealings with Friends; no. 252 is a letter from the Earl of Rochester, first Lord of the Treasury, on 9 November, 1686, informing Fleming that it was the King's pleasure “not to have these poore People so troubled upon the account of their being Quakers only.”

See *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archæological Society*, 1925, p. 377.

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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY
NORMAN PENNEY, LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

VOLUME XXII

1925

London
THE FRIENDS' BOOKSHOP, 140 Bishopsgate, E.C.2

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