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# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

# FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEVENTH MONTH (July), 1907.

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1906.
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and
Income

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# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

# FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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## Motices.

The fourth annual meeting was held at Devonshire House, on the 23rd of Fifth Month. Francis C. Clayton presided over a somewhat smaller company than last year. Various suggestions were made respecting future Supplements, among them being a standard life of Margaret (Fell) Fox; the publication of the early minutes of the Morning Meeting, also of some letters of early Friends now in the Public Record Office in London; and the reproduction of specimens of the exquisite sketches made by the late Thomas Pole, M.D., of Bristol, with memoir. For the list of officers for 1907-8 and the balance sheet for 1906, see inset.

# Motes and Queries.

THE WILL OF JOHN ROUS.

Continued from p. 54.

Item I give and bequeath unto my daughter Margaret<sup>5</sup> who hath severall wayes disobliged me the summe of Tenn pounds only of lawfull money of England to be paid unto her within three months next after my decease but if after my decease she shall by her obedient and dutifull carriage oblige my now wife then my will is and I doe hereby give and bequeath unto my said daughter Margaret for her benefitt in such manner as my now wife shall direct and appoint such a summ of money as my wife shall direct order and appoint soe as the said Summe exceed not five hundred pounds to be paid within three monthes next after such order direcon and appointment and notice thereof given unto my Executor hereafter named

Item from and after all my debts legacies and funerall expences are paid and discharged I give devise and bequeath all other my Estate both reall and personall (not herein before by me given and bequeathed) whatsoever or wheresoever within the Kingdome of England or Island of Barbadoes or else where unto my Sonn Nathaniell Rous and his heires, for ever charged and chargeable neverthelesse

<sup>5</sup> Probably the Margaret Manwaring to whom her grandmother Margaret Fox (Fell) bequeathed one guinea by her will. See The Journal, ii. 104.

And I doe hereby charge all my estate reall and personall with all and every the Annuity yearly Rent porcons and summes of money herein before by me given willed bequeathed and confirmed unto my said wife and three daughters according to the true intent and meaneing of this my Will.

But if it shall happen that my said Sonn Nathaniell Rous shall dye without issue of his body lawfully begotten then I give and bequeath the same unto my loveing daughters Bethiah English and Anne Rous and the Heires of their bodyes lawfully issueing and to the Heires of the body of the survivor of them And for want of such issue then to the reight Heires of me the said John Rous for ever

And I doe hereby nominate and make my said Sonn Nathaniell Rous full and sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament And I doe desire my loveing freinds William Mead of London Lynnen Draper and William Ingram<sup>6</sup> Cittizen and Tallow-chandler of London to be Overseers thereof not doubting but they will see the same performed as is afore herein declared And I doe give to each of them five pounds

And I doe hereby revoke disannull and make void all Wills and bequests by me formerly made and doe declare this to be my last Will and Testament

<sup>6</sup> Brothers-in-law of the testator, they having married Sarah and Susanna Fell respectively.

In witnesse whereof I the said John Rous the Testator have to this my last will and Testament put my hand and seale the day and year first above written:—
John Rous.<sup>7</sup>

Signed sealed published and declared by the within named John Rous the Testator for and as his last Will and Testament in the presence of

Thomas Cannon.

Mary Bowcher.

John Bowcher, Senr.

Probatum fuit humoi Testamenti apud London coram venli viro Willielmo Clements Legum Doctore Surrogato venlis et egregij Richardi viri Dni Raines Militis Legum etiam Doctoris Curiæ Prærogativæ Cantuariensis Magistri Custodis sive Commissarij ltime constituti vicesimo quinto die mensis Junij Anno Dni millimo Sexcenmo nonagemo quinto Juramento Nathanielis Rous filij dicti defuncti et Extoris in dicto Testamento nominat cui commissa fuit administraco omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defti de bene et fideliter administrando eadem ad Sancta Dei Evangelia Jurat.

William Bradford printed for my ancestor, Daniel Leeds, of Burlington, New Jersey (who came over with his father, Thomas Leeds, in 1676, six years before Penn's arrival), his *Temple of Wisdom*, which was either the first or the second book printed in the Pro-

<sup>7</sup> John Rous seems to have been lost at sea, on the passage from the West Indies, about the early part of 1695.

vince. In the pamphlet, "Thomas Leeds and three sons," partly compiled by my brother, B. F. Leeds (a copy, with some penned marginal notes, accompanying this, and intended for the Devonshire House Library) thou wilt find some references to these matters.—Josiah W. Leeds, West Chester, Pa.

The pamphlet above referred to states of Daniel Leeds that "he is known as the writer of a single volume called The Temple of Wisdom. A copy of this book is to be found at the Lenox Library on Fifth Avenue, N.Y. He began the compilation of almanacs in 1687, continuing to issue them for 27 years. As almanac maker he was followed by his sons, Felix and Titan, the latter being driven from the field eventually by the success of the well-known production of Benjamin Franklin."

**D.** does not possess any of the publications of Daniel Leeds.— Eds.

Bristol MSS.—Among other manuscripts, belonging to Bristol and Somerset Q.M., deposited in D. are four volumes of letters and documents of early Friends of great value and interest. For purposes of reference these four volumes will be known as the Bristol MSS.

FRIENDS AS WEAVERS.—It is reasonable to suppose that such quiet employment, would, in weaving communities, e.g., Norwich, Colchester, etc., claim the attention of Friends. Thomas Symonds, a Norwich master-weaver, was (I believe shortly

before the Goat Lane Estate was purchased) accustomed to have the meetings in his house.<sup>1</sup>

The Lombe family were silk weavers, and active in the Friends' cause in Norwich, while the Gurneys busied themselves in wool and yarn, of which they were prominent manufacturers. They had their manufactories in the neighbourhood of the "Gilden-Croft." I think it may be taken for granted that wherever weaving was carried on, and any number of "Friends" there resided, they found congenial employment in the particular branch of the industry followed in the locality.— C. H. EVELYN WHITE, Rampton Rectory, Cambridge.

CHANGE OF CALENDAR.—What action did Friends in America take regarding the change of Old Style to New Style in 1752?

THOMAS LLOYD.—The original MS. of "An account of a Conference between the Rt. Rev. the Bp of St. Asaph, and Mr. Charles Lloyd and Mr. Thomas Lloyd, 1681 [see John ap John], is in the Cardiff Public Library. There is a good account of Thomas Lloyd in Williams' Montgomeryshire Worthies, second edit., 1894.—John Ballinger, Central Library, Cardiff.

HORTON HALL.—On p. 28 of John ap John there is a reference to Horton Hall; it now belongs to the Watt family. An uncle of the present owner is named Henry

He is frequently mentioned in George Whitehead's Christian Progress, see pp. 24, 27, 33, 35, 50, 57.—Eds.

Fowler Watt.—John Dymond Crosfield, Liverpool.

"CHURCH-Scot" (iv. 54).—The term "Church-Scot" (A. S. Scot, a contribution to a common fund into which it is shot), was originally a certain measure of corn, paid to the Church, or rather to the priest, on St. Martin's Day, irrespective of tithes. In later times the term was used in a more general sense of Church dues which had become customary and were payable in kind. It is to some such enforced contribution, which possibly had been commuted into a money payment, that reference is made in the Sutton Valence case about which inquiry is made. Some regard "Church Scot" as a kind of rate applied to the building and repair of churches, etc.

Among the laws of Ina, King of Wessex (A.D. 690), are two articles relating to "Church-Scot." The phrases "scot and lot," "scot-free," etc., serve to remind us of the meaning that attaches itself to different forms of the expression; "scot-ales" again was a term used to signify drinking bouts and the like in the middle ages.—C. H. EVELYN WHITE, F.S.A., Rampton Rectory, Cambridge.

"LOVE LETTERS OF HENRY FOWLER."—In page twenty-eight of John ap John it is mentioned that Henry Fowler married Elizabeth Hough. It may interest your readers to know that in 1882 the letters that H. Fowler wrote to his intended were published in The Midland Antiquary. The only one of interest in a Society point of view is the following account of "passing the meeting" at Stafford:—

"Dec. 19, 1741. Ed. Busby came last Monday night and brought with him Jno. Overton, of Banbury. They went, next day, with my father to Stafford; there was a meeting appointed to be held there on that day. Whether Richard and Moses<sup>2</sup> Morris had forgot the appointment I can't tell; there was nobody there but the old woman that lives in the house, and Neddy<sup>3</sup> had like to have been disappointed. They took it into consideration, and he laid his intentions before my father and the old woman; my father drew up a paper and signed it on behalf of the Meeting, and he has taken that along with him."— C. D. STURGE, Birmingham.

- <sup>2</sup> Probably the father of Mrs. Knowles, Dr. Johnson's friend.
- 3 The prospective bridegroom. On reference to the minute book I find that the minute is duly entered 15th 10 mo. (Dec.) 1741, the only irregularity is that there is no record of persons present. The following is the minute:—

At our monthly meeting appd the 15th 10mo., 1741:—Ed. Busby did at the same time lay at the said meeting the first time his intention of taking in marriage Dorothy Fowler, the daughter of John Fowler, and accordingly brought with him a certificate from his father and mother of their consent, and also one from his friend Dorothy Fowler of her unity with his proceedings, her father John Fowler giving his consent in person at the said meeting, they are accordingly at liberty to proceed as usual.

At the next meeting five names are given of persons present from the various parts of the Monthly Meeting. Dorothy Fowler's mother was the daughter of Charles Osborne, one of the leading Friends in the Midland counties at the beginning of the 18th century.

GREAT WIGSTON.—Among extracts from the diary of Caleb Hedley's journey to Yearly Meeting, 1775, given in George Baker's Unhistoric Acts, 1906, p. 105, is one, dated 5th mo. 29th, describing a Meeting House, which "John Burgass said it was built by his fore Elders, as he has heard an old Woman say, that she stood by Geo: Fox in the garden, and speaking of a Meeting House, G. F. struck ye Ground with his Cane or Stick, and said let it be Built here, which was Done, and has been ever since." George Fox visited Wigston in 1678, but the above incident may refer to an earlier visit.

The following letter respecting Wigston Meeting House, recently written by Henrietta Ellis, of Leicester, and forwarded by William B. Appleton, of the same, will be read with interest:—

"The meeting house referred to in the extract from Unhistoric Acts is the one at Great Wigston which was closed in 1790. The land for this was given by a John little Evans. The thatched building surrounded by cherry trees stood in the garden behind a house which was long inhabited by John Burgess. I could show anyone just about where it stood —pretty much at the back of a Mechanics' Institute, which is quite a feature of Wigston village street, and which was erected by the late Thomas Burgess, descendant of John. There are many references to the upkeep of Wigston Meeting House in the books in the safe at Prebend Street. But of the incident of Geo. Fox I do not know anything further than the extract tells."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.—The sketches of eminent Friends. written by Nathan Kite, which appeared in the columns of The Friend (Phila.), volumes 27 to 36 (1853 to 1863), are of great value to the historical student and are frequently quoted in the publications of the Friends' Historical Society. An index to these Sketches, by William M. Mervine, of Phila., has been published by the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, Publications, vol. iii., No. 2 (January, 1907), and will supersede the manuscript index prepared in D. some years ago, and frequently consulted.

THE TRADE OF GEORGE Fox.—
In William Rogers' book entitled
The Christian Quaker Distinguished from the Apostate and
Innovator, there is contained the
following passage:—

"I am persuaded that he [George Fox] would have added more to his Repute and Name, to have acquainted the Reader (if he would needs discourse of his Birth-Right) that he descended of Poor Parentage, and that before he went abroad to preach the Light, he was a Journyman Shoemaker, and, as such an one, wrought Journy work with George Gee of Manchester (if he so did, as report saith he did) and so have given Glory to God, that in years past, he made Choice of so poor, mean and despised a Person, through whom to preach the Everlasting Light, Christ Jesus, the Guide to the Father," Part 5, p. 48. William Chas. Braithwaite points out to me that Manchester is almost certainly a mistake for Mancetter, a

village about two miles from G. Fox's home at Drayton, which Fox mentions near the beginning of his Journal. The whole book is an attack on George Fox, he being the "Apostate and Innovator." The greater the stress laid on Fox's humble origin, the more difficult it is to account for his being able to live without working, a fact on which Rogers comments, part 4, p. 64, and part 5, pp. 48-9, where he states that while Fox had plenty his relatives were in want. For further information about Rogers and his book, see this JOURNAL, pp. 119-121.—A. NEAVE Brayshaw.

OBITUARIES.—John Stephenson Rowntree, of York, was one of the first Friends to assist in the formation of the Historical Society, and he became the second year's President. For many years he took a deep interest in the history of the Society of Friends and his writings thereon are numerous and valuable. He died, while on a visit in London, on the 13th of Fourth Month, aged nearly seventy-three years. There is a good account of his life in The Friend (Lond.), vol. 47 (1907), pp. 263-267, and an admirable portrait.

Charles Brady, of Barnsley, was also much interested in the work of the Historical Society. He died at his residence on the 2nd of Fourth Month, in his seventy-fifth year. The Friend (Lond.), vol. 47 (1907), p. 255, has a reference to C. Brady, and reproduces a portrait which is not very satisfactory.

# Personal Recollections and Reminiscences of some of the American Friends who travelled in these Countries on Religious Service from 1828 to 1852.

The writer of the following Recollections did not live to see them in print. He died in London on the 1st of Third Month last, aged eighty-eight years.

Most of the Friends referred to appear in the list of visitors to the Island of Nantucket given in Lydia S. Hinchman's Nantucket, 1901. Records of the presence of several at sittings of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, London, are contained in MS. Notes on the Monthly Meeting, written by John Pryor, preserved in **D**.

The following notes have been prepared by the Editors.

#### WILLIAM FLANNER. \*

William Flanner is the first American Friend whom I recollect as a Minister. He attended the Quarterly Meeting at Waterford, in Tenth Month, 1828, shortly after I was sent as a scholar to Newtown Provincial School, which was situated there. I do not remember what Yearly Meeting he came from, but his very tall, and rather uncouth form, clad in the orthodox Friends' costume of those days, and his apparent total ignorance of what were then, as they are now, recognised as the ordinary amenities of civilised society, were in very striking contrast to those of the Friend, who, on behalf of London Yearly Meeting, was accompanying him as an Elder, viz., Isaac Hadwen, of Liverpool, a rather short person, plain in his dress, but "every inch a gentleman." Of course, as a school-boy, although allowed to visit with my parents at the houses of Friends during the Quarterly Meeting (which, commencing on Seventh-day morning with that for Ministers and Elders, concluded

This Friend's certificate to visit Europe was from Shortcreek, O. His visit to Ireland is referred to by Sarah Greer in her Quakerism, 1851, pp. 98ff, and by Sandham Elly in his Critical Remarks on "Quakerism," 1853, pp. 44ff.

on the following Third-day, with a "religious opportunity with the children and family at Newtown School "), I could have no opportunity of observing William Flanner's manners en famille, but it was told that, discarding the use of spoons, he helped himself to salt with his fingers, which he also used at table in other ways to which the company were not accustomed. He had never before seen brass fenders and fire-irons, nor doorhandles and other articles of that metal; and he was at first extremely burdened and oppressed in the belief that they were all of gold; and, afterwards, the customs and manner of life to which he was introduced amongst Friends in these countries, where carriages, silver plate, mirrors, etc., were things of every-day life, had such an effect upon his mind that he was obliged to return home before his service was fully accomplished. But (child as I was, not yet ten years old) I have never lost the recollection of his powerful sermon in Waterford on the First-day morning of the Quarterly Meeting. His text was Isaiah xxxiii. 20-24, and although at this distance of time I cannot in the least recall the matter, I have never lost a sense of the wonderful power which attended his delivery.

#### JONATHAN TAYLOR.<sup>2</sup>

Jonathan Taylor is the next whom I recollect—a rather slender, and somewhat frail-looking man, who attended the Quarterly Meeting in Waterford in 1831. I do not remember anything as to his ministry, and, as far as my memory serves, he was poorly at the time. After the meeting was over, he went with Mary James Lecky and her mother to their country-seat at Kilnock, near Carlow, for a rest, but he soon became worse, and

<sup>2</sup> J. T. was born in Bucks County, Pa., in 1768. On his marriage with Ann Schofield in 1789, he settled in Virginia, and, later, in Ohio, where his wife and he held the first Friends' meeting in that part of Ohio, sitting side by side on a log in the open woods. He crossed the Atlantic in 1831, in company with Stephen Grellet and Christopher Healy. An account at large of his religious work in London and Dublin Y.M.'s may be seen in Bates's Miscellaneous Repository, vol. iv. (1832), reprinted in The Friend (Lond.), 1847. A touching recital of the reception, at his home in Ohio, of the news of his death, is contained in a letter from Benjamin W. Ladd to Thomas Stewardson, quoted in a letter from Anna Braithwaite, of Kendal, which is preserved in D. See also Robson MSS. in **D**.

in a few days passed away to his heavenly home (6th of Eleventh Month, 1831). His remains were, I believe, interred in the Friends' burying-ground at Kilconner, to which meeting the Lecky family belonged.

Some years after this, I was staying at the house of my dear cousin, Joseph Bewley, at Dublin, whose wife was niece to Mary Lecky. Susan Howland and her husband, George Howland, were also staying there at the time; and one day, the conversation happening to refer to Jonathan Taylor's death, Susan Howland told us that when he laid his concern for England before his Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, at which she was present, there was abundant expression of "unity and sympathy," also several prayers that he might be Divinely guided and helped along from day to day; but it was observed at the time, and remarked on afterwards, that in none of them was there any allusion to his safe return home at the conclusion of his service.

#### CHRISTOPHER HEALY.3

I think after Jonathan Taylor came Christopher Healy, a rather burly looking, elderly man, clad, of course, in the American style, but, my memory says, not at all so conspicuous as some others. My recollection of him is entirely confined to Waterford Meeting, which I think he attended on a Fifth-day, that being the usual week-day one, and he sat in silence until near the close, when he arose and spoke to this effect: that he had sat in silent sympathy with Friends, but did not feel that he had anything to express among them except to revive the words of the Apostle, "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in Him"; and then he added that he felt it would be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Christopher Healy was born in Rhode Island in 1773. He joined Friends when about nineteen years of age, and became a Minister when twenty-eight. In 1831, he visited Great Britain and Ireland. His death took place in 1851.

See Memoir, Phila., 1886; Penna. Memorials, 4th edition, 1879; The Friend (Phila.), vol. 77 (1903-4), pp. 146, 331, 356. There is an interesting extract from a letter respecting C. Healy's visit to the Indians, preserved in **D**.

right for him to have a "public meeting" that evening, which accordingly was held, but the school-children were not taken to it.

#### CHARLES OSBORN 4 AND JOHN WILBUR.5

In 1832, came Charles Osborn and John Wilbur, who travelled together, and were at the Quarterly Meeting in Waterford in the Tenth Month of that year. I have never forgotten their appearance as they walked into the large, square hall of the Meeting House, around which, on forms, the school-children were sitting, according to custom, waiting, after their walk of a mile from the school, until the moment arrived for them to go into meeting: two tall men Friends, with unusually broad-brimmed, drab, beaver hats, long, drab coats reaching almost to their heels, and grave faces, bearing traces of mental feelings, which we understand as "exercises," only waiting the opportunity for vent.

It was the custom in those days for all men Friends to wear their hats in meeting, and only to uncover their heads when vocal prayer was being offered; but when a Minister rose to speak, he took off his hat and usually handed it to the Friend who sat next to him to keep until he was about to resume his seat, when it was handed back to him, and he again covered his head; and the same

For the Indiana separation of 1842-3, see Edgerton's History, 1856; Hodgson's Friends in the Nineteenth Century, ii., 9ff; Thomas's Friends in America, 1905, p. 174; Memoirs of William Forster.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Osborn was born in North Carolina in 1775. His Journal published at Cincinnati in 1854 gives a succinct account of his travels. He took an active part in the separation in Indiana on the question of Slavery in 1842-3. His death took place in 1850 and a Testimony respecting him was issued by Clear Lake Monthly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends in 1852. There is a pencil sketch in **D**. of his cottage at Economy, Wayne Co., Ind. (Gibson Bequest MSS., ii. 3.)

<sup>5</sup> John Wilbur was born at Hopkinton, R. I., in 1774. In 1798, he married Lydia, daughter of Amos and Thankful Collins. He visited Europe twice on religious service, in 1831-3 and 1853-4. He stood for the conservative view of Truth rather than the modern view promulgated by J. J. Gurney and others on both sides of the Atlantic. "smaller bodies" of Friends in America are sometimes distinguished by his name. He died in 1856. See his Journal, 1859; and much other literature in print and manuscript. Thomas's History of Friends in America, 1905, may be consulted with advantage.

applied to women Ministers, with respect to their "Friends' bonnets." Consequently, these two tall and very remarkable looking men took their seats in the gallery with their large drab hats on their heads, and, I think, Charles Osborn was the first to speak, which, so far as my memory serves, he did in a solemn and impressive manner, and a voice sufficiently loud to be heard over the large house, but I have no recollection whatever of his subject. When he had finished, he took his hat and his seat, and very soon John Wilbur arose, whose vehement manner, and a voice which grew almost to a roar, as he set forth the indwelling of the Holy Spirit as "the Inward Light," and the privileges of the Lord's people, made an indelible impression on my memory, although I have no other recollections of his address. This, of course, was several years before the separation in Ohio Yearly Meeting, which was caused by his open opposition to some of J. J. Gurney's writings; but from my school-boy recollections and impressions of him, I never felt any surprise at that sad event.

#### STEPHEN GRELLET.

Very different from those of these two Friends are my delightful recollections of dear Stephen Grellet, a true "Christian gentleman," which character also applied in no common manner to the beloved Friend who travelled with him, not only over these countries, but over a large part of the continent of Europe—I allude to Peter Bedford—and well indeed were they banded together. The precious union and fellowship of their spirits, and their earnestness in the service of their Lord, could be felt whether in meetings, or in the large companies who gathered to meet them in the houses of Friends. They had many public meetings, in which, as in the ordinary meetings of Friends, Stephen Grellet was largely engaged in ministry and prayer. He had a slightly French accent, and occasionally a word of that language would slip in. My personal recollection in this way is simply his saying "mouton" for lamb, but we heard that there were other instances.

#### ELISHA BATES.6

Elisha Bates, of Ohio Yearly Meeting, came in 1834. I do not recollect any particulars of him, except that in appearance he was like other American Friends, but a large number of our members (N.B.—this was in Ireland) in many of the Meetings would not receive him, because of his unsound views, and I think his stay in these countries was but brief.

#### JOHN WARREN.7

John Warren, whom I remember as a pleasant, though somewhat grave looking Friend, attended London Yearly Meeting in 1835, at which my own dear father, Edward Alexander, of Limerick, was present with certificate from Dublin Yearly Meeting, and I think they sat side by side in the gallery. It was the time when what is known as the "Beacon controversy" was as its height, and a somewhat stormy session was feared. My father told us that just at the opening of the first sitting, John Warren stood up and said that a few words had much impressed his mind, which he believed he ought to express at that time: "When I have nothing to say, I say nothing"; and my father said it would have been well if these words had been better observed throughout the meetings.

#### Anna Moore Thorne.8

In the following year, 1836, came Anna Moore Thorne, from New York, of whom I have no special

- <sup>6</sup> Elisha Bates was from Mount Pleasant, O. He wrote *The Doctrines of Friends*, in 1825, a book which passed through many editions, and he edited *The Miscellaneous Repository*, somewhat later. His views on many of the distinguishing principles of Friends changed, and in 1837 he resigned his membership. His death took place in 1860 when over eighty years of age. An account of his last days is given in the *Friends' Review*, vol. 14 (1861), p. 825, and copied into *The Friend* (Lond.) and *The British Friend*.
- <sup>7</sup> John Warren was born in Bristol, Me., in 1775. In early life a conviction came to him that it would be right to relinquish his sea-faring life in order to assist "a number of seeking persons in his neighbourhood." He joined Friends in 1805, and visited Great Britain and Ireland in 1834-5. His death took place in 1849.

See Memorials of New England Ministers, 1850.

<sup>8</sup> A. M. Thorne was the daughter of Andrew and Elizabeth Moore, and was born in 1766. Her first husband was Consider Merritt and her

recollection (except that I think she lodged at my father's house).

#### Anna Almy Jenkins.9

About 1842 or 1843, came Anna Almy Jenkins, from Providence, Rhode Island. It so happened that I was in Liverpool the day she landed there, and hearing incidentally that she was to have a meeting for sailors at the docks that evening, I attended it. Her spiritual exercises for that class seemed very deep indeed, as she faithfully delivered what the Lord gave her for them.

Beyond this I have no recollection of her labours, but I expect there will be those amongst my readers, who will not have forgotten the awfully affecting circumstances under which she met with her death not very long after her return from these countries. I think particulars were published soon afterwards (perhaps in the Philadelphia Friend), but, so far as my memory serves me, they were these:—She, and a daughter who resided with her, attended together their usual Meeting for Worship one First-day morning, in which she had to deliver an unusually solemn, and indeed awful warning to some one individual present, expressing her sense that the messenger of death was very near, "even it might be on their heels," and that it would not be many hours before the shaft fell; and she ended by pleading with all to seek to be ready. We heard that during the succeeding night, the house in which she and her daughter were sleeping caught fire, and that they both perished in the flames!

second, Isaac Thorne. When attending a Quarterly Meeting at Mount-mellick, Ireland, in 1836, at the house of E. Beale, she related some striking particulars respecting her grandmother, Mary Griffin, who died in 1810, aged 100 years and 7 months, which particulars may be found in Comly's *Miscellany*, v. 241, and *The Annual Monitor* for 1837. A. M. Thorne died in 1838. See *Testimony*, 1839.

9 A. A. Jenkins was a daughter of William and Sarah Almy, and granddaughter of Moses and Anna Brown, of Rhode Island, and was born in 1790. In 1823, she married William Jenkins, of Providence. Her visits to the British Isles took place in 1842, 1843, and 1848. Her death, under the circumstances above described, took place in 1849. A clipping from a newspaper, giving an account of the sad event, is preserved in **D**.

#### Dougan and Asenath Clark. 10

In 1844, came Dougan and Asenath Clark, from North Carolina. Dougan Clark had a very loud voice, and his ministry was sound and far-reaching. We understood that he had formerly, as a Methodist preacher, been used to addressing very large congregations. Of his wife's long and remarkable sermons I have a very vivid remembrance, not far from an hour each on two special occasions: one on Hosea vi. 1, 2, 3—" Come and let us return unto the Lord our God," etc., and the other on the fourteenth chapter of the same Prophet, verses 1-7. The marvellous power which accompanied her delivery, as she addressed the various states to which the different parts of her texts applied, can scarcely be realised in these days, when the preaching is so extremely different, both in matter and delivery.

#### LINDLEY MURRAY HOAG. II

In 1845, Lindley Murray Hoag, from New England, came for the first time. He was quite a different type

10 Dougan Clark was born 10th mo. 3rd., 1783, and died 8th mo. 23rd, 1855. Asenath Clark (second wife of Dougan Clark) was born 9th mo. 11th, 1785 and died 2nd mo. 26th, 1872. Of Dougan Clark's childhood little is known, but he was frequently heard to say that he felt the visitations of Heavenly Love at a very early age. When twenty-five years old, he was disowned from the Society for marrying his first wife, who was a Methodist, but although he became a well-known preacher in that body, he was never satisfied till he had returned to Friends. So clear a sense was given him of the insufficiency of human activity in religious worship, that on one occasion when he stood up in the pulpit with the hymn-book in his hand ready to give out the hymn, he felt such a secret check in his mind that he was under the necessity of giving the book to another and sitting down, as he expressed it, "like a fool," and he took no part in the service. He was visited by several of the most influential members of the Methodist Church, who offered him many inducements to remain with them; but he finally left that body and began constantly to attend Friends' meetings, and after a time he applied for membership and was received back into the Society. Later on, his wife also was received into membership. She died in 1821, and he married Asenath Hunt, daughter of Nathan Hunt, in 1823. They were employed for several years as Superintendents of New Garden Boarding School, now Guilford College. [From information supplied by Dougan Clark's grandson.]

<sup>11</sup> L. M. Hoag was the son of Joseph Hoag, of Wolfsborough, N. H. His first visit to Great Britain and Ireland took place in 1845-6. His pleasing manner and fluent speech soon caused him to become very popular with old and young, which popularity somewhat interfered with

from most of the American men Friends who preceded him—a much younger man, and more modern in his style and appearance—the most "fluent," if not eloquent Minister whom we had up to that time had from America. I have, however, no distinct recollection of his labours. He was accompanied through Ireland by George Stacey, a valued Elder, well known throughout the Society as having been Clerk<sup>12</sup> of London Yearly Meeting for several years.

#### SARAH EMLEN 13

came from Chester, in 1845. Perhaps, although at this time (sixty-one years after), I cannot recollect any particulars of it, her living, spiritual ministry produced a deeper effect on my mind than any of her predecessors from the other side of the Atlantic; and I well recollect that in a visit she paid to us in my mother's house, which was then my home, I felt as though I was nearer heaven than I had ever been before, as she poured out her soul in a prayer, the solemn, and indeed awfully absorbing power attending which cannot be described in any human words.

#### Susan Howland. 14

There appears then to have been a lapse of about four years until 1849, when Susan Howland, of New

his service and caused some friction among Friends in England. His visit in 1853 was, in consequence, of brief duration. L. M. Hoag's wife, Huldah B. Hoag, died prior to his first visit to England.

- <sup>12</sup> George Stacey was clerk from 1838 to 1849.
- <sup>13</sup> Daughter of Cadwalader and Phebe Foulke, of N.J., born in 1787. After the death of her first husband, William Farquhar, she removed to Westtown Boarding School, Pa., where for a while she was a teacher. Later she married James Emlen. There is a portrait of Sarah Emlen in Dewees's History of Westtown Boarding School, 1899. Her death took place in 1849.

See Penna. Memorials.

<sup>14</sup> Susan Howland was the second wife of George Howland. They were married in 1810, and had a large family. G. Howland died in New Bedford, Mass., 1852, aged seventy-one, and S. Howland in 1872, aged eighty-one. [From information supplied per William Thompson, New Bedford, Mass.

There is a privately printed account, with portrait, of the life of George Howland, Jun. (1806-1892), a son of the first marriage. Both father and son were connected with the whale fishery.

Bedford, Mass., came, with her husband, George Howland. The chief memory I have of these Friends, besides that already alluded to with regard to the decease of Jonathan Taylor, is that George Howland, who was a man very extensively engaged in business, seemed quite unable to enter into sympathy with his wife's religious exercises, and hurried her from place to place to such an extent that she was obliged to return home long before her service was completed. He used to say he was willing for her to stay in a place as long as she had anything to do, but as soon as it was done he wanted her to go on as quickly as possible. One instance came under my personal experience. They arrived in Limerick, where I then lived, in an afternoon. A meeting had been appointed for them, and when they had had refreshment and a short rest, they sat down with Friends (of whom I was one). After sitting perhaps twenty minutes to halfan-hour, Susan Howland stood up and apologised to the congregation, but said she felt so thoroughly tired and overdone, that she must ask them to meet her again in the forenoon of the following day! This subsequent meeting was, I believe, held.

In 1857, Susan Howland again visited these countries, accompanied by her sister, Lydia Congdon.

## JAMES JONES. 15

In 1849, we had a most precious visit from James Jones, from New England. He was uncle to Eli and Sybil Jones (of whom we shall hear presently), and he was the "great-uncle" mentioned by Rufus M. Jones in his little work, A Boy's Religion, at page thirty-eight. I give the following description of his ministry, from my dear wife's private diary, 16 which, although rather lengthy, will, no

[From information supplied by J. Albert Jones, clerk of China M.M., Me., per Rufus M. Jones.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> James Jones was born in Brunswick, Me., on the 2nd of Twelfth Month, 1788. He was frequently liberated by his Monthly Meeting for religious visits in his own country. His visit to Western Y.M. in 1858 was made with his own horse and carriage, and he must have covered quite 3,000 miles. The decease of this Friend took place on the 5th of Ninth Month, 1878, his age being eighty-nine years and nine months.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Samuel Alexander married Isabella Fisher, of Limerick, in 1842. She died in 1901, aged seventy-nine years. See Annual Monitor, 1902.

doubt, have an interest for many in the present day:— "To-day, James Jones, from Maine, United States, was at meeting; and powerful, searching testimonies he had to deliver to us both morning and evening. In the morning he spoke long, telling us of himself: he was born of religious parents but [in his youth] he had wandered from the right path, and entered into the vain pleasures of this life, card-playing, horse-racing, the ball-room, etc., and it was while he was engaged in dancing that his mind was arrested (by the power of the Holy Spirit). He then became an improved character, and continued so for some time; but he again fell away even lower than before. He was then laid on a sick bed, and brought to the brink of the grave, and it was only when those around him were watching for his last breath that he was given to feel his lost condition, and was again raised up, since which time, he has devoted his soul and all his energies to his Maker's service. He longed for words to set forth the mercy and the loving kindness of the Lord, with much more in that strain. In evening meeting he spoke on the fall of man—his degeneracy, etc." In another meeting he spoke on "God is Love," long and powerfully, setting forth the wonders of redemption, and pleading with all to accept the visitations of this love in their souls, etc. My wife adds, "I enjoyed his ministry very much, and I hope it will incite me to strive after a closer walk with God."

#### THOMAS ARNETT.17

Thomas Arnett, from Indiana, came in 1849, and again in 1852. My recollections of his ministry, are that it was of a very deep and searching character, dealing largely with the work of the Holy Spirit in the soul; and, while in perfect harmony with the teachings of our Saviour and His Apostles in the New Testament, his quotations

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Arnett was born in Guilford County, N.C., in 1791. Religious feelings were aroused and deepened in him by a series of dreams which much impressed him. He joined Friends of Deep River Monthly Meeting, N.C., in 1816. His first wife died during his second visit to Great Britain and Ireland. In Eleventh Month, 1853, he was united in marriage, at Miami, to Hannah Hudson, a Minister, daughter of Samuel and Dinah Hudson, of Ireland. T. A. died in 1877, aged eighty-six years.

See his Journal, Chicago, 1884; W. F. Miller's Memorials of Hope Park, 1886, p. 180.

were most commonly from the Psalms and the Prophets in the Old, often alluding to the frequent references of Christ to these. A few months after his return home on the last occasion, a woman Friend named Hudson from Dublin, to whom, as we afterwards heard, he had become engaged, went out to America, and became his wife.

#### JOHN AND ELIZABETH MEADER,

from Providence, Rhode Island, visited us in 1850, and

#### Hannah Rhoads,18

from Philadelphia, in the same year. I have no memoranda respecting these Friends, nor do I recollect anything very special attending their visits or their ministry.

#### Eli and Sybil Jones.

This brings me to the year 1852, in which commenced the several visits of our dear Friends, Eli and Sybil Jones. As most Friends in later or middle life will remember them, I need not enlarge here. But, as I have copious notes of some of their remarkable sermons, a future opportunity may occur for reproducing them.

SAMUEL ALEXANDER.

# A Prophecy of Toleration.

This Richard Scostrop (as J heard Leo. ffell Relate at my House in ye yeare 1691) Prophesied in ye Prison at London as ffrds was discourssing of ffrds Sufferings, he, sitting by, said, "Five & twenty yeares hense, and ye Church shall have Rest," & just according to ye time, so it came to pass.

JO WHITING.

In the handwriting of John Whiting, on a tract by R. Scostrop, in **D.** (100.30).

Daughter of Jonathan and Hannah Evans, of Philadelphia, born 1793; married Joseph Rhoads, of Marple, Pa.; travelled extensively as a Minister; departed this life, 1865. There is a very lively account of Joseph and Hannah Rhoads in *Clovercroft Chronicles*, 1893, written by their daughter, Mary Rhoads Haines.

See also *Memorials*.

# Presentations of Quakers in Episcopal Wisitations, 1662=1679.

#### Continued from page 71.

A complete set of Extracts from the Visitation Books in Lichfield Diocesan Registry, 1662-1679.

N.B.—(1) These concern the four counties of Derby, Staffs, Salop, and Warwick; (2) There is a "gap" between the years 1668 and 1679.

#### II. IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

What is noticeable here is that the two ecclesiastical centres, Eccleshall on the W., and Lichfield on the S.E., keep their immediate neighbourhood clear of Quakers.

Quaker presentations are confined mainly to the N.E. part of the county, and to the Southern tract, bordering on Warwick and Worcester.

#### NORTH-EAST.

Horton. 1665. Gulielmũ Yardley et Janã eius ux, Quakers. Excom.

Leek. 1668. Thomã Brindley et eius ux, Willmũ Davenport et eius ux, Matthew Dale et eius ux, Randulphũ Dale et eius ux, Quakers; Excom.

Willm Gent et eius ux, Thoma Brindley, jun, Black-smith, Thoma Finney, Johem Finney, Edrum Sailes, Andrea Dale, Josua Dale, Ellena Adams, Sara Adams, Randulpu Brindley, Radum Hamersley, Johem Ward, Quakers.

CHEDULSTON. 1668. Mrum Thoma Hamersley, Quaker; keepinge private conventicles.

BUTTERTON. 1665. Simonem Buxton et Ellinam eius ux, Quakers; having a child unbaptised.

1668. Simonem Baxter et Ellenä eius ux, Quakers; having two children unbaptised. Excom.

<sup>1</sup> This family of Hammersley seems to have been strong, and strongly Quaker, in this neighbourhood.

We have had Ralph Hammersley in Leek,—and here Mr. Thomas, e.g., Thomas Hamersley, Esq., in Chedulston (Cheddleton).

ALSTONFIELD. 1668. Henricũ Bosoman<sup>2</sup> et Aliciã eius ux, for being Quakers, & refusing to come to ye pish Church, & for not paying his Church Lewnes.

Georgiū Theolis(?), Quaker, ditto ditto.

Georgiū Frith, a Quaker.

Jacobū Chadwick, a Quaker.

WETTON. 1665. Samuelem Carington, Johêm Allen, Gulielmű Lamb, Quakers; Excom.

Grindon. 1665. Richm Buxton, Quaker; not paying his Church lewnes, not having his Children baptised, and keeping conventicles in his house.

Johem Hall, Thomã Torr, Quakers; having their

children unbaptised.

Humfridū Hals, Jacobū Smith, Quakers; standing excomunicate.

1668. Jacobū Smith, Humfridū Hals, Willmūm Titterton, Richū Addams, Quakers; Excom.

Anthoniũ Bosoman<sup>2</sup> et Annã eius ux, Quakers; Excom.<sup>3</sup>

IPSTONES. 1665. Josephum Tayler et Susannam eius ux, Robtūm Meller et Elizabetham eius ux, Robtūm Ferninghough et Annam eius ux, Johēm Hall et Annam eius ux, Richm Rhoades, Quakers; not paying their Church layes.4

Uttoxeter. 1665. Thomã Barrett, Henricũ Fleemings, Abraha Porter, Waltherũ Ripley, Quakers; Excom.

Bramshall (?) i.q. Bromshulfe. 1665. Franciscü French et Mariã eius ux, Richü Wedgwood et Janã eius ux, Mathew Watson et Janã eius ux, Gulielm Clows, Janã ux Johes Rushen, excomunicated Quakers; Excom.

Сневѕеч. 1668. Thomã Woolrich, Mariã ux Richardi Woolrich, Quakers; Excom.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This should, without doubt, be *Bowman*, which was a well-known Quaker name in the district.—Eds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The repetition of H. Hals and Jac. Smith in 1665 and 1668, and the repetition of the name Bosoman in Alstonfeild and Grindon, show the grit of the former, the loyalty of the family in the latter.

<sup>4</sup> Here the more usual layes takes the place of the more local term lewnes; being the same as levies or assessments—our modern rates.

<sup>5</sup> The latter is the form in the Records.

Carswell.<sup>6</sup> 1665. Thomã Rowley, Quaker. 1668. Thomã Rowley, Quaker.

HAUGHTON. 1665. Petrum Littleton et Elizabetham eius ux, Thomam Turncliffe et Susannam eius ux, Quakers; Excom.

1668. Petrum Littleton et Eliza: eius ux, Thomã

Turncliffe et Susannã eius ux, reputed Quakers.7

TUTBURY. 1663. Radulphus Buxton, Quaker; not coming to Church.

Nathan: Hodgson, Guliel: Hodgson, Richū Roe, Quakers.

Thomã Ford, Quaker; & for not baptising his child. Guliel: Woodcocke, Quaker.

#### SOUTHERN BORDER.

Drayton-Bassett. 1663. Georgiū Collins, Quaker; having three children unbaptised.

Humfridū Smith, Quaker; having five children

unbaptised.

1665. Elizabetha Deckye, for a Quaker.

West Bromwich. 1665. Johem Edwards, jun., Johem Edwards, sen, Quakers; Excom.

Wednesbury. 1668. Henricũ Fidoe et Margaretã eius ux, Johêm Hindset et Aliciã eius ux, Thomã Horton, Quakers.

Middleton.<sup>8</sup> 1663. Thomã Sherratt, Quaker.

Darleston (i.q. Darlaston). 1663. Hugonem Cartwright et Emmam eius ux, Rich Hayes et eius ux, Georgiū Dutton, Thomã Dutton, Janã ux Moses Nash, Quakers.

1668. Johêm Blakemore et Ruthã eius ux, Quakers; standing excomicate, & burying his children in his Garden. Excom.

Hugonem Cartwright et Emmã eius ux, Ludovicũ Jones et Annam eius ux, Georgiũ Dutton, Thomã Dutton, Richũ Hays, Gualterũ Bayley, Gulielmũ Keeling et Sarã eius ux, Janam ux Moses Nash, Quakers; standing excomicate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> This I have not been able to allocate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The qualification "reputed" in 1668 is rather curious after the conviction and excommunication in 1665.

<sup>8</sup> Which?

KINGSWINFORD. 1663. Thomã Carter, Quaker. Gulielmũ Marshall, Quaker; keeping his children unbaptised.

Franciscū Passmore, Quaker.

1665. Mariam Pearkes vid, Quaker; for absenting from Church. Excom.

Sedgley. 1663. Guliel: Corbett, Thomã Phillips, Quaker.

1665. Gulielmum Corbet et eius ux, Anab. et Quakers; Excom.

Thomã Phillips, Anab. et Quaker; Excom.

G. LYON TURNER.

To be continued.

# Editors' Motes.

The last part of "The First Publishers of Truth" has now been sent out to subscribers. It consists of a few remaining Accounts, a valuable 20-page article, by William C.Braithwaite, on "The Penal Laws affecting Early Friends in England," and a short article by the Editor on "Going Naked a Sign"; also several Indexes containing together over 6,500 references. This last part contains also a title-page, etc., to the whole work, and an important Introduction by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin. The whole work of 411 pages can now be obtained in a specially designed cloth cover, for 15s. (\$4.00) net, post free, on application to the Society's sale-agents in London, Philadelphia, and New York. The last part can not be purchased separately from the set of five.

Supplement No. 6, entitled John ap John, and Early Records of Friends in Wales, which was sent out free to subscribers with the last number of The Journal, may be purchased for is. 6d. (35 cts.) from the Society's saleagents.

The list of officers and the balance sheet of the Society is sent out with this issue.

Subscribers to *The First Publishers of Truth* will receive with this issue a sheet containing some addenda to the Index of that work.

# Episodes in the Life of May Drummond.

#### Concluded from page 61.

In 1738, May Drummond was travelling in the ministry in Ireland.<sup>12</sup>

In 1742, she was in Lincolnshire; James Gough writes, <sup>13</sup>
"At Lincoln quarterly meeting, friends lodged at inns:
I don't remember that I knew one friend there, but John Scott from Leeds and May Drummond."

Two years later, M. Drummond wrote a letter from Bristol, in the Eleventh Month, to Samuel and Susanna Fothergill, on the death of their father, John Fothergill. She commences, "Two days ago the unacceptable tidings of your worthy father's death reached me. Dead! did I say? No! he is not dead; he lived in the eternal existence and in that has lain down a tender fabric." 14

The following letters, written by May Drummond to "My worthy fatherly freend, James Wilson<sup>15</sup>" show that she had been passing through deep waters, & hint at differences of opinion already making themselves felt between the writer & her Edinburgh friends:—

- "Edenburgh the of the 4 Month 1758.'16
- "Thy favore by John Harison, My Worthy freend, James Willson, was Acceptable, as Every Epestle from thee to me is. . . .
- "Such who feed upon the bread of Life are subjeck to no Extreams, nor can they be, as by itt the Soul is Ceapt in the perfection of quait; a Solesetoud to know our owne Douty Only is an Anckre to the unstable soul; in itt Every Pacion is Ceept wethin itts Dowe bouns. Itt was this ceapt May Drummond sereanly qwaet, whele the tyed of Malace ran high agenst her and the Lyeing tung was permitted, for her probacion, to do itts worst.
  - <sup>12</sup> Rutty's *History*, 1751, p. 361.
  - <sup>13</sup> Memoirs, 1781, pp. 79, 80.
  - 14 Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill, 1843, p. 106.
- <sup>15</sup> Probably James Wilson of Kendal, a well known Minister in the Society. He died xii. 1769, aged 92.
  - <sup>16</sup> From the original in **D**. (Gibson Bequest MSS. i. 89.)

From the first of my convencemint no aprobacion was Euer Soght by me; on the contrary, I very well knewe, that poplaraty never fales of haveing the blasting breath of Invay to atend itt; the Extravagant incomioms att that tam bestowd on me therfor was awarning of the riverce as have sence falen to my share, yett my percecuters, are, all of them, and hath Ever been, Under the aplacion of freends; with all my heart I forgeve there intencions to Ingoure me, there bad practece hurts not me in aney way, for in this worald I count upon no inheretance as serten but trebulacion only.

"From Brestol, sense my Last to thee, I have as Respectfull a certiflecat of Removal as can be justly Desired to our freends of this quarter, who, alace! are fewe in Number. We lost one in Kellso Last week, worthy old Samewell Robertson, hes age was Eghty fouer. I regreat the Loce of freends for the sake of Sosiaty, but not upon there acount who go so happyly, as I do beleve Daneel Bell hes gon. In and about London he wel be greatly messed; to show hes Esteme for, and Ownaty with me, he, in hes well, Left me five Genneys, which hes Son, Jonathon, Emedetly Remeted. The Remembrance of afreend upon So Solam an ocasion, I Look upon to be worth much mor then the Legesey itt self; if the Legesay was not worth apeney, I Esteme the gift of my desesed freend.

I Earnestly pray Good, Wise Grace Chambers may Long be preserved to her freends. Thy stat of helth is as well and better then itt was Expected to contenow being Some years ago. In favore to Soseaty, I hop Diveen Goodness Well Lenthen thy tem as Long as itt not burdensom to thy sellf. I simpathese with My Deare freend, Lida Langcaster, and wesh she may have the concelacion of Deveen pour to Suport her under her present afflecteon. Very glad I am Worthy freend Chambers is able to atend her, for both there sakes. My Love remanes with my kind freend Sengelton, Deare faney Pheleps, thy Doutyfull Daghter, and all my freends in the County of Beshopreck. Yes, my worthy, fatherly freend, I do hop to see thee once mor befor we Leve thes Stat of triele; tel then, I am, weth simpathy, Esteme, and affection,

"Thy much obledged freend,

"M. DRUMMOND."

The next letter was dated the 8th of Second Month, 1759:—17

"Thy very acceptable favore of 3d past came in Dowe Cource of the post. Thy Silance, when to me itt happns, I do Regreat upon a dwble Account, being thwrowly perswaded want of abelety to wreet is Leckly to be the Cawse, for I can never Suspeck aney Change in thy freendshop to me, while Conchous I have no just Cawse for the want of Adowe Regard from my freends, wnlees, by the permichon of Eternelly Derecting Wisdom for my Learning, A clowd should Separat the Sight of my inosance from their Vewe. I have, my Worthy freend, great Cawse to adore that Light, which wre Sosiaty profeec to be Derected by; throw Dareck Steps of Shocking provockashon itt hath Leed me to the qwaet Rest of Standing Stel, tel the floods of invetrat Malace and Crowal invey Showld perforam the taske of my Refining. By Swch baptesums we are made humble; they teach ws Wisdom, to see, in the Light of trowth, the foley of avercion att those who ingour ws, or rather intend to jngoure ws, Since Resentment of that kind henders Our Entering into the Stat of perfection; all Our work is within Our Owne herts, that garden well cultivated will Sent furth frowt to the prase of the Divene Condesencion which inabled ws to Laber therein.

"As to my Veset to Amereca, with freends aprobaceon, I shal beleve myself bownd in Dowty to go, but, in the cace of there Seeing it there place to Restran my going, Contencion well never be requerd of One who is Cald to preach in Condwck the word of the Lord. Upon that acount my Choice is Eqwall, to go or Stay. Without proper Certefecats, itt is not my place to go, nor Shal I put freends upon saying aneything in the certeefecat they give but what they thenck fitt.

"I see thou art Surpresed with Our practees of Ceeping the Dors of Meeting houses bared Or Locked in the tem of Worshep, inded I was fare from aproveing of that practece when first Our freends in this place Showd a desere to have the Compnay of non but Ourselves in meetings of Worshep, which was Long befor Orders was given to the Doreceper to Late non but Ourselves in.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> From the original in the Miller MSS.

After that order was given, I did not see itt my place to Contind, but rather condesend to what freends Made there Choice, being Stel wnder a Sence, the Dowty of another is not mine, if they were under amestack of Judgment, Divine Sight alon Could Discover that misstake to them. I have, in these Silant meetings since, Seen the hand of the Lord, and I now believe, there Desire to injoye Solem Silance, in the presence of the Lord alon, by Exclouding the inhabetance, Who cam in great numbers to Our meetings, was of the Lord. He Requers my Pwbleck Servce Els wher, and will show freends, who thenck I Oght hear to Stay, his thoghts are not Lick there thoghts, nor are his uays as there uays, for as the hevans are higher than the Earth, so is the uays of the Lord beyond the Contrivence and Resonings of men. We must not atemp to make the Menets of Ayearly Meeteng book the Absolout Rowl of Athere [either?] Pwbleck or prevat Condwuk; they are att best Externel helps, and must be Our practece Only when, in the Wisdom of trouth, we thenck them fitt.

"Thy Advece in the poscripe made me Smile; in annsure to itt, I Leve well weth the Minesters of both Church and State; Dispouts with nether of them is my practece, being wnder a Strong persuasion Every Soul must be acountable for itts Oune Conduck. My Study is quaet [quiet], where the Voice of God is heard and Distengushed from that whech astranges from him; in that quaet I have Ownety weth thee and Som fewe mor whose trouly affectenate Simpathesing freend I am,

M. Drummond."

May Drummond does not appear to have been actually "under dealing" until 1765, when her case was thus brought before Edinburgh Monthly Meeting (3rd of Second Month) by the Clerk, William Miller<sup>18</sup>:—

"In the first place the queries were read, and friends cannot help observing great defficiences in many particulars. One is at this time thought worthy of our cognicence and to be inserted here, and we think it proper

<sup>18</sup> This was the grandson of William Miller, "the Patriarch." He was popularly known as "The King of the Quakers," and a very arbitrary monarch he was.

<sup>[</sup>See The Journal; vols. i.-iii.; Memorials of Hope Park.—Eds.

to send two of the queries concerning Ministers to her; and that she may see herself faulty and sensor'd by our Meeting of Discipline, the Clerk of our Meeting is appointed to subscribe the said Queries. The following is a copy of what we sent to M. D. as the above minute directs:—

"'I observe that thou can come to the meeting and stay away at thy pleasure, however I can acquaint thee that we have farr better meetings in thy absence than when thou art present. Thy conduct grieves me exceedingly. I believe every servant in the families where thou visits reports to their fellows that M. D. takes away bread, sugar, etc., out of their master's and mistres's houses.<sup>19</sup> What the meaning of this is I cannot comprehend exactly; if poverty is the cause, I apprehend a better method might have been found out for reliefe. If thou had applied to me for reliefe, I would have assisted for one, but if this defection proceeds from covetousness that is worse than the other. And I have also to acquaint thee that friends in general, and myself in particular, are highly dissatisfied with what thou hath to offer in the meetings, for we sincerely believe that thou in thy present situation has nothing to say from the Lord, so that thy words are a great burden to us. Therefore I beg for the future thou may be silent in our Meetings, till thy doctrine and conduct correspond with the following Queries which were sent down from London to us 20:—(3rd) Are all ministers Carful not to burthen sencible friends of yr own or other Meetings wt words void of life and power, & doe they keep sound doctrine & ye form of sound words in y<sup>r</sup> ministry, & doe non come abroad w<sup>t</sup> out y<sup>e</sup> aprobation of y<sup>r</sup> own Monthly Meeting? (5th) Are all ministers & elders carfull to walk Circumspectly & Inoffensively In yr lives & conversations yt ye truth be not reproached & dishonoured by theire Imprudent Conduct? This is all I have at present to lay before thee

reports may only have been malicious gossip.

The five Queries "submitted to ye considerations of ye Meeting of Ministers and Elders" were first read in Edinburgh Yearly Meeting, 3rd mo., 1730, and were embodied in the Minutes with directions that they should be read and answered at the Monthly Meeting preceding the Yearly Meeting.

and I beg it may be received in the same love in which it is wrote, for I wish thy welfare in every respect. Signed by William Miller, dated Abbay, the 3 day of the 2

month, 1765.'"

It was hardly to be expected that this imperious missive would have the desired effect, and, indeed, next month the minutes record, "M. D. having appear'd in words in the meeting (since the above letter was sent unto her) two several times, on the first instant of this month the Clerk of the Meeting sent her another letter, putting her in remembrance that friends could not unite with her, and therefore afresh desired she would be silent in our meetings." This second communication seems to have had the desired effect, as, in Fifth Month, the clerk records that "having considered the Affair of May Drummond [we] don't find it necessary to proceed any further against her at present, as she has not burdened us with her words in publick for some weeks past."

About a year after this, however, 14 iv. 1766, "the 2d day meeting of Ministers & Elders in London"

wrote as follows:—

"Loving friend, William Miller.

"The Morning Meeting of Ministers and Elders<sup>21</sup> in this city, being inform'd that May Drummond has appeared as a Minister in divers of our meetings (much to the dissatisfaction of friends), desires us to write to thee to know how she stands with your Meeting. Please to favour with an answer soon, directed for David Barclay, Junior, and will oblidge thy loving friends,

"THOMAS CORBYN, JOHN HILL."

The following is an answer to the above:—

"To friends of the Morning Meeting of Ministers and Elders in London.

"Dear Friends.

"We are sorry to hear May Drummond hath assumed to preach in your Meetings, it being quite irregular, she having no certificate from us. And as you are desirous

The Morning Meeting had previously accepted her certificate as a Minister in unity with Edinburgh Friends in 1735, 1739, 1742 and 1746, and a certificate from the Men's Meeting in Bristol of their approval, in 1750 and 1753.

[Further correspondence between M. D. and the Morning Meeting in

1766 was printed and is in D.—EDS.]

to know how she stands with our Meeting, we shall now acquaint you. Most of the Friends of this Meeting being quite burdened with her preaching and praying, it appearing to them to be altogether dead, formal, and without the true spring that can only make words efficacious, they could no longer bear it, without testifying to her their sense of it; so, accordingly, the Monthly Meeting appointed their Clerk to acquaint her with their sentiments concerning her publick appearances, which was done in writing (the 3 day of the 2 month, 1765, and then recorded in the Monthly Meeting book), setting forth to her that her preaching, and some parts of her conduct, gave us great uneasiness, and that we could not at present receive her any longer as a Minister, therefore requested she might not presume to offer her words in our meetings until her doctrine and conduct shall correspond with the following Queries. . . . This Admonition she took offence at, and absented from the meeting about six months, and when she came back she sat in a seat below the Gallery; and she continued to come now and then upon the First Day in the forenoon, till she set out last for London, without troubling us with her words. So, in a few words, the sense of this Meeting is that she is not at all fitt to preach, neither can we receive her as a Minister. As she is now with you, you must judge what is necessary to be done.

"So we conclude, with the salutation of our love unto you, and remain your loving friends.

"Sign'd in and on behalf of our Monthly Meeting held at Edinburgh, the 27th day of the 4th month, 1766, read and approv'd of by the same.

WILLIAM MILLER, WILLIAM WALLACE, SAMUEL LEEDS, WILLIAM GALBREATH, JAMES MACPHERSON, ROBERT MELVELL, JOHN SPALDING, MILLER CHRISTY."

This is the last time poor May Drummond's name appears in the Scottish records, except that there is a notice of a visit in the ministry paid by her, 9 mo., 1767, to Kelso, where she seems to have stayed for a fortnight.

Two years later she was travelling for some months amongst Friends in the north of England.

The following curious letter was written by her when at Stockton-on-Tees, John Chipchase<sup>22</sup> of that town acting as her amanuensis on this occasion.

"Stockton, 5th of 8th mo., 1769.

"With pleasure I reflect on my acquaintance with Lord Temple, Lady Temple, and the good Lady Betty Germaine.<sup>23</sup> There is an inclination in every human breast to wish for the good of the whole community, and unnatural is the depravity of that mind that has no concern for the public welfare. Lord Temple has sufficiently proved to the world his desire of removing from the Administration every one who has not the good of the subject at heart; and everyone who thinks coolly sees, with regret, that Ecclesiastical Authority is a part of our constitution—the present age is ready to shake off the burden, and had Opposition given their Mob for a cry 'the Church is in danger,' they would have had fewer followers.

"I have been for some months past on a visit through Northumberland, Cumberland, and the Bishopric of Durham, and observe that (by the division of Commons) there are yearly additions made to the revenues appointed for the maintenance of Ecclesiastical Authority. John Wesley's fleecing the People as he does (by their own consent) is a sufficient demonstration that no money need be advanced by Government, for the maintenance of a hired ministry in the preaching way.

"I beg Lord Temple will submit it to the consideration of his friends, who are friends of liberty, whether, if the Ecclesiastics who sit in parliament were made sure what they now possess should be theirs for life, they might not be brought to consent to an Act by which all their revenues, should, for ever after, be paid into the public

treasury.

## (Signed)

## " MAY DRUMMOND."

<sup>22</sup> Born 1747, died 1816. For a copy of the letter I am indebted to his son, John, of Cotherstone, who died 1862 aged 72.

<sup>23</sup> "Lord Temple" was Richard Grenville Temple, Earl Temple, b. 1711, m. 1737, Anne, daughter of Thomas Chambers, Esq. "Lady Betty" was Lady Elizabeth Germaine, daughter of Charles; second Earl of Berkeley, and second wife of Sir John Germaine, bart.; of Westminster, and Drayton, co. Northampton. She died 1769, the year this letter was written.

A year after the date of this letter, 1770, the writer seems again to have been travelling in the north of England, as a Friend of Whitehaven, in a letter to his fiancée, writes that he had "been all day going about with that poor creature, May Drummond."

Unlike her brother, the Provost, May Drummond was a strong Jacobite, to the no small dissatisfaction of many of her English friends; and it is said she also offended them by her fondness for speaking about "my worthy cousin, Perth" (i.e., the titular Duke of Perth), and other great relatives. A contemporary picturesquely describes her as "a tall, handsome woman, who, when she moved in the streets, wore a black velvet tippet over a camblet dress, buttoned from her chin to her feet, and never raised her eyes from the ground."<sup>24</sup>

Her attire is also alluded to by an anonymous writer,<sup>25</sup> apparently not a Friend, who, addressing her, says, "Your Deportment . . . is humble and modest, and your apparel every way suitable to your outward Piety, whereby indeed you give a good & shining Example to some of your degenerate sisters, in whose Attire, and all its Symmetry, we see now adays so many Tokens of pride and vanity."

Perhaps we may note that one of her weaknesses was a nervous aversion to cats. When she visited at the house of George Miller, a younger brother of the Clerk of Edinburgh Monthly Meeting, and a partisan of hers, the children, with whom she was no favourite, used slyly to send the family cat into the room, whilst she was at tea. Then pretending great concern at its appearance, they would contrive to hunt poor pussy round and round her chair, very naughtily enjoying the poor old lady's perturbation.

WILLIAM F. MILLER.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Quoted in Smith's Catalogue, vol. i. p. 50.

#### NOTES.

Thomas Crowley, of Walworth, Surrey, who signs himself "a Rational Christian but no Quaker," addressed a poem to M. Drummond, in 1736, of which the following are the opening lines:—<sup>26</sup>

Dear Drummond! run thy blest career,
Teach us to know, and then to fear,
The great immense supreme;
Do thou, replete with heavenly light,
Explain to our deluded sight
The high-celestial scheme.

She is also the theme of the following verses, which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for September, 1735:—27

Hail! happy virgin of celestial race, Adorn'd with wisdom, and replete with grace. By contemplation you ascend above, So fill your breast with true seraphick love: And when you from that sacred mount descend, You give us rules our morals to amend. Those pious maxims you your self apply, And make the universe your family. No more, O Spain! thy saint Teresa boast; There's one outshines her on the British coast, Whose soul, like hers, views one Almighty end, And to that centre all its motions tend. Too long indeed, our sex has been deny'd, And ridicul'd by men's malignant pride; Who fearful of a just return forbore, And made it criminal to teach us more. That woman had no soul, was their pretence, And woman's spelling past for woman sense. 'Till you, most generous heroine, stood forth, And shew'd your sex's aptitude and worth. Were there no more, yet you, bright maid, alone Might for a world of vanity atone. Redeem the coming age, and set us free From that false brand of Incapacity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Poetical Essays, 1784, p. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Vol. v. p. 556, "On the Noted and Celebrated Mrs. Drummond," by a Young Lady.

The following references						
Whitby, Yorks, have been c	opied	l froi	nar	ough	acco	unt
book, showing the expenses	for	hors	e-hire	paid	by t	this
Meeting during 1740-49 (part	and	1750	-56 (c	omple	ete), a	and
sent up, with notes thereon, by	y Tose	eph T	. Sew	ell. of	Whit	bv.
1745, 21st of 5th.	y <b>J</b> 35.			, , ,		s. <b>d.</b>
To Ma Druman 28 Hors and guide	<b>e</b>		• •	• •		3 0
Ostler						
For giving notice of Meting			• •			4
1749, 3 of 11th.	•					•
To ye man that came from Scarl	orough	with N	May Dr	uman 1	paid	
for 2 nights expens for him &	_					
Back to Scarbrough		• •	• •	• •		6 o
To 2 pound of Moulded Candels <sup>29</sup>		• •	• •	• •	• •	I 2
1750, 26 of 5th.						
To 2 Guides & thear Horses of	ne Nig	ht tha	t came	with	May	
Druman	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	3 6
1751; 16 of 4 mo.						
To 2 Guides & thear Horses that	came	with N	May Dr	uman f	rom	
Stockton						-
To a Man to care her bags <sup>30</sup> & other	er thin	gs to S	<b>to</b> cktor	ı	• •	1 9
1751, 6 of 5 mo.		_	_	• . •		
To Guides that came with May Dr						
Horses Hay & Corn						
Drinking & Eating						
Osler	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	2
1754, 8 mo. 26.	T2 1	<b>1</b>	or 41 4			
Paid Timo: Watkins for the 2 Frds. horses <sup>31</sup> that came with						
May Drumond from Scarboro'	• •	• •	• •	• •	I	10

In 1736, appeared a pamphlet by May Drummond, Internal Revelation the Source of Saving Knowledge: candidly recommended in several Epistles, London: Printed for Jonathan Nelson, in Reading, and sold by J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick-Lane. It is an octavo of twenty-seven pages. Jonathan Nelson contributes a Preface, dated "Reading, 26, 3d Month." The author's Epistles consist of one of a general character,

<sup>28</sup> She came alone, without another woman Friend as was usual.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The "moulded Candels" point to an evening public meeting, a very unusual thing amongst Friends here.

<sup>30</sup> Of the other Friends mentioned (over 100 visits) she alone is referred to as carrying luggage.

<sup>31</sup> The dates of the later visits correspond with the dark period of Whitby Meeting (see Journal of John Griffith). M.D. was probably popular with the rich merchant Friends here.

dated from "Edinburgh 28th of 11th Month called January, 1732-3," addressed to those who "deny the appearance of Christ within," one to John Shaw of South Leith from Edinburgh in September of the same year, and one from Bush Hill, the 2nd of the 6th Month, 1735.32

## Edenburgh the 18 of the 6 Month . My

In adether Grom Conform John Walton Sway Lots of the Languing Northy Graces James Well for, weth trow Sumpathy I Share there and the Love of they family the teneousl of they havearly Mea - De pours, The hath bear long fet to dy, wishy bodyly informally unfite to Leve alife of Much Fleshourn, the Efignacion to the Sevene will Superta Largarions, it is well for Suchas They tem is Sharty and telesperanterebly not many Years att Longetty Fareful Thop in they and Every Others trele appointed, Or premeted to fell up the Copy of they Sufferings, the tenswings of Sweene factore wellto the defence he have to be they Comparter as he is the june of prairies my Surpratty and Eft welles is well then, all the formers in they light - bourhoud well L'au I tementer pard Jefrie To he time level by them, who am wette traltof - cake Ettime En Afficiation they Ollow friend MSTUMBLE

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER IN D.

<sup>32</sup> See ante, p. 56.

#### Review of Hancock's "Peculium."

"The Peculium: An endeavour to throw light on some of the causes of the Decline of the Society of Friends, especially in regard to its original claim of being the Peculiar People of God." By Thomas Hancock, sometime Lecturer of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, E.C. Second Edition, revised, with an introduction by William Edward

Collins, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar. 1907.

The republication of this essay, after the lapse of nearly half a century, stirs some sad memories in the mind of an elderly reader. It was in the year 1858 that an anonymous donor, who lamented the decline in numbers of the Society of Friends, offered a prize of one hundred guineas for the best, and fifty guineas for the second best essay on the causes of that decline, the prizes to be awarded according to the judgment of Frederick Denison Maurice, Professor J. P. Nichol, of Glasgow, and the Rev. E. S. Price, a Congregational minister of Gravesend. The first prize was awarded to John Stephenson Rowntree for an essay entitled, Quakerism Past and Present, and the second, which was generously made of equal value to the first, was given to Thomas Hancock for the essay entitled, The Peculium, which is being republished by the Church Historical Society.

Both writers were then young men, Hancock twenty-seven and Rowntree twenty-five: and both, having led pure and noble lives, and in very diverse ways served their own generation, have passed within the veil "to where beyond these voices there is peace." There is no need to institute invidious comparisons between their works, but I must be allowed to record my emphatic dissent from the Bishop of Gibraltar's judgment that "Hancock's is incomparably more powerful, and that it has a significance for the present day, whether it be regarded from a Quaker standpoint or not, that Mr. Rowntree's cannot claim to have." On the contrary, what chiefly strikes me in re-reading *The Peculium*, which I confess moved me to much admiration when it first appeared, is how little bearing it has on the present

For references to this subject see THE JOURNAL; vols. ii. and iii.

condition of the Society of Friends, or on the seekings and strivings of earnest, religiously minded men at the present day. It is no fault of the writer that many of his arrows do not now hit the mark in a company of men which has been moving rapidly from the position which they occupied when he wrote. We are no longer, as a Society, so rich, so intellectual, so self-complacent, as we were then. For the great changes that have taken place, the essay of John S. Rowntree, Hancock's competitor, may almost be said to have given the signal: and with his deliberate wisdom and intimate knowledge of the conditions of the problem before us, he bore a large share in carrying those changes into effect. The consequence is that much of Hancock's discourse, eloquent and sometimes poetical as it is, seems now like the echo of a forgotten battle-cry.

Hancock's own life, as the Bishop tells us, did not run in the usual ministerial channels, though the result of his literary effort and of the friendship of F. D. Maurice, which it won for him, was his ordination as deacon and priest of the Church of England. A curate for twenty-three years, he was, from 1884 to his death in 1903, "Lecturer of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, in the City of London, receiving no stipend during the greater part of the period, and spending more than he ever received from it in vindicating the Lecturer's right to an endowment of less than £20 a year, which had somehow become alienated from its proper purpose." Evidently this was a man with something of the true apostolic spirit, not one who "supposed that godliness was a gainful trade."

Of the book itself I have already hinted my opinion. I cannot see that much is gained by the author's constant harping on the word Peculium. That term of Roman law was used to denote the private property which a wife might hold independently of her husband, or a slave independently of his master. Neither the word nor the thought, as it seems to me, has any special fitness as applied to the early Friends' conception of their Church. The last thing which George Fox and his fellows aimed at was the formation of a little, select, and separate community. They considered that the Christian Church had been involved in "a great apostasy," that it was their

business to recall men's minds to the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, and by appealing to the Divine Witness in the heart of every man, to bring all men, even those whom the Prayer Book calls "Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics," to a knowledge of the Truth. I do not see what this conception of their mission, (however sublimely impossible it may seem in the light of their actual accomplishment) has to do with the little savings of the Roman slave as defined in the Digest or the Code.

Mr. Hancock's position is throughout that of an uncompromising High Churchman. Archbishop Laud is for him a martyr, and the Parliamentary leaders, who (ungenerously and unwisely as most of us think) sent the poor old man to execution on Tower Hill, are "the Herods and Pilates of the time." "The Catholic Church is alone not subject to decay. As surely as, by the Incarnation, the Blessed Word and Son of the Father took upon Him the nature of every man, so surely is man's soul Catholic by its very nature: so surely it thirsts after a Catholic food, which food, by one method or another, God is sure to supply."

There is perhaps a sense in which we too could accept this statement, but, when uttered by a disciple of the Tractarian Churchmen, one knows whither it will eventually lead. But I would not dwell on our points of difference with this devout and earnest writer. I would rather close with one of those passages in which he shows a real insight into the inner meaning of primitive Quakerism and a sympathy with its spirit:—<sup>2</sup>

Their faith in the first truth, the Light Within, when they compared it with the dogmas and exercises through which they had endeavoured to get nearer to God, filled them with an awful and joyous sense of the Divine Presence. They had neither to rush to steeple-houses, to the popular preachers, to the Bible, nor to exercises, for their God. All the time they were striving and straining to reach Him, He was near to them: He, the Divine Word, was discerning all the thoughts and intents of their hearts; all their being lay open and manifest in His sight. So soon as they believed in His Light He not only showed them present duty, and filled them with present grace, but He threw rays backward on all the rugged and bloody passes of discipline by which He had been leading them: they saw He had been with them even in these hours in which they had felt most alone. Before George Fox "came to the Light,"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> First edition, p. 31; second edition, p. 53.

his biography contains passages which might be put into the "experiences" of a hyper-Calvinist, and would not seem out of place. There are all those alternations of bright and dark, of Christ's absence and Christ's presence, that April-day theory of Christian life, which seems to make the Presence of God dependent upon our consciousness of it, and in which, indeed, is shadowed forth the true and awful thought that the blessing of His Presence does depend upon our consciousness of it. But after George Fox is "enlightened," these doubts seem never to find one moment's place in his heart. He believes that Christ is always with him. When the Quakers felt it true that Christ their Teacher was with them, and not only teaching them, but also helping them to carry out their lesson, it must have flashed upon them with a new strength that He had done everything, had found everything; and they felt they could cry, "Not unto us, O Lord," with a fervour that no others could.

Their faith in the second truth, the universality of the Light Within, filled them with hope for the world. Those sects and churches might despair which believed God had rejected, by a fixed decree, great hosts of men and women. But they who believed that His own Son was then and ever knocking at the door of every heart and conscience in the universe, could not give up the worst sinner, the darkest heathen. There was hope for such as long as there was light, mercy, and power in Christ. It was the intensity of this faith to which they chiefly owed their wonderful success.

A noble passage surely, and one which makes us feel that, after all, our kindly critic and ourselves have been sitting at the feet of the same Teacher.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

At A monthly mens meeting at Horsham ye 11th of 6th mo., 1680.

Present George ffox, W<sup>m.</sup> Penn, W<sup>m.</sup> Garton, Thos. Dockerell, Humph. Killingbeck, Rich. Steuens, Jo: Shaw, Rich Shaw, Jn° Rowlands, Jn° Barber, R. Snashold, Ed: Barber, Rich Gates.

The Buisnes of Rich Chasemore stands refferred to Jn° Snashall and W<sup>m.</sup> Garton, untill the next monthly meeting.

The next monthly meeting to be at Horsham.

From the Minute Book of Horsham Monthly Meeting. We wonder how long the meeting lasted, and whether other business was deferred on account of the presence of G. F. and W. P. The visit of the former is briefly mentioned in his *Journal* (ii. 346).

# The Wilkinson and Storp Controversy in Bristol, also Motes on early use of the words "Friends" and "Disown."

It is well known that the opposition to George Fox, headed, at the beginning, by John Wilkinson and John Story, was strongly supported by William Rogers, a merchant of Bristol. In the earliest minutes of Bristol Monthly Meeting his name often appears as taking a leading part among Friends in that city, and every now and then we come upon some point which may have a bearing on his subsequent attitude towards women's meetings and other matters in dispute. Concerning this I may write further at some future time; at present I will do no more than draw attention to the following:—

For some considerable time I have been making a detailed study of the aforesaid minutes, which are kept at the Friars Meeting House in Bristol. They begin 20th of 3rd mo. [that is, May], 1667, and are written in seventeenth century handwriting, being, in places, very difficult to read. Two points may be mentioned in passing. The first minute is concerned with arrangements for making a collection at the close of a meeting on First-day, the collection being "for the poore & other services relatinge to truth," and the members of the congregation are spoken of as "Friends," simply. The other point concerns the word "disown." Its first use (16, x., 1667, and 13, xi., 1667) is in the sense of the Meeting disowning a marriage that had been irregularly conducted in the Meeting House. In other cases (e.g. 16 viii. 1671; 30, vii. 1672, etc.), the word is used of an individual disowning his own wrong doing. In the minutes of 30th of 1st mo.,  $167\frac{2}{3}$  [i.e. 30th of March, 1673], we come upon what, I believe, is, at present, the earliest known use of the word in its modern sense, that of the Meeting disowning an individual:—"William Rogers is desired to draw up a paper against the deceipt of Charles W——, And to Informe Joseph Adlam (who, as freinds

The name is given in full, but, even at this distance of time, one hardly likes to make public record of it.

are Informed, doth Imploy him) that friends disowne him as a deceiptfull pson, & warn him to beware of him."

To return to our main subject. I have lately come upon a duplicate of the original minute book, written in a more modern handwriting, and, for the most part, more easy to read than the other, although the advantage does not always rest with it in consequence of the ink having faded. It is lettered on the outside, "C. 1842, C. 1"; it is not kept (at present) in the same safe as that in which the original is kept. At the beginning there is a note written and signed by Richard Snead, in seventeenth century writing, and very crabbed in addition. Richard Snead was a leading Friend in Bristol; his name occurs eight times in Besse's Sufferings, see vol. i. pp. 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 67, 73 (not 72 as stated in the index), 74. The following is the note:—

Copie of freinds Men's Meting Booke, began 20th 3d Mon, 1667.

The reason why this booke was made was a feare yt I and severall other freinds had, Least when yt unhappie difference was among freinds touching the two Johns, & strongly supported by severall freinds of this Citty, and mostly p William Roggers, who earnestly Jndeaverd for a Seperation, not only in dissipline but also as to religious metinges on Account of worship to god; he urging often yt wee differd in principle, as well as in some ptcular things, yt mite be demed Circumstantiall—I say, yt reason of makeing this book was a feare Least sayd W. R., and others with him, would have taken the mens meting book from us here, as wee had understood yt some of the same pty with them had taken away freinds meting booke in Wiltsheare; when wee thus judged would not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> From the Wiltshire minute books deposited in **D**., we extract the following:—

Q.M. at the Devizes, 1st of 2 mo., 1678.—Vpon some occasion of disturbance given, it was severall times offerred & desired that the Reason of our coming together might be minded and ye worke and service of ye meeting . . . might be proceeded in . . . but it would not be assented unto by severall, but in a very unfriendly manner they went away from ye meeting to an Jnn & katched up & carried away ye Quarterly booke from the meeting with them & would not send it again nor returne themselves, although some friends went to them from the meeting & earnestly desired it of them.

Eds.

only be a wrongdoing in them, but also be a great Loss to us, on the Account of truths service. And this was the very Cause and reason therof. John Higgins he [? doen, i.e. doing] it, and I payd him, my self, for doeing therof near Forty Shillings, in the yeare 1680.

Richard Sneade.

The last minute thus copied is dated 18th of 8th mo., 1680. It was in 1680 that William Rogers published, in five parts, his attack on George Fox, under the title, The Christian Quaker, Distinguished from the Apostate & Innovator. The controversy lasted some years longer; the best account of it has been written by John Stephenson Rowntree, in a pamphlet, entitled, Micah's Mother, or a Neglected Chapter in Church History. There is a good deal of information on the subject in Barclay's Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, beginning on p. 441 and continued through chapter xix.3

A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW.

#### Service in Sackcloth.

Here is Elzabeth Harrise some tymes goes forth to steple houses in sackcloath, and she hath much peace in this seruice. There was some seemed rather to be agtit, wch troubled her a litle. She spoke to me wth many teares about it seuerall weekes agoe, and J said J thought J might write to thee about it, and she desired J might. After she had beene at Cambridge, it came to her, she might goe to Manchester the sixt month, and so she would be glad to have a line or two from thee about it, before she goe.

From a letter from John Stubbs to George Fox, in 1664; original in **D**. (Crosfield MSS.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This Controversy, so far as it concerned Reading, is described in The Journal, i. 57. See also F.P.T.

### "Present State of the Monconformists" (1672).

"The Protestant Nonconformists make up a considerable part of the nation. They are divided into four parts:—The Presbaterians, The Independents, The

Anabaptists, The Quakers & 5th Monarchy Men."

The "motif" of the Report is pretty clearly shown in the next sentence, "The Danger the Monarchy of England may be in is not alike from all of these." Then follow accounts of (1) The Presbyterians, (2) The Independents and (3) The Anabaptists—none of them complimentary—but all shrewd and significant. The fourth and last section concerns the Quakers; and reads as follows:—

"4. The Quakers most truly deserve the character of rude, saucie, unmannerly, with all the ugly names that belong to an illbred person; it is no wrong to them to say they are mad, & fitter for Bedlam than sober companie. 'Tis impossible to give account of their Teachers, they being all so; both men and women. Their places of meeting were lately these: one at Ratcliffe, one at Wheeler Street, these by the industry of Sr John Robinson<sup>2</sup> were broaken to pieces. One at Devonshire house without Bishopsgate; one in St. John's Street; one in Westminster; one in Southwark; two within the Walls of London, viz<sup>1</sup>., one in Gracechurch Street, & one at the Bull and Mouth within Aldersgate.

"There are among them many rich men that drive very considerable trades, and are as to the affairs of the world as wise in their generation as any person whatever; in their Traffick they will tell you they will make but one word, but 'tis great odds if at that word they do not Cheat you. Though they seem mortifyed, yet they

are intollerable Lovers of the flesh, &c.

"Their greate deluding Maxime, which flatters many people into a good opinion of their innocency, is, they cannot fight—that they are peaceable to suffer

<sup>1</sup> Stowe MSS. Vol. 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sir John Robinson was Lieutenant of the Tower, and these were therefore in his jurisdiction as within the "Liberties" of the Tower—or "Tower Hamlets."

wrongs, & to revenge nothing; but at the same time, they will curse you from the beginning of the bible to the End of the Revelations, even from making Caen a vagabond to the binding of the Red Dragon and casting him into the Bottomless pitt. And there's no question, if the Spirit (that is, Advantage or Opportunity) did but move, they themselves would be the inflictors of all the punishments and plagues mentioned in that Sacred Book, and that with all imaginable Cruelty. But notwithstanding the pretence of not fighting, they have in the time of warr fought, and that desperately. They tell you Likewise, as they will not fight against you, neither can they pay any taxes, or find any Armes for fighting, no, not against the Great Turk or the Pope, if they should come to fight us. But there is a good cure for this very ill principle in the Law, vizt, Distraining, which severity makes them very angry. But they restrain it, for fear it should be discovered that the Old Man is stirring in them.

"They are but Fifth Monarchy men disguised; and they would be found such, but that at present they consult their own interest. They are very carefull of their poor, & very diligent in encreasing their party, ready to assist one another upon all occasions.

"They hate all other Nonconformists as much, if not more than they hate a Church man.

"Captain Meade, now a Quaker, a person of great Estate & great Trade, he hath been a Presbaterian & Independant, & what not. If he may be believed, the Presbaterians & Independants are knaves, dangerous persons, ready to do any mischief; when he was one of them, he professes he was ready to do so, and he is confident his Majesty cannot be safe from any of the Dissenters but the Quakers. They are no very great party; but they are stout, and able to endure hardshipp. While the Laws were executed upon them, and their Meetings broke up by force, they had many spectators, and some compassionate ones, & this made the world believe they were numerous; but since they have handsome Liberty, nobody concerns themselves about them."

The writer adds:—

" If there be any sharp or severe reflections in the

foregoing papers, they are not to Exasperate his Majesty, or to discourage him in his begun indulgence, for very many understanding persons, conformists and nonconformists, do highly applaud his Majesty's prudence & Clemency, and there is none displeased but a fue waspish Churchmen; but they are only to excite the King for his own safety, nor to trust these people with any Civil or Military employment, and to have continually such a force in pay, beside of his trained bands, as may be able to suppress any tumults that may arise."

## A Wision seen by George Fox when he set up Men and Women's Meetings.

At the setting up of the Men and Women's Meetings, which was set up by the power of God, the dark power appeared in opposition, and great strife against it. And then there was a fierce bull did chase me sore, and would have devoured me, and there was a Shepherd by and I bid him keep off the bull with his staff. And the bull was mad at me, and made at me in many places, as I passed by him and escaped him. And I had many with me and little children, and I was loath they should be tired or hurt with the bull, and I did set the children upon my horse that they should not tire, because of the bull's chasing them, I was so tender towards them. And the bull met me in a place where he thought he had me sure as his prey, and would destroy me at his pleasure, and he was not hasty to destroy me, so I got a great hedge stake and chopped it down his throat to his heart and laid him still.

G. F.

G. F. found this vision lately amongst his papers.

[From Extracts from Register Books, p. 321. MS. in D.]

#### Friends in Current Literature.

A second edition of Stephen Grellet, by the late William Kitching, has been issued by the London Friends' Tract Association (London: Headley; and New York: Friends' Book and Tract Committee, small 4to., pp. 40), in its "Friends Ancient and Modern" series. There are portraits of S. Grellet and Daniel Brun, and views of Limoges and Bayonne.

The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania has published (vol. iii., No. 2) a list of some sixty "Inscriptions on the Tombstones in the Free Quakers' Graveyard, west side of Fifth Street below Locust Street, Philadelphia; removed to Fatlands, Montgomery Co., Pennsylvania, during the month of November, A.D. 1905."

Headley Brothers have published a second edition of James Parnell (s. 8vo, pp. 111), with the correction of sundry errors in the previous edition. This is an admirable little book.

The articles respecting the late Samuel Morris, of Philadelphia, which appeared in *The Friend* (Phila.), have been collected into an attractive looking volume of 200 pages, privately printed, but obtainable from Samuel N. Rhoads, of Philadelphia, and Headley Brothers, of London. There is a portrait of Samuel Morris and a view of his house at Olney, Pa., also two little woodcuts by his son, George Spencer Morris, representing scenes from the front and back of the house.

A transcript of the Friends' Registers of the old Wiltshire Q.M. is being printed in *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* (London: Phillimore; and Devizes: Simpson). The last issue of this valuable magazine contains burials to 1700 under letter S. It might be worth while for other local antiquarian publications to follow suit.

The Friends' Tract Association of London has just added another biography to its series, "Friends Ancient and Modern" (s. 4to, pp. 40). The life of Daniel Wheeler, Quaker Pioneer in Russia and the South Seas, has been well-sketched by Augustus Diamond, B.A., the recently appointed secretary of the Association. The illustrations, which have been specially reproduced, consist of a portrait of D. W., a view of his Russian home at Shoosharry, and a picture of the "Henry Freeling." The publications of the F.T.A. can be obtained from Headley Brothers, London, and Friends' Book and Tract Committee, New York.

An address by Joseph Elkinton, delivered before the Divinity Club of Harvard University, on the 18th of First Month, has been printed, with the title, *The Light of Mysticism*, by the Biddle Press, Philadelphia. It consists of twenty-five small 8vo. pages.

Thomas and Jonathan B. Hodgkin have recently compiled for private circulation a Hodgkin Pedigree Book; or Dates of Births, Marriages, and Deaths of the Hodgkin Family, 1644-1906 (4to. pp. 33).

Woman's Place in the Church, by Jonathan B. Hodgkin (London: Headley, s. 4to, pp. 24), is "the outcome of an endeavour to ascertain the real teaching of the New Testament on the subject discussed." The pamphlet cannot fail to be useful and should be widely circulated.

In The Nineteenth Century and After, for April, there is an article by Caroline E. Stephen, of Cambridge, on "Women and Politics."

Philadelphia Friends (Arch Street) have recently issued An Invitation to attend Meetings for Worship of the Society of Friends, with a few particulars of the manner of holding them, a very neatly printed pamphlet of eighteen small quarto pages, to be had from No. 304, Arch Street, Phila., Pa.

Alice Mary Hodgkin, of Reigate, Surrey, is publishing, through Headley Brothers, a series of *Bible Studies: Christ and the Scriptures*, of which No. 6, dated "15th June," contains notes on "Christ in Job."

The Elders of Westminster and Longford M.M. have circulated a leaflet, To all who take vocal part in our Meetings for Worship, containing certain Advices issued by London Y.M., and also "Three instances of the practical application of the principles of the Society of Friends with regard to Vocal Ministry," relating to George Fox, John Crook, and John Woolman. The reference to John Crook is taken from "Select Miscellanies," vi. 17.

"Memoirs of a Person of Quality," by "Ashton Hilliers," is being re-issued in America under the title, Fanshawe of the Fifth.

Mary Ward, of Westtown School, Pa., has compiled a series of Lessons on Morality, based upon Jonathan Dymond's "Essays" (Author, Westtown, Penna. 8vo, pp. 208). "Certain subjects that Dymond treats of are omitted altogether in these lessons; others, besides being abbreviated, have been slightly modified, partly by the addition of notes."

A new edition of *The Adult School Year Book and Directory*, 1907, has appeared (London: Headley, sm. 8vo, pp. 81).

The Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society, 1907 (New York: large 8vo, pp. 264), contains some interesting facsimile title pages of scarce books, including "The Laws of the Province of Pennsilvania," printed by Andrew Bradford in Phila., 1714, James Logan's "Charge to the Grand Jury," Andrew Bradford, 1723, "Some Letters and an Abstract of Letters from Pennsylvania," etc., printed by Andrew Sow[l]e, 1691, "A Modest Account from Pensylvania . . . George Keith . . . shewing his great Declension," etc., printed by T. Sowle, 1696, "Continuatio der Beschreibung . . Pensylvaniæ . . . Gabriel Thomas," etc., Frankfurt and Leipsig, 1702, "A Letter to Mr. Penn with his Answer," printed for Andrew Wilson, London, 1688. There is also a reproduction of a decoration in the State Capitol at Harrisburg, Pa., representing "William Penn examined by the Lieutenant of the Tower of London and condemned to imprisonment in Newgate."

Headley Brothers are publishing a series of "Social Service Handbooks," edited by Percy Alden, M.P., secretary to the Friends' Social Union. The following have appeared: Housing, by the Editor and Edward E. Hayward, M.A., The Health of the State, by George Newman, M.D., and Sweating, by Edward Cadbury and George Shann, M.A.

The Review of Reviews, London, for May, has an illustrated interview with Edmund Wright Brooks, on "Starving Russia."

Charles William Dymond, F.S.A., is to be congratulated on the production of his monograph, Memoir, Letters, and Poems of Jonathan Dymond, with Bibliographical Supplements (Author, Sawrey, S.O., Lancashire, 8vo, pp. 116). The book is a specimen of what can be done to present particulars of an uneventful life in a readable manner. We have here records of Jonathan Dymond's ancestry, and of his school, business, religious, philanthropic, literary, and social life, illustrated by pictures of the man, his homes in Exeter and at Farm Barton, near Whitestone, and of the graveyard in which his remains were laid to rest. On p. 8, Thomas Benwell should be John Benwell, schoolmaster, of Sidcot.

The Lloyds of Birmingham, with some Account of the Founding of Lloyds Bank, by Samuel Lloyd (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, l. 8vo, pp. 246) is a very valuable contribution to family history. The fortunes of the family of Lloyd are followed from the dim and distant past of Welsh royalty, through the early Quaker period in Wales, to the great Midland centre of England, in which one branch of the family settled in 1742. As the title indicates, the main portion of the book deals with Birmingham, and very interesting are the allusions to its early trade, its noted inhabitants or visitors, the Quaker element in its population, etc.

The address by Margaret Irwin, of Manchester, on the occasion of the opening of the new art rooms at Ackworth School, presented by her brother, Wilfred Irwin, has been printed and circulated by the School Committee, under the title, *Thoughts on Art*. The opening took place on November 14th, 1906, not 1907 as printed!

The International Genealogical Directory, compiled by Charles A. Bernau (Author, "Pendeen," Bowes Road, Walton-on-Thomas, 4to, pp. 113) is an admirable guide to family histories and persons interested in them. Part I. contains a list of the names and addresses of those who have indicated that they are interested in Genealogy, Part II. gives surnames of families, Part III. presents some genealogical queries and memoranda, and there are minor matters introduced under Parts IV. to VI. Each genealogist, in Part I., has a number allotted him and this number is given after the family names in Part II. This book will serve to bring fellow-workers together, to mutual advantage.

Books for review, and any information suitable for future articles, will be welcomed.

NORMAN PENNEY.

#### George Fox and the Durham College.

John Sykes writes in his Local Records, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1833, vol. i. p. 108:—

"1657, May 15. A writ of Privy Seal for founding an university at Durham was signed by Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector. This university, rather intended to be founded than actually settled, was soon suppressed. The original writ is preserved in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Durham; it appears to have been suppressed on account of petitions against it from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It had been obtained by a petition of the city and county of Durham, county of Northumberland, and town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

"It is a singular fact that George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, has assumed to himself the consequence and what he thought the merit of having been the means of suppressing this laudable institution."

The author of the above extract then quotes the printed Journal of George Fox, under date of 1657. We give below an extract from the MS. Journal, setting forth this Durham episode<sup>1</sup>:—

And soe we came to Durham & there was a man Come down from London to sett vpp a Colledge there to make ministers of Xt as they saide. And soe J & some others went to ye man, & reasoned with him, & lett him see yt was not ye way to make ym Xts ministers by Hebrew, Greek & latin & ye 7 arts; what all was but ye teachinges of ye naturall man . . . Soe ye man Confest to many of these thinges; ffor we showed him further Jtt was Xt yt made his ministers & gaue gifts vnto ym. . . And Paul was made an Apostle not of man nor by man, neither received he his gospell of man, but by Jesus Xt.

It is curious that the MS. account of this incident closes here, omitting the concluding words of the printed Journal, "when we had thus discoursed with the man, he became very loving & tender; and, after he had considered further of it, declined to set up his college."

There is no clear evidence of a *lacuna* in the manuscript; the account, as given, reaches the bottom of the page, but the last line is a broken one. On what authority did Thomas Ellwood, the editor, insert the concluding words?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **D.** Spence MSS., i. 201.

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