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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 XXIX

1932

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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M.M. at Welbourn, Lincs.	<i>frontispiece</i>
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WILLIAM BURKE ADDRESSING THE MONTHLY MEETING OF SOUTHWEST DIVISION OF LINCOLNSHIRE,
held at his house at W. Bourne, North 1 vol. 1862. (See p. 84)

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editor: NORMAN PENNEY, LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.,
120 Richmond Park Road, Bournemouth, Hants.

Publishing Office: Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

American Agency: 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Our Quotation—23

"All scientific history nowadays must start from investigation of 'sources.' It cannot be content to quote 'authorities' simply at their face value, but must press back behind the traditional statements to the evidence on which they, in turn, rest, and examine it independently and critically . . . how far the statements are removed from the events which they claim to discuss, and how nearly they are contemporary or first hand."

F. R. BARRY, in *The Study Bible*, St. Luke, 1926

Quakerism on Moor and Wold

Being the presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Historical Society on the 3rd March.

THE President of the Historical Society has two duties and privileges during his year of office: the first to preside at this meeting, the second to give an address. I cannot offer the charm with which Reginald Hine delighted us a year ago when he discoursed on the Quakers of Hertfordshire in the regrettable absence of the President; nor can I offer a subject of general interest, such as Quaker language, discussed by T. Edmund Harvey previously.

I have limited myself to a strip of land on the north-east coast of Yorkshire, on the confines of civilization, as some southerners may say. But we barbarians of the moors had yielded to the Quaker pioneers a couple of years before they ventured to launch their attack on London.

My main subjects are two: Quaker Pioneers on Moor and Wold; and An Organised Religious Society on Moor and Wold.¹ There will be some preliminaries and some post-scripts.

I

The coming of the Quakers to this district must not be regarded as an isolated event; rather as one of a succession of waves from the ocean of spiritual life that have broken over this region time after time during the last thirteen hundred years.

The first wave came when a little band of men met the King of Northumbria, and a wise alderman likened the life of man to the flight of a sparrow through the hall. The personalities of St. Hilda, St. Aidan and St. Chad left their mark in the north; Whitby, Lastingham and Hackness were famous landmarks.

Five centuries later another wave broke over the district; its high watermark is recorded by the beautiful Abbeys of St. Mary's at York, Fountains, Rievaulx, Byland, and by the Cistercian Church at Scarborough. Meanwhile the friars did their beneficent work in the towns at the edge of the moors.

Five more centuries and another wave brought the Quakers.

A century later John Wesley set off on his missionary journeys—eight thousand miles on horseback was his annual record for many a long year.

The strip of country that I have chosen is about twenty-five miles in length; it stretches from Whitby to Scarborough and extends a few miles further south. In the main it is half-a-dozen miles in width, and now and then reaches twenty

¹ The chief sources are the Minute Books of Scarborough and Whitby Monthly Meeting, 1669-1704 and 1706-1744; and Minutes of the Select Meeting in that M.M., 1669-1752 and 1760-1786. Dates are quoted direct from the records; that means Old Style until 1751.

miles inland. It was in the ancient Liberty of Whitby Strand and the ancient wapentake of Pickering Lythe. Most of the southern part belonged to the Manor of Falsgrave which is recorded in the Domesday Survey. Scarborough is not mentioned in the Survey.

In the middle of the seventeenth century there were small towns on the borders of our region: Whitby, Pickering, Kirbymoorside, Malton, Scarborough. The bulk of the acreage was open country; one part a wilderness of heath and turf and marsh, the other unenclosed ploughed fields. There were great tracts of brushwood and tall trees, wrecks of the old English forest. What paid best was beautiful; if fields were enclosed at all hedgerows were the cheapest form of enclosure; plentiful timber provided cowsheds and barns; gables, lattice-windows, oak beams, stone houses roofed with thatch or stone slabs—all these lent themselves to beauty and cheapness.²

The sanitary conditions were bad and the people lived in perpetual terror of plague. Lady Hoby was living at Hackness at the beginning of the century. In the autumn of 1603 her diary has references to the plague in London, Newcastle, Hull. Nearer and nearer it approached:

We hard that the plauge was spred in Whitbye—so great at Whitbie that those w^{ch} were cleare shutt themselves up. [Then] the sicknes was freared to be at Roben Hood bay, not farr off. [And then] one in the towne [i.e. Hackness], havinge buine in Harwoodall at Mr. Busshills house whouse childrine were Come from whitbie, was fallen sicke w^t 3 of his childrin more.³

The population was thinly scattered and closely packed in the houses; servants and apprentices slept in holes amongst the rafters.

In the North Riding there were many scattered hamlets and many Scandinavian place-names: the streams are becks, the valleys are dales, the sea-inlets are wykes. There were plenty of sturdy men and women of their own way of thinking; some of them would come under the terms of the Abbot of

² See *England under the Stuarts*, ch. ii, G. M. Trevelyan.

³ *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*, edited by Dorothy M. Meads. Routledge, 1930.

York a century earlier : " There be such a company of wilful gentlemen within Yorkshire as there be not in all England besides."

II

We ask what the men and women of the hamlets on the moors and wolds were thinking at Christmas 1651 when George Fox was thrown down the steps of York Minster. Perhaps like some of us they did not think much. But York and Marston Moor were only forty miles away, and Scarborough Castle had stood its months of siege within sight of some of them. They may not have heard of Edwardes' long list of Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries in London ; and on moor and wold there may have been no Antinomians, Familists, Millenaries or Mortalists. But some of them had been soldiers in the Civil War, and they would talk in the hamlets of Cavalier and Roundhead, of Bishop and Presbyter, of Independent and Ironside. They would have heard of Dunbar fight last year and perhaps of the Battle of Worcester three months ago, both fought on Cromwell's lucky day.

Fortunately we can get some answer to our question what these men were thinking about if we turn to William Dewsbury, Roger Hebden and Thomas Thompson, earnest Seekers before ever they heard of George Fox.

Dewsbury was born in the East Riding thirty years before the date we have chosen ; he was a shepherd boy, then apprentice to a cloth weaver near Leeds, where he met with much speaking of God and of professing Him in words, but he met with none who could tell what the Lord had done for their souls. He served in the Parliamentary army ; a few months after the Battle of Naseby he married one Anne, who was associated with the Anabaptists. The marriage took place in their congregation in York. His mind turned more and more from outward things ; he looked within, he left the army, felt a call to declare to others the Lord's goodness and then a call to wait for a future period. Five years later when Fox paid his first visit to Yorkshire, Dewsbury recognised unity of sentiment in him ; and Fox tells in his *Journal* that William Dewsbury, James Nayler and Thomas Goodyear were convinced.⁴ Then he began his travels in the work of the Gospel.

⁴ *The Journal of George Fox*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1911, i, 16.

In 1652 Dewsbury was in these parts. The first fruits of his preaching include Joseph Allatson of Harwood Dale, Roger Cass of Hutton Bushel, John Whitehead and his wife and four others at Scarborough Castle, Christopher and James Hedley and others in Scarborough, Richard Cockerill of Hackness.

The Hackness Parish Register gives a picture of a curious kind of funeral service over this Richard Cockerill who died on

Wednesday the xiii day of September, 1653, and was buried the next day, being Thursday. And there was many of them they call Quakers at his buryell. And Mr. Proud did exhort and argue with them at the grave, and they held out that that work which they had in them was not wrought by the Word, which I was sorry to heare, but they said they mayd use of the Word only to try whether it were right or noe.⁵

Dewsbury spent seventeen years in gaol: some of his letters are written from Newgate, from the Tower, from Warwick gaol, from York Castle. After his death a friend wrote of him: "He was an extraordinary man in many ways, and I thought, as exact a pattern of a perfect man as ever I knew."

Roger Hebden was born in 1620, the year that the Pilgrim Fathers sailed, son of John Hebden of Appleton-in-the-Street; he was apprenticed to a draper in Malton and began to realise that his religious profession had been wanting. When he was about thirty, Richard Farnsworth was with him in his house at Malton when suddenly on a clear moonshine night unexpected visitors were welcomed. But this must be told by Thomas Thompson of Skipsea. At the close of 1652 Thompson attended a precious meeting at Great Driffield where William Dewsbury declared the truth in much power. He was returning homeward when

a desire rose livingly in me to go with William to Malton (he having told me of his going thither the next day). . . . So in much fear I acquainted my master

⁵ *Essays and Addresses*, 1905, John Wilhelm Rowntree, contains three lectures on "The Rise of Quakerism in Yorkshire." (See p. 16.)

. . . with my desire of going to Malton, offering to pay wages to another young man, of the same trade, to serve in my place till my return. This request my master readily granted, at which my soul rejoiced and praised the Lord. . . . So I returned, and staid with William that night. The next morning it was with Thomas [Stubbs] to part with William and go towards Beverley; so before they parted we continued together in supplication and prayer to the Lord from morning till it was near night, William labouring to strengthen Thomas and encourage him in the exercise and service for the Lord till about the third hour of the afternoon. So the day being far spent Thomas took leave and departed towards Beverley. Then William and I made ready for our journey towards Malton; but William's care and travel being great for the prosperity of Sion, we got not from Friends there till after the setting of the sun; then having twelve or thirteen miles to go, we set forwards, and many times run upon the Wolds; and it being a clear moonshine night, we got to Malton about the 8th or 9th hour of the night. There we found brethren and Friends assembled in the house of Robert [Roger] Hebden; Richard Farnsworth (another travelling Friend in the Ministry being there with them): so we were greatly comforted and refreshed in the Love of God with our Friends that night. There I first see dear John Whitehead, who was then a soldier at Scarbrough, and was come thither to meet with R.F. or visit friends; his mouth was there opened in prayer to the Lord. There we stayed the next day, which was mostly spent in waiting upon the Lord and exhortation, prayers and praises unto Almighty God.⁶

Braithwaite places the famous auto-da-fé at Malton two or three months before this visit; when the men of Malton, possibly with the sturdy woollen draper at their head, burned their ribbons and silks and other fine commodities "because they might be abased by pride."⁷

⁶ *The Written Gospel Labours of John Whitehead*, London, 1704; quoted from Thomas Thompson's Testimony at the beginning of the volume. A MS. of T.T.'s 'Writings of Early Friends' in the Reference Library at Friends House has verbal variations.

⁷ *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 1912, pp. 71-72. W. C. Braithwaite.

Roger soon gave up his trading and followed Truth's service. Of course he suffered imprisonment; he was in Aylesbury gaol and York Castle. There is no date to this short letter to Friends of Truth:

Friends, Brethren and Sisters in that which is Eternal I doe you salute, in which we meet and are sweetly refreshed. Dear hearts, al of you I exhort in tender love and have running forth toward you and over you, to dwel in love . . . that not only the continuance thereof you may have, but A growth find.⁸

The Thomas Thompson of Skipsea who tramped over the wolds in clear moonshine had been an enquirer as a young man and is later the author of 'Writings of Early Friends.' At the age of 21 he was told that George Fox had been near Skipsea. His familiars and acquaintances told him that Fox was, in his behaviour, very reserved, not using any needless words or discourses, very temperate in his eating and drinking, who especially directed people to the Light of Christ in their consciences.⁹ He came under the influence of Dewsbury and travelled in the ministry in nearly every county and suffered imprisonment.

In the year of Fox's death, Thompson speaks of "a blessed meeting at Staintondale, the Lord owning us with his love and the sweet enjoyment of his heavenly presence."¹⁰

We find a pathetic note in the Monthly Meeting Minute Book (2 ii. 1704):

Collection for the relief of Tho. Thompson of Skipsey in Holderness.

Scarborough	£6 : 12 : 0
Staintondale	11 : 6
Whitby	£6 : 7 : 6

£13 : 11 : 0

In the same year, the year of Blenheim, Thompson died.

⁸ 'Writings of Early Friends,' T. Thompson.

⁹ T. Thompson, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ J. W. Rowntree, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

John Whitehead, the Puritan soldier of Scarborough Castle, a short, thick-set man, had met Fox at Balby and had been convinced. He was destined to be the bearer of the order for Fox's release from Scarborough Castle. He lived in Holderness and later in Lincolnshire. From Northampton gaol in 1655 he wrote a letter "For Friends stationed on the Wolds to be read in the fear of God at your Meetings": and from Salisbury prison, 1661, one to "Dear friends in Holderness, the Wolds and that ways."¹¹

He was at the beginning, [says Thomas Thompson] a soldier at Scarbrough, that was called forth into the works of the Lord and made a soldier of the Lamb in the morning of the day. I first saw him at Malton when I went thither with William Dewsbury in the 10th mo. of the year 1652, being the same time that Richard Farnsworth was there, where many of the Lord's people were sweetly refreshed together in the inflowings of the Love of God. Not long after, William Dewsbury had a meeting at Butterworth in the Wolds, whither John Whitehead also came. . . . The next summer he left the army and settled in Holderness, but was soon called forth into the work of the ministry and travelled much in the works of the Lord. . . . Manysouls were joined to the Lord through his Ministry. . . . He travelled much into unbroken places.

He held a meeting at Bainton-on-the-Wolds, where there had not been any before: and one Colson stood by in a busy mind to oppose the truth with John. But Colson was not able to gainsay what was spoken. "He got him out of the Meeting. And after he was gone the people heard the truth with much attention. And so truth reigned."¹²

John Whitehead was the first that gave a public testimony unto the Truth in the steeplehouses at Scarborough and Hull; "and was the first that through the power of the Lord prevailed to gather and settle a meeting in Whitby." He also gathered and settled meetings in Cleveland, declaring the truth through their markets.¹³ He spent many years in

¹¹ T. Thompson, *op. cit.*

¹² T. Thompson, *op. cit.*

¹³ *Beginnings*, p. 122.

prison; later he lived at Fiskerton, near Lincoln, where he was a pillar of the Church, "so tender a father and furnished a minister . . . love-worthy because the love of God dwelt in him wonderfully."¹⁴

It would be tempting to halt with Richard Sellars, of Kilnsea, pressed for the navy in Scarborough Bay for the Dutch War, "a brave and good man who would not take life but was swift to save it"; and with Robert Fowler, of Bridlington Quay, one of the first fruits of Dewsbury's pioneer work, master mariner, who ventured his ship and his life on the perilous mission to New England.

We saw the Lord leading our vessel as it were a man leading a horse by the head, we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our Line which was and is our Leader, Guide and Rule.

We can see from Fox's *Journal* and other records the simple way in which these men went to work: into the market and streets warning people to repent; speaking through the market against deceitful merchandise; preaching righteousness and truth which they should all walk and live in and feel after; holding meetings in schoolhouses; finding service in the towns at night amongst the people and in private houses; going to the fairs and declaring the day of the Lord.

Within a few months of the coming of these men we find Quakers in the hamlets round about: Hackness in its well-timbered valley, Langdale End in the midst of dark moors, Harwood Dale with beck and pasture.

For some years a band of preachers whose names we hardly know tramped over the bare chalk wolds and the heatherclad moors, amongst the spring flowers where the cry of plover and curlew was heard, alongside fields where the ploughmen did their work whilst the seagulls circled round, now hidden on the moor by the sea-roke which blotted out everything until a sudden rift revealed bowery hollows crowned with summer sea, or through the bracken that reddens in autumn—all through this country trudged these men telling in their lives and their teaching of the Light that they had found.

¹⁴ *The Second Period of Quakerism*, 1919, p. 465. W. C. Braithwaite.

III

Before proceeding to the Organised Religious Society we linger in the neighbourhood with four people.

When George Fox was a prisoner in Scarborough Castle he was visited by Sir Francis Cobb, High Sheriff of Yorkshire, Lord Fauconberg, who had married Cromwell's daughter Mary, and the old Lord Fairfax. He had two discussions on religious subjects with Dr. Wittie, who had just published his first book on the Spa waters at Scarborough. The two men were sturdy controversialists—Wittie spends seventy pages denouncing a medical opponent of his treatise on the waters as an unstable upstart bespattering with rude language and words stuffed with bombast, a writer who crows fiercely like a cockerell newly-hatched out of his shell. And Fox records of the great doctor of physicke: "hee went away in a great rage & came noe more att me."¹⁵

When Fox came out of Scarborough Castle he went about three miles unto a large General Meeting (perhaps at Burniston) "& all was quiett which meetinge was att a ffrends house y^t had beene a Cheife Constable."¹⁶ And later there was a large meeting at Peter Hodgson's house in Scarborough.

In 1672 when George Fox was in America, Margaret Fox journeyed from Guisborough to Liverton and Lythe:

to Whitbee 3 milles a meetien there from thence to
Carbroe [Scarborough] 12 milles had a meetien theare—
from thence to Borlinton Key a metien there 12 miles.¹⁷

Thence she passed to Malton, Thornton and York.

William Edmondson was in these parts before the century closed. He attended a meeting at Burlington in 1697: "from thence to Scarborough and had a Meeting there. Friends were tender and well refresh'd. Then I went to Whitby and had a Meeting."¹⁸ A letter written to his son from York (7 vi. 1697) has this beginning: "Son Tryal," and this ending: "This being what offers at present from a

¹⁵ *Journal*, ii, 96.

¹⁶ *Journal*, ii, 106.

¹⁷ *Journal Friends Historical Society*, xi, 112.

¹⁸ *Journal of the Life, Travels, Sufferings and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry of that Worthy Elder and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, William Edmondson*, 1715.

Tender Careful Father William Edmondson." Edmondson was an old Ironside and the apostle of Irish Quakerism. He had named one of his daughters "Hindrance" and his youngest son "Trial."¹⁹ This reveals the yawning gulf of family custom that separates the seventeenth century from the twentieth. No parent to-day would venture to face his children after the age of three if he had named them Hindrance and Trial.

When Celia Fiennes was riding through England on a side saddle in the reign of William and Mary she went from Agnes Burton to Scarborough "crossing the wouls or high hills so called in this county in thick mist." She was a lady of means, sister of the third Viscount of Saye and Sele. She was a dissenter and attended the Friends' Meeting, the only dissenting place of worship in Scarborough at the time. She says :

The town has abundance of Quakers in it, most of their best Lodgings were In Quakers hands, soe in Private houses in the town by way of ordinary, so much a Meale and their Ale. Every one finds themselves—there are a few Inns for horses only. . . . In this town we had good accomodations and on very Reasonable terms. They drye a large ffish Like Codlings and salt them. . . . I was at a Quakers meeting in the town when 4 men and 2 women spoke one after another had done, but it seem'd such a Confusion and so inCoherent that it very much moved my Compassion and pittty to see their delusion and Ignorance and no less Excited my thankfullness for the Grace of God that upheld others from such Errors. I observ'd their prayers were all made on the first person and single, though before the body of people ; it seems they allow not of ones being the mouth of Ye Rest in prayer to God tho' it be in the Public Meetings.²⁰ .

IV

If we had tried in the year 1651 to forecast the future of those Pioneers of Quakerism we should have failed badly ; but our knowledge of human nature and daily life, and our

¹⁹ *Second Period*, p. 260.

²⁰ *Through England on a Side-saddle in the time of William and Mary*, being the diary of Celia Fiennes.

reading of social and ecclesiastical history would have guided us into a reasonably correct prophecy for the work of an organised religious society on moor and wold in the coming years. A father will die, perhaps a shoemaker or carpenter, and the widow and child must be provided for; the Quaker head of a family will be sent to gaol, and the family must be tended; young men and maidens will talk of marriage and arrangements must be made; there will be pamphlets about Truth in an age of pamphleteering; scattered farms must be visited and itinerant ministers will walk or ride over hill and dale. The early fervour will pass away and minds will concentrate on discipline: but we might fail to forecast the lengths that some business meetings would go in pursuing the details of dress.

At the Quarterly Meeting at York (18 i. 1668/9):

It was then seen necessary to divide the Monthly Meetings (which was appointed for the ordering of Church affairs and to consider of the necessities of the poor) into several Monthly Meetings and at convenient places: by which division Whittby and Scarbrough freinds were joynd together to meet at some convenient place to consider of the things above mentioned.

The convenient place chosen was William Worfolk's house at Staintondale: a mile from the sea, close to the edge of the moor, half way between Scarborough and Whitby. Every Monthly Meeting was held there for half-a-dozen years.

And so at Staintondale the 5th day of the 3rd Month, 1669:

Freinds being met at the house of Wm. Worfolkes in the dale aforesaid gave in those names underwritten as being all they know needful of present relief in or belonging to either meeting.

The necessitated of Scarbrough meeting is Mary Beswick and Ann Lowson. Testified unto by Peter Hodgson, John Graham, Jonathan Robinson, Christopher Sheppard, Wm. Worfolk, Robert Trott. The necessitated of Whitby meeting are two children left by Ann Stonas. Testified unto by William Hoslam, Wm. Lotherington, William Harrison, George Vaughan, Richard Thornhill, John Hall.

Next month collections are brought in from Whitby, £3 12s., and Scarborough, £2 13s. 6d. The disbursements are :

	s.	d.
To widow Beswick of falsgrave for two months	8	0
To the widow Stephenson's child for clothes	4	8
To Ann Lawson for 1 mo.	2	0
To the children of Ann Stonas for one mo. that is past	5	0

At a Meeting at Staintondale in 1670, 2s. 4d. is granted to Christopher Sheppherd for to buy hemp for E. Stevenson. And she is to shew to Christoph Shepherd how she bestows it, that an account may be given to Christo Shepherd and Priscilla Camplin by her how the hemp is wrought, whether she hath made deepings²¹ that are vendable and account given of it to the Monthly Meeting.

In 2 mo. 1671 the Monthly Meeting heard from the Quarterly Meeting at York that they had received £80 from "our dear friends and brethren at London," which is divided amongst the several Monthly Meetings according to the proportion of their sufferings.

At Staintondale the Monthly Meeting met from 1669 to 1675. A minute of the Monthly Meeting held there, 2nd month, 1675, runs :

We have ordered that if God permit the next Monthly Meeting, which shall be the first third day in the third month 1675 shall be at Scarborough.

So the next is held in our Meeting House at Scarborough, the next at Whitby in the house of Thomas Linskill, and the next in rotation at Staintondale again.

²¹ Deepings are strips of twine-netting that are laced together to form a drift-net. In the Scarborough wills of about this date I find that four people owed nine deepings to Eliz. Clarke, widow ; that Margaret Hall, widow, bequeathed a dozen deepings to a dozen children, and that Eliz. Hodgson, widow, bequeathed deepings. These are the only places where I have met with the word.

The cottage now occupied by Frank and Edith Sturge, the property of the Monthly Meeting, is marked on maps as Quaker Cottage,²² and the large field across the road now belonging to Tofta farm is still called Quaker's Field. The farm below is marked "Meeting House Farm." A neighbour of the Sturges who has known the dale a long time says that the old Meeting House farm (the present building is modern) was known through the dale as one of the smugglers' hiding places. Run goods were stored under the cow-shed; and the stone that led down to the store was usually concealed by the cow that stood upon it. William Worfolk must have lived in this house, a man of substance who made the largest contribution to the building of York Meeting House, £100.

No doubt meetings were held first of all in the large farm kitchens of these villages; as numbers grew, barns were used, and then in some places Meeting Houses were built. The one at Staintondale was built in 1709 where the Sturge cottage now stands, and the burial ground adjoined. One gravestone remains to-day.

We may assume that Friends held their Meetings in Scarborough from 1652 onwards, often in the midst of persecution: for a few years probably in Peter Hodgson's house. In 1661 there were weddings at Public meetings in his house; and the Meeting House is mentioned in 1675.

The leaders of Quakerism had shown a sound instinct in creating a minimum of organisation, allowing free development to the spiritual life. In Fox's view the right joining in marriage was the work of the Lord, not of the priest; and those who were present were witnesses. He advised Friends to publish their intention of marriage at the end of a Meeting; and when all things were found clear "they might appoint a Meeting on purpose for the taking of each other in the presence of at least 12 faithful witnesses."

In 11 mo. 1670 there was laid before the Monthly Meeting an intention of marriage by two Friends. The Monthly Meeting gave them liberty and had unity and fellowship with their proceedings.

²² See Ordnance Survey, 1848-9 (6 inch scale), "Quakers Meeting House disused" (where the garage now stands). See also, A Plan of the Liberty Manor and Royalty of Stainton-dale, 1829 (in custody of Bell Hill Farm, Staintondale).

In 1 mo. 1671/2 we read of two Friends who

had at several meetings already declared their intention of taking each other in marriage and did appear again this day : so Friends give their consent that in the fear of the Lord they may have liberty to take each other in marriage according to the example of the Ancient Christians.

Next month Robert Wilson of Whitby and Ann Witham of Scarbrough, widow, appeared at the Meeting and declared their intention of taking each other in marriage. They are advised to appear again next Monthly Meeting. They did so, and the Monthly Meeting declared "we are satisfied therewith."

The streams of true love seldom run smooth : that is hardly a reason for erecting barriers in the streams. Looking forward a hundred years we find that in 1 mo. 1772 Margaret Grey applied for membership. By next month the Friends had discovered that she was in love with William Hill, a member, and that was one inducement to her for applying for membership. A year later she still desires to be admitted, and William is to be visited. Six months later more visits are paid. And William says that his apprehending Margaret to be a sober, religious young woman was the occasion of his making an offer of marriage to her ; he had not considered its being contrary to the rules of Friends. Now being sensible that it was contrary he is willing to give Friends any satisfaction they desire (short, I suppose of giving up Margaret). Three months later Margaret is received into membership ; after another three months they formally declare their intention of being married. Next month they are liberated ; and the marriage is accomplished two years and three months after Margaret had applied for membership.

In 6 mo. 1673 there is a minute from the Quarterly Meeting encouraging the distribution of all books printed for Truth's service ; and the Monthly Meeting makes its records :

1 xii. 1680, for a book called the Christian Quaker written by George Whitehead and William Penn sold and added to the stock. 00 = 03 = 00. But it was sold to Francis Brorton for 5s. out of which paid to James Marshall binding it 00 = 02 = 00.

2 xi. 1682. 1 Wm. Penns noo Cross noo
Crown. oo = 02 = 04.

In 1725 the Christian Progress, a book written by our deceased Friend George Whitehead is this day brought from Whitby to this Meeting and delivered to Friends of Scarborough for reading.

It seems that at Scarborough in the reign of Charles the Second, there was a pretty custom of men going through the town at night, telling the hour and what quarter the wind is in, and playing with their instruments of music. A minute on the subject appears in the records with a curious mixture of denunciation and compromise :

Att a yearely meeting, the 26th day of the 10th month, 1681, at freinds meeting house in Scarbrough it was agreed upon, by friends at the said meeting whose names are hereunder written as followeth : [fourteen names are given.]

Whereas freinds have taken notice that the men that goe through the Towne in the night season doth call at some freinds' houses, playeing at their dores or windows saying " God morrow " to some freinds and to their children, playing with their Instruments of musick, etc., ffreinds of this meeting weightily considering of it doth give their sense and Judgment conserning the said practice vizt. that it is altogether unbecoming freinds to allow on or countenance the same : yet if some freinds may plead that it may be of service to them in some particulars as to heare what hour in the night or morning it is, and also where or what quarter the winde is in, and to thrust or try if their dores be fast ; may be condensed to and allowed of.

But, however, friends should limmet them to this restriction, that they only call them by their names, without saying " God morrow," and calling on their childrens names, nor playing on their musicall instruments, at freinds dores or windowes ; as to these things freinds should forbid them and not at all encourage them. And we do desire and hope that all faithful freinds in Scarbrough will be unanimus in this particular as well as in other things of like nature that is out of Truth and the ancient practice of faithfull freinds

elsewhere, who hath and doth beare testimony all along against all such wanton, brutish practices, tending onely to satisfie and please vayne and wanton minds with their ffoolysh musick.

A very different note is struck about the same time, a note of tragedy.

In 10 mo. 1681 there is a record of money which had been collected for the "redemption of John Easton of Stockton from the Turks' captivity" being returned as Easton was not to be found. The money was then set apart for the redemption of "Henry Strangwis from Turkish slaverie"; but two years later the money was returned, "both being dead."

In 1688 report was made that Joseph Lotherington of Whitby had been liberated from galley slavery at Marseilles where he had been chained to an oar and fed on black bread; he had returned £20 to the Quarterly Meeting which had been advanced for his manumission, less 3s. 9d. postage.²³

The number of Quaker prisoners in the galleys was at one time large enough to support a Meeting in Algiers.

Persecution and Pennsylvania prompted some Friends to emigrate.

In eighth month, 1681, a certificate was drawn up and shewed to this Meeting concerning Stephen Keddy and other Friends removed out of this meeting and gone into Maryland and sent to Friends there for their Monthly Meeting where he and they do belong.

In third month, 1682, Robert Wilson and Mathew Watson with their wives and families do intend shortly to pass from here to some part of America to inhabit, and certificates are granted.

And Robert Robinson of Hexham, glover, intends to go with Mary his wife to Pennsylvania if God permit, wth Robert Hopper of Scarbrough, maister of the ship called . . .²⁴

Emigration was a fruitful cause of the decline of members in England. It has been estimated that in the last quarter

²³ *Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting of Friends, 1650-1900*, John Stephenson Rowntree, p. 10.

²⁴ *J.F.H.S.* v, 109.

of the seventeenth century five hundred Friends left these shores annually, and large numbers between 1700 and 1775.²⁵

Travelling over the moors was no easy matter whether on foot or on ponies. The tracks were rough, sea-rokes were thick, blinding sleet and wintry weather were encountered. So in 1st month 1683, we decide that two friends from Scarborough shall attend one Quarterly Meeting at York and two from Whitby the next. In the winter of 1684 two women Friends, desiring to announce their intention of marriage, were unable to reach the Meeting at Scarborough from Whitby and Ugthorp on account of severe weather; but their "intentions" were published in their absence. Later it was agreed that one appearance of the two partners intending marriage before a full Monthly Meeting should suffice, provided the intention of marriage had previously been laid before a Preparative Meeting. (xi. 1689.)

A rough account book shows the expenses of Whitby Meeting for horse-hire in connexion with May Drummond's visits:

1749, 3 of 11th. To ye man that came from Scarborough with May Druman paid for 2 nights expens for him & Hors as per Bill; he Cared her Back to Scarborough.

s. d.

6 : 0

1754, 8 mo. 26. Paid Timo: Watkins for the 2 Frds. horses that came with May Drummond from Scarboro.

1 : 10²⁶

During the reigns of William and Anne Friends practised itinerant ministry with zeal—they were the most active home missionaries in the kingdom.²⁷ And careful thought was given to the ministry; the advice on the ministry that came down from the Yearly Meeting of 1702 includes a warning "against hurting Meetings towards conclusion by unnecessary additions when the Meeting was left well before."²⁸

At the close of the seventeenth century Public Friends agreed to meet once a quarter, eight days before the Quarterly

²⁵ *Quakerism Past and Present*, John Stephenson Rowntree, p. 74.

²⁶ *J.F.H.S.* iv, 113.

²⁷ *Yorks. Q.M.*, J. S. Rowntree, p. 14.

²⁸ *Select Meeting Minutes, 1760-86*, at the beginning.

meeting at York. And frequent intentions are recorded in the minutes of Friends desiring to travel in the Ministry.

In 1707 our Quarterly Meeting of ministering Friends was held at Staintondale, "where the Lord's power did appear to our comfort. So we agree our next Meeting be at Whitby." Later the Meeting consists of Ministering Friends and others, Ministering Friends and Elders, Ministers and Elders. In Queen Anne's reign the Quarterly Meeting of Ministering Friends was meeting in York at 6 o'clock in the morning, except in winter when it was at 7 o'clock.²⁹

In 1745 a Meeting of Ministers and Elders was appointed to be held at Staintondale "on first day come a week the 15th instant." (3 vii.) And in 1796 "it is for prudential reasons thought proper to omit holding select meetings for the present." (5 ix.)

In 1700 a meeting in William Worfolk's house again decided that a minute shall be made in the Monthly Meeting book the first opportunity against any certificate being granted to Friends intending to travel unless the said Friends appear in person at the Monthly Meeting.

In 8th month at the same house :

Dear friend Mary Ellerton did this day lay before us the concern of her mind in Truth's service to visit Friends in Wails and the S. & W. parts of this nation. And likewise Eliz Pennit did lay before us a weighty concern upon her mind to accompany her. We express our unity with them.

In 1747 we read that pursuant to a resolution of Yearly Meeting a collection is to be made for the benefit and relief of those that suffered by the late Rebellion, both in England and Scotland.

It is very much desired and advised that friends of good ability may be generous and liberal in the said collection, that those of lower circumstances may be spared. (6 viii.)

In 1725 it is agreed by this meeting that for a more expeditious method of keeping the accounts in the Monthly Meeting Book, and for quicker despatch our former way of

²⁹ *Yorks. Q.M.*, J. S. Rowntree, p. 11.

introducing business and every particular member signing the book for the future may be left out and only in lieu thereof to have the Representatives' names from each Meeting inserted. Next month there are two representatives from each of the three Meetings—Scarborough, Whitby, Stainton-dale.

In spite of Toleration Acts, Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts and the like, Quakers were at a disability for two centuries. Slowly and painfully did men learn the wisdom of Cromwell's words: "In things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason."

Besse's *Sufferings* tells the story for long years:

For a Meeting held in the ground of Roger Hebden (1684). Beasts and Sheep worth £23 :
from a dozen other people £50 worth.

John Hird, constable, and his assistants took from Whitby Friends more than £100 of stuff.

Amongst Friends connected with Staintondale Meeting when it was the centre of the Monthly Meeting :

Robert Miller fined	£9 : 11 : 3
Chris. Shepherd ..	£2 : 19 : 4
Peter Hodgson ..	£26 : 14 : 0
Rich. Hopper ..	£2 : 13 : 0
Isaac Scarth ..	£7 : 4 : 6
Scarth family ..	£44 : 0 : 0

In 1683 the Scarborough Friends being kept out of their Meeting House met near the door in the street when Nicholas Saunders one of the Bayliffs men came and dispersed them: after which he with Timothy Ford the other Bailiff granted a warrant for distraint by which were taken goods of the following value:

From Rich. Nash, Thos. Sedman, Robt.

Hopperton	£1 : 0 : 0
Margt. Hodgson, Wm. Cant, Thos. Bush	18 : 0
Franc. Breckon, Jas. Marshall, Thos.	
Russell	15 : 6
Grace Slee, Mary Bush, Joseph Wetherill	14 : 6

£3 : 8 : 0

Details are preserved of the sufferings of Friends in the Monthly Meeting from 1793 to 1856. Distraint was made for warden's rates, tithes, navy rates, army of reserve and so forth. Goods taken include black pepper, leather, wheat, oats, wool, spoons, Scotch oxen, hams, oak chairs, handkerchiefs, hay, cash from the till. The value of articles taken from Friends in the Monthly Meeting (of Pickering) during the ten years 1793-1802 amounted to £500; in the years 1821-30 it amounted to £600.

In early years the common phrase at the beginning of the Meetings whether in Staintondale, Scarborough or Whitby runs :

We whose names are underwritten are met together to consider of the necessities of them that may stand need of supplies and for the further service of Truth's affaires.

And at the beginning of the eighteenth century we still ask in our Meetings if

ffriends are ffaithful in their several Testimonies for Truth in Relation to Tythes and Steeplehouse Rates. Are you careful about the education of your children? Is the poor taken care of in each Monthly Meeting that no Widdows, Fatherless nor poor Aged or Indigent people may be neglected? Are your sufferings being brought up, being first recorded in a book?

When the early fervour had passed much energy was expended on details of discipline. If they are not profitable for practice they are often amusing and serve as a warning against the attempt to limit individuality.

It is recorded in 1703 that Ellener Hobson married someone not in membership, and her mother, a member of the Meeting, aggravated the disorder by giving a supper at which the guests "behaved themselves very rudely by getting Fiddlers into her house and singing and dancing."³⁰

In 1712 we read :

Frances Beck hath been educated amongst us has married a man that is not of us . . . we cannot henceforth have fellowship with her . . . except

³⁰ J. W. Rowntree, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

she come by sincere repentance to seek forgiveness of the Lord for the dishonour and reproach such disorderly practice brings upon the blessed Truth which we make profession of. (6 xi.)

In 1745 no mention of the Young Pretender's Rising appears in the book ; but the outrunnings of divers persons belonging to Whitby are perturbing. This Meeting wants to know why they have not been proceeded against ; and later appeals to the Quarterly Meeting " considering the ill consequences that are inevitably like to attend such forbearance and seeming partiality."

In 1709 it was reported that Elizabeth Williamson of Whitby had gone to a priest to be married with a young man that was her own cousin. When Friends went to speak to her she either absconded or absented herself. Nor would she come to the Monthly Meeting, but her mother came, reflected upon Friends and justified her daughter. So we can have no unity with her for her said outrunnings nor with the parents who are also " highly falty " till it may please the Lord to bring them to a true sense of their guilt. (5 vi.)

A couple of years later the Monthly Meeting received a paper of condemnation given forth by the parents and daughter " for clearing Truth and satisfaction of friends and is to be kept upon the file." (5 iv. 1711.)

In 1709 the Monthly Meeting heard that

Elizabeth Pennitt once a member of this Meeting, who had a part in the ministry before she went to London where she was servant to Mary Bannister for some years, had been led away from the guidance of the Holy Spirit and had run into ungodly and vain practices, going with those that pretend to be fortune-tellers. Since she returned we have laboured in love with her, but she has not responded. We have no fellowship with her but disown her until she come under a godly sorrow. (6 vii.)

A year-and-a-half later the Monthly Meeting received her note of repentance from Whitby Preparative Meeting :

For whereas I have been drawn aside and out of the way of Truth I am willing to condemn it all so to own that I oto [ought] not to a been of a spiring mind to

[have] known more than was the mind and will of God and Unconsistent with Truth so I own it as a great evill to ax counsell of man or woman to know what may befall one in this life so I sonsoarely condemn it in my hart and truly desire that the Lord may presarve me and everyone for the time to com out of the same evill and that I may be a warning to others that they may not be caught in the same snare.

ELIZABETH PENNIT. (3 ii. 1711.)

A Meeting had been established at Robin Hood's Bay in 1690, but Friends seceded when they were forbidden to serve in ships which carried guns.³¹

In 1706 dissatisfaction arose because some members carry guns on their ships, contrary to the teaching of Truth, and having weightily discussed the matter at this time with them it is decided they may be further admonished. The Minute was continued month by month for thirteen months, after which "The matter about guns is referred to Quarterly Meeting."

In 1713 Joseph Linskill brought in a paper of condemnation against himself for carrying guns in his ship and "using them in heat and passion to defend myself with the arms of the flesh."³²

In 1758 a Quarterly Meeting Committee was appointed to speak to the Scarborough sea-faring Friends about arming their vessels. And in 1784 a Scarborough Friend was disowned for arming his vessel; he expressed sorrow and applied for re-instatement. But as he did not sufficiently conform to the standard in dress and deportment, he was not to be employed by meetings for discipline, nor was his subscription to be received until he "shewed more tenderness."³³

Early in the nineteenth century William and Robert Tindall joined the Society. In 1828 the Tindal barque "Morning Star" was taken by pirates, and William and Robert insisted on their ships being properly armed with guns. Arraigned before Scarborough Meeting their biographer says that "they stuck to their guns and were disowned."³⁴

³¹ *Victoria County History*, Yorkshire, N. Riding, ii, 535.

³² J. W. Rowntree, *op. cit.*, 52.

³³ *Yorks. Q.M.*, J. S. Rowntree, p. 19.

³⁴ *The Tindalls of Scarborough*, Christian Tindall. Printed for private circulation.

We come now to dress. We wonder if Friends had lost their sense of beauty. We read in eighteenth century writings of the fear of Nature—the poet Gray dreaded the sight of mountains and precipices. And the call of natural beauty made a limited appeal. A cultivated clergyman was installed in Northumberland in the middle of the century and wrote to his friends in the south that in the summer the moors around him were covered by the purple flower of a plant called ling which made the landscape “indescribably hideous”.³⁵ It looks as if they had to wait for Wordsworth’s love of the primrose and Scott’s call of the heather to bring them back to a love of flowers, hills and moors.

From 1710-1720 we find a series of Minutes on dress, some addressed to women and some to men. It would seem that the women’s gowns were made indecently, one part over-long and the other over-short with lead in the sleeves. It is desired that “Friends should come to a stability and be satisfied in the shape and compass y^t Truth leads into without changing as y^e World changes.” And Friends’ judgment goes out against putting on handkerchiefs according to the fashion of the World leaving the neck bare behind, and against cutting and powdering the hair.³⁶

The Women’s Preparative Meeting at Kirbymoorside takes up the question of dress and also pronounces against eating cakes at neighbours’ funerals. And Women Friends testified against members imitating the fashions of the world in their head cloths, some having four long pinner ends hanging down, some wearing “scarlet or purple stockings, and petticoats made short to expose ’em.”³⁷ Time would not suffice for Monthly Meetings to deal with short petticoats to-day.

About the year 1719 Isaac Scarth, one of the Trustees of Staintondale Meeting House property, attended the Quarterly Meeting that sent a long Minute to Monthly Meetings advising Friends to

refrain from wearing unnecessary and extravagant wigs such as are set out with many curls, reaching

³⁵ *The Call and Claims of Natural Beauty*, p. 14. Lecture by G. M. Trevelyan in the Rickman Godlee series.

³⁶ J. W. Rowntree, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³⁷ *Quaker Byways*, W. F. Harvey, p. 53.

down upon their backs longer than is needful for warmth and decency becoming the Truth.

Against this fussy discipline respecting eating, drinking and dressing Margaret Fox had spoken her mind, twenty years before these Minutes were adopted. I think that she must have loved the hills about Ulverston, the play of sunshine and cloud over heather and bracken, the deepening colour as the sun sloped to the west, and the rich beauty of daffodil, bluebell and purple orchis. She writes :

Friends are the people of the living God, Who has shined into their hearts. . . . Let them beware of limiting the Holy One of Israel and meddling with the things of God otherwise than His Spirit leads and guides. . . . Christ testified against the Pharisees that said, "I am holier than thou". . . . Away with the whimsical narrow imaginations that would forbid us from going to a birth or a burial of the people of the world.

For it is now gone forty-seven years since we owned the Truth, and all things has gone well and peaceably, till now of late that this narrowness and strictness is entering in, that many cannot tell what to do or not do. Our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings were set up for reproving, and looking into suspicious and disorderly walking . . . and not [for] private persons to take upon them to make orders and say, This must be done and the other must be done. . . . But Christ Jesus saith that we must take no thought what we shall eat or what we shall drink or what we shall put on ; but bids us consider the lilies, how they grow in more royalty than Solomon. But, contrary to this, we must not look at no colours, nor make anything that is changeable colours, as the hills are, nor sell them, nor wear them. But we must be all in one dress and one colour.

This is a silly, poor gospel. It is more fit for us to be covered with God's eternal Spirit and clothed with his eternal Light, which leads us and guides us into righteousness ; and to live righteously and justly and holily in this present evil world. This is the clothing that God puts on us, and likes and will bless. . . .

I see that our blessed, precious, holy Truth, that has visited [us] from the beginning, is kept under ; and these silly, outside, imaginary practices is coming up, and practised with great zeal, which hath often grieved my heart.

Now I have set before you Life and Death ; and desire you to choose Life and God and His Truth.³⁸

V

I come now to the postscripts.

In the middle of those twenty years, when Walpole was giving peace and prosperity to Britain, a gentleman told of his journey from London to Scarborough and of his sojourn there, in letters to a friend :

There is but one church, St. Mary's ; there is indeed a Presbyterian and a Quakers Meeting : but then I look upon it as unpolite, to deviate from the Established Church, as it would be indolent to live a whole Year at Scarbrough without going to the Spaw. The Church is situate on the Top of an exceeding high Hill, and of consequence difficult to get up to ; this may perhaps be the Reason of my seeing, one Sunday Afternoon, several Stars and Garters at the Quakers Meeting House, which is easier of access.³⁹

The *Scarborough Miscellany* for the year 1733 breaks into verse over this incident. The song is called "The Scarborough Reformation" and is sung to the tune of "There was a young Grocer of London Town."

Have You heard in the North
Of a strange Holding forth,
That was made to ten Peers of the Nation,
How they left Mother Church
On a Time in the Lurch,
To receive Sister *Ruth's* consolation ?
Fall de rall, etc.

³⁸ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 517-519.

³⁹ *A Journey from London to Scarborough*, in several letters from a gentleman there, to his friend in London, 1733.

Cause the way was too streight
 Nor much used by the Great ;
 They resolv'd on't for once not to stickle,
 But to shun Sabbath breaking,
 Would e'en go a Quaking,
 With our Friends of the Conventicle.
Fall de rall, etc.

Had they all been converted
 Before they departed,
 And to Town had hoy'd away straight,
 What a World of each Sort
 Wou'd have posted to Court
 To have view'd the odd Change in the State.
Fall de rall, etc.

When (instead of blue Garters)
 With Coats plain as Martyrs,
 And plaited Cravats, lilly-white,
 They had stood to be seen
 By our King and his Queen,
 On a Ball or a Drawing Room Night.
Fall de rall, etc.

Three or four years later the Quarterly Meeting issued a note of warning against "the vain sights and shows" of Scarborough. And in a couple of years the Friends of Scarborough ask for help to enlarge the Meeting House, as many visitors resort to it in the Season.

In these centuries "Quakerism on Moor and Wold" had produced a type of character with kindly sympathy for the sufferings of mankind, with a strong feeling for civil and religious liberty, and a recognition of the value of education, the development of the human mind and soul to its utmost capacity.

I must not spend more time over the quietist period of Quakerism. Wesley and his apostles revived the spiritual life of the dales; and in the Evangelical period of Friends the towns bordering the moors and wolds provided spiritual energy that found work at home and abroad in Adult Schools and Foreign Missions.

We are living now in an age of Quakerism that was inaugurated by the Quaker Renaissance at the close of last century. The movement known as Evangelicalism was not great enough to cover the whole of life. The spirit of enquiry which showed itself in scientific discoveries and inventions is the outstanding feature of the nineteenth century, a spirit which must be comprehended in a religious re-awakening.

When the historian a hundred years hence writes of this Renaissance he will estimate how it was helped by the Scarborough Summer School of 1897, the first of the Friends' Summer Schools, and he will tell of a young prophet of the movement who lived again the experience of those Quaker pioneers. He was thrilled with a rediscovery of Christ, the Light, and of the high adventure of service. He recognised that that service called for all the God-given powers of man, intellect no less than emotion and will. Illuminated by that Light he dedicated himself to God's service in the house that he had chosen on the edge of the moors, in sight of the wolds.

ARTHUR ROWNTREE.

Allusion and Illusion

In the "Advices on Ministry" we are advised to be careful not to misquote or misapply the Scriptures.

As to *misquotations*, if what is quoted does not sound familiar we are apt to think that it is taken from a rendering of the original by some individual translator.

There are some curious examples of *misapplication*. We have three in mind, each connected with the liberation of Ministers for service. One, quite familiar to Friends of last century, was the use of the words in reference to Christ's riding into Jerusalem on an ass, applied to the Minister and quoted as "Loose him and let him go."

In the Journals of Elizabeth Fry there are two curious examples of quotation and misapplication. When Elizabeth Fry came before the Morning Meeting with her concern to visit France, "Many Friends gave approval in Scripture reference and language. After meeting Carolina Norton said she believed as Jael was the means of destroying Sisera by running the nail through his head, so I should be helped to destroy the infidelity where I was sent that that which was said of Jael might be said of me, where it says she was blessed among women and showing what she had been enabled to accomplish" !

On a later similar occasion one Friend quoted the text : "Fear not, thou worm Jacob" !

John Perrot from Rome, 1660

ROME PRISON OF MADMEN, 1st IIMO. 60.

ALL deare Freinds in Ireland put on the sheild and buckler & gird your loynes wth courage, and when y^e blustering stormes are passing swift over your heads stand y^e upon y^e rock & stand still & move not for it shall be quickly told you y^t y^e day is y^e Lords, & y^t w^h was yesterday shall be no more as a signe of remembrance, except to make y^e wicked blush w^h yet are riding swiftly in y^e chariot of abominable mirth.

Be ye lowe, humble, meeke, contrite hearted, full of feare, and holy trembling, pure in spirit, giving thanks & praise to god for althings. Keepe your meetings, suffer althings in patience and rejoyce in y^e spirit of content. Watch & wayt to god and put up your breathings, sighs, groanes, & spirituall prayers to y^e father and he will raise you from y^e ground, & set you over all montaines in y^e earth; w^h he will doe in a day of great ratling. then shall y^e trump of god sound your march out of Sion into all Quarters of y^e earth and it shall become y^e Lords for ever & ever more. Yea saith y^e spirit, & amen saith y^e soule of your endeared loving brother,

JOHN.

[On the other side of the sheet, which measures 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches:]

Lambes my everlasting love is to you all, my care in y^e spirit is over you & my prayers for you y^t in y^e eternall power and virtue you may live & prosper. So the father shew you all my inward parts, to know me as I am in y^e life of love where y^e world knowes me not. Ah let y^e least feell me & be refreshed in me.

JOHN.

To all freinds in Ireland.

[Endorsed in a later hand] J.P. ffrom Rome to friends being written wth his owne hand.

From the Martha Spriggs Collection

Friends Historical Society

The Annual Meeting

The annual meeting was held at Friends House on the 3rd of March. The President, Arthur Rowntree, was in the chair. For the coming year John W. Graham was appointed president and Margaret Sefton-Jones vice-president. Arthur Rowntree then gave his presidential address, "Quakerism on Moor and Wold," dealing with the history of Friends in that part of East Yorkshire lying about Scarborough and Whitby. There was a good attendance of some seventy or eighty members and Friends. The address was followed by questions and discussion and Reginald L. Hine expressed the thanks of the Society to the retiring president, whose address, with some abridgment, is printed in this volume of the *Journal*.

Statement of Accounts in connection with Volume xxviii of the *Journal*, 1931

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, Dec. 1930	22	16	10	Insurance	5	2	
Balance from "Pen Pictures," Dec. 1931 ..	10	12	10	Postage	11	10	0
Subscriptions	91	10	0	E. Dunstan, Printing	19	6	
Sales	7	19	10	Headleys, Stationery	1	18	0
				Fleming, Negatives ..	1	2	0
				Headleys, 425 copies of <i>Journal</i> vol. xxviii	72	17	0
				Balance in hand 31st Dec. 1931	44	7	10
	<u>£132</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>6</u>		<u>£132</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>6</u>

Receipts and Payments on account of 'Pen Pictures,' 1931

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Sales, 1931	17	4	0	Deficit, Dec. 31st, 1930	6	11	2
				Balance in hand to- wards General Fund Dec. 31st, 1931 ..	10	12	10
	<u>£17</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>£17</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>

Examined with Book and Vouchers and found correct.

The Gurney Manuscripts

A very important and interesting collection of manuscript letters has recently been deposited on permanent loan in the Friends Reference Library, Euston Road, London, through the kindness of Mr. Quintin Gurney, of Bawdeswell Hall, Norfolk, a great-grandson of Joseph John Gurney, of Earlham. The letters date from about 1750 to 1850, and they deal with that branch of the family that has been so well described by Augustus Hare in *The Gurneys of Earlham*.

It will be remembered how widespread were the relationships and the interests of this remarkable family, connecting, in the earlier period, with the Barclays, the Bells, and the Bevans, and in the later with the Frys, the Hoares, and the Buxtons, whilst other Gurney groups are represented in the homes of Samuel Gurney of Upton and Daniel Gurney of Runcton, with their further ramifications as the children married into other families including the Cresswells and the Leathams; all these, and many others, are represented in these letters, and they have much to tell us of life, inside and outside the Society and the home. Some of the writers, including Elizabeth Fry, and Priscilla and Joseph John Gurney, were gifted in the Ministry, and many are the Meetings and Friends visited and described by them.

A number of the letters and themes can be gathered into a more or less connected narrative, and it is hoped that these will be published at a future date, but the topics are so varied that some of the letters can hardly find a place in such a plan, and some of these it is hoped to publish from time to time in *The Journal*. The letters selected for inclusion in this issue deal with literature, politics and social reform.

ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON.

2 Christ Church Road,
Norwich.

1. Literature

The Essays on the Principles of Morality, by Jonathan Dymond, are recognized as a Quaker classic. The scope, clarity of thought and incisiveness of argument displayed in this great work are impressive. It is, therefore, of especial interest to find among the MSS. a letter written by Jonathan Dymond whilst he was engaged on his great undertaking. It would appear that Joseph J. Gurney, in complete ignorance of the task upon which the author of the *Essays* was even then engaged, had urged him to make some use of his literary talent, and the letter was written in reply thereto.

Jonathan Dymond of Exeter was born in 1796 and died in 1828 leaving his essays unfinished. They were published in 1829 and there

have been twenty issues of the book, thirteen in England, six in America, and one in Dublin. Three of these issues were in Spanish. The latest edition in English was Philadelphia, 1896. The author applies uncompromising standards of Christian morality to a vast variety of types of human conduct, covering almost every public and private relationship. An article on the significance of Jonathan Dymond as a political philosopher appears in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1928. See also *D.N.B.*

JONATHAN DYMOND TO JOSEPH J. GURNEY. (Gurney MSS. i. 149.)

Exeter, 3 mo. 31, 1826.

Dear friend

Before thy little admonition this morning respecting the employment of my pen, I had conceived some intention of telling thee what employment of that sort I had already undertaken; & I wished to do this (in part at least), because I feared the answer to thy direct question just after entering my father's door on fourth day evening, was no better than evasive. And I would prefer sending thee this at Plymouth to another mode of communication.

The simple truth is, that the greater part of my very limited opportunities during the last two years, has been employed in a work, which, if my present designs are ever executed, will one day appear before my friends and the public. I am really desirous of giving thee an outline of this task; & hope thou wilt not think me officious in setting down the probable Title, and the general heads of discussion.—“Illustrations of the *Principles of Morality*, and of the *Duties* which result from them to *Individuals*, & to *States*.”

Pt. 1. Principles of Morality.

Foundation of moral duty—The Will of God—The means of ascertaining the Will of God—Revelation; through the medium of Scripture; immediately to the mind—Subordinate foundations of Duty—The Law of Nature—The Law of the Land—Utility

Pt. 2. Duties of Individuals.

Religious duties—Right and Rights—Property—Wills—Promises—Lies—Oaths—Litigation, & the duties of the Legal Profession*—Suicide—Duelling—Diversions—&c., &c.

Pt. 3. Duties of States.

Political Truth & Political Virtue—Government—Legislation—Penal Law; the Punishment of Death—Religious Establishments—Slavery—War—&c.

I do not find myself capable of giving to this undertaking that fullness & completeness which I desire, without making rather a large book. I doubt whether I can satisfy my mind with a quantity of letter press much less than double that of thy "Observations."

I have, for a very long time (in proportion to my short life), been persuaded that an honest, consistent, and un-deviating application of the principles of *Christian* Morality to the various questions which arise respecting human duty, was greatly needed and would be productive of good. In what degree I may be enabled to supply this want I do not know; but I will acknowledge that, in the not undelightful task which is before me, I have often been more than merely pleased in finding the beautiful consistency of the *Simple* Truth as it respects the conduct of man; and the deplorable and gross inconsistencies of those systems of morality which adopt that Truth only in part, or which mix with it foreign & incompatible principles. I have proceeded in a half corrected copy about as far as the mark which I have made in Pt. 2; and I do not think it probable that four years more will enable me to get it ready for the press. Very few persons (if any), out of our own families know that I have such a matter in hand; but I have lately been less anxious than I once was to conceal it. I would adventure just to add, that although I am *far* from pretending to an affirmative call to this undertaking, yet I know not whether, if I left it un-attempted, I should not share the guilt of those who know to do good yet do it not. Be pleased to accept my Anna's love, & that of

Thy affectionate friend

JONATHAN DYMOND.

I have been thinking that thou hast perhaps not seen the 3rd Edition of my War Essay. It is, I hope, less imperfect than the 1st of which my father sent thee a copy. I hope to put a copy of the 3rd in thy hands on thy return, & thou

must not think I have put it into its smart dress in order to give it thee ; for a bookseller, who thinks himself under some obligations, sent me a number of Cops. well bound.

11. Politics

The policy of Tariffs has again become a major political topic. The same question was under discussion nearly one hundred years ago, and a draft letter is here printed, written by Joseph J. Gurney, dealing with a reply received by him regarding some enquiries he had put to John Bright on the expenditure of the Anti-Corn Law League. (A note thereon states that it was "withheld for the present, 3 mo. 18, 1844," so it was probably never forwarded to John Bright.)

The letter is accompanied by a memorandum dealing more exclusively with the evils of the Corn Duties, which were not repealed until the year 1849.

DRAFT LETTER ("WITHHELD FOR THE PRESENT") FROM JOSEPH J. GURNEY TO JOHN BRIGHT. (Gurney MSS. iii. 855).

Earlham, Norwich, 2 mo. 24, 1844.

My dear Friend,

I must freely acknowledge that thy letter respecting the expenditure of the Anti-Corn Law Fund is satisfactory, evincing that there is nothing in that expenditure inconsistent with propriety & rectitude.

After such consideration as I have been able to give to the whole subject, I am no longer satisfied to refuse my Subscription, & now enclose a Bank Post Bill for £100.

I should certainly feel no sufficient inducement thus to support the League, were I not thoroughly convinced that the great principles which it advocates are, in their nature, truly Christian. I cannot deny the truth of the sentiment that financial arrangements, which have the effect of raising the price of any commodity produced by one class of the community, to the injury of other classes—or in other words the financial protection of particular classes, for which the whole population has to pay—are inconsistent with natural equity ; & therefore that a religion of perfect justice & purity demands the total abolishment of such provisions.

I am further of opinion that an enlightened view of the claims of Christianity, & of that charity, in which we ought to salute everyman, everywhere, as our neighbour & our brother,

would lead to an *absolute freedom*, among all the nations of the earth, in their interchange of the commodities whether natural or manufactured, which they respectively produce; nor can I doubt that such free interchange is eminently calculated, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to undermine the occasions of war, & to promote universal prosperity, harmony, & peace.

Although this principle is grievously interfered with & impeded by many of the nations, with whom Great Britain now enjoys a friendly intercourse, yet I apprehend the Christian duty of our own nation & government, in this respect, continues unchanged, & that our steadily setting the example of free trade, on the ground of principle, would ultimately redound to our benefit, as well as to the welfare & happiness of the world at large. I have faith to believe that the blessing of the Almighty would rest on such a course of national policy.

I must still claim as an exception to these observations the prohibitory duties on the sugars of Cuba and the Brazils, which I look upon as an article stained with blood, as the result not merely of slavery, and slavery in a very cruel form, but of the continued horrors & abominations of the African Slave-trade. It is obvious also that my remarks can have no application to taxes raised for the mere purpose of revenue, & which are necessary to enable Great Britain to maintain her integrity in the punctual payment of the Interest on her national debt. Nevertheless I object, in point of principle, to any tax, even for the purpose of revenue, on man's necessary food, & especially on Bread, the staff of his life. Allow me in conclusion to express my earnest wish that the advocates of Free Trade may exercise a constant—may I not say, *increasing*—care to conduct their proceedings in a Christian spirit towards their opponents—not in the character of *political partizans*, but in that of the Friends of the poor, and the Friends of all mankind.

I am thy affectionate & hearty well wisher,
J. J. GURNEY.

To John Bright, M.P.

MEMORANDUM. (Gurney MSS. iii. 856.)

I have felt a considerable degree of interest in the discussions which have lately taken place on the subject of the protecting duty on Corn. In order to take a just view of the

question, it is to be remarked, *in limine*, that it is a duty which bears no other character. It is not raised for the purpose of revenue & forms no part of the regular resources of Government for the support of the state. It is imposed simply for the purpose of keeping up the price of corn in this country, & therefore through the medium of corn, the price of land & the rental of the Landowner. The subordinate question between the sliding scale & a fixed duty, although it has become the shibboleth of a party, is of no importance at all as affecting the nature, intent & principle of the tax—whether fixed or variable it is a tax to prevent the free importation of foreign corn, to limit & restrict the quantity which might be imported—& to render corn scarce & therefore dearer in Great Britain & Ireland than it would otherwise be. The corn law was imposed (as I understand) in 1815 on the settlement of the general peace of Europe—& was a kind of substitute for war so far as war had served the purpose of protecting the landed interest of this country by preventing the competition with our agriculturists, of foreign growers of corn. *Peace & plenty* are generally understood to go hand in hand, & this is for the most part the actual state of the case. But this association between two of the choicest blessings of Providence was severed by the Corn Law. *Plenty* was separated from peace by Act of parlt., in order to favour the aristocracy of this country, by keeping up the price & profits of land, above their *true & natural level*. It was nothing more or less than an artificial embankment to prevent the flowing of waters, which would otherwise have found their own level—a *flowing* which would unquestionably have taken place not merely from other countries to this, but from this country to others, according to the nature of the productions, natural or manufactured, which all the countries of the world had severally to supply.

Had such an embankment never been raised there is no doubt with me, that abundance of corn would have quietly found its way into this country, just as & when it was actually needed to meet the wants of our thick & ever thickening population, and that on the other hand the manufactures of Great Britain would as quietly, and as beneficially to all parties, have flowed forth into the markets of Continental Europe & of America. If our neighbours of other lands had

assisted in feeding us, without any artificial obstruction on our parts, they would never have refused to allow us the opportunity of clothing them. They would on the contrary have accepted the warmth & comfort of our habiliments just as readily & just as gratefully as we should have accepted their cheap and wholesome sustenance.

By our determination to feed ourselves at any price, we have driven them to a determination equally stern to clothe themselves at any price, & thus both parties have been subjected to most painful & needless inconvenience & distress. The *Tariff System* has now become so fixed on all sides that doubts are naturally entertained in every country concerned in it, whether it would be *expedient* boldly to renounce it. But my belief is that the country which shall have the courage so to act, will, after a little time, derive corresponding advantages, which will far outbalance any temporary difficulty.

J. J. GURNEY.

III. The Liquor Traffic

It should be remembered that the question of abstinence from alcoholic beverages, or taking any part in their manufacture or sale, did not become a concern of the Society of Friends as a body until about the middle of the nineteenth century. Before that period, "Temperance," in the sense of temperate drinking, was the general attitude of Friends, and in many of the Gurney MSS. wine is looked upon as the usual beverage, whilst in others a moderate use of alcohol is exalted above the "teetotalism" that was even then making its voice heard in some quarters. At the same time, many individual Friends were beginning to realise the direful consequences arising from an unrestricted sale of, at least, the stronger forms of alcoholic liquors. It was not until the year 1842 that Joseph J. Gurney, probably influenced by his American experiences, and possibly by his American wife, formerly Eliza P. Kirkbride of Philadelphia, had become a convert to the "teetotal" point of view, and had banished from the Earlham home, including the servants' hall, all forms of alcoholic drinks. Three years later Theobald Mathew writes a letter, telling of the progress of "the Cause" in Ireland, which contains many features of interest.

JAMES BACKHOUSE TO JOHN CAPPER. (Gurney MSS. i. 7.)

Tottenham, 25th of 7th Mo. 1831

My Dear Friend

I have been brought into much thoughtfulness respecting the proper line of conduct of our Religious Society toward such of its Members as open shops for the retailing of Ardent

Spirits ; and the following are the views I take of the subject ; which thou art at liberty to make use of as thou mayest see occasion.

In the first place, as regards the immoral Character of the business of retailing Spirits, there can scarcely be a doubt in the mind of any person not blinded by their influence, either through intemperance, or the love of gain ; and I much doubt whether the witness for God in the minds of those who are thus blinded, does not often convict them of the sinfulness of such a source of profit, in spite of their unwillingness to see it. Let any one consider for a moment, whether a person can, without sin, deal out to others, for his own pecuniary interest, that which by degrees destroys the Body, spreads misery around it, in its shortened period of existence, disqualifies the mind for Communion with God, opens the avenues of all kinds of vice, and is in itself the excitement of such deadly sin as excludes from Eternal Life.

A Dram Shop has been emphatically styled the Devil's Slaughter House, and certainly those who hope that they are in the way to Heaven whilst keeping Dram Shops, are under the delusion of the Devil themselves ; and are enticing those around them into his snares. It is much to be questioned whether the keeper of a Brothel commits greater sin against God and Man, by his occupation, than the keeper of a Dram Shop.

Considering the immoral character of the business of retailing spirits to be fully established, no doubt exists in my mind, as to the necessity of Monthly Meetings taking up the cases of persons who persist in following it, and after duly labouring with them, to convince them of the immorality of their conduct, disowning them if they continue their sinful occupation. It would appear as reasonable to me to say, if we found Satan himself in the Character of a member of our Society, spreading his snares around him, we can only admonish him, we cannot disown him, he is only leading people to Hell, by means which they consent to, and there are so many shades of iniquity, that if we begin by disowning him, where shall we stop ? as to say we cannot proceed to disown a retailer of Spirits, because there are persons, who we are not certain do wrong in doing so.

The retailing of Spirits is palpably immoral, the effects are constantly before our eyes, and the supplying of Gin

Shops is likewise evidently so ; but there are instances of wholesale dealing in them, in which the sin of doing so may appear in some degree problematical ; and whilst it is the duty of a Christian Church to testify against the palpable sins of its members, it is its duty to extend counsel to the problematical ones, and to leave the judgment to God. But blessed is the man that abstaineth from all appearance of evil.

It is my judgment that the statement of the views of our Society with regard to Discipline, in the fourth section of the Preface to the Extracts from the Yearly Meeting Minutes, and the advice No. 6 under the head Monthly Meetings, are sufficient authorities for Monthly Meetings to proceed to disownment upon, in cases of unavailing labour with retailers in Spirits, and with those who furnish such retailers. And Monthly Meetings which neglect their duty in this respect, intail upon the Society a degree of unhealthiness, which if not removed appears to me to endanger the very existence of the Society itself as at present constituted, for as light can have no fellowship with darkness, and as Christ can have no concord with Belial, so if a Church neglect to separate from itself its corrupt members, the time must come when its spiritual members will find it necessary to withdraw themselves from such a Church on account of its corruption.

I remain

Thy sincere Friend

JAMES BACKHOUSE.

THEOBALD MATHEW TO JOSEPH J. GURNEY. (Gurney MSS. iii. 866.)

Cork, March 28th, 1845.

My dear and Honoured Sir,

I consider the kind letter of Mr. Samuel Leggatt a fortunate occurrence, it having procured for me the highly prized favour of a communication from one I so highly respect, and to whom I am so deeply indebted.

Your condescension and Patronage during my stay in Norwich has made an impression on my feelings, which no time shall efface. I know your generous, highminded disposition too well, to allude to your munificent subscription to extricate me from the painful position in which I was unhappily placed. But I shall endeavour to do, what I am aware

is the only thing you desire, to redouble my exertions in the Sacred Cause, to which I have devoted all my energies.

I am happy to have it in my power to assure you that Teetotalism continues to progress in Ireland, and that taking into consideration, the agitated, troublesome times, upon which our lot is now cast, the Violations of the Pledge are very few. The whole of the rising generation is being trained to habits of Total Abstinence, and I have no fears, with the Divine Assistance, for the Stability of this great moral movement.

I am now making a tour through the Kingdom, and from the beneficial results that have followed in the localities to which I have paid second visits, I have every reason to hope that it may be permitted to me without danger to the cause to leave Ireland for a season. I feel a yearning to avail myself of the Invitations I have received, to visit the States and British America, and if I shall find it consistent with prudence, it will afford me much consolation to spend a few months beyond the Atlantic. . . .

To your amiable Lady, and the Misses Gurney, and your excellent son, tho' I had not the pleasure of being introduced to him, I present my most respectful compliments, Fervently Praying that the Lord may bestow on you all every spiritual and temporal Blessing. I am

With profound esteem

Dearest Mr. Gurney

Yours gratefully and devotedly

THEOBALD MATHEW.

J. J. Gurney, Esq.
Earlham.

Father Theobald Mathew (1790-1856) was a Franciscan, and a parish priest in Cork. Yielding to the repeated appeals of William Martin, a Friend of that city, he became the most successful of advocates of total abstinence. He is known as the "Apostle of Temperance."

Stephen Grellet MSS.

Several enquiries respecting these have reached Friends House and it is a pleasure to be able to give the following reference:

"At the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library exists (1) a MS. journal of S. G.'s travels in 1811-13 and 1812-20, (2) four large vols. of letters and memoranda, largely original letters in French and in English addressed to S. G. and others of his family. HENRY J. CADBURY."

Gleanings from Some Old Account Books

Continued from vol. xxvi, p. 10

WILLIAM MILLER, Junior, succeeded his father as Treasurer about 1720, and his carefully penned statement of accounts extending over thirty years or more is still extant. A few extracts may be not unacceptable :

1726. 9. 18 " By cash p^d for House hire in conveying John Yeats to Kelso & Shoeing & bleeding his Horse, £6. 0 4 =."

" By D^o p^d for guiding Betty Wilson & her Companion to Montross £12. 12," & the same amount for guiding Tabitha Hornor & Hannah Dent.

1727. 3. 27 " By Cash for a warrant to throw out a Tennents Furniture in the Floor above the Meeting House £ =. 12. =." 1727. 4. 14 " By Do for Charges of a Guide to Linlithgow with John Hudson, & to Garshore with him & Peter Hudson £4. 16. =." " By D^o for two nights Grass of his Horse £ =. 12. =."

1729 . . . " By D^o p^d for Rob^t Jordans Horse Six Nights & the Horstler £ =. 6. 6 =."

1731. 3. — " By D^o for making Francis Husbands grave £ =. 2. 6." 1731. 5. 21 " By D^o to W^m Wood for curing W^m Glenny's hand £1. 1.—." " By D^o to the Town Clerks for Infestment upon the Meeting house &c £5. 8. 7½."

1734. 5. 11 " By Cash given to the young man the printer in going to Ireland £1. 1.—." 1734. 10.— " By Cash paid for transcribing several Copies of a paper from London, £—. 2. 6."

1735. 3. 8. " By Cash to Tho^s Morton for Charges in conveying Benj. Holme to several places and having Meetings in hired Houses with him £1. 9.—." 1735. 4. 5 " By Cash for fraught of two Irish Friends on foot over the Water [!] £—. —. 8."

1741. 3. 8. "By D^o to A. Scaffinger for cleaning the street about the Meeting house £—. 1. —". 1741. 9. 11 "By D^o for Horse hire & Charges to Montross with Betty Smith & Molly Storrs £1. 14. 9".

1742 — — "By D^o to Tho^s Gifford for bleeding a Horse & Oiling his shoulder £—. 2. 6."

1745. 3. 13. "By Cash for charges of M. Drummonds Horse 11 nights £—10. 2." "By do. for shoeing said Horse £—. 1. 8." "By do. for 100 Tiles to the Meeting house £— 6. 8."

1762. 4.—"By cash for Thatching Melvils house all over, mending windows, &c £2. 8.—." This was probably the cottage attached to the burial ground in the Pleasants for some years occupied by a poor Friend, a linen weaver. In 1764 poor Melville sent the following naive letter to W^m Miller,¹ the Meeting's Treasurer and factotum :

"Pleasants, the 25th day of the month called January 1764.

"Friend William Miller,

"I am sorrow that I am obliged to present thee with no better account of my situation in life than to tell thee that necessity has driven me to crave thy friendly aid : I here assure thee that I have had a great conflict between my distress and my bashfulness before I could give up to adress thee to consider my case. I have labour'd this winter under indisposition of body both in myself and family, and also under disappointment in business, and I am not for any way lying a burden on our Society, but having hopes of retrieving my circumstances I would crave the favour of thee to lend me some money. I hope next summer to be able to pay thee again ; I trust thou wilt sympathise with me and delight in an act of commiseration when it is not a case of my own procuring either by negligence or extravagance.

"I cannot say it was my unbelief in thy friendly lenity, but it was my bashfulness (to adress any body with a case of this nature) made me decline from making my case known unto thee by a personal visit, and had it not been my incappable children lying upon me I believe thou should not have seen this letter, the which letter I desire thou may spread before the Lord the Author of all mercy."

There is a memorandum on the back of the document, "Jan^y 28 gave Melvill forty sh." The poor man afterwards removed with his wife and family to South Shields where he died in 1808 aged 103.

¹ William Miller (1722-1799) was the third of that name in succession at Edinburgh, all leading Friends. He was locally known as "the king of the Quakers." He was the grandson of the good, old "patriarch," and father of William Henry Miller (1789-1848), the great bibliophile.

To be continued

Our Recording Clerks

Continued from vol. xxviii. p. 37

No. II. WILLIAM MANLEY, 1811-1844

A HAPPIER time in our story now dawns and the second longest period of service begins.

In our note-books *re* Recording Clerks we preserved for future use some notes referring to William Manley, written by his grand-daughter, Lydia Manley, of the Stockwell Training College, and sent us by Francis C. Clayton in 1903.

William Manley was born 6 Dec. 1771, the youngest son of James Manley and Elizabeth Lockwood, who were married in St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, 18 Feb. 1762. "He was a freeman of the City of London and belonged to the Pewterers' Company. He was an apprentice and, according to the custom of those days, waited at table. His master was a Friend, and when Friends came to visit him, they used sometimes to speak before [or after] meals in the sitting-still time. In this way my grandfather was convinced of Friends' Principles and joined them, to the dismay of his relatives, who were alienated from him for some time, but later were reconciled.

"I have a shadowy, childish memory of my grandparents. My grandfather was a very fine-looking man. My grandmother was crippled with rheumatic gout most of her married life."

Thomas Compton was the "master" referred to and his business premises were in Booth Street, Spitalfields. A fellow-apprentice and lifelong friend was John Gray. The names of some of the Quaker visitors are given in Theodore Compton's *Recollections of Spitalfields*, 1894, pp. 35ff. and for Manley see pp. 47 and 75—"he used to get up at four o'clock in the morning to read Sewel's *History of Friends*." An obituary record in *Annual Monitor*, 1852, states that he was principally convinced by the perusal of William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*.

Manley joined Friends in 1794, married Priscilla James, of Moorfields in 1812 and was later appointed an Overseer and Elder. Priscilla Manley became a Minister. They had one son, William (1814-1854), who married Lydia Tuke and whose daughter was the Lydia Manley (1847-1911) before-mentioned, who left Friends.

In the Ninth Month of 1811 William Manley was appointed "Office Clerk" with a salary of £50 a year and "accommodation on the premises, coals and candles," and in 1813 it was decided to advance his salary to £110 per annum "on consideration of the present price of provisions and the other necessaries of life." The increase of salary was probably intended to cover the work usually undertaken by an assistant, as John Allcard's services had been dispensed with. In 1836 his salary was increased to £150 p.a.

In the controversy which arose on the publication of the *Beacon* in 1835, in which John Wilkinson, with other Friends, was involved, William Manley remained in sympathy with the main body of Friends and wrote a letter, dated from Devonshire House, 31 i. 1835, to John Wilkinson, stating his belief that "some part of the doctrine preached by thee in the Society, of which we are members, is in my opinion *unsound*" (printed in *Quakerism Examined*, by John Wilkinson, 1836, 418). In D there is a pamphlet entitled: *Great is Divine Mercy . . . Narrative of a Fact*, London 1841, upon which is written in pencil, "by W. Manley I am told."

There is little to be told of the years of William Manley's reign—the subject of the preparation of the Registers will be better introduced under the record of his successor, James Bowden.

In 1843 the Meeting for Sufferings records: "The following letter from our Friend William Manley has been now received and read, proposing to resign his office as Recording Clerk to the Society in 6th month next:

" " To the Meeting for Sufferings.

" " Dear Friends.

" " Having of later time found that my strength has been on the decline and that I am gradually becoming more unequal to the duties of the office I have been allowed to fill so long (now near 33 years), I believe it right to inform my

Friends that I am looking forward to a time to be released. and I have thought ; if there be no objection and health be permitted to attend me, I might be liberated about the end of 6th month next.

“ In thus resigning an employment which has so long and agreeably occupied my attention I feel bound in gratitude to acknowledge the kindness and liberality of Friends.

“ I am, under the feeling of much love, Your very sincere friend,

“ ‘ WILLIAM MANLEY.’ ”

On his retirement Manley and his wife joined their son at Leighton Buzzard where the quiet evening of life was spent.

The Society W. Manley served recorded its appreciation of the services rendered “ by a courteous and obliging demeanour very acceptable to Friends,” and added : “ It is our affectionate desire for him that now in retiring from active life he may be favoured with heavenly peace and permitted to recur with satisfaction to the services he has rendered to our religious Society.” He was granted a life annuity of £50.

Manley died in 1851, his wife having preceded him by a few months.

In 1811 William Manley received appointment as “ Office Clerk,” and in 1832 he is described as “ clerk,” but in 3 mo. 1836 the term “ Recording Clerk ” is introduced and has, since that date, been the official title of the Secretary to the Society of Friends.

To be continued

William Hudson, of Philadelphia

Francis R. Taylor, of Cheltenham, Pa., to the editor, 7 iv. 1932 :

“ William Hudson, my ancestor nine generations back, brought his certificate from York Friends hither in 1685. He is a most interesting early Philadelphia character, a patrician, who brought wealth with him (inherited from his mother), increased his wealth, his learning, and his influence, until his death in 1742. There is much of interest about him available. One item is a *grandmother* clock, which he brought over. It stands to-day, about five feet high, in the hall of the Philadelphia Library Company, on Locust Street. His father, William Hudson, bought it in the dispersal sale of Oliver Cromwell's effects and gave it to his young son, adventuring overseas. It bears the name of a German maker.”

A Survey of the Spreading of Truth, 1661

LONDON the 22nd of the 6th month, 1661.

. . . Things are wel here, and truth is over al and reignes ; and things beyond seas are prety wel, and truth is spreading ; and truth spreads in Barbados, as we hear by letters from thence, and spreads in new England, and there is love and unity amongst ffriends, though there is one lately put to death, and several in prison, by the rage of the rulers, who drinke the blood of the Saints. And in Holland, and Germany, and other parts that ways truth spreads, and hath a good report : and several more friends are gone for Barbados and new England. And in Bermudos, and Virginia, and Mary-land and other places truth spreads : and friends in Ireland are most of them out of prison : But friends in the Isle of Mann are under sufferings.

Charles Bayley who had been prisoner in Rome, and Came with John Perrot is now prisoner in ffrance, for crying against their Idol priests and Idols : and one pretty friend who is a ffrenchman is lately gone over into ffrance ; Robert Maylin is gone for Jemeco, and many others are preparing to goe after him. John Stubbs and Henry ffell are gone towards the east Indies, who left Daniel Baker and Richard Scosthorp, about Smyrna : Here is a ffriend who hath been three years out in the East Indies, who hath done much servis, and brings a good report of many that received his testimony, who hath traveled to many nations and Islands.

So my love is to all friends in the everlasting seed of God, that hath the promise of Life, and doth inherit the seed of God, in which is the fellowship with God, and one with another.

GEORGE FOX.

John Perrot and the young woman that was prisoner with him at Rome are here at this City.—G.W. G. ff :

From " Writings of Early Friends," by Thomas Thompson, 1692, volume in **D**.

The Martha Spriggs Collection

By the kindness of Gulielma Binyon, Henwick Grove, Worcester, we have been able to give a month's study to the volume of Quaker manuscripts which she has inherited from her grandmother, Martha Spriggs.

We have been granted leave to copy items from the volume and readers may expect to find a number of these excerpts in the pages of *The Journal*. There are letters from James Nayler, Thomas Loe, Charles Marshall, Francis Howgill, William Dewsbury, Jean de Marcillac, Anthony Benezet, May Drummond and many other early, medieval and modern Friends.

Here are a few of the short items :

THE CONVERSION OF JOHN BEAUFOY

Letter from John Beaufoy to Elizabeth Webb, from Evesham, 1711—giving details of his conversion under the ministry of Elizabeth Jacob—"meetings were tedious to me and the company of Friends an unsupportable burden"—"meetings were become a pleasure and I longed for the return of meeting days."

There is also a letter from Anthony Wm. Boehm to John Beaufoy, London, January the 12th, 1713/14, and a scrap dated July the 8th 1714.

For the Beaufoy family see *Jnl. F.H.S.* vii. x. xiv. xxvii. xxviii.; for Elizabeth Webb see iv. vi. x. xi. xxv.; for Elizabeth Jacob, see x. xiii. xxviii.; for A. W. Boehm (1673-1722), see x.

A WISE SUGGESTION

Epistle from the Circular Y.M. held in Bristol, 1726—signed by Alexander Arscott—with the following addition :

" Dear ffreinds

" I am Desired to acquaint you that the next Circular Yearly Meeting is to be held on the second first day of y^e next seventh month. And it is also desired it may be proposed to the Quarterly Meetings of every county that constitutes this Meeting to consider whether it may not be of service to appoint some ffreinds in a prudent way to Observe and inform themselves some time after said Circular Yearly Meeting is Ended what reception the Testimony of ffreinds has had among the people, and that Report be made to the next yearly meeting in this city."

For Alexander Arscott see *Jnl. F.H.S.* ii. ix.

TACE (SOWLE) RAYLTON

There is a receipt for eight copies of Besse's "Sufferings," 4 mo. 2, 1745, signed by Luke Hinde "for my aunt T. Raylton and self." The note of relationship is informing.

LETTER FROM MARY KNOWLES

" Basinghall St. No. 7, Aug. 10.

" My dear Friend

Thy kind letter lost its way for a little time but came this morning after George had seen F^d Finch ; and he desires me to say that he doubts

not of finding in the scene & the society of Thorp Lee all that he shall desire. Thy two sprightly Boys (so late a boy himself) will be exceeding pleasant to him; with whom nothing except this sultry season, wou'd prevent him running and jumping with them.

"It is lucky enough for us & thy Husband too, that his engagements prevent the sad story of a dinner *here*, for our staircase & part of the rooms are now painting, I cou'd not prevent it being done and it is so intolerable that we are oblig'd to get out of it & dine among our friends where we can. Thy letter not coming in due course we concluded you were out on an excursion, & we engaged ourselves to go to Stanmore tomorrow, to stay till 6th day next, which we shall do, & then set off for Thorp Lee on 7th day next; we set off, it seems, in the stage at two—the Egham stage, which it seems, is within half a mile of your house—perhaps it may be convenient to send a man or boy to shew us to your mansion as we shall have a little bit of a trunk or the like of that.

"Tho' I may have the pleasure of a call from thy Dear tomorrow yet it may be safest to send this p return of post, as Gentlemen are rather uncertain messengers. A summons to dinner interrupts my very willing but very bad pen, or much cou'd I enlarge affectionately to thee, dear friend.

"Accept George's & my lbve & believe me Thine

"M. KNOWLES."

For Mary Knowles see *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxi. 72. George was her only son. The date of the letter would be about 1780. The addressee is not known.

THE ROTCH FAMILY

Moses Brown to Thomas Thompson, 31 xii. 1824: ". . . Some Friends at N. Bedford have been disowned, others asked dismission. Wm. Rotch, Jr., yet stands a member and I hope may be preserved such, tho' he has much to draw him off, his children nearly all gone out, and his brother Samuel Rodman disaffected so as to ask a dismission, his sister Mary a leader in separation. I trust it is a painful circumstance to his aged worthy father, who it is said is so hard of hearing that till lately he did not know the situation of his once highly valued family."

¹ That is, M. Brown hopes that the aged father will disapprove.

Moses Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island and Thomas Thompson, of Liverpool, were keen collectors of Quakeriana.

MINERALS FOR HENRY F. SMITH

John Griscom to T. Thompson, iv. 1825:

"I have packed up a box of minerals for H. F. Smith, Darlington, directed to thy care, & which I must request thee to forward to him. I have not time to write to him now but intend to do so soon.

"Captain Marshall takes care of the box and will pay thee the amount of duty for me. Please call on him for it."

For Henry Frederick Smith see *Jnl. F.H.S.* xix. xx. xxii.-xxvi.; for John Griscom see xvii. xix.

AUTOGRAPH COLLECTING

" My dear Friend

" I think it a pity any body should wish for my hand writing, however, at thy request I send my scrawl.

" Thine very affectionately

" ELZth FRY.

" Upton Lane 4. 8, 1835.

" Dear love to thy wife who I was sorry not to see."

MARIA MITCHELL, ASTRONOMER

" The medal received from the King of Denmark, and awarded to Miss Maria Mitchell, of Nantucket, for the first discovery of a Telescopic Comet, on the 1st of October 1847, is of pure gold over two ounces in weight. On one side is the head of the present King of Denmark, with the simple inscription, ' Christianus viii. Rex Daniae.'

" On the reverse is the figure of Urania, the muse of astronomy, as depicted in ancient works of art. She is in a sitting posture and holds a globe in the left hand and a stylus pointing to a section of it in the right. Underneath the figure is the inscription: ' Cometa visus, 1st Oct. 1847,' while surrounding it is the following appropriate line from Virgil's *Georgics*: ' Non frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus.' (Not in vain we contemplate the rising and the setting of the constellations.)

" On the edge of the medal is the name of the discoverer ' Maria Mitchell.' The dies are exquisitely cut, and the whole execution of the medal is chaste and artistic.

" Miss Mitchell is the daughter of William Mitchell, the Cashier of the Pacific Bank at Nantucket. She is quite young, not over twenty-four or five, and possesses remarkable talents for mathematics. Her father has also distinguished himself by his astronomical observations. (*N. Y. Express*.)

For Maria Mitchell see *Dean Bond of Swarthmore*, 1927 (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xxiv. 66).

DECEASE OF AMELIA OPIE

Mary B. Browne to a friend:

" Castle Hill, Norwich, 3rd of 12th Month, 1853.

" After six weeks of severe suffering our valued friend Amelia Opie was released about 12 o'clock last night. For three days & nights the conflict with death was painful to witness; the mind seemed clear but there was no power of expression. We humbly hope she rests in peace with Him in whom she trusted."

For Amelia Opie see *Jnl. F.H.S.* x. xiv. xvii. xix. xxvi..

Named for . . .

English Quaker nomenclature transplanted to America:

Joseph John Gurney Cannon (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xxiv.).

William Forster Mitchell (*Hinchman's Recollections*, 105).

Henry Tuke Parker (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xxviii.).

What others?

John Woolman to John Townsend

“beloved friend John Townsend, if any letter comes to thy hand directed to me, I desire thou may open it in private, and Shew it to no one, and if thou believes it to be of a nature greatly requiring haste, then send it by the post, else keep it till other oportunity of conveyance

thy loving friend

JOHN WOOLMAN

“I am now at baldock near as well as when I left London 19 day 6 mo. 1772.

“Joseph Roe is desired to give this to John Townsend.”

From the Martha Spriggs Collection, written on a narrow piece of paper.

London Yearly Meeting, 1859

Extract from a private letter of a young Friend attending Yearly Meeting, 5 mo., 1859:

“As intended I went up to London last fourth day morning and attended the meeting for worship at Devonshire House, it was a very large one, Susan Howland and William Matthews spoke, the latter to some length, an impressive sermon, several others spoke briefly, all of whom I did not know. I believe it was a very good meeting. After meeting was over I proceeded to the London Tavern to be at the temperance gathering called for half-past twelve. . . . We were unfortunately late and found all the seats occupied; after a little exercise of patience fresh tables and chairs were procured and we managed to get our dinner; there were some that came in later still who had to dine at a sideboard standing, some of the fair too. The cause of this inconvenience was a larger number of Friends assembled than was anticipated, so far very encouraging to those who were the promoters of the meeting. After the tables were cleared away we drew closer together to hear the addresses, Edwd Smith, Saml Bowly, Thos Smithies, with some few others, and last of all Gough addressed the meeting well. It was quite apparent an increased interest was manifested in the cause of temperance which was very gratifying.”

Contributed by Samuel Graveson.

George Fell and the Story of Swarthmoor Hall

PREFACE

Much is known respecting the seven daughters of Judge and Margaret Fell, and much has appeared in print—letters from and to them exist in abundance, but little has been discovered respecting the only son, George Fell, and no private letters written by him are known to have survived.

IN the north-western portion of the County of Lancaster, largely detached therefrom by its natural formation, is the district known as Furness, and when our story opens the family of Fell was in occupation of a portion of this self-contained region, centred in Swarthmoor Hall, with several surrounding properties. The family was not of long prominence—it does not appear in the Muster Roll of 1574—but a son of the house, Thomas Fell, was greatly to increase its prestige.

Thomas Fell, son of George Fell, was baptized on the 4th of June, 1598. He embraced a legal career, and on the 20th of October, 1623, he was admitted to Gray's Inn, London. As time passed he occupied many public positions of honour and profit.¹ As revealed in his father's will, he had a sister Alice and a brother-in-law, Thomas Gateskill. In 1632 he took to wife Margaret, daughter of John Askew; and partly through this connection, and partly by subsequent purchase, the near-by property of Marsh Grange in "Plain Furness" was added to his paternal inheritance of Swarthmoor. In late life Margaret thus recalls her early days:

I was born in the year 1614 at Marsh Grange in the parish of Dalton-in-Furness in Lancashire, of good and honest parents and of honourable repute in their country. My father's name was John Askew; he was of ancient family of those well-esteemed and called gentlemen, who left a considerable estate. I

¹ See Appendix in concluding portion.

was brought up and lived with my father until I was between seventeen and eighteen years of age, and then I was married to Thomas Fell of Swarthmore. My father had children only me and another daughter, and he left us as good as six thousand pounds when I was married to my husband.

Nine children appeared in the family between 1633 and 1652—seven daughters and one son reached adult age. It is the one son whose life-history I am endeavouring to sketch, George Fell, who bore the name of his grandfather. The date of his birth does not appear but it occurred about the year 1639, and he has been placed fourth in the family sequence, Margaret, Bridget, and Isabel preceding him and Sarah, Mary, Susanna and Rachel being his juniors.²

The education, which would be the special concern of the father for his son and heir, began early. A resident clerical tutor was engaged and, as was frequently arranged, another youth was introduced to join in the studies.³ William Caton was to become George's helper and companion—a lad three years his senior. Caton has left an intimate account of this connection and I cannot do better than quote his record as given in his published life:⁴

When I was about fourteen years of age my father took me to Judge Fell's there to learn with a kinsman (a priest) who was preceptor to the aforesaid judge's son; and thereby I came to have an opportunity to be conversant with them that were great in the world. I was in due time promoted to be a companion, night and day, to the judge's son, and did eat as he did eat, and lodged as he lodged, and went after the same pleasure which he went unto, as to fishing, hunting, shooting, &c.

In those days there remained an integrity in my heart towards God, and often did I call upon his name; to that end I would linger in the chamber until the judge's son with whom I lodged was gone down,

² The addition to the family of Leonard Fell and Henry Fell, by Gerard Croese in his *History*, 1696, is pure fabrication.

³ As, for instance, in the case of Nathaniel Meade and his first-cousin, Richard Lower (*Jnl. F.H.S.* ix. 182).

⁴ *Journal of Life*, 1689.

that afterwards I might go to prayer alone. After we had learnt some time together in the judge's family we were removed to a school in the country, at a place called Hawkshead, where I met with many temptations and seldom good company. But as Providence ordered it, we did not stay long at that school but returned to Judge Fell's.

Meanwhile the new-old principles of Quakerism were spreading in the north, and the apostles thereof penetrated into the by-path of Furness. The hospitality of the Hall had been freely given to travelling exponents of the various religious thought of the day, but a deeper impression than any hitherto given was shortly to be made by the arrival of George Fox, the leader of the Quaker movement, about the mid-summer of 1652. Religion was the common talk of the day; meeting William Lampitt, the minister of the parish, the newcomer and the minister fell to discussion, and, to the discontentment of their hostess, into disagreement. The utterances of George Fox and those who accompanied him made a great impression on Margaret Fell and the elder children, as also on other members of the household. The judge was absent on circuit, and when nearing home he was met by some of his friends who told him that his household had been "bewitched," but on arrival, and after an interview with George Fox, his apprehensions were overcome and he became favourably disposed towards Friends, permitting meetings to be held in the Hall and following the proceedings from his justice-room. "He had tender care over the Lord's lambs." The impression upon the daughters was deep and lasting, they all married Quaker husbands of repute.

Caton, George's boyhood companion, tells us that the son of the house was at first impressed by the new teaching, but,

meeting with many temptations, his heart was drawn aside from the truth. At that time I had not left the school but did go along with Judge Fell's son thereto, and he, being somewhat convinced of the same truth and somewhat touched with the same power, it was the easier and better for me. Howbeit we were often wild, vain, and wanton, and sported ourselves in folly, to the extinguishing of the good oftentimes in ourselves.

The only reference to George Fell in the *Journal* of his future step-father, George Fox, narrates how youthful curiosity brought him into imminent danger.

Judge Fell's son, running after to see what they would do with me, they threw him into a ditch of water, some of them crying, ' Knock out the teeth of his head.'

An anti-Quaker view of the defection of George Fell is provided in a tract called *The Quakers Shaken*, printed in 1655 :

This pretended prophet James Milner lives at Bay-cliff in Lancashire and delivered lying oracles whereof there were many both eye and ear witnesses, and amongst others George Fell (called Zebedee by the said Milner). He was before that time bewitched with the delusions of the Quakers, but afterwards never followed them more. blessing God that He had opened his eyes to see the delusions of Sathan and those manifold snares wherein they had been entangled.

The term Zebedee was a favourable appellation. One of the " lying oracles " is thus described : " That there should be a great draught of fishes which he himself with Zebedee must draw, which (as 'tis reported) proved to be but a cod-ling."

The conversions at Swarthmoor soon became known—Thomas Killam, a Yorkshire Friend, wrote to M. Fell, 2 x. (December) 1652 : " My tender love to thy son George Fell, desiring and beseeching the Lord that they [he and his sisters] may be faithful servants in His vineyard." (Swarth. MSS. 4. 85.) And Richard Farnsworth referred to him in a letter dated 2 x. 1652. A postscript to a letter from George Fox to Friends, which was to be delivered at Judge Fell's, and which was subsequently endorsed by Fox and dated 1652, reads : " George, be watchful and low that the tender plant may grow in thee." (Swarth. MSS. 7. 37.)

At the close of his school days the legal profession was chosen, and George Fell was entered at Gray's Inn, London, on the 9th of February, 1652/3, when about fourteen years of age. Although thus removed from home influence, and his

early Quaker impressions having become dissipated, Fell was still the object of solicitude on the part of the home-circle and numerous Friends of Truth. There are brief references to him in letters of Henry Fell and Leonard Fell in 1656, and Thomas Salthouse in 1657; and John Rous, his future brother-in-law, wrote to M. Fell from Barbados, 24 iii. 1657: "Remember my dear love to thy husband and to thy son George, for there is that in them both which my soul loveth." (Swarth. MSS. I. 79.)

The maternal heart was drawn out in loving caution and advice; a letter has been preserved, endorsed and dated by George Fox: "M. F. to her son, 1657," which is worth quoting in full:

George

My dear love, take heed of wildness, lightness and vanity, and take heed of pride getting hold of thee. My dear heart, keep in the fear of the Lord thy Creator, who hath created thee and brought thee forth, and preserved and kept thee all thy lifetime until now. Now beware that thou requite Him not evil for good in sinning against Him and transgressing against that in thy conscience which tells thee thou shouldest not do evil nor wickedly and so sin against God.

My dear babe, if thou mind the Lord and fear Him thou will be with me as present, and there thou will be kept safe from all dangers. If thou keep in the fear of the Lord thou wilt be kept from all temptation and be delivered from all evil, but if thou depart from the fear of the Lord, then thou lies open to the temptations and will be drawn away with the enemies of thy soul.

My dear love, all the ways of the wicked will come to naught and perish though never so delightful for the present, yet woe and misery will be the end of all sin and wickedness; therefore, my dear love, turn from evil and sin and take heed of rashness and forwardness and headiness. Keep these down and strive for patience, and thou will see the blessing of God will be upon thee. My dear one, I cannot forget thee; my cries to my Heavenly Father are for thee that thou may be kept and that the measure of Him in thee may be preserved.

So my dear love, the Lord God of power be with thee and keep thee in His fear. Read this often and as thou readest thou will be with me.

Thy sisters who are at home is all [well] and remembers their dear love to thee and let us hear from thee as often as thou can. We received thine. M. F.

(Spence MSS. 3. 60.)

There is also evidence that George Fell continued to be of use to his mother's associates. Richard Hubberthorne wrote from Norwich Castle to M. Fell, 1 xii. 1654 :

Our friends George Fell and Dorothy Waugh came from you and came to us the 24th of this month. George Fell is returned northward towards George Fox upon the 29th day. He will satisfy more fully concerning the passages here away. (Swarth. MSS. 1. 346.)

Fell was also willing to convey books from M. Fell's agents in Kendal to his mother in 1656.

Letters extant reveal the continued interest in the son and brother taken by the Swarthmoor circle. His eldest sister, Margaret, wrote to her mother from Wapping near London, 25 xii. 1659 :

My brother seems to be pretty sober, though when I first saw him he appeared much unsettled and spoke of going to stay at some place for a time and seemed to have a desire to go for Ireland, but things look with such a face here at London that I believe he thinks that home will be the safest place for him, and I know nothing but when he goes from here he may come home. (Spence MSS. 3. 66.)

In addition, there are brief records of personal interviews. Thomas Rawlinson wrote to M. Fell in 1657 :

I went this day to George Fell, being 26 of the 1 mo. I was with him three or four hours in his chamber. We spake of many things. The spark is not quite out. (Swarth. MSS. 3. 11.)

Robert Benbrick wrote to M. Fell from London, 21 iv. 1659 :

I have not seen G. Fell yet, but I carried thy letter to his chamber and left it with his man, and to-morrow morning I am to go to him again and carry him £40 in money which I told M. [? Margaret] of it. (Swarth. MSS. 1. 145.)

On Friday evening, the 8th of October, 1658, died the father of the family, Judge Thomas Fell, about a month after the great Protector's death, with whose public management of affairs he had of late years disagreed. The burial took place by torch-light under the family pew in St. Mary's Church, Ulverston, on the following Sunday. He left a competent estate. Among his bequests was the gift of law books to his son :

My beloved son, George Fell, to have so many of my law books as will make those which he hath the complete body of the law, and wherein they shall prove defective my executors shall sell so many of the rest as will buy those that are wanting.

Thus, at the age of nineteen, the son became the head of the family and the owner of property in Furness, other than Swarthmoor Hall, which was left to Margaret Fell during her widowhood, but which she lost on her re-marriage.

It may well be that while the father was alive his son would feel drawings toward his family and early home, but when he became the squire of Swarthmoor, and, as a consequence, associated with the local gentry as well as with London society, he became estranged from his mother and sisters and resented their occupancy of the paternal Hall.

In London George Fell sought to support the Commonwealth within his native country. In the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1659-60*, 566 (*Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends*, 1913, 116), we read of the approbation of the Council of State, 19 August, 1659 :

That George Fell, Esq. be authorised to rayse a Troup of Horse mounted with such well-affected riders as will enlist themselves for the service of the Parliament and the safety of Lancashire and parts adjacent.

On the 29th of May, 1660, the exiled monarch entered his capital city. The attitude of George Fell was akin to

that of many of his north-country associates. His step-father-to-be records the action of the magistrates in Lancashire: "You talk of a King, a company of you, but where were ye in Oliver's days? and what did ye do then for him?" For his service to the Parliament he must now obtain the royal pardon:

1660. June. Petition of George Fell of Swarthmore to the King for pardon; his father was a great malignant and purchased fee farm rents, value £220, but he, being only lately of age, has received none of the said rents, nor has acted in any way against his Majesty.

June 22. Warrant for a grant to George Fell of Swarthmore, Co. Lancaster, of pardon for all treasons, misprisions of treason, etc., since November 2, 1640, with restoration of goods. (*Cal. S. P. Dom. 1660-61*, 50.)

Margaret Fell wrote to her children, 24 v. 1660:

Your brother is well, he was here [at her lodgings with Elizabeth Trott in Pall Mall] yesterday, and sealed the lease to his sister; but he hath not got his pardon sealed yet, but he doth not fear but get it done.

And Margaret, Junior, added: "My brother is well; he comes here sometimes, I know that his love is to you." There is not infrequent mention in letters of love-messages between the brother and his sisters.

News of promotion soon reached the north. Bridget Fell, the newsagent of the family, wrote to her mother, 22 v. 1660, on her return home:

It was all abroad in the country when we came home, of my brother's being one of the life-guards, and of his pardon at great cost that he was at in that. (*Spence MSS. 3. 69.*)

And his mother wrote to Bridget:

I am in hopes to get your brother down into the country for he had need of; for he hath been more idle this time than ever he was. But the Lord is my

strength and trust concerning him whom I believe will prevent his wickedness and preserve him.

It is interesting to find that there was a reunion of mother and son in London, during the time Margaret Fell and her daughter Margaret were in London striving to obtain the release of George Fox from his imprisonment in Lancaster Castle. Margaret the younger wrote from "Pelmell," 30 viii. 1660, to her sisters at home: "My mother, with my brother and myself, are all in health," and from the same letter we learn that George Fox, on his liberation, had joined the family party. It was shortly before George Fell's marriage. How little we are told, when we would know so much of what transpired in the lodgings in Pall Mall. (Thwaite MSS.)

During George Fell's life in London among legal associates he became acquainted with a barrister named Edward Cooke, who was also an author. Friendship with the brother brought Fell into acquaintance with his widowed sister, Hannah Potter, and this soon ripened into closer fellowship, resulting in marriage. The following is the official record:

Dec. 21, 1660. George Fell of Swarthmoore, County Lancaster, Esquire, Bachelor, aged about 22, son of Thomas Fell, late of the same, deceased, and Hannah Potter of St. Saviors, Southwark, County Surrey, widow, about 22, with consent of her father, Edward Cooke, at St. Dunstan in the East of St. Margarets, Lothbury, London, by licence. (A. R. Justice, *Clarke-Dungan Genealogy*, 1923, 520, taken from the Harleian Society publication, vol. 24, 1886.)

Sister Margaret may have been present at the wedding, for Bridget wrote her, 23 xi. 1660/61:

I would have thee to let us know the manner of my brother's marriage, what the woman is every way. Compose as much as thou can in a little room. (Spence MSS. 3. 80.)

The reply does not appear to have been preserved.

Two children were born of the marriage, Isabella and Charles, the latter shortly before his father's death in 1670.

The date of Isabella's marriage with Thomas Greaves does not appear. Bequests of a guinea apiece were made by George Fox to Charles and Isabella *Fell* shortly prior to his death in 1690/91, and Margaret Fox left one guinea each to Charles *Fell* and Isabella *Graves* in her will dated 1698, half the amount bequeathed to her other grandchildren. "*Brother Greaves*" occurs in a letter of 1693 from Thomas Lower to Margaret Fox. Thomas Greaves and Sackville Greaves are named in George *Fell*'s will.

Dr. Thomas Hodgkin sums up the characteristics of George *Fell* about this period :

He had kept his terms in London as a barrister and was now a Lancashire squire, a magistrate and a commissioner of militia, somewhat incapable, somewhat extravagant, and married apparently to an extravagant wife. (*George Fox*, 1896, 215.)

The question of the future of the estate at Swarthmoor became at once urgent. Earlier in the year Mary *Fell* had an interview with King Charles, who was told that, if he did not do something for her mother, "they would run her into a praemunire and get her estate from her and her children." The King replied: "They shall not have her estate from her." (M. *Fell* to her mother, 27 iv. 1664. Gibson MSS. 5. 55.)

Early in 1664 Margaret *Fell* was committed to Lancaster Castle for the "crime" of holding meetings at her house—"Multitudes of people at your house in pretense to worship God"—and for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance. In September of the same year she had a sentence of praemunire passed upon her—outlawed, condemned to imprisonment for life, and all her property real and personal forfeited to the King—which drastic sentence called forth the memorable words: "Although I am out of the King's protection yet I am not out of the protection of Almighty God."

Feb. 19, 1664. Daniel Fleming, [local magnate], to Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State: Persuaded the sheriff and justices of the peace for Lancashire at Ulverstone by showing them Williamson's letter to send for Mrs. *Fell*; She would not engage to have no more meetings at her house, having had them constantly for twelve years, and refused the Oath of Allegiance,

on which she was committed to Lancaster gaol, to be kept without bail till next Assizes; hopes the judges will then tender her the oath again that she may be praemunired, which would abate the interest of that faction in this country. (*Cal. S.P.Dom. 1663-4, 489.*)

The imprisonment of the mistress did not cause the cessation of meetings at the Hall. Daniel Fleming wrote to Secretary Williamson, Oct. 1, 1664:

There have been lately two or three sharp encounters betwixt Col. Kirkby and some Quakers who were Conventicled at Mrs. Fell's house since she was convicted of a praemunire, and show the great obstinacy of the sect. (*Cal. S.P.Dom. 1664-5, 24, Extracts, 221.*)

To be concluded

Friends and the Press-gang

At a General yearly Mtg of Friends in Truth the 10 4/mo. 1679:

"The service of Supplying Friends prest into the Kings Ships undertaken by Daniel Lobdy of Deal—Luke Howard of Dover gives the Meeting an Acct. that he has been very serviceable to several Friends in that respect Since the Last yearly Meeting and this Mtg. desires Luke Howard to acquaint Daniel Lobdy that it is Friends desire that he Continue in the sd. Service for the future."

At a Meeting at ye Bull and mouth the 24 3/mo. 1678:

"Upon Consideration of the often Sufferings of Friends by being impres't in the Kings Ships of warr, This Meeting desires that Daniel Lobdy of Deal in Kent will for the future upon hearing or having Acct. of any Friend or Friends prest into the Kings Ships to make application to the Captains or other Officers on Board for their Discharge and that all Costs & Expences by him laid out on that Acct. be reimbursed him by the several respective Quarterly or Monthly Meetings to which such persons belong."

Dying Sayings

In the Haws edition of *The Last Will of George Fox* (see *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxviii, 81) there is this N.B.:

"There is no confession of sin. Pope George, alas! was all Perfection and Sinless, and his Disciples have ever since [been] so conceited of the sufficiency of their own merit that no true Quaker was ever known to Die with a 'Lord, have Mercy upon him' in his mouth."

Nonconformist Persecutors

" And y^e presbuterian Independent & Baptist priests did more Rail ag^t us & abuse us then y^e Ecclesiasticall priests & Bishops, Because that we did See & Beleeve & hold that Christ Enlightens Every Man that Cometh into y^e World ; and y^e presbuterians Called y^e Light Jack in y^e Lantron & Willy-Wisp, & some Called it a Beggerly Scrap & others Called it a Naturall Conscience & a Corrupt Conscience and a Created & a Made Light."

From a MS. in D, headed " How the Lord by his Power and Spirit did raise up Friends to declare his everlasting Gospel and Truth—and how it spread, etc., 1643."

Puritan and Quaker

Francis R. Taylor, LL.B., of Cheltenham, Pa., writes to the editor :

" There is a tendency in this country to attribute some of our fundamental national characteristics to the Quaker as contrasted with the Puritan tradition. Till lately the Puritan background has been the all-sufficient medium to explain everything. A new book " Classic Americans," by Henry Seidel Canby, Ph.D., Litt.D., attributes to Woolman and the early American Quakers a literary and social contribution, on a parity with the New England Puritanism. The book would repay some attention on your side and a place in the Friends House Library. It is of Harcourt, Brace, \$3.00, pp. 351, and Bibliography and Index."

Quarter-Meeting 29 day 10/mc. 1680 :

" Whereas a case was stated Concerning Friends that live together in one house & are concerned in relation to Marriage, the question was whether two friends so Concerned dwelling in one house should be seperated from each other during their Concern before Marriage ; its the advice of this Meeting that the one of them remove, becaus the Continuance of such together in one family have tended to ye dishonour of Truth & grief of ye Faithful."

From Minute Book of Marsden (Lancashire) Preparative Meeting, 1696-1733, in D.

" If we will say : ' Hats off to the past and coats off to the future,' and act up to it, all will come right."—LORD DEWAR.

" Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, brother of John Hodgkin the noted Minister, went with Sir Moses Montefiore to Palestine, and during the trip he grew a beard. *Punch* said that Dr. Hodgkin had gone with Moses and come back with Hairon."

SOME OF THE
M I S T E R I E S
O F
G O D S K I N G D O M E

Declared, as they have been revealed
by the Spirit through F A I T H.

For the Information of all such who
have erred for lack of knowledge in their Judge-
ments, and have perished for lack of understanding, to
the intent that they may for the time to come, wait in
that which gives the true knowledge of God, and
of his Kingdome, and of the Myſteries thereof,
which comes to be revealed through Faith
to the upright, in H E A R T.

Also for the confirmation of such who
are made partakers of the like precious Faith.

By one who is made partaker of the riches of his
grace, and of the salvation which is in Christ
Jesus revealed through the Spirit, called

Francis Howgill.

The secrets of the Lord are with them that feare him.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Thomas Simmons at the Bull and
Mouth neer Aldersgate, 1658.

George Fox's Library: Further Identifications

I HAVE had occasion elsewhere (*The Friend*, March 25th, 1932, p. 255) to express my satisfaction with the publication in the last volume of *Jnl. F.H.S.* (xxviii. 3-21) of the list of books owned by George Fox. Dr. Sippell and John L. Nickalls are to be congratulated on the care and completeness with which they have been able to identify the items. And their success points to the accuracy (in spite of the brevity of the entries) of the original unknown compiler. The intriguing problem of some of the obscurer items was interesting me even before the list was published. I wish now to report on certain further efforts at identification. John Nickalls writes of five items as unidentified, of one other book of which no copy has yet been found, and of only one book in the list of which George Fox's own copy is known to survive today. Such statements constituted a challenge. The following is a report of personal inquiry about these items. The numbers given are those of the original list.

42. A warning to all sorts of peo.

This remains unidentified. Although there are several similar titles among early Friends' books, none corresponds exactly. The absence of title-indexes for seventeenth century literature is a great handicap to identifying such books.

55. Some of ye misteries.

This was identified as Isaac Penington's "Some of the Mysteries of God's Kingdome," etc. (Smith: *Cata.* ii. 347.) There is another possibility and I think a better one. Francis Howgill has a tract with a title beginning similarly "Some of the Misteries of Gods Kingdome," etc. (Smith: *Cata.* i. 990.) The spelling "misteries" agrees with that in the list of Fox's books, but that fact is not conclusive. By accident I discovered that the copy of Howgill's pamphlet in the Jenks Collection at

Haverford College has on the title page the initials Gff. That they are his own autograph one can hardly affirm with certainty, but they differ from some forms of his signature less than copies of it available in America differ from each other. The accompanying photograph of the page will enable connoisseurs to judge for themselves. Even if, as in the case of 108, the initials were written by another, this copy is still of great interest as being probably correctly endorsed and therefore another survivor (and that too in America) of the actual books from which the list is made.

60. A necessity of separaõn.

Though not so marked this is the second of the books formerly unidentified. After many vain efforts in other quarters I finally appealed for help to the veteran student of Separatists, F. J. Powicke, of Stockport, who, apparently without difficulty, recognized it as the following :

A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformists Principles. Specially opposed unto Dr. Ames, his Fresh Suit against humane ceremonies, in the point of Separation only. Also Dr. Laiton, Mr. Dayrel, and Mr. Bradshaw, are here answered, wherein they have written against us. With a Table in the later end, of the principal occurments in this Treatise. By Iohn Canne, Pastor of the ancient English church, in Amsterdam. Prov. 31. 8, 9 . . . Ioh. 13, 17 . . . Printed in the year 1634.

Copies of this are in the British Museum, in the Bodleian Library, and in New York in the McAlpin Collection in Union Theological Seminary. In 1849 the whole was reprinted and edited with notes and extensive introduction for the Hanserd Knollys Society by the Rev. Charles Stovel. John Canne was long in exile in Holland and his book was doubtless printed there. Among his writings the most important was probably his Reference Bible. In his *Necessitie of Separation* he quotes copiously from Nonconformist writers against the ministry, worship, government, discipline and constitution of the Church of England and argues that if their criticisms are true they should like him take the full step of separation. Although written before the rise of Quakerism and unfriendly in attitude to such Quakerlike positions as were then represented by the Familists (see pp. 57, 132), it is evident that this book contained, well reasoned out, many criticisms of the established Church and would be congenial to Friends in this respect. A work against tithes mainly by "John Osborn, a Lover of Truth" but including an address "To the Reader" signed (with the month in numerical terms "13th of the 5th month 1659") by John Canne is actually included in Quaker collections and, with a query of its Quaker origin, in Joseph Smith's *Cata.* ii. 248.

D.N.B.

64. Of ye principles & duties.

This, the third item not identified by the first annotators of the list is almost certainly the following :

Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion ; Two Books. By the Right Reverend Father in God, John late Lord Bishop of Chester.

It is true that the copies in the McAlpin Collection in New York and in the British Museum are dated in 1693 or later. But there were earlier editions of this publication. *D.N.B.* dates the work as 1678, but the Bodleian Library catalogues a copy of 1675. The work reached at least an 8th edition (1722-3) and was popular and influential. The author was John Wilkins (1614-1672), Bishop of Chester. He married Cromwell's sister and was intimate with men high in Church and state. He was tolerant of dissenters, and his books would interest Friends.

D.N.B.

69. Apocalypsis, dutch. I S.

This is the fourth unidentified item. Apparently it is a Dutch (or German) edition of the Book of Revelation, and I. S. are the initials of the commentator. An expert in Dutch theology ought to be able to identify this. There is of course the alternative that it is a Dutch work with a Latin title beginning with "Apocalypsis." For example John Story's *A Short Discovery of Certain Truths of God* (Smith : *Cata.* ii. 634) might well be so listed, if translated with a Latin title. But we know of no such translation. Or we may compare the anonymous Leiden publication : *Apocalypsis insignium aliquot haeresiarcharum*, Lugduni-Batavi, 1608. The work is listed as Octavo. Its position in the list near other works of Scripture makes our first suggestion probable. Is the I. S. really S(anctus) Johannes that has somehow escaped the Quaker censorship ?

83. G.ff. so called of ye world. G. ff. "

It may seem surprising that an item by George Fox himself should be unidentified. But that is the case. Neither Smith nor any other catalogue has such a title entered for him. But I think the solution of the problem is easy. This may have been an unprinted piece. Apparently 104 was a manuscript book also. It is described : " A pocketbook wt parts in ships. G.ff."

But we need not rest on conjecture. There still exists a manuscript work by George Fox which begins " Georg Fox So Called of the World but the world knows neither him nor his (new) name," etc. It is nothing less than the *Short Journal*, sumptuously printed by the Cambridge Press for Friends Historical Association in 1925. The editor, Norman Penney, described it as follows (p. xxi.) :

" This is a manuscript of 126 oblong pages measuring 8 inches by 6½ inches. It is endorsed on the last leaf : ' a short jornall of gff never were

printd of some short things from ab' y^e year 1648 to King Charles y^e 2^d Dayes,' the first eight words being written by George Fox. . . . The handwriting is believed to be that of Henry Fell."

In his testamentary papers (Cambridge *Journal*, ii. 347f) George Fox, directing the collecting and publishing of his works "printed and not printed," mentions not only "y^e great Journall of my Life" but also "y^e Little Journall Books" as still unprinted. Some of them were "at Swarthmoor & some att William Meads & some at Benjamin Antrobuses." What we call the Short Journal must have been among them. By 1695 I think it was with the other books at William Meade's and was entered on the list not by the title endorsed on the last leaf, but as was natural, by its first words. Being oblong pages it was included among the Octavos.

If this identification is correct this work is a third actual item of the list still extant—and existing where it belongs, at Friends House, London.

94. A Genl. Ep. to ye Un Chu. T. Collier.

This item is identified but it is said that "no copy of this book has yet been found."* There are, however, several copies in America and there must be more in England. A full title page reads :

A General Epistle to the Universall Church of the First Born : Whose Names are written in Heaven. Even to all the Saints, in the unities of the Spirit : Grace, and Peace be multiplied. Written by Thomas Collyer. Tending to the information of the judgment and the binding up of those wounds, breaches, and divisions, amongst Christians : that so unity and peace might be preserved.

London, Printed for Giles Calvert, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Black spread-Eagle at the west end of Pauls. Anno Dom. 1648.

As the publisher's name suggests, Collier was no conformist. He wrote one or more works against Friends which the latter answered. On the other hand others of his writings would suit Friends well, e.g. this general epistle with its rejection of the orthodox view of the Trinity and of verbal inspiration and *A Brief Discovery of the Corruption of the Ministry of the Church of England*.

His General Epistle, beside being published separately, sometimes provided the apparent title to one of the two volumes of his collected works by being bound in first position and this may be the form in which Fox owned it.

D.N.B.

106. Tystiolaeth o Gariad. Jno Songhurst.

That a copy of this Welsh translation of Songhurst's *A Testimony of Love* exists in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, was

* This statement in our last issue was incorrect. There is a copy in the British Museum.

information that I was able to secure for John Nickalls while his article was in proof. The full title is given herewith :

Tystiolaeth o Gariad ac Ewyllys Da. I Bawb a ddy-munant ddyfod i fwynhau Tragwyddol Fod gidag Arglwydd y bywyd, Pan fo dyddiau yn y byd hwn a diwedd iddint. Gwedi ei roddi allan gan un sy'n dymuno daioni pawb, ac na chyfrgoller yr un mewn pechod. John Songhurst.

Pruntiedig yn Llundain gan Joan Bringhurst, tan arwydd y Llyfr yn Heol Eglwys Gras, yn y flwyddyn, 1683.

A sketch of Songhurst, who came to Pennsylvania, will be found in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xxvii, 1854, p. 188f. For assistance in tracing this item I am indebted to my former pupil, Miss Elnith Griffiths, of Chelsea and to my former colleague, Professor F. N. Robinson, of Harvard.

108. A Dutch Testamt. with Clasps.

The survival of Fox's own copy of this book is a fortunate circumstance and nothing needs to be added to what was previously said about it (xxviii. 20f). But does this copy disclose in any way the process of cataloguing indicated by this list? To answer this question I examined it carefully and the original cover which is separately preserved. The latter shows no mark or number. A front flyleaf contains a number, 52, and two words in a script unintelligible to me. This is all the marking visible except of course "G:ff^o Book" on the back fly-leaf, but, as with disappointment I was reluctantly replacing the precious little book, some faint ink marks caught my eye where I least expected them, on the outside edges of the closed pages. When closely examined they proved to be the number 108. Here then had been marked the inventory number. If the same method was used on the other books of the library, though it would be impossible for volumes not smoothly trimmed, it may prove of assistance in identifying other extant survivors of the same collection.

Thus far we have been considering only the named works in the list. But the Library of Fox, to which the list gives evidence, contained also other works. John L. Nickalls estimates the whole collection as several thousand works. Can we suggest more as to the lost titles?

The list itself runs from 1 to 108 and then adds "Stitched printed books in six parcels from No. 109 to No. 355." There were therefore 247 more items. They were unbound, which is what stitched means. But I think the custom of the times was not to stitch several pamphlets together. Each book or pamphlet would be numbered separately. Furthermore, though parcel is an elastic term, evidently parcels

averaging forty items to the parcel would be much bulkier than convenient if many of the items were not small tracts. I am inclined to think therefore that Nos. 109 to 355 were mostly single items.

With the 108 first numbers the case is different. Except No. 62 they were apparently bound. But how many of them were bound collections of several items? A note at the beginning says: "a. The volums begin with these books." Unfortunately, however, instead of putting the mark "a" opposite certain of the numbers discriminatingly, the cataloguer seems to have added it regularly to every item at first (1 to 25) and then to have disused the symbol. We are left then entirely to our own inference. Those books which were published in original bindings or which were bulky would probably not include additional items. For example 1-9 are all Folios and, except for broadsides mentioned with two of the copies of the Battledoor (4, 8), they would probably not include any other work. Most of the Octavos (64-108) also were single units of considerable thickness, originally published in binding. This would be true of the Bibles, dictionaries and other non-Quaker works. Most of the Quaker octavos also were thick, running from 150 to 450 pages each. In one case (100) three items are named as bound into one volume. But the only titles given here that would run to less than 100 pages and would therefore be most likely to be bound with others are, I think, 74, 84, 93, 95, 96, 98, 106, 107.

With the quartos (10-63) the situation is different though even here out of fifty-five items several are probably single original substantial volumes, e.g. 12 (476 pages), 13 (902 pages), 15 (355), 16 (355), 22 (523), 26 (420), 28 (388), 29 (488), 36 (360), 41 (300), 43, 47, 48, 50 (780), 57 (648), 59 (143), 60 (283), 61 (168), 62 (168), 63 (136). But many others are smaller tracts and were certainly bound in collections ranging in size up to over a thousand pages. Similar bound collections of quarto Quaker tracts are many of them still extant from the seventeenth century. For example among the early bound volumes of quarto Quaker tracts which once belonged to the Friends Library of Philadelphia, the four whose first title occurs also in Fox's list (Nos. 20, 31, 38 and 39), though unfortunately not identifiable with his own copies, illustrate

the character of such old collections and contain 10, 34, 29 and 23 pieces respectively.

In one case it is certain that the small quarto tract mentioned in Fox's list was originally only the first item in a larger bound book. That case is the actually identified copy already mentioned (No. 55). Although it is now handsomely bound alone in leather like all the 1,354 items in the William H. Jenks Collection, its earlier history is disclosed by the fact that an ancient hand has numbered the leaves in ink (the recto, in the upper right corner) from 1 to 25 (omitting by accident 14). This like many other methods of continuous numbering was usual when several tracts were bound together. Evidently it assisted in indexing the full contents of a volume. The existence of these numbers beginning with 1 shows that this tract was the first of a collection and confirms the suggestion of the initials that this is the actual copy which gave the title to the item in Fox's list. It is not likely that many bound volumes of tracts began with just this one, or that his own copy was used twice as the first item in a collection.

It occurred to me there might be still extant, in the Jenks Collection, marked in the same handwriting with the larger page numbers from 26 on, other tracts which originally belonged in this particular volume of tracts. It was necessary to examine each of the thousand and more quarto tracts which that collection contains. There were only three or four the numbering of which seemed sufficiently to resemble that of the Howgill tract to have any claim to be considered to come from the same hand. Beside the likeness already mentioned they have certain common evidences of early trimming of the lower margin. It is natural that the "G:ff" should not have recurred on every later title page in the collection. My own judgment is that the handwriting of these is identical. Three experts in such matters to whom I showed the pamphlets regard the identity as certain. If it is, these items probably were subsequent parts of the same volume, already bound in it before Fox's death, and therefore additional survivals of the actual books owned by him. For this hypothesis it is no more necessary to claim for the numbering than for the signature that it is Fox's own writing. It is merely the serial numbering put into the volume he owned while it was still undistributed, by an unknown indexer

and at an unknown date. The pamphlets which I would thus tentatively include as surviving parts of No. 55 are the copies in the Jenks collection of the following :

Some of the Misteries of Gods Kingdome, Francis Howgill. (Smith : *Cata.* i. 990.) Handwritten serial leaf numbers 1-25 (14 omitted).

The Real Cause of the Nation's Bondage and Slavery, Richard Hubberthorne (*ibid.* i. 1013). Leaves 365-368.

A Tender Visitation of Love, George Bishop (*ibid.* i. 278). Leaves 521-530.

The Cry of the Innocent for Justice, John Crook (*ibid.* i. 486, a duplicate of 20). Leaves 637-659 (639 repeated, 641 omitted).

Fortunate though we are in being able to identify four tracts in this one of G. ff.'s bound volumes of tracts it is evident that the four account for not a tithe of its whole contents. Other tracts from the same volume are doubtless extant. Though the history of the book for two centuries after 1695 is not known (the crossed out name of Richard Smith, Jr. helps little), it seemed worth while to look over the other quarto tracts at Haverford College—another 1,500 roughly—to see if the same clues occurred in any of them. Again four appeared which seemed to me to be certainly of the same marking, *viz* :

The Harlot's Vale Removed, Dennis Hollister. (Smith : *Cata.* i. 964.) Leaves 62-108 (92 omitted).

A Discovery of the Education, Edw. Sammon and others with letter by John Peace. (Smith : *Cata.* ii. 531). Leaves 344-351 (345-349 unnumbered, apparently substituted from another copy in the modern binding).

A Diligent Search, etc. Dorothy White. (Smith : *Cata.* ii. 880.) Leaves 373-375 (375 repeated).

A Faithful Testimony for the Lord, John Gibson. (Smith : *Cata.* i. 839.) Leaves 766-769.

All these happen to come from the former collection of Charles Roberts which was made at the same time and largely by the same methods as that of William H. Jenks. It is not at all unlikely that they were secured from the same dealer or source. Though their former place in Fox's bound quarto is not so certain as with the other four (the modern

binder has in some of these cases obscured the earlier edge) I think anyone who examines them will be convinced that they once belonged there.

Possibly further search in other collections would lead to the identification of other parts of this volume or even to the discovery of some of the other larger items in the list. But I must leave that at present to others.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

Bryn Mawr College,
Pennsylvania.

Further notes on this subject may be expected in our next issue.

A Penn Pilgrimage

Skilfully engineered by Samuel Graveson, of the Penn Club, assisted by John L. Nickalls, of Friends Historical Society, a successful pilgrimage to the baunts of William Penn took place on Saturday, September 10th, in commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Penn's sailing for Pennsylvania. About 150 Friends participated. The F.H.S. president, John William Graham, and others, made speeches. A report appeared in "The Friend" (Lond.), of the 16th.

The Luminogram

An invention of great interest to historical researchers has been exhibited at this year's exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society in London. The name *Luminogram* has been given to the process, by means of which writing chemically erased or washed out is clearly revealed, though quite invisible to the eye, or in an ordinary photograph. Variations in paper surface resulting from erasure are also detected. An exhibit historically interesting was an old parchment, with nothing legible left upon it, but believed by its owner to be a document of historical value. The Luminogram of it revealed almost every word of a letter from Louis XVIII of France to the Sultan of Turkey concerning the appointment of a French ambassador. The invention is operated by Lt.-Col. W. R. Mansfield of 23 St. John's Road, Brixton, London, S.W.9.

Nell Gwyn and Friends

Francis R. Taylor writes: "Hast thou ever run across Nell Gwyn in a Quaker connection? I find the following in Bancroft's United States History, ii. 347: 'Profligate gallants of the Court of Charles II, assembled to hear the drollery of Nell Gwyn heap ridicule on the Quakers.'"

The answer is in the negative.

Richard Hubbertborne to Margaret Fell, 1660

D^r sister I have this day received thy lett^r at Lancast^r and as for y^e busines haveinge some stope I mentioned unto the from preston(?) how they obiected ag^t A word in it and how y^e Habius Corpus was sent backe to Coll West to have y^e word altered & sent downe againe with speed ; and wee doe expecte A returne of it this next weeke, London freinds is not yet Come downe hither soe thou may let us heare from thee every weeke while wee are heare : G ff is very well : I am with him at present & many freinds is heare with him this day, & almost everyday.

My d^r love to freinds there

Lancast^r 25 day
6 month 60

Thy d^r bro :

R. HUBBERTHORNE

The letter is addressed by Sarah Fell : " To Margaret Fell these—
Leave this with John Rous at the Read Dragon in Tower ditch to be delivered as above with care and speed."

Margaret Fell's stay in London at the home of Elizabeth Trott in Pall Mall was of some duration, but she succeeded in obtaining a habeas corpus which removed George Fox from Lancaster Castle to London after a delay owing to a misdirection of the writ in the first place, and also, by the collusion of the sheriff and the chancellor of Lancaster, to an inaccurate word. (See Fox *Jnl.* bi-cent. i. 480.)

From the Martha Spriggs Collection

Horace Walpole and a Russian Princess

" As an instance of her [Princess Daschkaw] quickness and parts I must tell you that she went to a Quakers' meeting. As she came away one of the women came up to her and told her that she saw she was a foreigner, that she wished her all prosperity and should be very glad if anything she had seen among them that day should contribute to her salvation. The Princess thanked her very civilly, and said, ' Madame, je ne sçais si la voie de silence n'est point la meilleure façon d'adorer l'Être Suprême.' "

(Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, Nov. 15, 1770.)

From Margaret E. Hirst

New Light on Fanny Henshaw's Convincement

A NUMBER of old MSS. which were in the possession of Thomas Davidson of Fritchley have been recently lent to the Library at Friends' House by his daughter, Mrs. Constable, who inherited them after her father's death in 1928. Among them are sixteen closely-written pages of foolscap relating to Frances or Fanny Henshaw (afterwards Paxton and Dodshon), who figures as one of the three central characters in the volume *William Law and Eighteenth Century Quakerism*, published over my name in 1927. All but one of these pages are new material, and they throw much interesting light on the personality of Fanny and her situation during the few months preceding her escape (at the age of twenty-two) to a Quaker household. Readers of the book will remember that she was a friend of the poet, John Byrom, belonging to a Church of England family, and that she became a convert to the distinctive tenets of the Quakers, in spite of all the arguments of Byrom, and of the great William Law, and of the strong opposition of her own relatives, who even kept her in a sort of confinement. When staying with her uncle and guardian near Manchester she was in communication with some Manchester Friends and with Thomas Smith, of Balby, by Doncaster, and finally, about Christmas, 1736, when visiting another uncle in Doncaster, she migrated to the home of one of the Balby Friends. Soon after that she moved to Leek in Staffordshire, her old home, into another Friend household, possibly that of Joshua Toft (mentioned more than once in these new letters), in whose collection of MSS. most of the existing records of Fanny Henshaw are to be found.

I will now deal with each of the seven newly-discovered MSS., referring, as is really necessary for their full understanding, to those pages of *William Law and Eighteenth*

Century Quakerism which are relevant to their contents. All seven MSS. or their originals may be dated somewhere between about April 1736, and the end of the following October. The handwriting, abbreviations, etc., are characteristic of the eighteenth century, but the MSS. would seem to be copies, more or less contemporary with the original letters.

1. The first and longest document, running to nearly six foolscap pages, is the one of least interest. It is subscribed merely "Her Sincere Well wisher," and consists of a long series of arguments against leaving the Established Church so as to join the Quakers, much in the style of William Law's letters to Fanny Henshaw, but not so happily expressed and condemning the Quakers still more severely, as the "worst of schismatics," etc. The writer was probably a clergyman. The following statement is a parallel to the opinions of John Byrom and William Law as to the worldliness of many Quakers which are quoted on pp. 119 and 146 :

"The spirit of the Quakers cannot be Divine, because it is inconsistent with itself ; for example women must not curtsie, but may bow, must not wear lace, but may the finest linen, must not wear silks of gay colours, but may the richest of other colours ; it is pride to have fine cloaths, or any superfluous about the habit, but not so to have the finest houses and furniture, and to enjoy all the superfluities of life."

The opening sentences of the letter give a fair idea of the character of the whole document :

"I have carefully considered Mrs. Frances Henshaw's account of herself, and am very sorry that the spirit of delusion has obtained so much influence over such a piously disposed person. . . . However I cannot but observe with pleasure that in all her paper she has not urged a single argument against leaving the Holy Catholick Church, the spouse of Christ, which they who have not for their Mother, have not God for their Father. She has mentioned a most powerful objection against the deluded people . . . viz. their not allowing the sacraments commanded," etc.

2. The second document, a three-page, unsigned letter of protest, beginning "Madam," and clearly meant for Fanny Henshaw, is of much interest, being without doubt the missing letter referred to on p. 97, in answer to which the skilful reply in defence of Fanny on pp. 98-102 was written. That reply appears to have been written to a clergyman by a member of the Established Church, who held the Quakers in very high esteem and who was well content, as he expresses it, that "many should differ in their articles of faith, though all agree in those of morality." All the words and passages in the reply (other than those taken from Scripture), which I have had printed in my book within quotation marks, are actually in this MS. (e.g. in both documents there is a word missing or understood before "as by a voice"—see p. 99 *ad fin.*), as well as numerous other remarks and expressions to which the reply can now be seen to refer (e.g. the "thorn of doubt" in the last paragraph of the reply). It is now also clear that the letter of protest follows Fanny's "Case" or *apologia* point by point (see p. 97) and that the reply of Fanny's unknown apologist follows the various points of that letter still more closely and adroitly. The apologist's attempt to show that the fashions of clerical dress are more ridiculous than those of Quaker attire was provoked by the following passage: "If you be arrived to that height of the Spirit or that degree of experience as to imagine that the will of God lies more in a Thou than a you, in a Band more than a cravat, or a plain more than a laced head [i.e. head-dress] or petticoat, I have nothing to say, you must e'en set up and speak in the congregation." The writer then naturally makes great play with "Sarah [i.e. May] Drummond" (see p. 90) and St. Paul's prohibition of preaching by women. A not unimpressive admonition is that "it is not the charm of cant and sound (falsely called the spirit), but the true sense and meaning of Scripture digested into virtuous practice, that produces happiness."

3. (a) The letter from which the following extracts are made was clearly written by Fanny Henshaw and is probably an earlier part of the same letter described in (b) below, or another letter to the same Quaker friend, Mrs. Aldam (of whom we know nothing):

" I've good reason to think any other but a friend would not excuse the trouble I give in writing so oft. . . . I believe we shall soon go into Lancashire to see an uncle [i.e. Mr. Sutton, her guardian] who lives at a place called Dam-house, 8 miles from Manchester [pp. 86 and 121]. He has had the care of us from children and has been like a father to us [p. 79]. To him I purpose to tell my real intentions of the hoped-for change. My cruel sister says I never shall be a Quaker while she lives, no! I sooner shall be confined. To which I doubt not but they'll endeavour to persuade my uncle, which, if he consents to, and God permit, I'm willing, nay, rather choose to submit to it, than thus to live in the world in a state of sin and vanity."

She then expresses at length her determination to submit to any punishment rather than " make shipwreck of faith and religion." " My greatest comfort is . . . the liberty of being alone to read the Scriptures."

" The inclosed lines are my opinion of a worthy friend whom I imagine ye know. Her character charms my very soul, tho' I never had the happiness of seeing her person. She was in Cheshire last summer; her name is May Drummond. T.R. has some acquaintance with her, and would gladly have had me to have seen her, but my sister was then very ill."

" This I fear may be the last time I can communicate my mind to thee, except ye are so good as to assert my moving cause, which I humbly submit to your superior judgement. . . ."

(b) What may be the conclusion of the above is inscribed " Directed to Mrs. Aldam in Doncaster, Yorkshire. Stamped Knutsford [Cheshire]: came to hand 9th 6 mo. [i.e. August] 1736." It runs:

" O my friends, my love to you's unbounded, the dear idea of you is my bosom friend and best beloved companion. My relations endeavour to persuade me that the good opinion I have of T.R. binds me in his favour, or I should see his intention was to have me for my fortune. In vain

I alledge all reasons to the contrary, and as much in vain are their endeavours to lessen my esteem for him. Yet, did I love him as the world imagines, I'd so far sacrifice my love to religion, never to entertain a thought of marrying him. For that would crown the world's suspicion that my change in religion was on his account, which is a thing too sacred to admit a rival. Yet (if ever he had a thought of me) I think I owe this to his friendship and what he has suffered on my account, ever to live single, which thoughts I ever cherished from a child, influenced, I believe, from the advice of Paul, whose writings I ever read with great reverence, in particular his conversion. . . . I've not time to read over what I've writ, but I know thy goodness will excuse all faults.

"I happened to-day to open the Bible on the last two chapters of Micah, the reading of which pretty much affected me, as did ever my friend's advice, in whom I found a faithful Monitor, who far from subtil flattery, clearsighted to my errors, endeavoured not to veil them from me, but kindly would admonish me. He was to me what Peter was to Cornelius and Philip to the eunuch . . . for which I shall ever esteem him as a most sincere friend, who has at heart my soul's welfare, clear of all other views. If I've been too free in writing my sentiments, remember I've no friend but thee to whom I can do it—for who will hear the complaints of the afflicted?"

"Farewell, my friends! . . . I could wish my Case made publick for the example of others. God is pleased at present to let my enemies to triumph over me, but I humbly hope by learning patiently . . . He will in His good time be merciful to me."

We know from Fanny Henshaw's narrative (p. 80) that she and her sister were boarding with friends in Cheshire for some years before she went on her epoch-making visit to Dam House. Fanny's "Case" was the name given to her *apologia* or Confessions sent to William Law and others (see pp. 87-93). For her friend "T.R." see my note (5) below. Aldam was a well-known Quaker name. One of George Fox's first disciples was Thomas Aldam of Balby, near Doncaster. This Mrs. Aldam may have been a married daughter of Thomas Smith of Balby.

4. The following poetical effusion I reproduce in full :

To Thomas Smith at Balby.

My dear friend,

My soul, a prisoner now to earthly ties,
Gladly would be released to seek celestial joys,
Bemoans her banishment and longs to be
At peace with God and to his people flee.

But how ?

O say, my friends, or I'm for ever lost,
Too long I have rebelled, I find to my sad cost,
Say by what means I may my freedom gain
And free my soul from worse than Egypt's chain !
For, under God, 'tis you alone can save
My soul from Hell, my body from the Grave ;
For now I'm wholly swallowed up with Greif,
No sect but yours can add to my Relief.

5. To Samuel Mellor in Manchester [or Miller, see pages 123 and 141].

In this letter, covering about a page of foolscap, Frances Henshaw expresses her thanks for the concern of Friends for her soul's welfare, and prays God that He may "give her to them at last." She laments her present sorrowful captivity in the language of Jeremiah. It appears that Samuel Mellor had visited her and had been the means of letters passing between her and her "good old friend" Thos. Smith. She would be glad to see Jos. Toft (of Leek) and thinks her uncle and guardian (Thomas Sutton) would "not take his coming amiss, he being an old acquaintance, and one whom I know my uncle has an esteem for." She refers to a woman friend at Kendal (possibly Grace Chambers, with whom she afterwards stayed, p. 167), who seems to have written her a letter in verse, concerning the sorrows of "Julia." This letter must have been written (probably in September 1736) after she had removed from Cheshire (see 3 above) to the neighbourhood of Manchester.

6. On the reverse of the last mentioned two communications is a long poem addressed by Fanny to May Drummond, the gifted Scottish preacher, which, to judge from the prose

conclusion, was sent or intended to be sent her as a letter. It begins :

“ Hail, happy May, to whom a power is given
The world to teach, and tread the path to Heaven,
Who in obedience to thy Saviour's call
Thy country hast forsook and kindred all.”

Later on the writer laments,

“ Oh ! had I too by thy example taught
Laid out my all this jewel to have bought,
I should not here have staid o'erwhelmed with Greif,
Absent from thee, and all dear Friends' Releif.”

She wishes that she had “ been ingrafted into Abraham's seed ” and “ helpmate with thee His blessed flock have fed,” and continues with reiterated praises of the “ Virtuous Maid,” whom she so much revered.

7. The last and longest of the writings composed by Fanny Henshaw consists, with only slight verbal differences, of the latter portion of her *apologia* or “ Case,” as printed on pages 91 (last half), 92 and 93, together with the final two paragraphs of the “ additions ” (including the reference to William Law as a “ worthy professor ” of the Church), which we have so far only had in Byrom's letter to Law (p. 135), and also with another interesting addition, the most informing portions of which are as follows :

“ What say ye, my Friends, do ye approve this Journey ? pray let me know ; for not a step would I stir in any case without your advice and approval. . . . I'm loath to bid adieu, my soul would with you build her Tabernacle, and writing to you is next to the satisfaction of being with you. O, I could be glad to see May Drummond ! . . . Pray acquaint her with my case, and if she judge me not utterly unworthy, a visit from her I should esteem the greatest favour her Charity can afford her distressed friend. I could almost have hoped to have seen Jos. Toft ere now, but he has not yet shewn that kindness.”

“ Dost thee, my friend, never travel this way ? I should rejoice, methinks, to see thee . . . you having

known the worst of me, O! my Friends! and I rejoice in your doing so, that ye be not deceived in me.

. . . "F. Henshaw. Farewell."

It is just conceivable that the "Journey" mentioned above is the same as the one referred to in MS. 3 (a) above, i.e. from Cheshire to Dam House. But in that case this part of the MS. would not fit with the previous paragraphs, which must, I think, have been written from Dam House, and the "Journey" would then be the critical one which Fanny made on horseback to Doncaster, where she was at last able to escape to her Quaker friends. The letter may have been written to Samuel Mellor, the recipient of MS. (5) above, or to his wife Lydia.

It may be seen that these seven MSS. taken together add very considerably and in a most interesting way to our knowledge of Fanny Henshaw at one of the most critical periods of her eventful life. I think, too, that their contents are almost altogether consistent with what we already know of Fanny's character and situation.

(1) We now have more evidence of the great efforts made by Fanny's family and acquaintances to keep her within the fold of the Established Church. The poor girl seems to have been bombarded with long, argumentative letters from clergymen and others, exposing the wickedness of the deluded Quakers.

(2) For the first time I think we learn that Fanny's only sister, to whom she was much attached, was bitterly opposed to her conversion. We may therefore suspect that her sister was the "near intimate" mentioned on p. 85, who believed that her change of faith was due to a distortion of judgment caused by her falling in love with a certain "strict" Quaker (whom we now know as "T.R.").

(3) We now know more of Fanny's relationship to May Drummond (p. 73); (a) that it was in Cheshire in the summer of 1735 that Fanny missed going to hear that eloquent woman preach, with such remarkable psychological results (see p. 90), and not, as I had inferred, in the Manchester district a year later; and (b) that she was taking steps to get into personal contact and correspondence with her.

(4) From the MSS. it is clear that Fanny had acquaintance and correspondence with other members of the Society to a considerably greater extent and from an earlier date than had previously appeared to be the case.

(5) We now know more of Fanny Henshaw's attitude to the gentleman, who appears, for the first time, under the initials, "T.R." All that we were told before was that he gave her admirable spiritual counsel, which was indirectly the means of her final decision for Quakerism (p. 88), and that, as already mentioned, people thought that she was in love with him. Fanny, in her printed narrative, published, it should be remembered, and possibly composed years afterwards, denies that this was the case. Yet, when she asserts (in MS. 3 (b)) that the insinuations advanced against "T.R." could not lessen her esteem for him and that she owes it to him "ever to live single," one cannot help feeling that in her denials, "methinks the lady doth protest too much," and that she was at least half in love with him. She alludes to her friend in this new letter as being to her what St. Peter was to Cornelius, and so on, and as her "faithful Monitor," the precise expression which elsewhere she uses for the Holy Spirit (p. 91 and *cf.* pp. 81 and 82). Indeed the stern repression in the interests of religion of her affectionate feelings in this direction may well account largely for the ill-health and the neurotic symptoms which accompanied the long drawn-out crisis of her history. It is significant that these disappeared when her pent-up emotions were able to express themselves in another way on her beginning to preach in the newly-found liberty of the Friends' Meeting (p. 158). In view of Fanny's declaration (in MS. 3 (b)) of her choice of an unmarried life, it is interesting to remember that she was twice married in after years, but not to "T.R." One wonders if "T.R." was the person of whom it was reported to Dr. Byrom three years later that he had made an offer of marriage to Fanny (p. 151)—he had disliked the man, Byrom said, when he met him near Manchester in 1736. (Fanny was only finally landed safely in matrimony in 1745.) Incidentally we have not hitherto, I think, had any mention that she was heiress to "a fortune." As, however, she had come to feel herself required to lay aside "all the vanity and foolish amusements of the world," her income, during her long career as an active Minister of

the Society, was presumably chiefly spent in good works and to defray the cost of her numerous journeys for religious objects.

This is perhaps the place to mention that in a collection of letters "written by Divers Friends Deceased," published in 1805 by John Kendall of Colchester (Letter xxxi. vol. ii.) there is a short letter, which, though the name of the recipient is not given, was evidently meant for Fanny Henshaw during the time of her persecution by relatives. (T. Edmund Harvey was apparently the first to notice the letter.) It was written from Balby by Thomas Smith (already mentioned above) and is quite clearly worded, with considerable skill, so as to pass the "censors" and possibly to have some effect upon them—for we know from John Byrom's *Journal* that Fanny's family at this time opened all her letters. Thus the writer begins, "The reading of thy letter gave me much satisfaction, as it informs me thou art treated with less severity than hitherto"; and he goes on to express a hope that her relations shall be led "to think that no one's conscience ought to be forced," and that everyone should be free to choose their own religion, and so on, ending with exhortations to Fanny, in the characteristic "quietist" doctrine of the period, to be "as passive clay in the hand of the potter" and to "save nothing alive in thee, which God hath appointed for death."

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE.

There are notices of Fanny Henshaw (Paxton, Dodshon), in *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxi, xxiii, xxv-xxviii.

"Elder Tea"

11 mo. 15, 1850.

DEAR FRIEND,

I do not regret that I missed the cup of Elder tea that thou thinks might have been administered to my advantage; to the best of my recollection it is not a very palatable drink. Elder flower-water is often used as an agreeable Cosmetic by those who are anxious to keep up a nice appearance, but at best it is only a superficial application. For my part I much prefer thy glass of Elder wine, and it being sweetened with love and spiced with kindness, I can take it readily and it warms my heart, and I hope it will have the effect of making my voice louder and clearer at a future time.

With love.

Thy oblig^d frd, J.B.

The Burt Family

By favour of the owner, we have had before us two volumes of manuscript with the title: *Brief Memorials of William and Alice Burt, of Welbourn, and of several of their Descendants, from 1654 to 1855*, collected and written by John Burt, of Liverpool Street, London, and dated 30th of 8 mo. 1858. In addition to the record of descendants of the name, other family names appear as Jalland, Massey, Petchell, Pidd, Toinbe.

The following extracts are worthy of preservation in print :

PAYING THE JAILER

M.M. of the South-Western Division of Lincolnshire, held at Welbourn North End, 2nd of 1 mo. 1693: " Abraham Morris gives an accompt that he hath treated with y^e new Goler y^t's Cume into y^t place in y^e Castle, whoe seemes Respective towards friends, And is willing to Excepte of sixe pounds the year as y^e former goler had for the Rente of friends prison-Roume, and also Abraham hath pay'd Sturton y^e Last goler £4 for his time which is to be spoken of at y^e next Quarterly meeting."

FRENCH PROPHETS

7 mo. 6 1711. " John Barlow & John Burtt hath spoken to Samuel Shaw and Henry Pickworth concerning their joining with the people called French Prophets, who both of them still persist that they are a people led by the spirit of God, and that their judgments pronounced against Friends are true. Therefore Friends of this Meeting find themselves concerned to give forth their judgment against them.

" It is the judgment of Friends both of the Yearly, Quarterly, and this Meeting that they are a people led by the Enemy of their souls."

M.M. at Welbourn North End.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION

John Burt to William Burt, 19 vi. 1840: " At the great 1840 Slavery Convention, a servant climbed up to close some window from the entry of rain, but lost his footing and fell some 25 or 30 feet onto persons sitting in the audience. Joseph Reynolds, son of the venerable philanthropist, Richard Reynolds, and our friend Isaac Bass, of Brighton, being immediately under the spot, received the blow, by which they were considerably hurt & of course greatly alarmed. Isaac Bass is gone home, his face was bleeding when he was supported out of the room. I have not heard of Joseph Reynolds. After the sufferers had been attended to by Dr. Hodgkin a solemn religious pause took place. Richard Barrett was so much affected as to be in a fainting state. Jacob Post, who was also sitting near, happily escaped injury. The poor man is said never to have spoken after the accident. He died in a few days, and the Delegates generously raised nearly a hundred pounds for his widow."

At the close of the volumes there are short biographies of friends of the family—Father Mathew, Elizabeth Dell of Earls Colne, John Storer of Nottingham who died at the house of Joseph Burtt at Welbourn in 1795, David Doeg, Hannah Kilham and Lydia Ann Barclay.

The picture illustrating this record of the Burtt family (see frontispiece) is a black and white wash drawing, at present on loan at Friends House. It is stated to be the work of Lefever Cranston, who exhibited from 1845 to 1867. The style of the painting and other details in it indicate that it was probably painted in the early years of the nineteenth century. These opinions were obtained from the department of drawing and design at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. On the back of the picture is written: "John Burtt, London, the gift of his sister Sophia 1833, 1692 11 mo. 5. At the screen end is William Burtt, of Caythorpe, who built the house at Welbourn. Second figure name unknown. Third William Burtt addressing the Meeting on the hiring of a room in Lincoln Castle with a view to keep Friends apart from felons (see previous page). The aged man at the table is Thomas Toinbe."

A Jesuit Anti-Quakerianum

The answer to the query in xxviii. 92 is as follows: Theodore Rhay was born in Ressen near Kleve in Rhenish Prussia in March, 1603. He was admitted to the Society of Jesus in October, 1622. He died March 10th, 1671. His other writings deal with local Catholic history or with the wonders of foreign lands like Tibet. The full title of his piece against Quakerism is "*Confusa Confessio Trementium seu Quakerorum, das ist: Der Quacker verwirte Glaubens Bekäntnuss, mit vorgesetzter kurtze, doch denckwürdiger historischen Relation, von dieser Zitter-Geister-Nahmen, Ursprung, Lehr und Fortgang. Vorge stellt, und widerlegt von Theodoro Rhay, der Societat Jesus Priestern.* Colln: In Verlag und Druckerey Wilhelm Friessems, Anno 1666."

Though printed in duodecimo the work contained 538 pages and was therefore one of the most considerable attacks on Quakerism from a Roman Catholic point of view. Are any others known? As early?

(Information from *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, new edition by C. Sommervogel, S. J., Paris, vol. vi., 1895, col. 1783. H. Hurter, *Nomenclator Litterarius Theologiae Catholicae*, third edition, Innsbruck, 1910, vol. iv., col. 105. J. Hartzheim, *Bibliotheca Coloniensis*, Cologne, 1747.)

The work was written in German. A translation of the title would be: The Quakers' confused confession of faith, to which is prefixed a brief but noteworthy historical account of the name, origin, teaching and continuance of these tremble-spirits. Presented and confuted by Theodore Rhay, Jesuit priest.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at:

Friends' Book Centre, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

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

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

Friends' Central Bureau, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Friends' Book and Supply House, 101 South 8th Street, Richmond, Ind.

Many of the books in D may be borrowed by Friends, and other applicants if recommended by a Friend. Apply to the Librarian, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

The section on "The Seeker Movement" in Rufus M. Jones's *Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, the William Belden Noble Lecture, 1930-1931, pp. 184, \$2.00), will appeal especially to Friends, for it was from the Seekers that George Fox drew many of his adherents. "It can, I think, be shown historically that the Seekers deserted the Church not because they had lost their religion and had become apostate in faith and life: the real trouble was that their expectation of what the spiritual stature of a Christian ought to be had travelled so far ahead of the actual spiritual stature which the Church was producing that they refused to recognize that Church as Christ's spiritual organ" (p. 71f).

Twice-told tales from the pen of L. Violet Holdsworth are sure to have a further lease of life, as witness those collected into the volume *The Romance of the Inward Light* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, pp. xiv. + 191, illustrated, 7s. 6d.). There are eight relations ranging from an article on "George Fox: Seeker for Reality" to the ghost story connected with John Crook. Hurry in production has been the cause of some mis-statements, a list of which appeared in *The Friend* of June 10th.

Regarding "John Crook and the Haunted Room," a letter reached the Library from Robert W. Barclay, of Logmore, Dorking, dated 21 ix. 1920, in which he wrote: "With regard to the story of the Ghost at Urie, I must say I had never before heard it, nor of the missing deeds,¹ and put it down as apocryphal. I learn from my uncle, the Rev. C. W. Barclay, that he had never heard of it before, and he is the best authority I know of on all family history."

¹ For this see *Jnl. F.H.S.* x. 187.

Harry R. Hodgson, of Tranmere Park, Guiseley, Yorks., has contributed to *The Bradford Antiquary*, vol. v. 1932, "Two Quaker Sketches," dealing with Scalehouse and Farfield, the former the Watkinson home where a noted gathering was held in 1658, and the latter connected with the Myers family. There are interesting views of each home.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine* for April, 1932 (vol. 56, no. 222), contains an article on "Some Colonial Ships built in Philadelphia," in which Friends appear—John Reynell (1708-1784), shipping merchant, Aaron Goforth, ship-builder, Elias Bland, of London, and Richard Deeble, of Plymouth, merchants.

Mr. T. Cann Hughes, M.A., F.S.A., of Lancaster, has contributed to *The Manchester Quarterly*, July-September, 1932, an article entitled "A Lancaster Literary Family," dealing with the Friendly family of Binns, and especially with Dr. Jonathan Binns (1747-1812), and his son of the same name (1785-1871). There are portraits of father and son and of Rachel Binns (1817-1895), daughter of the latter. The present representative of the family, George Jonathan Binns (1855-), owner of many family records, lives at Dunstable.

Lady Robertson Nicoll, The Old Manse, Lumsden, Aberdeenshire, has written, "for private circulation," a history of her family, entitled *Bells of Memory*. The section "My Father" would be of principal interest to Friends. Her father, Joseph Pollard, was born of Quaker parents and resided at High Down, near Hitchin. He was a visitor at Earham Hall. "When at school at Mr. Abbott's, Hitchin," he became acquainted with various Friends of the names of Brightwen, Lister and Foster, and William and Alfred Ransom were among his schoolfellows. Of Birket Foster it is *not* correct to state that he was "descended from Margaret Fell of Swarthmore Hall and George Fox." The volume, which we understand can be obtained from Wyllie, Union Street, Aberdeen, for 7/6, is very attractively illustrated. Copy presented by the author.

Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, Vol. v. No. 1. In the course of an article describing a portrait of Edward Irving (1792-1834), the founder of the "Catholic Apostolic Church," there is an account of Faithful Christopher Pack, the painter of the portrait, who was born of Quaker parents in Norwich in 1759 and died in the parish of St. Pancras in 1840. His association with Friends seems to have ceased when he went to London to study art. Later became an admirer and faithful follower of the great preacher, whose portrait he painted. A reproduction of it illustrates the article. He became a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1781 and afterwards practised painting in Liverpool, Dublin and Norwich as well as London.

It is all to the good that incidents in the life-stories of Friends of various periods should be recorded and disseminated. The present-day addresses by Friends might well be illustrated by the relation of events in our long history. Hence we welcome *Quaker Homespuns, 1655-1833*, by Isabel Grubb, M.A. (London: Allenson, 7½ by 5, pp. 144, illustrations by Hilda Roberts, 3s. 6d. net), a collection of twelve anecdotes of Irish Friends with historical background.

John Robson has presented a typed copy of an extract from the "Essex Review," April 1932, entitled *Allotments in Essex a Century Ago*. Two Friends, Wyatt George Gibson and Jabez Gibson, of Saffron Walden, were among landowners and others interested in this successful scheme.

The Spring Number of the *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association* (Haverford, Pa.) contains articles recording the lives of Elihu Embree, the Quaker abolitionist (c. 1782-1820), and Ebenezer Hopkins of Haddonfield (1718-1757), and much other useful matter.

Thomas Woody: *New Minds, New Men?* New York, 1932. A Study by an American Friend, who is an authority on educational systems, of the present system at work in Russia, based upon first-hand study.

Wilma Morgan: *Life and Work of Justine Dalencourt*. London: Allenson, pp. 146. A translation of the French edition of 1929.

The Swarthmore Lecture for 1932 was delivered by Francis E. Pollard—*Education and the Spirit of Man*. London: Allen & Unwin, pp. 80.

Rudolf Otto: *Mysticism East and West*. Translated from the German by Bertha L. Bracey and Richenda Payne. London, 1932.

David Salmon: *The Practical Parts of Lancaster's "Improvements" and Bell's "Experiment."* Cambridge Press, pp. 112. Contains, besides a study of Joseph Lancaster's "Improvements in Education," 1805 edition, a historical sketch of Lancaster's work, his indebtedness to his predecessor in educational work for the poor, Andrew Bell, and references to the support he received from Friends.

There is a valuable article on the "Moorman Family of Virginia" in the *William and Mary College Quarterly*, July 1932. "In 1670 Zachariah Moorman, a Quaker, emigrated from the Isle of Wight to Nansemond County, Virginia."

After years of intensive research and study, Luella M. Wright, of the University of Iowa, has given to the student world a valuable contribution in her volume: *The Literary Life of the Early Friends, 1650-1725* (New York: Columbia University Press,² 8½ by 5½, pp. xiv+309, including 32 pages of Notes, 20 pages of Bibliography and 14 pages of Index), with Introduction by Rufus M. Jones. This is not a book to be announced, reviewed, shelved, and forgotten, but to remain at hand for the use of the Quaker investigator. Much regarding sermons, verse, essays, advices, confessions, proverbial literature, etc. appear. Chapter VI.—“Distribution of Literature”—seems specially informing, also the section on “Quaker Journals and Life.” Subjects for special comment have been drawn from William Penn’s Preface to “The Written Gospel Labours of John Whitehead,” 1704 (described by R. M. Jones as “a find”), and “The Journal of John Gratton,” 1720, in addition to “The Journal of George Fox,” 1694. Second Corinthians should, of course, be First Corinthians (p. 133).

A notable addition to regional history has just been issued, *The First Fifty Years of Quakerism in Norwich*, by Arthur J. Eddington, with Introduction by A. Neave Brayshaw (London: Friends Historical Society, Friends House, N.W.1; author: Woodside, Christ Church Road, Norwich, folio, pp. xi+299, sixty-five copies only, type-litho printed, price two guineas, a dozen or so only still remaining for sale). After a chapter, “In the Days of Oliver Cromwell,” we have “The Restoration Period” (1658-1670), “Conflict and Suffering” (1670-1678), “The Norwich Case” (1680-1683), “The Final Persecution” (1683-1686), “The Close of the Century” (1686-1700). We can well believe the author’s statement that he had been “many years working at this volume.” Much original and official matter has been introduced, the author’s aim being “to allow the individuals to tell the story in their own words.” There are numerous pages of Appendix and fourteen pages of Indexes—(1) Quakers, (2) Persons other than Quakers, (3) Places, and (4) Subjects.

² Also London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 19s. net.

Recent Accessions to

The Book of the Sandy Spring Meeting House Centennial, a record of meetings held and speeches delivered August 25-26, 1917, pp. 79. This book of Sandy Spring, Maryland, gives many names of Friends of public as well as private note. Benjamin Hallowell is mentioned at least fourteen times and we read also of members of the Thomas, Stabler, Hopkins, Brooke families. Among various anecdotes is the following: "The coloured cook had asked a day off to attend a funeral. Her mistress said, 'Did you know the person?' She was silenced by the reply, 'Now, Miss, wouldn't you rather go to the funeral of somebody you didn't know?'"

Christopher Morley: *John Mistletoe*. London: Faber & Faber, 1931, 352 pp. This book reads like a disguised autobiography, though not so called. The author, who writes in charming style, is an American Friend. He was born at Haverford, studied at Haverford College from 1906 to 1910, and then at New College, Oxford, till 1913, since when he has followed a journalistic career. The book opens with a picture of Haverford life in the nineties. An altogether delightful book.

John M. Lindley: *History of the Lindley, Lindsley, Linsley Families in America*, vol. i., 1639-1930, vol. ii., 1639-1924. Winfield, Iowa, 1930 and 1924. Illustrations. Presented by the author.

Inner Light: A Devotional Anthology. London: Allen & Unwin, 1931, 370 pp. Compiled by a group of Friends for family worship and similar uses.

John Saltmarsh: *Wonderful Predictions declared in a Message as from the Lord, to his Excellency Sr. Thomas Fairfax and the Council of His Army*. By John Saltmarsh, Preacher of the Gospel. His severall Speeches, and the manner of his Death. London: Robert Ibbitson, 1648, 4to, 6 pp.

Thomas Hodgkin: *Italy and Her Invaders*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892-1899. 8 vols. also vols. 1-4 reprinted in 1931. The former came to the Library by the wish of their late owner, Howard Hodgkin. The latter are the kind gift of L. Violet Holdsworth in memory of her father, the author.

John Bellows, 1831-1931. A Biographical Sketch and Tribute. Printed, for private circulation, at the centenary of the birth of the founder of the printing firm of John Bellows, Gloucester.

Edith Ratcliffe: *The Four Gospels in the Light of To-day*. London: Williams & Norgate, 1931, 254 pp. A serviceable study of the Gospels for the help of general readers, by a London Friend.

Theodore Blegen: *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860*. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Hist. Assoc., 1931, 414 pp.

O. M. Norlie: *History of Norwegian People in America*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publ. Ho., 1925, 602 pp.

These two books, presented through the kindness of Henry J. Cadbury, both include some account of Norwegian Friends and their migration to America. This began with the voyage of the *Restaurationen*, a sloop of only forty tons which carried fifty-two emigrants to America in 1825. See *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxiii. Blegen's book is very fully documented.

Philip B. Wallace: *Colonial Churches and Meeting Houses*. New York: Architectural Book Publ. Co., 12½ by 9½. A book of 292 large plates from fine photographs. Many old Friends' Meeting Houses are included. The value of the book is seriously diminished by the lack of any list of contents or index. Presented by the compiler.

The Tribunal, 1916-1930. The Library has now secured, by the kindness of a number of donors, a complete set of the 182 numbers issued of this valuable record of conscientious resistance to compulsory military service during the war of 1914-18.

Mr. Richard Jones, of Carnarvon, who wrote an essay on the history of Friends in Wales for the 1923 National Eisteddfod held at Mold, has expanded his essay and published it in Welsh under the title *Crynwyr Bore Cymru, 1653-1699*. Barmouth: W. Jones, 1931, 152 pp.

An index has been prepared and placed in D containing most of the personal names in Gerard Croese's *General History of the Quakers*, London, 1696. From various sources some of the names appearing have been corrected, e.g. "Trikossio in Leicestershire" has been corrected to "Twycross"! The author informs us that in his younger days he was "a minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord" at Smyrna (iii. 270).

The last section of Reginald L. Hine's great work on the history of Hitchin is announced—*Hitchin Worthies: Four Centuries of English Life* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.; author: William Bury, Letchworth, Herts, pp. 424. 16s.). A fuller notice will appear in our next issue.

Literature on Friends' War Victims' Relief

The literature of Friends' work for the relief of civilian distress during the war makes an important part of the recent history of Quakerism. The principal work on the subject is

A Quaker Adventure, the Story of Nine Years' Relief and Reconstruction, by A. Ruth Fry. (London: Nisbet, 1926, 9 by 5½, pp. xxxii., 389.

This book, by the honorary general secretary in London of the Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee 1914-1923, is the history of Friends' work on the continent of Europe.

From small beginnings in France and Holland in the autumn of 1914 this grew to be the greatest work of its kind the Society has ever undertaken. Some 2,000 workers took part in it, of whom over 1,000 were English and nearly 800 American. The great majority of the workers were unpaid and nearly all those engaged in it during the war were Friends or others holding religious convictions against taking part in war. The London office passed over one and a half million pounds through its books, a large part of which came from the general public. In addition to this very large sums were raised in America.

The character of the work was adapted at each stage and place to the needs of the people in distress. An immense variety of effort resulted, ranging from the provision of food, clothing and medical service, to the reconstruction of agriculture and of permanent institutions.

The author has succeeded within the limits of a single volume in selecting such facts and experiences as give a lively as well as accurate, though necessarily incomplete account of what was attempted in each country and how it was carried out.

The book is divided into eight sections covering France, Holland and Belgium, Serbia, Russia, Austria, Hungary, Poland and Germany. The author's preface contains a valuable statement on the Quaker attitude to war and the spiritual impetus animating the work. Viscount Cecil contributes a generous appreciation as introduction and Rufus Jones an epilogue.

There are twenty-eight illustrations and two maps; an alphabetical list of the two thousand odd workers and an index complete the volume. A German edition is now in preparation.

The following is a list of the principal other books dealing with Friends' relief work for civilians during and after the war:

Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee, *Reports, First to Tenth*. London: 1914-1923.

Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress. *Reports, 1914-1919*. London.

- Anna B. Thomas: *St. Stephens House, the Story of the Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress, 1914-1920.* London: 1921.
- Reconstruction: 1918-1920.* Journal of the Friends' Relief Missions in Europe. Succeeded by *International Service: 1920-23.*
- Edward Thomas: *Quaker Adventures: Experiences of Twenty-three Adventurers in International Understanding.* New York: Revell, 1928.
- William A. Bell: *A Scavenger in France.* London: E. W. Daniel, 1920.
- Margaret B. Crook: *The Track of the Storm.* London: Headley, 1917.
- Rufus M. Jones: *A Service of Love in War Time, American Friends' Relief work in Europe, 1917-1919.* New York: Macmillan, 1920.
- D. Owen Stephens: *With Quakers in France.* London: C. W. Daniel, 1921.
- Lester M. Jones: *Quakers in Action, Recent Humanitarian and Reform Activities of the American Quakers.* New York: Macmillan, 1929.
- Edward A. Steiner: *Old Trails and New Borders.* New York: Revell, 1921.
- Ralph Fox: *People of the Steppes.* London: Constable, 1925.
- Muriel A. Payne: *Plague, Pestilence and Famine.* London: Nisbet, 1923.
- Joice M. Nankivell and Sydney Loch: *The River of a Hundred Ways.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1924.

Regarding earlier war relief efforts in which Friends were concerned, from the later years of the 18th century onwards, there is also a considerable body of literature in D awaiting detailed study.

JOHN L. NICKALLS.

Farmborough—Briggins

In the possession of Edward How White, M.D., of Bournemouth, is a quarto Bible "Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, MDCXXX." On the flyleaf of "The Booke of Common Prayer," which precedes the Bible, is inscribed: "Mariabella Farmborough Her Bible 1685. She was Married unto Her loving Husband Peter Briggins on the 29th Day of October in the year 1689."

On other leaves are records of the families of How, Farmborough, Barber, Briggins, Bell, Zachary, Elliott, Tibbey.

On the back of the title page of the N.T.: "Thomas Farmborough and Mariabella his wife was married at Foster Lane Church y^e 13 of January 1662" "Thomas Farmborough y^e Son of Thomas Farmborough and Mariabella his wife, was borne in Mugswell St. in y^e Parish of St. Olive Silver Street in London y^e 4th 4: 1663"—"Mariabella y^e Daughter . . . was borne in y^e Parish a foar s'd y^e 21 of June 1665."

Mariabella Farmborough (c. 1626-1708) was a prominent Friend. See *Jnl. F.H.S.* ix., x., xvi.

Received too Late for Classification

Bonamy Dobrée: *William Penn, Quaker and Pioneer*. (London: Constable. 18s.)

Mr. Dobrée has cast a wide net for facts and he selects and orders them with a skill which gives us, not only a comprehensive survey of Penn's ever active life, but also a fresh and valuable appraisal of the varied and conflicting elements in the character of William Penn.

The weaknesses and contradictions are there as well as his nobility of spirit and the eager energy which always kept him pressing on till he wore out his faculties. The author's detachment from the Quaker viewpoint has kept him from any attempt to idealise his subject as Penn has often been idealised in the past. The book is equally free from adverse prejudice. The reader feels, however, that the same detachment has prevented a quite adequate evaluation of Penn's Quakerism, his place in Quaker history and the significance of some at least of his writings.

The editor regrets that the book was issued too late for a more extended notice.

John S. Hoyland (Editor): *The Man of Fire and Steel. A Collective Study of George Fox*. (London: James Clarke, pp. 158. 3s. 6d.)

This brief study of the character and work of Fox has been produced by a class of students at Woodbrooke, whose main source has been the Tercentenary, abridged, edition of Fox's "Journal." It is intended for the help and inspiration of other study groups. It does not claim to be authoritative (such a work would have required a much wider study of material. Even for its expressed purpose, the book would have been more valuable had more material for study been suggested). The chapters on "The Inward Light" and on "Fox's Attitude to Christ" are valuable.

Following closely on her volume: "The Literary Life of the Early Friends," Luella M. Wright, Ph.D., continues the subject which she has made her own in a monograph: *Literature and Education in Early Quakerism*, published by the University, Iowa City, Iowa, in its series of "Humanistic Studies" (vol. v., no. 2), pp. 60, \$.50. Many title pages, prefaces, and notes to the reader form the bases of this valuable study.

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