

'I HAD CAUSE TO BE THANKFUL THAT MARRIAGE WOULD FURNISH ME WITH A CHAISE'; CONSCIOUS AND UNCONSCIOUS MOTIVATION IN THE JOURNAL OF CATHERINE PAYTON PHILLIPS, 1727-1794

At first sight Catherine Payton Phillips appears to be in many ways typical of the large number of eighteenth century Quakers, both men and women, who were recognised by their local meetings as having a particular gift for vocal ministry. After a period of local nurture and testing this recognition would be recorded centrally and these ministers, or as they were also known, 'publick Friends', might feel called to travel in the ministry, usually with at least one other person, some locally but some much more extensively, nationally or internationally. Catherine's journeys in the ministry were extensive, taking her all over the British Isles and also to Ireland, America and Holland.

At the end of her life, as many other ministers of that time did, she wrote a journal, an account of her life, ministry and travels, and this was published in 1797, three years after her death¹. So far, so typical: but what sets Catherine's journal apart is the amount of self-justification which her writing contains and also the degree to which she often seems unconscious of the impression of herself which is given to the reader.

In this article I want to look at what stand out as particular themes of the journal and also to touch on some of Catherine's conscious and unconscious motivation, as far as this can be discerned by a modern reader. I will draw on her own writings, the journal itself and her published and unpublished letters, as well as on accounts and letters written by some of her contemporaries.

Most unusually too, at a time when most likenesses of Quakers, when there were any at all, were silhouettes, a small pencil sketch of Catherine survives². This is reproduced on the front cover. It is hardly flattering and was almost certainly done without her knowledge, possibly during a meeting, but it does begin to show her as an individual.

I will begin with a short account of Catherine's life. Catherine Payton was born in Dudley in Worcestershire in 1727, the sixth

and youngest child of Henry Payton and Ann Fowler, Henry also having a son by his first wife. Her father was a recorded minister and earned his living as a maltster, although for many years before his death he was unable to work because of a paralytic disorder, and responsibility for the family fortunes rested on his wife. Catherine spent a lot of time with her father reading to him when she was young and also held a special place in her mother's affections. She was educated mainly at home although she did go to school in London for a few months in 1742 when she was 15. She read widely and also wrote both prose and poetry.

In 1746, when Catherine was 18, her father died at the age of 75. Two years later she took up what her mother saw as the mantle of his ministry and spoke in Dudley meeting at the age of 21. Soon after this she began her travels, going to Wales for seven weeks, and it was here that she met William Phillips, from Redruth in Cornwall, a widower with two young sons, who was visiting relations in Swansea. He was attracted to her and they began a correspondence but Catherine stopped this after a year, giving William no reason.

Catherine continued to travel extensively, first in Ireland and then for three years from 1753 to 1756 in America with the Irish friend Mary Peisley to whom she was very close. After their return, in 1757, Mary Peisley married Samuel Neale, another Irish minister, and shockingly died only three days later. Catherine returned to Ireland and later the same year visited Holland with Sophia Hume. Catherine continued to travel tirelessly all over the British Isles. In 1761 her sister Hannah died aged 45 leaving three children and the next year her half-brother Henry also died. Then in 1766, when she was 39, Catherine met William Phillips again. They resumed their correspondence and eventually in 1772 married, when Catherine was 45. Catherine continued her travels, visiting Ireland again in 1776, although her declining health sometimes made this difficult, but in 1785 William died, followed the next year by the death of her brother James Payton at the age of 68.

Catherine was more and more restricted by ill health, eventually becoming almost house bound, although she still attended local meetings and also wrote letters and her journal. She died in 1794 at the age of 67 and was buried in the Quaker burial ground at Kea [now called Come-to-Good] in Cornwall.

Having given you an overview of Catherine's life I want to move on to place her in the context of the eighteenth century and the particular anxieties and prejudices of her time, which may have led to her perceived need to justify herself as well as to both her conscious and unconscious motivation for writing her journal. I

want to look first at problems with 'popularity' among ministers and then at the struggle, particularly hard for women, between duty to family and duty to a religious calling.

In the eighteenth century there was a worry among Quakers, a worry not unknown in our own time, that the Society of Friends might not survive without new active members. As the generations passed it was seen as vital to encourage those brought up as Friends to find the reality of their faith for themselves and to become not just birthright Friends but convinced Friends. The phrase often used at the time was that they needed to find 'the power, not the form'³ in their religious experience.

Friends had also not given up hope of convincing others - the world's people - of the truth of the Quaker way, and Catherine and others took on this work by preaching at large public gatherings as well as at Quaker meetings. However, although it was allowed to be necessary to appeal to the general public, Friends were very ambivalent about the idea of 'popularity'.

In particular there were worries about some ministers becoming personally popular, as this, it was thought, would lay the way open to the danger of spiritual pride and of ministering 'in their own strength' instead of relying on a divine call to minister on every occasion.

Also, because in the eighteenth century the fact of women preaching was such a novelty, it was women who were seen as being in particular danger. Samuel Johnson's remark about a woman preaching being like a dog walking on his hind legs - 'It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all' - is well known, and in general women ministers were looked upon by outsiders as a curiosity and often as no more than a spectator sport, which makes Quaker misgivings about 'popularity' more understandable.

In general women ministers were very conscious of the problem and did all they could to avoid it. Esther Tuke of York, an exact contemporary of Catherine, when told that the beauty of a woman minister's pronunciation of the word 'Mesopotamia' had reduced some young women who heard her to tears, was horrified and vowed to correct her own 'sweet tune' and speak more harshly in future.⁴

Catherine says in her journal that from the beginning of her ministry she consciously avoided popularity, and gave up writing poetry for that reason, although she conceded when looking back in later life that she might have taken this resolve too far. It is evident from her letters that she had a naturally warm and affectionate nature and she was much concerned to nurture the ministry of women. She was encouraging to the young and one of her American converts,

Rebecca Jones, went so far as call Catherine her 'beloved parent in Christ, through whom I received the first awakening stroke.'⁵

However, although she had loyal and affectionate friends among her fellow ministers and travelling companions the effect she had on other people was not always positive and one particular example merits some detailed attention.

James Jenkins [1753-1831] first met Catherine when he was a young man of 25 and she was an established married woman of 51, at a Quaker gathering held at Launceston in Cornwall in 1778.

It has to be said that James's relationship with Quakers was always ambivalent. The illegitimate son of a Quaker and his servant, James was brought up by his father's relations and only learned of his parentage by accident. Although he was very fond of many of the Friends he knew, particularly those in Ireland who he saw as a truly accepting Quaker community, James's first-hand knowledge of Quaker hypocrisy made him distrust the often hagiographic testimonies written about the lives of deceased ministers. He resolved to write 'alternative' testimonies giving a different and often critical picture of the whole person. Although his manuscript was, unsurprisingly, never published, it did survive and provides a very useful, if obviously partial and prejudiced, view of eighteenth century Friends.

James Jenkins' initial view of Catherine was far from favourable:

'I recollect that Catherine Phillips, like a great Autocratrix, sometimes governed, and sometimes without succeeding, attempted to govern this assembly - to an austerity of conduct that had much the appearance of domination, she added a sourness of temper, that disgraced the woman, and assumed an over-bearing consequence which (at least I thought) an *humble* minister of the gospel could not assume'...

'She was not only the Lady-president of our table at the Inn, but directed nearly all our movements there, and several vexatious circumstances occurred which called forth, not only her reprehension, but (once) her extreme anger.'

'Each morning after breakfast, a council of procedure was held, with respect to the distribution of ministers to the different places of meeting - upon this (and indeed upon every occasion) she not only assisted at the Council-table, but sat at the head, in the chair of sovereignty...'⁶

He also describes her appearance rather negatively: 'She was rather tall of stature, had a wide mouth, with masculine features,

and mien upon the whole, the reverse of that feminine softness, which to our sex is so generally attractive.'⁷

It is interesting to note that Catherine's account of the same meeting is very short, as though it is nothing out of the ordinary. She describes the meeting as 'a large and favoured solemnity; and although I did not think the ministry rose so high as I have known it in some of those general meetings, it appeared to be a serviceable opportunity, and the people seemed well satisfied therewith.'⁸

Jenkins believes that Catherine's behaviour derives from her always being made a fuss of and approved by other ministers and quotes a Dudley woman friend to that effect. As he says, 'She told me that while Catharine [sic] was a young woman, she became a minister, and was so fondled by Friends of the foremost rank, as to be spoiled by them; for even in her juvenile days, she assumed a great deal of consequence; often asserting, and maintaining authority to which she had no rightful claim, and which was in some instances, unusual for women to exercise.'

Jenkins concludes, 'that she was constitutionally of a high and domineering disposition - fond of power, and the exercise of undelegated authority, and that the fire of this disposition was constantly fed, and fanned by caresses and adulation.'⁹

So Catherine certainly had her detractors although in her own eyes she was only avoiding 'popularity' and doing her duty as a Quaker minister, asking for no more authority than the role itself demanded in her opinion. In her journal she justifies all her actions as done in the service of her religious duty.

One point on which she justifies herself again and again is what others, and indeed sometimes even she herself, perceived as a conflict of duty arising between faithfulness to a calling and responsibility towards one's family. There are things that she is expected to do as a woman rather than as a minister which make Catherine's life difficult and uncomfortable. This is an area where the difference between what Catherine expresses consciously and unconsciously, both in her journal and in her letters, is most marked, both in relation to her parents and siblings, and also to the long story of her own marriage.

Catherine's greatest ally in her ministerial career was her mother, whose attitude to religious duty began with her husband and extended to her daughter, as Catherine reports:

'She said that when she married him, she was so far from being intimidated at the thought of his leaving her, to travel in his ministerial office, that she entered the solemn covenant,

with a resolution to do her utmost to set him at liberty therein; and when it pleased Divine Wisdom to deprive her of a husband whom she might offer up to his service, she was desirous that some one at least of her offspring might be called to the ministry; which was fulfilled in me, whom she bore rather late in life, and tenderly loved; but, I believe she as freely dedicated me to the Lord as Hannah did Samuel, and was always ready to put me forward in his work... And although, after I was called to the ministry, it was my lot to be much absent from her, she never repined at it, but frequently encouraged and excited me to faithfulness.¹⁰

Apart from her mother, though, Catherine felt that she had little support from her family or her fellow Quakers in Dudley. This is perhaps why she so valued her fellow ministers and companions such as Samuel Fothergill, Mary Peisley and later Lydia Hawksworth and reflected that 'a steady sympathizing friend is a great strength and blessing'.¹¹ In Dudley she says, her lot was 'cast in a quarter where there were none near who were capable of giving me much assistance or wise counsel, not having trodden the same steps.'¹² She obviously felt that she was a prophet without honour in her own country and wryly remarks that when she came back to visit Dudley after her marriage, 'the meetings were large as has been usual, when I have visited that place ; since my removal from it my old neighbours pressing to the meetings, more generally than when I resided amongst them...'¹³

Catherine repeatedly encountered criticism for leaving her aging mother and the rest of the family for long periods, which she justifies again and again in the journal, stressing that her mother was willing to let her go. There was obviously particular criticism over the length of her visit to America with her dear friend and companion Mary Peisley for three years and one month from 1753 to 1756 which Catherine counters in detail.

'... Our stay in this country was considerably longer than usual for friends who visit it from Europe; which was much in the cross to our natural inclination, but quite in the unity of the sensible body of Friends; who saw that we were industriously engaged in the service to which Truth had called us; and whatever some loose spirits might suggest respecting our long absence from home, I have this testimony in my conscience, that since I have been engaged in the solemn service of the ministry, I have ever endeavoured to accomplish the duties assigned me, in as

short a time as I could; being desirous that I might not afford occasion of censure to such, as being unacquainted with the humbling weight of this service, may conclude that we travel for pleasure, or to gratify a roving or curious disposition; as well as that I might spend the spare time afforded me in the exercise of my duty in my own family; and examining the state of my mind.¹⁴

There is an unconscious element in Catherine's justifications however. Her mother and brother James were often ill and in need of care. Most of her mother's problems related to old age but James's ailments had a nervous element, as did Catherine's own. She says in a letter to Samuel Fothergill written in 1758 'my brother seems bravely recovered, but as the stability of his health depends much on that of his mind I dare not promise to myself its continuance.'¹⁵

Catherine's letters are full of references to problems at home which she calls 'a scene of trials' and laments that she 'can expect no outward Help except from dear Mother.'¹⁶ Always, in Catherine's eyes, it was religious duty, *her* religious duty, that must come first. She became accustomed to expecting help from her sisters Anne and Hannah.

One example of the family dynamic happened in 1759. Catherine set out for Quarterly Meeting at Evesham, intending to go on from there to Yearly Meeting in London. Her brother James, who had been ill, felt recovered enough to go with her to Evesham, intending to return home from there, but on the first day's journey 'he was taken very ill.' As Catherine tells it: 'This brought a fresh exercise upon me, under which I petitioned the Almighty that he would be pleased to direct me how to act for the relief of my own mind, and the discharge of that duty which I owed to an affectionate brother.' They went on to Evesham and Catherine attended the Quarterly Meeting. She then felt drawn to Worcester

'whereto my brother was persuaded to accompany me, and to take the advice of a physician, who strongly pressed his going to Bath. Upon considering the urgency of his case, some of my friends with myself judged it best for him to proceed there directly, as returning home first would but weaken him the more: so I wrote an account of our determination to my dear mother and sister [Anne], who acquiesced therein. I also informed my brother and sister Young [living in Leominster] of my afflicting situation, and requested that one of them would accompany him; and Providence so ordered it, that my sister came prepared for the journey the day after I sent for her. The next day, being

the First of the week, we were favoured together by Divine goodness; and the following morning we parted in much affection, and they proceeded to Bath, and I was at liberty to pursue my journey.^{'17}

Catherine is convinced that Divine Providence provides care for her brother that will allow her to continue on her important journey. I wonder whether her sisters saw it in quite the same light?

Things became more difficult for Catherine after her sister Anne married Thomas Summerfield in 1760 and moved to Bloxham in Oxfordshire. As Catherine puts it, 'After my sister Ann's marriage, a load of domestick concerns devolved upon me. Through my mother's very great age, and my brother's frequent indisposition, my times of respite from travelling and gospel-labours were far from being seasons of rest.'¹⁸

A certain amount of resentment comes through in another letter to Samuel Fothergill, written in December 1760, this time even directed at her mother who seems, uncharacteristically, to have been making demands.

'- I don't know but I may leave Home again the latter end of next week in order to Visit my sister Summerfield, as none of the Family have been since she Married. My Mother seems desirous I should go this winter. I rather chuse to leave Home so as to attend the Quarterly Meetings at Warwick & Oxford ... the short space of Time betwixt them I rather think will be all I can spare to spend with my sister...& disagreeable as my allotment is at this Place I don't think I am easy to be much from it (considering the state of our Family) unless Duty required it - my Mother is yet preserved in Health beyond what may be expected for her age but my Brother is frequently Complaining....'¹⁹

We have seen the conscious and unconscious motivation at work in Catherine's writings about her family so now let us look at the way in which she writes about the long story of her marriage with William Phillips. In a way this is the centrepiece of the journal and Catherine is very aware that she is perhaps writing primarily to justify her actions and motivations to her publisher - her stepson James Phillips. Maybe this is even a way to ensure that he will publish the journal after her death, as he perhaps would not have done only to memorialise her ministry. It is interesting to note that it is published with a very plain title-page and no preface of any kind recommending it to the reader.

There is a gap in the journal between 1763 and 1772, caused, according to Catherine, by a lack of notes so that she cannot give an account in detail of her travels. Instead she goes into some considerable detail about the development of her relationship with William Phillips of Redruth in Cornwall.

She explains why she could not entertain the idea of marriage with him when they first met in 1749. Her main stated reason then is that the responsibility of marriage would have interfered with her duties as a minister, duties upon which she had only just embarked. 'My mind had been, and was under strong restrictions in regard to entering the marriage state, should I be solicited thereto; for as it appeared that for a series of years I should be much engaged in travelling for the service of Truth, I feared to indulge thoughts of forming a connection which, from its incumbrances might tend to frustrate the intention of Divine wisdom respecting me.'²⁰

Marriage to William at this point would have brought extra responsibilities in the form of his two sons, James aged 6 and Richard aged 4. In her extended reflection on her relationship with William, his sons are hardly mentioned.

As well as possibly preventing her from fulfilling her religious duties William was 'considerably older' than her and his profession, as a copper agent, although it brought prosperity, meant that he had to give more time to business than he would if he were a gentleman and 'free' from working. It also brought him into what Catherine sees as too much contact with 'the world' - and worldliness becomes part of his character. She feels that he is insufficiently religiously mature to marry her. Cornwall is also not attractive, being characterised as a 'poor county'.

Catherine praises the propriety of William's behaviour to her.

'His behaviour to me was prudently restricted, though he afterwards confessed that his mind was affectionately disposed towards me. We were favoured together, especially in one meeting, with the uniting influence of Divine love, but parted merely as common friends. Very soon after, a circumstance happened, which, without the least design on either side, necessarily introduced a correspondence by letters between us; and we exchanged several in restricted terms, suited to our situations.'²¹

In the next year, 1750, Catherine travelled to Cornwall and held meetings in Truro and Redruth at both of which, she says,

'William Phillips was very serviceable; and his spirit being dipped into sympathy with me in my service, and mine, with him under his religious exercises, it tended to strengthen the regard we had for each other; yet such was the restriction we were preserved under, that no sentiment transpired, nor was there any, the least part of his conduct, more than was consistent with a distinguished friendship: and thus we again parted, and continued our religious correspondence.'²²

But Catherine soon had doubts about continuing the relationship for a variety of reasons. As she puts it, 'ruminating upon the injurious consequences which might ensue to us both, should our affections be engaged contrary to the Divine will; and that, perhaps, the continuing an intimacy with me might prevent his mind from settling upon some other person, who might be a suitable companion for him through life; and seeing clearly, that my religious prospects would not for a long time admit of my changing my situation; I concluded it safest to relinquish our correspondence, and to leave the event of the foundation of affection which was laid, to future time: hoping, that if Divine wisdom designed a nearer union betwixt us, he would prepare my friend to be a suitable helpmate for me.'²³ It is obvious who Catherine sees as the most important person in this relationship - although she might say that it was the minister she was more concerned about than the woman - so she cut off their correspondence without giving William any reason.

By the time they met again in Cornwall where Catherine was engaged in visiting most of the meetings in the county in 1766, seventeen years after their first encounter, William's sons were grown men. Richard the younger was helping his father as a copper agent and the elder, James was in London pursuing his career as a printer and publisher and soon to be married.

William and Catherine talked about the past although the only opportunity they had to speak in private was when 'riding on the high road' from meeting to meeting. He told her how hurt he was when she cut off their correspondence without giving a reason and goes further saying,

'he had never admitted a sentiment of displeasure at me on the occasion, as he concluded that I had some reason for so doing, which was of sufficient weight to myself; but if my being in a single station were the cause, I needed not to have feared him, for although he loved me, hitherto his mind had been under a restriction from endeavouring to

pass the bounds of friendship.'

Catherine adds,

'This was saying more than he had ever done before; but during his being with me on this journey, his behaviour was strictly consistent with friendship only.'²⁴

During this visit Catherine began to appreciate William's character and see how he might assist her ministry. Local Friends were doubtful about the possibility of holding a meeting at Plymouth Dock but William saw no difficulty and immediately put arrangements in hand. As Catherine says, 'It was a favoured opportunity, at which the friends who accompanied me for the promoting of it were very serviceable; but had not W Phillips assisted them, it did not appear probable that so large a meeting would have been procured, and held so quietly; he was peculiarly fitted for such services.'²⁵ Catherine and William resumed a correspondence at this point and occasionally met during Catherine's religious travels. Eventually, six years later in 1772 when Catherine was 45 years old, they married.

Looking back on their courtship Catherine writes, 'A short time before I married, my left elbow was dislocated by a fall down stairs, and reduced with considerable difficulty. As that joint from my infancy had been weak, and had several times been hurt by falls from my horse, as is before related, it became from this time so weak, as to render my riding single improper, and riding double was rather dangerous as I could not help myself on horseback without my arm; I had therefore cause to be thankful that my expected new station would furnish me with a chaise.'²⁶

It seems a very prosaic, not to mention 'worldly' reason for marriage but it is clear that Catherine values William as a friend and an ally who she can rely on to make her life as a minister possible. Her other main ally, her mother, was becoming too frail to help her and indeed died two years later. William had proved his worth in arranging rooms for her public meetings and making sure they are publicised. He could give her a home and a chaise to travel in and would not try to restrict her. The unspoken bottom line is that she and her ministry will still be at the centre.

It is evident from what James Jenkins says that the marriage did raise some eyebrows, mainly because of the advanced ages of both parties. Jenkins was a great friend of James Phillips and it may have been his disapproval that is being expressed. It seemed to outsiders that Catherine's main motivation in waiting so long was to avoid the possibility of having children.

Jenkins quotes one rumour. 'I have heard that her objection to an earlier marriage arose from a desire to avoid the transmission of a disease allied to insanity with which several of her family (as well as herself for a while) had been afflicted.'²⁷ Catherine of course makes no mention of this possibility in her journal but there may be some truth in it. Her oldest sister Mary, who died in 1741 at the age of 31 is mentioned in her father's will quite separately from her siblings and given an annuity only through others acting for her, her 'assigns'. Perhaps she was not capable of looking after herself - but that is pure speculation at this stage in my work.

Were there other unconscious factors holding Catherine back from marriage - perhaps an understandable fear? Not only were there examples all around her of women dying in childbirth but the shocking death of her dear friend and companion Mary Peisley only three days after her marriage to Samuel Neale, even though this was from a long-standing illness, might have made another connection between marriage, and indeed the marriage of a minister, and death in Catherine's mind.

William was respectful, helpful and persistent. Their reconciliation in 1766 did not lead to marriage immediately, as it might have done in the pages of a novel, but took another six years until Catherine was persuaded. She was sure of his affection and support before the marriage and learned to value him truly after it.

Although the account of William's courtship, their life together and his death in the journal is so full, and possibly extended for the benefit of his son, Catherine's publisher, there can be no doubt that it is sincere.

However even in the account of their married life Catherine reveals some unconscious assumptions. One of Catherine's failings comes from her upbringing as the favoured youngest child, growing up to take her father's place as a minister. She assumes that she and her calling are more important than anything else. When she is ill, she expects to receive every attention and although she is lavish in her praise of those who take good care of her, it appears from other sources that she can be harsh and critical if this does not happen. Not much of this finds its way into the journal but I will touch on two examples.

Soon after her marriage, in 1774 Catherine suffered a long illness and compares the treatment she receives with what would have been her lot at home. 'I was reduced so extremely low by this indisposition, as to be doubtful, whether I could have survived it, had I not been removed from my

mother's family; as in that, considering her situation, and my brother's, it was unlikely I should have been so released from care, and so tenderly and affectionately attended to, as by my dear husband, and the assistance he procured for me.'²⁸

Another telling example though is towards the end of the journal in 1781 when William Phillips, usually in robust health and a stranger to pain, is ill.

'He was so dangerously attacked with a quinsy [an abscess on the tonsils following tonsillitis], that it appeared he very narrowly escaped death. His son [Richard] was from home, and the weight of his critical situation, together with the attention which was due to him, bore heavily upon my weak body and spirits, and but that our cousin Frances James, now Fox, was then with us, I know not how I should have sustained my fatigues. She very tenderly and assiduously attended upon my husband, and assisted me in this season of affliction; which I note with thankfulness to that good Hand which furnished us with her help. My husband's first wife was her mother's sister, and she being left an infant orphan, my husband, with other relations, had cared for her, and a mutual affection subsisted; so that her services were the more willingly lent, and pleasingly accepted.'²⁹

Again Catherine writes quite unconsciously, giving what she sees as a reasonable explanation.

Catherine Payton Phillips's journal and other writings reveal a woman of strong character - too strong for the taste of some of her contemporaries - who was true to a calling not always easy even for Quaker women in the eighteenth century. She battled against prejudice and against weakness both physical and spiritual. In her care to avoid what were seen as the snares of popularity she acquired a sometimes imperious manner and made enemies. But she also inspired affection and devotion in those who knew her well, her fellow ministers and travelling companions such as Mary Peisley, Samuel Fothergill, Lydia Hawksworth, Rebecca Jones and of course her husband William Phillips who remained devoted to her for so many years.

As we have seen, in her writings Catherine does acknowledge weakness, particularly in relation to her failings in her religious duties, but she also reveals weaknesses in her character which she seems unaware of.

However I hope I have shown that this only makes her more interesting and more deserving of further study than if we were to take her at her own face value.

Gil Skidmore
Presidential Address given at Britain Yearly Meeting
4 August 2011

ENDNOTES

1. Catherine Phillips, *Memoirs of the life of Catherine Phillips to which are added some of her epistles* (London, James Phillips, 1797)
2. The illustration of Catherine Payton Phillips on the front cover appears © Religious Society of Friends in Britain, from the Gibson MSS in the Library of the Society of Friends at Friends House, London.
3. 2 Timothy, 3.5.
4. James Jenkins, *The Records and Recollections of James Jenkins*, ed. J William Frost, (New York and Toronto, Edwin Mellen Press, 1984), p.87.
5. Rebecca Jones, *Memorials of Rebecca Jones*, compiled by William J Allinson, (Philadelphia, Henry Longstreth, 1849).
6. Jenkins, *Records*, pp.118-9.
7. Jenkins, *Records*, p.262.
8. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.246.
9. Jenkins, *Records*, p.260.
10. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.4.
11. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.18.
12. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.17.
13. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.26.
14. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.143.
15. MS letter from Catherine Payton to Samuel Fothergill, 1758. FHL Port 21/166.
16. MS letter from Catherine Payton, 1756. FHL Port 21/111.
17. Phillips, *Memoir*, pp.184-5.
18. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.206.
19. MS letter from Catherine Payton to Samuel Fothergill, 1758. FHL Port 21/118.
20. Phillips, *Memoir*, pp.207-8.
21. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.209.
22. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.209.
23. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.210.
24. Phillips, *Memoir*, pp.212-3.
25. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.215.
26. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.207.
27. Jenkins, *Records*, p.260.
28. Phillips, *Memoir*, pp.223-4.
29. Phillips, *Memoir*, pp.269-70.