PEN PICTURES

OF

LONDON YEARLY MEETING 1789–1833

Being the Notes of RICHARD COCKIN, supplemented by those of JAMES JENKINS and others

> FIRST PART 1789-1808

London FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, N.W.1

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The following pages comprise the first portion of "Pen Pictures of London Yearly Meeting." The second part will contain extracts from the years 1809 to 1833 (with intermissions), an Introduction, an Index, and a title page to the whole volume.

The subscription offer of five shillings (\$1.25) per part will hold good until the second part completes the work, after which the price will be raised.

(This is a temporary title page for the first part.)

Richard Cockin

Reference of religious, non-Quaker stock. He was born in 1753, son of Joseph and Ann Cockin, of Armthorpe, near Doncaster, Yorkshire. Living in the same village was John Sanderson, and a friendship was early formed between the two—they attended the same school in Doncaster and were apprentices in the same town.

Early in 1776 Cockin followed his friend Sanderson to London and they soon renewed the acquaintance formed in the north. Thomas Shillitoe, a bankers' clerk, was also friendly. The two latter joined Friends prior to the arrival of Cockin, and he was so impressed by their manner of life and religious principles, that he too, about the year 1778, followed his friends into the Society. Although he states that it was "not by reading Barclay's *Apology*, or by hearing extraordinary preachers," we are told that he was much influenced by the preaching of Isaac Sharples and Thomas Rutter.

In 1781 Richard Cockin united in marriage with Deborah Funston, of Whitechapel; she was a year younger than he was and a sister of Mary Funston, the first wife of John Sanderson. They left the metropolis and settled at Doncaster, where Richard pursued the occupation of a draper and glover, and later of breeches maker. In 1795 he suffered the loss of his wife, and in 1799 he married Ellen Abraham, of Whitehaven, a direct descendant of Judge and Margaret Fell of Swarthmoor Hall. Their daughters married into the families of Miller, of Edinburgh and Thorp, of Halifax. Richard Cockin was an Elder,¹ and his second wife was a

¹ The appointment of R. Cockin to the Eldership was made about 1790. In his account of a meeting of Ministers and Elders at Y.M. 1790, he wrote: "My mind was much humbled during this sitting under the consideration, how great a privilege I now injoyed in being thus favoured to sit as amongst the Princes of the People . . . and that I might indeed be kept from doing anything that would bring dishonour upon the high profession I was making or be inconsistant with the important station." Minister. Ellen Cockin travelled in the ministry and, together, husband and wife visited Friends in Scotland in 1821 and in Ireland in the following year. R. Cockin was recorded as a Minister about 1824.

About 1806 R. Cockin's business declined and was closed. In its place a drapery and hosiery concern was set on foot, managed successfully by Ellen Cockin and her sister Ann Abraham. A visit from Deborah Darby, a prominent Minister, encouraged the regular closing of their shop to enable them to attend week-day meetings. It is said that when once E. Cockin took a young woman to task for her gaiety in possessing a parasol (some accounts have umbrella) she received the rejoinder : "Ellen Cockin, I bought it at thy shop."

Though a business rather than a professional man, Cockin, on two occasions at least, assisted in educational work. Towards the close of the century, with the aid of George Miller, of Edinburgh, he relieved Obed Cook, who had a boarding school in Southwark, while the schoolmaster fulfilled a religious engagement, Cockin taking the English department and Miller the classical; and in 1829, for a short time he acted as a substitute to Robert Whitaker, as superintendent of Ackworth School. His grandson, William Frederick Miller, is the authority for the statement that the leather smallclothes worn by Ackworth boys, popularly known as "Dicks," were so named after Richard Cockin who made them.

Ellen Cockin died in 1841 ; in one of her husband's numerous letters written to his niece, Mary (Sanderson) Fox, he gives a touching recital of her last illness and death.²

When attending the Yearly Meeting of 1789, R. Cockin met John Perry, of Ipswich, who remarked of him: "A valuable, pleasing, enteligent young Man, great sociability in his manners and conversation instructive "---a characterization which the reader of the following pages will find no difficulty in endorsing.

Of the closing days of the long life of Richard Cockin, we have preserved, in a letter from Elizabeth Dudley to Lucy Maw, dated 5 xii. 1844, the following account :

² John Wilbur visited the Cockin home in 1832. "Richard Cockin is a fine old Friend, who has a Wife and one Daughter with him, the former is nearly deprived of her speech by a paralytic stroke" (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xvi. 121).

"Seeing Richard Cockin was one of my objects, and a visit to this long-known and dear friend is looked back upon with peculiar satisfaction. His brightness of eye as well as intellect, with lively interest in what concerns the best welfare of his fellow-beings, at the age of ninety-two, are instructive and animating. He is quite helpless on one side, and is wheeled from room to room in an easy chair, where he sits upright, with a venerable smiling countenance, and flowing white locks; and having the free use of his right hand, he maintains an extensive correspondence with his numerous friends."

Richard Cockin died in 1845. His venerable figure may be seen in Samuel Lucas's painting of Yearly Meeting about 1840, seated second from the left in the second row.

For Richard Cockin see Jnl. F.H.S. v. xi.-xiii. xvi. xx.-xxiii.; Annual Monitor, 1821, 1842, 1846; Smith, Cata.; Smith of Cantley and Doncaster, 1878; Diaries of Edward Pease, 1907.

The Notes on the Yearly Meeting of London, recorded by Richard Cockin, are contained in a book of slightly over five hundred quarto pages, bound in half calf, with marble-paper sides, the covers being now much rubbed. The notes begin in the year 1789 and conclude in 1833, with intermissions. The memorandums made at the time of Yearly Meeting entailed considerable thought and care, and in later life the task became almost too labourious. In the last record we read :

"In the course of this day there were a great variety of subjects came before the Yearly Meeting that I cannot correctly remember. In order to make the Memorandums I have, I have frequently left my Friends ingaged in social converse to enable me to commit to writing the passing occurrences, or have abridged myself of a little bed, by rising early in the Morning, which from my advanced Age is not so suitable as when younger."

And then there was the laborious task of transcription, begun on the 29th of Sixth Month, 1828, and concluded, probably, early in 1841. It is clearly and evenly written, and prefaced by the statement :

"N.B. In transcribing those accounts I may here observe that I have not, or probably may not, literally copy every expression that I wrote at the time I made the memorandums; I, however, do not intend to vary the sense thereof."

The completed volume was taken to London at the Yearly Meeting of 1841, and submitted to the inspection of "my beloved Friends William Allen and Susannah Corder, to make such use thereof as they inclined, and then send it to any one of my children, and if any one does but receive religious profit by any observation I have committed to writing, that will be a sufficient reward for all the labour I have been at."

This volume passed into the Miller family by the marriage of R. Cockin's daughter Ellen with William Miller, of Edinburgh, and it, with other Cockin manuscripts, was presented to Friends' Library in 1914, by William Miller's son, William Frederick Miller, then of Sidcot, Somersetshire.

James Jenkíns

Very different from Richard Cockin was James Jenkins, a contemporary, whose notes on certain Yearly Meetings appear in this volume.

JAMES JENKINS was born, amid scenes of drunkenness and violence, at Kingswood, near Bristol, about the year 1753. At the age of nine he was sent up to London, and came into touch with John and Frances Fry, Friends, of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting. He was taken into their service and thus prevented from being shipped off to America. Here he became " a servant of servants, without a parental home," but was soon dispatched to the boarding school of Joseph Shaw, at Highflatts, in Yorkshire. In 1768 he was apprenticed, at Woodbridge, in Suffolk, to Hannah Jesup, a grocer. Two years later his mistress married Robert Dudley, and shortly afterwards Jenkins went with his mistress, her husband and others to settle at Clonmel, in Ireland. In 1773 Hannah Dudley died; his apprenticeship ended in consequence, and he became a clerk in an office in Waterford, remaining in Ireland until 1779, when he settled in business in London. Next year he married Elizabeth Lamb, who proved a very delicate wife; they had eight children. Jenkins suffered a succession of commercial disappointments and failures over many years. His death took place at Folkestone in 1831.

There is an epitome of the life of James Jenkins, written by Frederick G. Cash, in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1902.

The other principal manuscript laid under contribution for the Supplements to *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, relating to London Yearly Meeting, 1798 to 1833, was prepared by James Jenkins (c. 1753-1831). He entitled his work: "Records and Recollections of James Jenkins, respecting himself, and others, from 1761 to 1821, with additions tending to illustrate the whole." The Records cover 1,057 numbered pages. In the opening remarks J.J. writes: "Having in this work said so much of many who were members of our religious Society, I ought to explain why I have so widely departed from the usual mode of Friends, by stating both sides of the characters which I have attempted to display. . . . The Holy Scriptures have given me an example of great candour and fairness in relating both the good and the bad that were mingled in the characters of those of whom they wrote. Friends who have written their own Journals have prudently avoided a delineation of their own characters, and when it has been done by others it is rarely any other than eulogy, and often of the warmest kind." Jenkins worked with the following as guides : "Blame where we must, be candid where we can." "The dead cannot be scandalized, what is said of them is history " (Dr. Johnson).

The foundation of the Record appears to be a necrology. expanded by longer or shorter sketches of many of the characters mentioned. The whole was copied onto sheets in quarto (water-marked 1821) and during the transcription or later, other facts and feelings have been inserted, which must be carefully distinguished by the reader from the original Record. There is a hint of time : "I am writing this fair copy in the year 1822 "; and of the reception of the manuscript in one quarter, written in a little blank space in the Record : "Grace Hill, 12th of 7th month, 1827 : My much esteemed friends John Lister and daughter . . . spent with me the greatest part of this day; after dinner they read for a considerable time in these ' Records and Recollections,' and he having perused this account of Jacob Hagen, smiled and said : 'Thou hast nicely hit off this character.' 'But (said I), have not I been too severe in delineating it?' His . I always thought him to be a high reply was : 'No . and imperious man.' "

A statement as to the ownership of the Records appears in an article by Frederick G. Cash in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* 1902. Alas ! we have here anonymity in most trying form— "well-known Elder "—" still better known Friend "; but there is a ray of light at the close : " The foregoing Records and Recollections are extracted from his diaries for the years 1761 to 1821; they are now [1902] in the possession of a grand-daughter of the late Samuel Cash, of Peckham, to whom they were left by James Jenkins." It is probable that the manuscript passed from the family of Cash to that of Shewell and thence to Clibborn. It is now on deposit at Friends House by the present owners, M. Dorothea and H. Josephine Clibborn, of Southampton,¹ and it has been bound into three handsome volumes of the text and one of the index. This index was the work of J. Jenkins; it contains upwards of one thousand names. There is a notice of the Records in *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, volume sixteen.

The industry of these two Friends, Richard Cockin and James Jenkins, the one verging on eighty and the other about seventy, resulting in one thousand, five hundred and sixtyseven pages of recollections within a period otherwise only slightly recorded, is beyond all praise; and now, a century later, we accord our grateful thanks for that which they accomplished.

¹ Since the above was written the owners have generously presented James Jenkins's Records to the Society of Friends—a gift greatly appreciated.

1789

Clerk: JOHN ELIOT¹

I left home on 4th day the 27th of 5th mo. and was favourd to get well to London, where I met with a kind reception from my Palations and Friends

Relations and Friends. On Sixth-day I attended the Meeting at Grace Church Street (there being at that time a Meeting usually held at that Meeting House every Sixth-day) which was an highly favoured season, the power of Truth being measurably in dominion to the tendring the spirits of many present-the Friends ingaged in Testimony were Richard Loe,² Joseph Garrat,³ Ann Summerland,⁴ Ann Tuke,⁵ James Thornton⁶ (from America) who was greatly enlarged in Gospel authority to address the various states present, perticularly the youth, whose countenances (he observed) it rejoiced him to see—to this class he was very encouraging. This was a solid edifying season. I dined with Joseph Roe⁷ and then proceeded to do mv business. At 6 o'clock in the evening the adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School was held, when much of the Wisdom and ability of the reasoning powers of Man was prevalent, and considerable condesention was Shown on the part of those who, from their Station in the Church, claimed more attention and defferance.

On Seventh-day I proceeded to get my business accomplished; I however made various calls upon my Friends, amongst whome was Mary West⁸—it was a tendringly uniting visit, my sympathy being excited towards her under the lively remembrance of her amiable daughter Elizth., who had been lately removed by death.

First-day I was at Ratcliff Meeting—the Friendswhowere publickly engaged were Richard Loe, John Abbott, Sarah Beck,¹⁰ and John Perry¹¹—and Sarah Beck was engaged in Supplication : I was also at Ratcliff Meeting in the *afternoon*, when Sarah Beck, Ann Abbott,¹² Wm. Simonds¹³ and Thomas Colley¹⁴ were engaged in Testimony—Thos. Colley was largely drawn forth in a clear demonstrative manner to unfold the doctrine of Christian redemption. In the *evening* I went to Daniel Perries,¹⁵ where the enjoyment of religious and social intercourse was unitingly felt to be prevalent.

Second-day forenoon, I called upon divers Friends. At four o'clock in the afternoon the Yearly Meeting commenced, as soon as the Meeting was opened Robt. Grubb¹⁶ informed the Meeting that a Person was comed from France in order to make an advancement in religious knowledge, who was desirous of having the privilege of sitting our Meetings for discipline his name was John Demercelack¹⁷; the Friends who had visited those who professed with us in France had confered on the subject, and who were of the judgment it would be well to admit him—to which the meeting readily agree'd. The Representatives were called over, and the Forign Epistols were read, and the Committee appointed to prepare answers thereto, were nominated : during the sitting divers Testimonies were born which had a tendring effect upon the Meeting.

Third-day morning, the Yearly Meeting met at nine. which was a very favoured sitting being owned with the overshadowing of the power of Truth, whereby a qualification was derived by many to speak to the various deficiences which appeared in the Answers to the queries. The consideration of Friends suffering on account of their not Illuminating their Houses¹⁸ came weightily before this sitting, when it became the sollid judgment thereof that sufferings on that account proceeding from a concious principle, their sufferings on that account aught to be recorded, and brought to the Yearly Meeting; it was a season wherein Friends were baptized into a state of much tender feeling one with and for each other; and cordial unanimity of sentiment on the The afternoon sitting did not seem to me to be so occasion. owned; yet a good degree of harmony prevailed: the reading the Answers to the queries were not all got through at this sitting.

Fourth-day morning, I was at Grace Church Street Meeting, which was a good Meeting, George Dilwin¹⁹ was ingaged in a clear powerful Testimony, also Thomas Rutter,²⁰ after which he was clothed with the spirit of Supplication, which the contriting power of Truth tendred many present, so that this Meeting was an highly favoured refreshing season. The sitting in the *afternoon* was measurably owned, and the different subjects which came under consideration was discussed with a good degree of condisention to the sentiments one of a nother.

Fifth-day forenoon the large Committee was sitting all the forenoon. In the afternoon sitting of the Yearly Meeting, the Proposition relative to altering the manner and time of holding the Yearly Meeting was brought forwards; which occupied the greatist part of the sitting, when it was a greed to have the Yearly Meeting in future at a fixed time²¹—it was an exercising time, but in the end it afforded solid satisfaction, the same proposition having been rejected divers times in former Yearly Meetings.

Sixth-day forenoon there was a proposition from the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex, respecting the application of a minute of the Yearly Meeting relative to the Membership of Children, whose Parents are maried in a manner contrary to the rules of our Society; upon the subject being discussed it appeared that there was a diversity of practice respecting the said minute-after the whole of this sitting being occupied with the subject, a Committee was nominated, consisting of Friends who had different views there of, to form a minute more explanatory of what was the Yearly Meetings intention, and bring the same to a future sitting; notwithstanding the business of the Yearly Meeting got slowly forwards, yet it did not appear as if the time was spent for no profit, seeing that the practice of Friends generally became known by the subject being so largely discussed, and the judgment of the Body obtained thereby. Afternoon, a Proposition from Norfolk and Norwich Quarterly Meeting was read, proposing the minute of 1786 being repealed, respecting the answers to the queries of the Select Meetings being read in Quarterly Meetings for discipline—this subject occupied the whole of this sitting when it was concluded to remain as it was : it was a trying exercising time.

Seventh-day forenoon, a Proposition from Warwickshire was considered, respecting the offices of Elder and of Overseers in Monthly Meetings, which was referred to the large

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Committee. A Proposition from Kent and Surry was also discus'd-querying when a Person being appointed representative from a Preparative Meeting to a Monthly Meeting and recorded by the same would gain Membership in the said Monthly Meeting. The Judgment of the Yearly Meeting was, that by so doing it was employing the Person in the service of the Meeting, and thereby they became a Member of the Monthly Meeting so recording the name. At this sitting the Committee that was nominated to consider the subject respecting the Membership of Children whose Parents had Married in a maner contrary to the rules of our Society, brought in a pritty long explanation of that subject which if approved, they proposed the Yearly Meeting would adopt as a minute there of, and which must then be regarded as the judgment of the Body relative there to-which, with a small alteration was addopted. The subjects which came before the Yearly Meeting this afternoon were considered with a good degree of harmony. On account of the business of the Yearly Meeting being in so backward a state, the selection of the Yearly Meeting's minutes and the revising of the Queries was agreed to be defered untill a nother year. An adjournment of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders which was to have been held this afternoon, was further adjourned to third day.

First-day morning I was at Devonshire House Meeting, which was a season of favour, the Friends engaged in publickly advocating the cause of Truth were William Rathbone²² and Geo. Dilwin, who was largely and powerfully opened to unfold the mysteries of redeeming love with demonstrative clearness—after which he was eminantly clothed with the spirit of supplication, which was a heart tendring season. I was also at Devonshire House Meeting in the *afternoon*, where Wm. Jebson²³ was largely engaged in an instructive Testimony, as was also John Storer,²⁴ when the power of Truth rose into considerable domination—who was likewise much owned in a solemnizing supplication; when many were much tendred by the contriting efficacy of Gospel power.

Second-day morning the Committee on Appeals brought in their report upon John Dumes appeal²⁵ against Horslydown Mo. Meeting, and London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting. John Dume attended to hear the Committee's 1789]

report, when he communicated his reasons why he thought the Yearly Meeting ought not to confirm the same which occupied considerable time; after hearing all he had to advance, the Meeting confirmed the disownment. There was also an Appeal from John Moor against the proceeding of Guilford Mo. Meeting and Surry Quarterly Meeting, which was also terminated in favour of the Meetings. At this sitting the minutes of the Meeting of Sufferings were read, which contained much agreable information, perticularly respecting the steps which Friends of that Meeting had taken relative to the late Iluminations, when divers instructive observations were made-The situation of Friends residing at Dunkirk²⁶ came under the consideration of this sitting, which produced considerable discussion; the peculiar circumstances they were under not being constituted as a Monthly Meeting, it appeared expedient for the Yearly Meeting to make some provision for cases that might occur amongst them which required a Monthly Meeting's attention, as passing of a Marriage &c. After much consideration it was concluded to authorize the Meeting for Sufferings to invest any Mo: Meeting with authority to act for them should any case arise amongst them to require it. Wm. Roch²⁷ gave much interesting information respecting the situation of those settled at Dunkirk and also respecting Friends of Nantucket: and Geo. Dilwin, John Townsend²⁸ and Richard Baker²⁹ gave an account of a visit they had paid to the Friends of Dunkirk, and of some other religious service there. The Committee that had been appointed to visit some of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings gave an interesting report of their visit, and communicated an account of the religious state thereof to this sitting. Wm. Fairbank,³⁰ Thos. Colley and Thos. Scantlebury³¹ were nominated to visit the Quarterly Meeting of Leicester and the Mo. Meetings constituting the same. Four Women Friends from the Woman's Yearly Meeting came into our Meeting to give an account how their Meeting had been conducted and that the business thereof was about to close, namely Ann Sommerland, Susannah Roe,7 Martha Routh³² and Elizabeth Hoyland³³: our Meeting felt much owned at the time with a solemnizing covering, so that it was a tendring uniting season under which precious covering the bond of uniting fellowship appeared to be increasingly felt betwixt the two Meetings. On account

of such a press of business before the Mens Meeting, the Meeting of Ministers and Elders was further adjourned till 3rd day afternoon. The third sitting of the Yearly Meeting this *evening* held till 10 o'clock.

Third-day Morning. The answers to the Foreign Epistols were read, which contained much instructive councel—and also the General Epistol.

This was the concluding sitting of the Yearly Meeting which was a favoured season, being owned with the overshadowing presence of Almighty Goodness, uniting us together in the bonds of that fellowship whereby the Body becomes edifyed in love—and under the cementing influence whereof the Meeting concluded, many Friends seperating one from another under the uniting feeling of that love by which the spiritual strength and harmony of the Body can only be preserved.

I don't find any memorandum noticing how I got home, or how my mind was impressed, at the close of this Yearly Meeting, attached to the account I kept of being at the Yearly Meeting, 1789.

[The account, written by John Harrison (1762-1812), of Liverpool, supplements above. Of the **John Harrison** Ackworth General Meeting he wrote: "There were a many of the strongest debates I ever heard & very warm ones which was not very pleasing to me, and I thought if the future sittings of the Meeting were not more unanimous in sentiment not much good could be derived." The case of one of the Appeals was of "a Friend who had married a second wife three mos. after the decease of his former", and "by a priest." Jnl. F.H.S. XVI. 25.]

NOTES

¹ This would be JOHN ELIOT, the third of that name (1734/5-1813), of Bartholomew Close, London. He was a well-known City Friend of large means. James Jenkins gives a full account of "his acquaintance and kind friend." His house was called the Irish Inn, on account of Friends from Ireland making it their quarters at Y.M. time.

The fourth John (1771-1830) was also a useful Friend and was a bachelor.

Eliot Papers, 1893; Jnl. F.H.S. iv. v. viii. ix. xii. xiv-xvi. xviii.

² RICHARD LOWE (1739-1796), of Worcester. By his wife, Elizabeth Allis, he had a daughter, Anna, who married Edward Carroll, and another, Deborah, who married James Backhouse.

Smith, Smith of Cantley, 1878; Jnl. F.H.S. xiv.

³ JOSEPH GARRATT (-1792) was a ministering Friend, of Cork.

⁴ ANN SUMMERLAND (1709-1798) was a daughter of Joshua and Rebecca Waterhouse of Dronfield, Derby. She married John Summerland and resided at Coalbrookdale, in Shropshire; and was a preacher among Friends.

⁵ ANN TUKE (1767-1849) was a daughter of William and Esther Tuke, of York. In 1796 she married William Alexander (1768-1841), and they took charge of a girls' school in York. She died in Ipswich, after much religious service in the Old and New World.

Jnl. F.H.S. xv. xx.

⁶ JAMES THORNTON (1727-1794) was born in Buckinghamshire and removed to Pennsylvania in 1750. On his marriage he settled at Byberry. He travelled many miles in the ministry; was in Europe 1788-89.

Many reff. in Comly, Misc. 1831-39; Jnl. F.H.S. xvi.

⁷ JOSEPH Row (1722-1792) was a weaver in Duke Street, Spitalfields, and an Elder among Friends. His wife, SARAH Row, was a Minister (d. 1803). They were great entertainers at Y.M. time. SUSANNA Row (d. 1804) was his sister.

Jenkins, Records; Jnl. F.H.S. xvi. xxi. xxv.

⁸ MARY WEST. There was a Mary West of Brentford, wife of Samuel, who died in 1790, aged 65. She had a daughter Elizabeth.

9 JOHN ABBOTT. There were two Friends of this name—John of St. Ives, Hunts. and later of Falmouth (-1813) and John of Plymouth. This was probably the first named; his wife was Ann Abbott. Jenkins, *Records*.

¹⁰ SARAH BECK (1716-1799) was the daughter of Henry Sims, of Canterbury and the wife of Thomas Beck, of London. They were members of Devonshire House M.M.

Beck, Family Fragments, 1897; Jnl. F.H.S. xii. xvi.

¹¹ JOHN PERRY (1754-1834) was a son of Stephen Perry, of Mile End, near London. He was a clothier, of Ipswich. With his second wife, Anna Candler, and her step son, John, he was present at Y.M. 1789. *Inl. F.H.S.* xv. xvi. xxi.

¹² ANN ABBOTT was wife of John Abbott, of St. Ives, Hunts. and Falmouth. She was a daughter of Joseph Tregelles, of Falmouth. James Jenkins states that while on a religious visit in Ireland she imbibed the teaching of the New Lights.

The Irish Friend, 1839.

¹³ WILLIAM SIMONS (c. 1726-1815) was a Minister, living in Northamptonshire. In early life he followed the occupation of a shepherd. Annual Monitor, 1817; Jnl. F.H.S. vi. ¹⁴ THOMAS COLLEY (1742-1812) was brought up in the Anglican Church, but joined Friends in 1768. His wife Jane also became a Friend. He was a cutler, of Sheffield. He visited the West Indies with Philip Madin in 1779. James Jenkins says that Colley was a provokingly slow speaker.

Testimony; Jnl. F.H.S. iii. x. xiii. xv. xvi. xxi. xxiii.

¹⁵ DANIEL PERRY. James Jenkins writes under the year 1809: "On 3rd mo. 15th died my old friend and relation (by marriage) Daniel Perry, at Woodbridge, baker. He exercised that trade during several years in London, but the want of sufficient success caused him to remove into the country, where he became prosperous and died in comfortable circumstances" (*Record*, p. 738f.). His wife, Elizabeth (d. 1814), was a daughter of Thomas Hemmings, of Ipswich.

¹⁶ ROBERT GRUBB (1743-1797), of Clonmel, Ireland, married Sarah Tuke, of York, in 1782, s.p. He was one of the Friends principally concerned in the attempt to secure the Castle of Chambord, in France, for a scholastic and industrial establishment (*Jnl. F.H.S.* vii. xiii.). He was specially interested in education. J. Jenkins describes him as "a man who had a greater propensity to give advice than any other person I ever knew" (*Record*, p. 398).

Life of Sarah Grubb, 1792; Jnl. F.H.S. xv. xvi.

¹⁷ The varied and somewhat strange life-history of JEAN DE MARSILLAC le Cointe has been sketched by the editor of *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, in volumes xv. xvi. xvii.—" a young man of noble birth and large fortune, who first heard of Friends from a French nobleman who had lived in America" (ibid. vol. vii.). He attached himself to Friends in the South of France and spent some time in the United States, finally discarding his Quakerism.

¹⁸ ILLUMINATIONS. Much suffering and loss were occasioned by the refusal of Friends to place lights in their windows in celebration of some naval or military victory. In 1760, a paper on the subject, as also in reference to "shops shut on Fast Days," was issued—*Tender Adviæ* and Caution. Several cases of suffering are cited in Margaret E. Hirst's Quakers in Peace and War, 1923.

See London Y.M. during 250 Years, 1919, s.v. " rejoicing nights."

¹⁹ The name of GEORGE DILLWYN (1738-1821) appears frequently in notes of the proceedings of the Y.M. He was in England on his first visit about seven years, beginning 1784, and his second lasted nine years; in 1802 he returned to his home in Burlington, N.J., U.S.A.

Gathered Fragments, 1858; Inl. F.H.S., numerous vols.

²⁰ THOMAS RUTTER (1741-1800) was a Friend by birth but not till he grew up into manhood did he take any interest in the Society. He became a Minister of some power. His business was that of bellows and brush making, in Bristol. James Jenkins records him his "kind and intimate friend for twenty-two years." Hester Farley was his second wife.

Some Account, 1803; Piety Promoted, pt. x.; Jnl. F.H.S. xxi. xxiii. xxiv.

²¹ Y.M. MINUTE: "This Meeting being still fully persuaded that the holding of the Yearly Meeting at a movable time is not only attended with divers inconveniences to the Society, but in this case also tends to establish a belief in the minds of many that it is held in commemoration of the day of Pentecost."

It was agreed that the Meeting should be held on the day next succeeding the third First-day in Fifth Month, instead of in Whitweek.

London Yearly Meeting during 250 Years, 1919, p. 57.

²² There were six successive Friends of the name of WILLIAM RATHBONE. This William (1726-1789) was a Minister and was in frequent attendance at the Circular Y.M.s then held in various parts of the land. His home was Liverpool. His death took place shortly after the London Y.M. J. Jenkins writes: "We reckoned him as one of our small ministers."

²³ WILLIAM JEPSON (c. 1736-1816), of Lancaster, was clerk of the Y.M. in 1788.

²⁴ JOHN STORER (1725/6-1795) lived at Nottingham. He was in the wool-stapling trade; also he travelled in the ministry and was in U.S.A. in 1759 and 1786. He is said to have died on his way home, after being at Yearly Meeting.

Jnl. F.H.S. xxi.

²⁵ Reference to the Y.M. Minutes does not make evident the reason for either APPEAL. According to John Harrison one case was of an early and non-Quaker re-marriage. The name *Dumes* appears on the Minutes as Toone: "John and Anna Toone" had been disowned by Horslydown M.M.

The case of John Moore was one of disownment.

²⁶ A Quaker whale-fishery was established in DUNKIRK on the north coast of France, in 1786, transferred from the eastern shores of North America, and again transferred, later, to Milford Haven in South Wales. It was associated with the name of the Rotch family.

Jnl. F.H.S. ix.

²⁷ WILLIAM ROTCH (1734-1828) was the head of the family conducting the Quaker whale-fishery in U.S.A. and France.

Life, 1901; Jnl. F.H.S. iv. ix. xiii.-xx.

²⁸ JOHN TOWNSEND (1725-1801), of Goodman's Fields, London, was a pewterer and Minister. "He was a short man, but very lively and energetic." When he crossed the Atlantic in 1785, the sailors on board said of him and his large companion, Thomas Colley: "The little 'un would thrash the big 'un with his hands tied behind him" (*British Friend*, 1874, p. 317). He is frequently mentioned in Jenkins's *Records*.

Recollections of Spitalfields, 1908; [nl. F.H.S. vi. x. xii.-xvii. xxi.

²⁹ RICHARD BAKER (1734-1804) was of Dover, In 1777 he was one of a deputation visiting Friends in Sussex and in 1790 Friends in Berkshire. There is a letter among Joseph Crosfield MSS. from R. Baker to Adey Bellamy, dated "Dover, 26th ye 10th mo., 1790," giving some news of Friends in Dunkirk and of the whaling community, and recording escape among them from small-pox by reason of inoculation.

Piety Promoted, x.

³⁰ WILLIAM FAIRBANK (1730-1801) was a Sheffield Friend. He married Mary Forster (1739-1827), daughter of Josiah Forster I. and Jane Birkbeck.

Annual Monitor, 1828; Jnl. F.H.S. xxi.-xxiii.

³¹ THOMAS SCANTLEBURY (c. 1747-1821) lived at Sheffield, the home also of his two friends under appointment. His writings occupy a page in Smith, *Cata.*, One pamphlet is signed "A.L.M." which is said to read : "A Looking-glass Maker."

³² The name of MARTHA ROUTH (1743-1817) often appears in the records of the proceedings of London Y.M. Her maiden name was Winter; she became the wife of Richard Routh, of Manchester. She was twice in America. She died during Y.M. 1817, at the house of Simon Bailey, of Spitalfields.

Memoir, 1822; Jnl. F.H.S. xxi.-xxiv.

³³ ELIZABETH HOYLAND (1757-1839) was Elizabeth Barlow, of Sheffield, before her marriage with John Hoyland (1752-1831) of the same. In 1818 they removed to Northampton.

Testimony; Jnl. F.H.S. iii. xiii.-xv. xxii.

1790

Clerk: WILLIAM GROVER^I

Richard Cockin No report.

The Meeting on the whole I think was much favoured, more than a backsliding people had any right to expect; we had a good deal of the pop, pop,

pop, like the firing of undisciplined would-be soldiers, one after another, instead of the united, concordant, certain sound of a well-disciplined army, but there was not more, if so much of this evil as usual. Edmund Gurney threw out to this spirit, as a tub to a whale, the consideration of the weighty expression of the solid conclusion of our ancestors on matters which were debated amongst them, viz. "It is our sense and judgment" &c. Ten thousand pounds was ordered to be raised for procuring a proper place and erecting proper edifices for the holding the Yearly Men's and Women's Meetings. (*Memoirs*, 1849, p. 223.)

At the Yearly Meeting the constitution (if I may so say) of the Women's Yearly Meeting was **James Jenkins** settled (but I think that their first Yearly Meeting was held in 1784); and a liberal subscription solicited from the Society at large in aid of the funds for building the present meeting-houses in which the men and women hold their annual assemblies. Many friends refused to contribute on the score of the nonnecessity of a Women's Yearly Meeting, "for (said they) it will be giving to one body two heads," but some of our most weighty friends opposed this sentiment by expressing another—that " in the Church there should be no visible head "—that the women were the best part of our Society, and therefore were amply deserving of encouragement. Upon some this argument had its full and intended force, so as to cause them to relent; whilst with others, it had a tendency directly opposite, for they could not consent that "the Lords of the Creation" should be thus sunk in the scale of human estimation.

NOTES

^I WILLIAM GROVER (1752-1825) was a son of William and Elizabeth (Ellis) Grover, of Brighton. He became a prominent Friend and an Elder. He married Isabel Weatherald, and lived in Essex. Smith Cata: Benney Ma Ancestors 1020: Int E H S vin sai

Smith, Cata.; Penney, My Ancestors, 1920; Jnl. F.H.S. xiv. xxi.

² RICHARD SHACKLETON (1726-1792), schoolmaster, of Ballitore, co. Kildare, Ireland, made numerous trips to England, and has left us accounts of London Y.M. held in 1790 and 1791.

Letters of Richard and Elizabeth Shackleton, 1822, etc.; Jnl. F.H.S. XX; life of Deborah Darby (in MS.).

1791

Clerk : PHILIP DEBELL TUCKETT

Some account of my journey to London and of my attending the Yearly Meeting in 1791.

(Richard Cockin

I left home on *First-day morning*, the 6th of 5th Month in the company

of Wm. and Martha Smith,² John Marriot,³ Thomas Sanderson⁴ and Thomas Wilkinson.⁵ We took Blyth Meeting on our way—which meeting was to me a rather low laborious season, the quickning influence of the Power of Truth not being (according to my apprehension) in dominion. We had the company of David Dent⁶ after Meeting at the Inn where we dined, and where the injoyment of social frendship was felt to flow very cordially amongst us. Here we parted with Thos. Wilkinson and reached Newark that evening where we lodged.

Second-day we proceeded pleasantly a long, Wm. and Martha Smith was in a Single Horse Chaise, and the other Friends on Horsback. We reached Oakham the second night and met with a very kind reception from our Friends Robt. and Susannah Hawley.⁷

On *Third-day morning* at Stamford, where we stoped to bait, we met with Richard Renolds and his Wife,⁸ whose humble deportment and kind affable disposition, accompanied with such benevolent liberality, was indeed very cordially grateful to us. On our inquiring what we had to pay for ourselves and Horses before leaving, we were informed that every thing was paid, our hospitable Friend Richard Renolds had discharged the whole. We lodged that night at Potton.

On Fourth-day forenoon we reached Hitchin where we we called upon our antient Friend Samuel Spavold,⁹ who was clothed with love. It seemed to afford the dear old Friend a peculiar pleasure to see several Friends from Doncaster (where he spent some of his early years), whose appearance he was glad to see. We also called upon several other Friends at Hitching, who appeared to dwell together in unity, so that our visit there was something like a refreshing brook by the way; we reached London about 8 o'Clock in the *evening*.

Fifth-day I spent mostly in attending to what business I had to do, in order to have that done with before the meetings came on.

On Sixth-day I was at Grace Church Street Meeting, which was to me an encouraging strengthning season; the Friends ingaged in Testimony were Joseph Williams,¹⁰ Martha Routh, Ann Byrd,¹¹ Mary Bevan,¹² Wm. Crotch¹³ and John Story,¹⁴ who was also clothed with the spirit of supplication. In the *afternoon* I attended the adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School which was a very trying painful Meeting so little of an harmonious uniting of sentiment being prevalent there in, or a disposition to condesend to another's views.

Seventh-day forenoon the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders commenced, which it was now my privilege to attend : during the time the Answers to the Queries were reading, many instructive observations were made respecting the deficiencies contained there in, and through the whole of the sitting an harmonious uniting in exercise were prevalent. for the promotion of the best interests of the cause of Truth, and the eternal welfare of this part of the Body. Towards the close of the Meeting Elizth. Gibson¹⁵ was emenently clothed with dignifying authority, when the power of Gospel Ministry rose baptizingly into dominion and its precious contriting influence was felt to solemnize us together—this was indeed to me a highly favoured Meeting. The Meeting was adjourned to 2nd-day morning on account of the Committee which was appointed at a former Yearly Meeting having to sit on the revising of the Queries.

First-day morning I was at Devonshire House Meeting which felt to me to be a highly favoured season, the first Friend engaged in Testimony was my sister Margt. Sanderson,¹⁶ next Wm. Raws,¹⁷ after which Mary Loyd¹⁸ was ingaged in Supplication, then Thomas Rutter was powerfully engaged to address various religious states, to the tendring many present, after which Martha Routh was largely engaged with clear demonstrative authority to unfold the Mystry of Redeeming love; and towards the conclusion of the Meeting Thomas Rutter was engaged in a Heart-tendring supplication, when access to the source from whence all supplies of spiritual aid must be derived, seemed to be opened and the replenishing due of Heaven was consolingly felt by many, to the strengthning their faith and confidence in Almighty sufficiency to enable them to perform every good word and work. At the close of the Meeting John Story cautioned Friends to be careful not to unfit themselves from being acceptably presented at the evening sacrafise, seeing that our bodies were the temples of the Holy Ghost, it was the duty of all to endeavour to preserve them pure-the Meeting seperated under a solid covering. I was at Devonshire House Meeting also, in the afternoon; in the early part of the Meeting John Story was impressively ingaged in a deeply instructive Testimony, then Thos. Pole¹⁹ in a doctrinal line of Ministry, after which George Dilwin was powerfully engaged with clear demonstrative authority to Preach the Gospel—thus had we line upon line and precept upon precept.

On Second-day morning I attended the adjournment of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, which was a memorable season of the extension of Heavenly Goodness---the remainder of the answers to the Queries were read, upon which Samuel Smith,²⁰ in a very weighty manner, informed the Meeting that he had got nearly through his religious service in this Land, and, in his passing along and beholding in divers places the low state of this part of the Body, particularly the Elders, it rested with weight on his mind to propose a visit to this part of the Family-not only to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, but to the individuals constituting the same, in order to search out the religious states of those who filled the fore ranks amongst the people-it produced a solemnizing impression upon the Meeting, and divers Friends very cordially united therewith; when it appeared to me that the Meeting was baptized into an exercising travel that the leading of the spirit of Truth might be attended to. Geo. Dilwin, Edmund Gurney,²¹ Richard Shackleton, Joseph Williams, Ester Tuke,²² and divers others expressed their views there on; some Friends proposed the subject to remain weightily on Friends minds for a nother year, without now taking it on minute—this produced such an exercise on my mind as I seldom had felt on any occasion, and the

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fervant travel and ardour of solicitude. I then felt that the subject might be so far proceded in, as to be entered on minute. I cannot fully discribe; the involuntary language again and again pass'd through my mind, now is the time, now is the time, delays are dangerous; after considerable discussion a minute was entered to resume the consideration of the subject at a future time. This sitting was to me such a season of exercise and perticipation of cordial unity with my Friends, as I thought I had not before ever witnessed. At this sitting Geo. Dilwin and Samuel Smith, each requested Certificats, they being apprehensive that before a nother Yearly Meeting they should feel liberated from further service in this Land.

After-noon at 4 o'clock the Yearly Meeting commenced when the representatives were called over, the Forreign Epistoles read, the Committee for nominating a Clerk, the Committee on Appeals and the large Committee for preparing answers to the Forign Epistols were all appointed. Soon after the opening of the Meeting John Elliott made a request to the Meeting on behalf of Lewis Majolia,²³ to sit the Meetings of the Yearly Meeting, which was agreed to, and Ady Bellamy²⁴ went out to accompany him into the Meeting ; the Meeting adjourned to

10 o'Clock on Third-day morning. The business which first occupied the Meeting was to receive the report of the Committee appointed to nominate a Clerk and also the Committee on Appeals-after which the Meeting proceeded to read the Answers to the Queries; during the reading thereof divers instructive observations were made respecting the various dificiencies which appeared there in, and the business of this sitting was agreably conducted. The sitting in the afternoon was principly occupied with hearing the remainder of the answers to the Queries, when the various defects which they contained was suitably spoken to, perticularly Friends unfathfullness in the support of our Testimony against the payment of Ecclesiastical demands; in seven of the answers which pointed out deficiencies there appeared a considerable neglect in the performance of admonition which produced suitable advice during the reading the answers to the Queries; there were several Testimonies of Ministring Friends deceased read, which produced a feeling of solemnity over the Meeting, perticularly that respecting Sarah Grubb,²⁵ 1791]

which was put off reading untill the close of the Meeting when J. G. Bevan²⁶ requested he might read it as his last tribut of respect to her memory. After the Testimony from Ireland and that also from Yorkshire wer read, Luis Majolia desired liberty of the Yearly Meeting to add his Testimony concerning Sarah Grubb, which J. J. Bevan interpreted (as he could not deliver it in English), which was to this effect : "I may add my concurance to this Testimony which I believe to be trew; it was by her Instrumentality that I was convinced of the Truth, both by her words and letters, and it was by her means that I have experienced that degree of reformation which I now do." During the time of the Yearly Meeting Luis Majolia was engaged at different times in the line of the Ministry in different Meetings for Worship.

Fourth-day morning I was at Ratcliff Meeting-the Friends engaged to Minister to us were Wm. Raws. Marv Weston,²⁷ Elizth. Dell,²⁸ Sarah Beck, Joseph Williams, John Pointon.²⁹ and two other Women Friends that I did not know. It did not seem to me as if this Meeting was owned like some former sittings. It how ever requires much caution, in speaking or writing of the state of a Meeting, that in forming our judgment there of, we may be duly impressed with the consideration that, seeing we are fallible and therefore liable to form an incorrect judgment, it behoves us to be diffident in not stamping too high our own feelings as to the states of meetings. Afternoon the Yearly Meeting proceeded with the business there of, when the Committee for auditing the accounts of the National Stock reported that a contribution would be wanted. The Quarterly Meetings were then called over to know if they had any thing to offer, when there appeared to be a proposition from the Quarterly Meeting of Buckingham and one from Yorkshire, which were both refer'd to the large Committee. The Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings wer next read, which contained much interesting information. The account of the steps which had been taken respecting the intended new Meeting Houses produced considerable discussion when it was agreed that a Representative from each Quarterly Meeting should be nominated to investigate the subject and to report to a future sitting of the Yearly Meeting. The Meeting of Ministers and Elders being adjourned to 5th-day morning, the Meeting adjourned untill 4 in the afternoon on fifth day.

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Fifth-day morning the Meeting of Ministers and Elders was a highly favoured sitting, the proposition of Samuel Smith came again under consideration, when Edmund Gurney, Elizth Gibson, Esther Tuke, and divers other Friends communicated their feelings thereon—it was as if deep was calling unto deep-the minds of Friends being baptized into much exercise. The Meeting in the conclusion agreed to send a strong recommendation address'd to Quarterly and Mo. Meetings to labour one with another in order to have the causes of complaint removed which had brought so much exercise upon the Meeting, which conclusion however was not in accordance with my feelings on the occasion, it appearing to me, as if Friends who had been so introduced into exercise in this Meeting were the suitablist to engage in the service, as this part of our Camp requir'd being searched as with lighted Candles in order to asertain the various causes which had produced weakness, as in the head, and thereby languer and feebleness too much prevailed in the Body, hence mourning and lamentation is the clothing of many under the feeling of the low religious state of many Meetings-to this discouraged mourning remnant it seemed to me as if a visit from this Meeting would be cordially acceptable. Not withstanding this subject was not concluded in a manner that I apprehended was best calculated to render efficient help where it was most needed, yet this sitting altogether was a very memorable one.

At 4 o'Clock in the afternoon the Yearly Meeting again met, when the first business that came before us was the present state of the Slave Trade, which brought the meeting under considerable exercise, and many Friends communicated their views thereon; and altho' there were some difference in sentiment as to the most efficient manner of proceeding in order to have this great evil removed, yet there were an uniting in exercise to pursue what ever might appear best to effect this end—after much agreable discussion it was concluded to refer the subject to the Meeting for Sufferings. The next business that came before the Meeting was the situation of the Friends of Dunkirk, divers Friends appeared interested for their best welfare, when it was concluded to make an appointment from this Meeting to visit them and to fix upon some expedient for their coming more imediately under the notice of some Monthly Meeting-and it was recomended that the Quarterly Meeting of Kent would also make a similar appointment to go and unite with the Friends deputed by this Meeting, and either constitute the Friends resident at Dunkirk a Preparitive Meeting or adop't such other means as the united Committee would consider as the best calculated to promote their religious welfare and the reputation of the Society. The Friends appointed to visit them were Wm. Tuke,³⁰ Morris Birkbeck³¹ and Ady Bellomy.

Sixth-day morning I was at Westminster Meeting. The Friends engaged in Testimony were Martha Smith, Mary Loyd, Sarah Birkbeck,³² Elizth. Hoyland, Esther Tuke and Eliz. Dell; altho' it was a pretty satisfactory Meeting, yet it did not seem to me as if the life rose so into dominion as at sometimes. At *four o'Clock* the Yearly Meeting again met, the first business that came on was to receive the report of the Committee on Appeals, but as the Appellant [Ann Ingram] was not informed when the report would be delivered to the Yearly Meeting, so as to afford her an opportunity of being present if she desired it, the report was defered being read untill a nother sitting. The report was then read on the Propposition from Hampshire, when it was the judgment of the Committee that a Child being recomended by an Agent to Ackworth School and receiving an education there did not intitle such Child to Membership. The judgment of the Committee on the Proposition from Yorkshire was, that a Certificat of removal being signed by three Friends in a Mo. Meeting beside the Clerk, should be a sufficient authenticity to another Mo. Meeting to accept such a Certificate. The Minute of last Yearly Meeting was next read, relative to the recommendation of some junctions being made betwixt some smal Quarterly Meetings, the reports of which, with the discussions there on occupied the remainder of this sitting which adjourned to

Eleven on Seventh-day when the consideration of the subject respecting junctions of Quarterly Meetings was again further discussed. The Meeting was informed that the Appealant was now ready to be introduced in to the Meeting to hear the report of the Committee of Appeals. She was accordingly admitted when the Clerk enquired of her if she had been fully heard by the Committee appointed by the Meeting and whether she had anything further to advance—after which the judgment of the Committee on Appeals was read, confirming the disownment of the united Monthly Meeting of Kingston, Croydon and Wansor and the Quarterly Meeting of Surry; the Meeting then adjourned to 10 on Second-day.

On First-day I was at Ratcliff, the Friends, who were publickly engaged in the forenoon were Ann Greenwood,³³ Allis Rigg,³⁴ Samuel Alexander,³⁵ and Edmund Gurney who also was clothed with the spirit of supplication. This Meeting was an highly favoured season. In the afternoon the Friends ingaged in Testimony were Hannah Wigham,³⁶ George Braithwaite,³⁷ John Perry and Richd. Low. Hannah Wigham was ingaged also in supplication. The Meeting in the early part felt to me to be a laborious season, but was after more favoured—at least that was the impression of my mind respecting it.

The first business that came before the Yearly Meeting on Second-day was the reading of the Epistols that was prepared by the Committee to be sent to our Friends in Ireland and America. The report of the Committee on the proposed New Meeting Houses was next considered, which occupied considerable time in discussion when the Meeting adjourned to 6 in the evening; the Committee on revising the Queries requiring further time. In the sitting in the evening three women Friends came into the Men's Meeting to give a report of their Meeting, namely Martha Routh, Christiana Hustler,³⁸ and Sarah Grubb (of Anna Mills),³⁹ their account was a very satisfactory one; this was all the business that came before the Yearly Meeting this sitting, the Committee on the Queries not yet being ready, on which account the Meeting adjourned to

Eleven o'Clock on Third-day; when the revised Queries was brought in, and proceeded upon the consideration of each, as far as the 5th Query; when the Meeting adjourned to $\frac{1}{2}$ past three and proceeded to consider the remainder of the Queries—altho many observations were made during the Queries being considered there was much Brotherly condesention evinced, and the Meeting was preserved in a sollid state of feeling during the subject being under consideration. The Yearly Meeting adjourned for half-an hour, when the General Epistol was to be read, which was the concluding sitting of this Yearly Meeting; after the reading of the Epistol, Joseph Williams was ingaged in supplication, which had a tendring effect upon the Meeting, and under the solemnizing influence there of Friends seperated—the precious cementing bond of Gospel fellowship sweetly uniting the spirits of many on parting one from another.

On Fourth-day morning at 7 o'Clock the Elders met to prepare their report, and at 9, the Adjourned Meeting of Ministers and Elders again met; the first business was to receive the report from the Meeting of Elders : after which the Certificats of Samuel Smith and Geo. Dilwin were read ; that on behalf of George Dilwin not being concluded in the usual form that such documents are generally concluded, before signing lead to many observations being made there on ; it was the judgment of divers Friends who communicated their sentiments on the occasion that it was too frequently as a matter of form and not that of feeling, what was expressed, and which however though the words might be very appropriate, yet, unless it was expressed under a feeling of the import of the words, and those who signed could also feelingly unite there with, there was too much of form there in which did not comport with our profession, the discussion was to me a very instructive one, such as I thought I had seldom heard. Edmund Gurney, Samuel Smith, Richard Shackleton, Elizabeth Bevinton,40 Esther Tuke, Elizth. Gibson, and divers other Friends expressed their sentiments on the occasion. This sitting held about five hours -during the time the Certificats were signing divers Friends were ingaged in religious communications. This sitting was to me a sollid edifying season-may I so dwell under a grateful sense of the many unmerited favours that in the course of the journey, I have been an unworthy pertaker of, that so an increase of unreserved dedication of heart may be produced to follow more faithfully the unfoldings of duty.

Castle Street, Hounds ditch, 5th mo 25 1791.

I attended another sitting of the Committee on the Queries. It is a very difficult job **Richard Shackleton** to get on with, there is so much critical accuracy about choice of words. I had to rub up my old Greek and give my interpretation of a word, in the original language of the New Testament. However I felt the power which gathered us to be a people, near, as they were framing and fashioning patterns for the discipline of the Church. (Memoirs, 1849.)

NOTES

¹ PHILIP DEBELL TUCKETT, of Bristol (d. 1816). "He married the widow of Jno. Wright, formerly Banker in Lombard Street, and with her obtained the handsome fortune (I apprehend twenty thousand pounds) which that venerable dotard had given her as a compensation for the sacrifice she made in giving him her hand in marriage" (J. Jenkins, Records). On previous pages, J. J. gives full and "free" recollections of the members of the banking firm of Smith, Wright and Gray.

² WILLIAM SMITH, of Doncaster (1756-1832), and MARTHA SMITH (1763-1832), née Ecroyd, were well-known Friends and there is a full record of their lives in the volume written by their grandson, HenryEcroyd Smith—Smith of Cantley and Doncaster, 1878. Their house was a great resort for Friends of all classes. Both were Ministers.

³ JOHN MARRIOTT (1762-1797) was a relation of Martha (Ecroyd) Smith. He lived near Colne, co. Lancaster; was a corn-miller and a poet.

Smith of Cantley and Doncaster, 1878.

4 THOMAS SANDERSON was probably a relation of John Sanderson, of London, whose early home was near Doncaster.

⁵ This is an interesting reference to THOMAS WILKINSON (1751-1836), the poet, of Yanwath, near Penrith, Westmorland, as we know that he walked from his home to London, this year, 1791, to attend Y.M. " with his coat and waistcoat literally lined with gold guineas and a twenty-pound bill in his coat-sleeve—300 miles in 8 days—on arrival John Wilson caught hold of me, and, dusty and grey as I was, he carried me along to his brother and sister [Joseph] Smith's-lodged at G. and M. Stacey's, and met the four worthy, married sisters, D. Braithwaite, R. Smith, E. Messer and M. Stacey " (Carr, Thomas Wilkinson : A Friend of Wordsworth, 1905). He wrote a poem "Recollections of London," into which were introduced the names of many Friends (see Beck and Ball, London Friends' Meetings, 1869).

Smith, Cata.; Boyce, Records of a Quaker Family, 1889; Jnl. F.H.S. iii. vii. xiii.

⁶ DAVID DENT is included in the list of Masters at Ackworth School. printed in 1895. He was "assistant for two years; not apprenticed" -1787-1789. He had a boarding-school for boys at Cirencester. His name is associated with that of William Crotch in religious service.

Jnl. F.H.S. xxv.

7 ROBERT HAWLEY, Senr. and Junr., appear in an informing sketch, by Henrietta Ellis, of "The Somerby Estate, the Chief Endowed Property of the Q.M. of Leicester and Rutland" (Jnl. F.H.S. vi.). There is also some account of Oakham Meeting in Rutlandshire. Robert Hawley of Oakham died in 1816.

⁸ RICHARD REYNOLDS (1735-1816) was the wealthy philanthropist. of Shropshire and Bristol. His second wife, whom he married in 1763, was Rebecca Gulson (1731-1803).

Annual Monitor, 1817; Memoir, 1852; Smith of Cantley, 1878; Deborah Darby, in ms.

1791]

9 SAMUEL SPAVOLD (c. 1708-1795) was a carpenter by trade. He resided in London, later in Folkestone, and, after 1750, in Hitchin. He would be about eighty-three at the date of this visit. James Jenkins presents in his *Records* a contemporary picture of this Friend—" a man of great sweetness of disposition. I have often been in his company, altho' an unbeliever with respect to his prophetical denunciations "—much more on the subject of ministerial prophecies.

Jnl. F.H.S., various vols., esp. x. xxii.; Hine, Hist. of Hitchin, 1928, vol. i. p. 284.

¹⁰ JOSEPH WILLIAMS (1736-1807) was a Dublin Friend, who many times attended London Y.M. In 1761 he married Jane Chamberlain. He was prominent in opposition to Hannah Barnard, as related by James Jenkins in his *Records*.

Birkett, Lines, 1807; Jnl. F.H.S. ii. xiii. xv. xxiv.

¹¹ ANN BYRD (1731-1825) was a daughter of Thomas and Ann Hitchcock, of Holcombe Rogus. She married William Byrd (c. 1708-1796), of Uffculme, in 1768, and later lived in Exeter. She travelled in the ministry with Sarah Stephenson and Ruth Fallows.

Annual Monitor, 1826; Sarah Stephenson, 1807.

¹² MARY BEVAN (1751-1813), formerly Plumsted, was the wife of Joseph Gurney Bevan (1753-1814); they married (s.p.) in 1776. She was a Minister and her husband was an Elder.

¹³ WILLIAM CROTCH (-1805) was brought up as a "waiting boy at a great Inn in Norwich" and later was footman to John Gurney, of Earlham. He became an eminent Minister, and was noted for his reading of character and life in family visits. He came to a sad end in Philadelphia, during a religious visit to America.

Irish Friend, 1839; Jenkins, Records; Jnl. F.H.S. esp. xv. xxii.

14 JOHN STORY. Not yet identified.

¹⁵ ELIZABETH GIBSON (1729-1804) was a daughter of John and Mary Hoyle, of Burnley, Lancs. She came out as a Minister about 1752. In 1754 she married Joshua Robinson, of Wensleydale, in Yorkshire, and in 1773-1775, she was in America, where it is said she was the means of a spiritual awakening in Thomas Scattergood. In 1778 she became the wife of George Gibson and moved into Essex. J. Jenkins gives her the character of an autocrat and supports his assertion by an amusing an ecdote. *Testimony*; Jnl. F.H.S. x. xv. xxi.

¹⁶ MARGARET SANDERSON (c. 1749-1795), née Shillitoe, was the second wife of John Sanderson and mother of Mary (Sylvanus) Fox and Elizabeth (Cornelius) Hanbury. The relationship with R. Cockin was, however, through Mary Funston, J. Sanderson's first wife, sister of R. Cockin's first wife. Margaret Shillitoe was a sister of Thomas Shillitoe. Inl. F.H.S. xix.

¹⁷ There was WILLIAM RAWES, Senr., living at this time at Sherborne and a son William at Marnhull. The latter was the author of *Examples* for Youth, 1797, etc. The elder William died in 1803 and the younger in 1805, aged 50. William Rawes, Junr., was Y.M. Clerk in 1801. Smith, Cata.; Jnl. F.H.S. xxv.

18 MARY LLOYD (c. 1751-1821), née Farmer, was the wife of Charles Lloyd, of Bingley, banker (d. 1827). Elizabeth Fry described her as of " a commanding appearance." Anna (Lloyd) Braithwaite, of Kendal (1788-1859), was a daughter.

Annual Monitor, 1823; Jnl. F.H.S. xiii. xv.-xvii.; Lloyds of Birmingham, 1908.

¹⁹ THOMAS POLE, M.D. (1753-1829), was born in Philadelphia. but settled in London in 1781 as a practitioner in medicine and surgery. He married Elizabeth Barrett, of Cirencester, in 1784, and removed to Bristol, owing to ill-health, in 1802. He was interested in schools for adults and other philanthropic movements. Elizabeth Fry records that he was not to her an edifying Minister.

Wedmore, Thomas Pole, M.D., 1908; Jnl. F.H.S. i. iv. v. vi. ix. x. xiv. xvi.

²⁰ SAMUEL SMITH (1737-1817), of Philadelphia, was in Europe in 1789-1791 and 1800-1801. His travels, printed in Comly's Friends' Miscellany, vol. ix. (1837), are attractive reading. Jnl. F.H.S. ii. xv. xvi. xix.

²¹ EDMUND GURNEY (1723-1796), the Younger, of St. Augustine's, Norwich, was a worsted weaver. The manner of his conversion, through the influence of Sarah Taylor, of Manchester, in about the middle of the eighteenth century, is detailed in vol. xvii. of The Journal of the Friends Historical Society. "He married money with each of his three wives, yet he fell into financial difficulties and had to be, apparently, supported by his relations, and was not considered a strong character from a worldly standpoint." J. Jenkins records: "As a preacher he possessed great energy of manner with elegant diction, but a harsh voice."

Inl. F.H.S. XVII. XVIII. XX. XXI. XXIII. XXIV.

22 ESTHER TUKE (c. 1727-1794) was the second wife of William Tuke, of York; they married in 1765. She headed the deputation of women to the Y.M. of 1784 to request the establishment of a Women's Y.M. James Jenkins records: "Whilst writing this record I feel rising in my mind an affectionate remembrance of this excellent woman, with whom I have spent many pleasant hours." Memoirs of Samuel Tuke, 1860; Jnl. F.H.S., various vols., esp. **xxi**.

23 LOUIS MAJOLIER (1764-1842) was born at Calvisson, in the district of the Gard, in the south of France. He married Marie Brun, of Fontanês, and they resided at Congénies. It was soon after the marriage that the district was visited by a little band of Friends from Great Britain, to which he soon became united, and in 1791 he visited England, and joined the Society. His daughter, Christine (d. 1879), became the well-known wife of Robert Alsop.

Jaulmes, Les Quakers Français, 1898; Jnl. F.H.S. vii. xiv.-xvi. xviii.

²⁴ ADEY BELLAMY (1739-1810) was a son of Joseph and Judith Bellamy, of Framlingham, Suffolk. He became a "citizen and cutler" of London, living in the Poultry. In 1774 he married Martha Spriggs, and in 1789 he married Judith Whiting, who died in 1801, aged fifty-one. He was much interested in Friends in France and in the Channel Islands. He was a numismatist of some note. In 1789 he retired from business and resided at High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire. J. Jenkins states that he had a small gift in the ministry, and gives this word-picture :

"He was a short, thick-set man, with manners mild and generally pleasing. He wore a drab-coloured wig and suit." His sister, Anna, married Joseph Savory in 1776.

Piety Promoted, iv.; Jnl. F.H.S. vii. xv. xvi. xviii; MSS. in D.

²⁵ SARAH GRUBB (1756-1790) was daughter of William Tuke, of York, and wife (s.p.) of Robert Grubb (1743-1797), of Clonmel, Ireland. She was one of "The Three Sarah Grubbs of Clonmel" (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xvi. 95), ali married, all Ministers and for eight years as married women contemporary. R. and S. Grubb founded the Suir Island School for girls. She travelled much on the Continent. S. Grubb was Clerk of the Women's Y.M., 1786-87.

Life and Letters, 1792; Jnl. F.H.S. xv. xvi.

²⁶ JOSEPH GURNEY BEVAN (1753-1814) was the son of Timothy Bevan and Hannah Springall, *née* Gurney. He was very prominent in the Quaker history of his time and was the fifty-fourth Clerk of Y.M., *anno* 1794. He married Mary Plumsted in 1776, *s.p.*

1794. He married Mary Plumsted in 1776, s.p.
Forster, Letters and Writings, 1821; Biog. Cata. Lond. Frds. Inst.,
1888; Jnl. F.H.S., many vv., esp. xv. xix. xx.; Jenkins, Records.

²⁷ MARY WESTON (c. 1744-1807). "On the first day of this year, I have recorded the death of Mary, wife of Owen Weston [d. 1811], cooper, near Ratcliffe Cross, who was formerly Mary Fyfield, and then a minister of the first eminence amongst Friends in London. I have understood that previous to uniting in marriage with Owen, she had obtained a certificate in order to visit our American Churches, but which that event prevented the accomplishment. . She therefore sunk in the esteem of those who thought they saw in an abatement of fervor a diminution of her gift in the ministry. She was in person a large woman, with pleasing powers of conversation." (Jenkins, *Records.*) O. and M. Weston had a daughter Mary (1771-1797), of whom A Short Account was printed in 1799.

²⁸ ELIZABETH DELL (1744-1829) was the widow of Joseph Dell, of Earls Colne, Essex. She was a Minister for half a century.

²⁹ JOHN POYNDER is mentioned by James Jenkins as a "ministering friend, of Guildford," died in 1801.

³⁰ WILLIAM TUKE (1732/3-1822), son of Samuel Tuke (1703-1748), is well-known as the founder of the Retreat, in York, in 1792. He married Elizabeth Hoyland in 1754 and Esther Maud in 1765. He made fifty consecutive attendances at Y.M. and was clerk in 1783.

Memoirs of Samuel Tuke, 1860.

³¹ MORRIS BIRKBECK (1734-1816). In the eighth volume of The Journal of the Friends Historical Society there appeared a sketch of the life of this prominent Friend and noted bibliographer, written by Isaac Sharp. In 1762 he married Hannah Bradford, of Lancaster, and had one son, Morris (1764-1825), farmer and author. In 1776 he married Sarah Hall, s.p. In 1773 he was in America. For many years he was a constant attender of Y.M. His home was Guildford in Surrey. "He was one of our little ministers, but was favoured with a sound judgment, and an enlarged understanding" (Records).

³² This was probably, SARAH BIRKBECK (1761-1833), daughter of John and Sarah (Wilson) Birkbeck, of Settle, N.W. Yorkshire, who

married, in 1799, Francis Fox, of Plymouth. Before her marriage she accompanied Sarah Harrison on her travels while in this country.

Birkbecks of Westmorland, 1900; Jnl. F.H.S. xiii. xv.; Wormall, Diary (in MS. in **D**.) of imprisonment in York Castle, 1795-1797.

³³ ANN GREENWOOD is not yet identified.

34 ALICE RIGGE (1728-1809), whose maiden name was Ecroyd, was a prominent Minister. She married, 1751, Isaac Rigge, of Kendal, maltster, and had issue. She was a member of the deputation from the Women's Meeting to request the establishment of a Yearly Meeting for Women, 1784.

Ecroyd, Smith of Cantley, 1878; Jnl. F.H.S. x. xv. xvi. xx. xxi. xxiii.; Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924.

³⁵ Presumably, SAMUEL ALEXANDER of Needham, Suffolk (1749-1824). J. Jenkins contrasts his manner of preaching—" words poured forth with irresistible impetuosity," with that of Thomas Colley's " sluggish delivery, words given as if with grudging and reluctance."

Piety Promoted, xi.

³⁶ HANNAH WIGHAM (c. 1741-1811), of Thaxted, was the daughter of William and Hannah Thistlethwaite of Richmond, Yorks. There was a Hannah Wigham, of Pontefract, Yorks, who visited Scotland and Ireland in the ministry, probably the same Friend.

Annual Monitor, 1813.

³⁷ GEORGE BRAITHWAITE (1747-1812) was a Minister, of Kendal. In 1767 he married Deborah, second daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson. She died in 1821 aged seventy-eight, having had seven children. G. Braithwaite was clerk of Y.M. in 1793.

Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924; Jnl. F.H.S. x. xiii. xxiii.; Braithwaite, Who are We? 1928.

³⁸ The home of the Hustler family was Undercliffe House, Bradford, Yorkshire. CHRISTIANA HUSTLER (c. 1732-1811) was a daughter of William Hird, of Apperley, and wife of John Hustler, II. (1715-1790) whom she married in 1763. "She was a noted Minister, ' of cultivated mind and gentle lady-like manner'" (Hodgson, Friends in Bradford, 1926).

Jnl. F.H.S. xiii. xv. xix. xxiii. xxiv.

³⁹ SARAH GRUBB, of Anner Mills (1746-1832), formerly Pim, was the wife of John Grubb (1737-1784), mill-owner, near Clonmel, Ireland. Her husband's early decease placed the responsibility of a large business upon his wife—" Sarah Grubb & Co., millers." Sarah Pim was the eldest of fifteen children; her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married with John Barclay Clibborn, had also fifteen children. Jnl. F.H.S. xvi.

⁴⁰ ELIZABETH BEVINGTON (1738-1813) was a daughter of Dr. Henry Portsmouth, of Basingstoke, Hants, and the second wife of Samuel Bevington (d. 1800), of London, who was a native of Eatington, in Warwickshire. During many years she was one of the Ministers of Gracechurch Street Meeting and generally beloved-propriety of action, clear distinct utterance and voice musically sweet. J. Jenkins, from whom the above has been obtained, records some absence of cordial fellowship between the Meeting of Ministers and Elders and E. Bevington.

Clerk: THOMAS HUNTLEY¹

Richard Cockin No report.

Our Yearly Meeting has been conducted with much moderation and harmony. Luckily we **Joseph (Doods**² had no Americans to tell us what the practice is in their country,³ and our Irish Brethren seemed contented to eat of the Fat of the Land without murmuring. The women (I ask pardon, I mean our women Friends) sent no proposals of innovation. They told us, however, as usual, that the Lord had owned them, an expression which, being so oft repeated, seems to imply a fear that they should find no owner.

[The above is from a letter to William Matthews, of Bath, see Matthews MSS. in **D.**, printed *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxii.]

NOTES

¹ THOMAS HUNTLEY (1733-1813) resided at Burford, Oxfordshire, throughout life. He conducted a school for over half a century. He was a son of Joseph and Mary Huntley; in 1770 he married Mary Coles, of Henley.

Smith, Cata.; Jnl. F.H.S. xv. xvii. xxi.

² JOSEPH WOODS (1738-1812) was a woollen-draper, in White Hart Court, London. In 1769, he married Margaret Hoare. From their eldest son, Samuel, is descended Frank Theodore Woods, present bishop of Winchester. J. Jenkins records incidents in the life of Joseph Woods.

Smith, Cata.; Woods, Family Records, 1918; Jnl. F.H.S. xiv. xvii.xix. xxii.; Matthews mss. in **D**.

³ The position in the Y.M. of FRIENDS FROM AMERICA was a very prominent one. The view of their position, taken by a section of English Friends, is described by James Jenkins in his notice of the Y.M. of 1785: "I have noticed that ministering friends from America, who, altho' they often preached excellently to us, yet in the meetings for discipline they frequently took the lead (not in condescension but) in that sort of dictatorial meddlement in the business of the meetings, which is seldom taken by modest strangers—even to apposite remarks. Answers frequently abrupt, and sometimes rude, were given by them, and if this happened to provoke a rejoinder of censure or reproof, they stood up, and defended each other with all the faithfulness and zeal of true confederacy."

On the other hand Richard Cockin refers frequently to the helpfulness of American visitors.

Clerk: GEORGE BRAITHWAITE

The 12th of the 5th mo. 1793 I again left home to attend the Yearly Meeting. On my way to Blyth on Hors-back, where Richard Cockin I was at meeting, I was favoured to witness fervant desires for preservation; and that, both in and out of meetings during this journey, I might be The meeting at Blyth felt kept in a humble watchful state. to me to be a low exercising season. In the evening I met Thomas and Jane Colley in one Single Horse Chaise, and Philip and Mary Madin¹ in a nother, at Mansfield, where we lodged. The 2nd night we lodged at Leister, and the third at Wellinborough, where our kind Friends Benjamin and Tabitha Middleton² very hospitably received us-and where the injoyment of social friendship and religious fellowship was gratefully experienced. Whilst there we heard of a burial to be at Hitchin the next day but one, which Thos. Colley inclined to attend, when we got there we found several Friends there, on their way to the Yearly Meeting, who also attended the burial, it was a season of favour, in the meeting Martha Routh, John Story, Esther Tuke, Elizth. Hoyland were engaged in Testimony and at the Grave side Martha Routh was clothed with the spirit of supplication. We got to Hartford in the evening where we slept at an Inn, as we had done some nights before; and about 12 o'Clock the next day I got well to London.

On Seventh-day the Meeting of Ministers and Elders were held, which, in the general, was a solid edifying season, many lively instructive observations were made during the reading of the Answers to the Queries perticularly by Samuel Emlin,³ whose animating manner was calculated to produce a quickning effect. On the reading the answers from the Quarterly Meeting of Cumberland and Northumberland, my mind was brought under exercise with an impression that it would be right for me to clothe my feelings with expression—but on reasoning upon the subject and considering my own unfitness to speak to any case in those Meetings, I became enfeebled, and the lively sensibility with which my mind was impressed seemed to subside, and the savour of life which I had been favoured to witness during the early part of the day did not continue with me to the close.

On *First-day* I was at Devonshire House Meeting where the Friends that was publickly engaged to advocate the cause of Truth were Martha Routh, John Abbott, Samuel Stott⁴ and Sarah Harrison⁵. I was also at Devonshire House Meeting in the *afternoon* which did not seem quite equal to the forenoon or at least I was not in so lively a susceptable state. John Story, Thomas Pole and Sarah Harrison were Publickly engaged.

Second-day morning at 7 o'Clock I met the Committee of Elders in order to prepare a report to lay before the adjourned Meeting of Ministers and Elders, which was adjourned to 9 o'Clock, when the Certificats of Samuel Emlin, Job Scott⁶ and Sarah Harrison were read, after which Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young⁷ spread before the Meeting the prospect of paying a visit to Friends in America, and produced Certificats which had been granted them from their Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, when much uniting sympathy and cordial unity was felt, and also expressed by many Friends; it was indeed a cementing heart-tendring season, the Meeting being babtised into a state of sollid feeling, and endearing fellowship with those dedicated Friends under their present The subject of paying a visit to the Meetings of exercise. Ministers and Elders was again resumed, which, after some consideration, was again defered. At four o'Clock the Yearly Meeting commenced, when as usual the names of the Representatives was called over, and the Committee for auditing the accounts were nominated, also the Committee for chusing a Clerk⁸, and on Appeals—then the Epistols from Foreign parts were read, and also that from the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia—after which the large Committee was appointed; in this sitting Samuel Emlin made some lively instructive observations, also Charles Parker⁹.

Third-day morning at 10 the Yearly Meeting again met and proceeded to read the Answers to the Queries, which occupied the whole of the day.

Fourth-day morning I was at Westminster Meeting, which was a solid good Meeting. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past three I attended the Committee of Elders to receive the different reports relative to the different Meetings of worship And at 4 o'Clock the Yearly Meeting again met when the remainder of the Answers to the Queries were read : there was attached to the Answers from Ireland, an abstract of a Testimony on behalf of Richd. Shackelton, which produced many instructive observations respecting Testimonies of deseased Friends, perticularly Saml. Emlin and Job Scott ; the subject was discussed in a very sollid manner, when it was at length concluded to let the further consideration thereof be left for a nother Yearly Meeting to conclude how such Testimonies should be disposed of. The meeting of Ministers and Elders was adjourned to

 $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'Clock on *Fifth-day morning*: this was a highly favoured sitting, when the concerns of our Friends Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young were under consideration, when many expressed their near unity and cordial sympathy with the dear Friends under their religious exercise to pay a visit to America, perticularly Job Scott, Thomas Colley, Samuel Emlin, Martha Routh, Elizth. Robinson, 10 John Story, Anna Prise,¹¹ with divers other Friends. The Yearly Meeting stood adjourned till 10 o'Clock when the minutes of the Meeting of Sufferings were read, which, with the discussion they produced, occupied the whole of this sitting, when the meeting adjourned to 4. The first business which came before the Meeting this afternoon was the consideration of addressing the King on the prospect of Warr,¹² this subject, with that of considering the best means of raising a subscription to defray the expence of Building the new Meeting Houses occupied the whole of this sitting.

On Sixth-day morning I was at the Meeting at Ratcliff which seemed to me to be a rather low season. At 4 in the afternoon the Yearly Meeting again sat down, when the report of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders was read, which produced a long discussion; the principle consideration which occupied the Meeting's attention was whether in appointments to visit Meetings of Ministers and Elders there should be any Friends appointed who were not members of those Meetings—divers Friends expressed there judgment there on, who were directly at varience on the subject after much time had been spent with discussing, the business was left just as it was before the discussion there on took place. The Yearly Meeting adjourned to

Seventh-day morning at eleven to give the large Committee more time, when that Committee brought in report on those subjects which were committed to its care, which reports the Yearly Meeting addopted as its minutes.

The Adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School was appointed to be at 5 o'Clock this afternoon, when a subject of difference of judgment betwixt the London and Country Committee's were brought forwards for decision. As it appeared to have exited considerable interest in each of the Committees, and was likely to occupy much time, the General Meeting agreed upon the manner in which the subject should be discussed—that each Committee should chuse three of their number to communicate to the Meeting the grounds of their differing in sentiment one from the other and that no other of the London or Country Friends should speak on the subject, excep one of those three, and that if any Friend wished for information respecting either of the Committees, that one of the three Friends were to give it. After the representatives of each of the Committees had had a full opportunity of advancing all the arguments they had to demonstrate the soundness of each of their views, and made an acknowledgement that they had been fully and fairly heard, the Meeting came to the conclusion that the judgment of the Friends of the Country Committee were most in accordance with the best interests of the Institution of Ackworth School. I being one of the three Friends to advocate the cause of the Country Committee, I had entered into the case with all the ability I was possessed of.13

First-day morning I was at Peel Meeting. The Friends engaged in Testimony were Wm. Crotch, John Merryweather¹⁴, Wm. Bleikley,¹⁵ and John Story, and Mary Watson¹⁶ and John Story were clothed with the spirit of Supplication—after meeting the conference of Elders was an instructive one. In the afternoon I was at Devonshire House Meeting, which felt to me to be a low laborious season, somewhat like toiling as in the night season and not obtaining. I was at a favoured tendring religious opportunity at Susanah Rows in the evening.

The Yearly Meeting stood adjourned to eleven o'Clock on Second-day, the first business that came before the Meeting was to call over the Corispondant Book, and enter divers additional Corrispondants both in London and the Country. The proposition for uniting Wainfleet and Spalding Monthly Meetings claimed the next consideration, when an appointment was made to pay a visit to those Meetings, and also the Quarterly Meeting of Lincoln. The minute relative to the desolving Beckels Mo. Meeting was then read and considered and defered to Norfolk and Norwich and Suffolk Quarterly Meetings. At this sitting Martha Routh and Anna Prise gave an account how the Womans Meeting had been held-what they had to communicate had a tendring solemnizing effect upon the Mens Meeting. The afternoon sitting was principly occupied with receiving the report of the Committee on appeals respecting John Roper [of Norwich],¹⁷ when it was agree'd that he should be placed in the same situation as he was when he appealed.

On Third-day morning the Committee on the Meeting Houses met at 7 o'Clock and agreed upon a report; and at eleven the Yearly Meeting again sat down, when the Epistoles to Forign parts were read, which occupied this sitting. which adjourned to 6 o'Clock in the evening, when the Committee on the Meeting Houses gave in their report. After which the General Epistol was read--when it was desired that Friends would gather into a quiet settlement. when Job Scott communicated how it had been with him during the Yearly Meeting, and how his mind had been impressed at the various sittings; he also adverted to the manner of Friends speaking in the Yearly Meeting and then enlarged on the commotions which prevailed in various parts of the world, and observed that it had for several years past been sealed upon his mind that the Lord was on His way to pul down mystry Babelon and also to shake those kingdoms which supported this [?] with their Laws. He enlarged greatly (in accordance with what is set forth in the revelations) how the Nations had pertook as of the abominations, and had drunk as of the cup of the Whore,

and who would have to pertake of her plagus; it was awfully impressive, the Meeting appearing to be solemnized in to much feeling—and under those impressions the Yearly Meeting closed on Third-day evening.

On Fourth-day morning at 7 o'Clock the Committee of Elders met to prepare their report, when I opened to the consideration of those present an exercise my mind had several times been under, as to the propriety of my communicating what I had apprehended would be of advantage to the conferences at the close of Meetings for Worship, if Women Friends in the Station of Elders were to meet with Men, seeing that it might frequently be the case that when occasion occur'd for it to be expedient to communicate a private hint to a Feemale, that one of their own sex might be more suitable then a Man, with such other observations as then appeared to me to add weight to the proposition of Men and Women Elders being united on those occasionsdivers Friends cordially united in what I proposed, and it was agree'd to propose to the Meeting of Ministers and Elders that in future Women Friends in the station of Elders should be appointed along with Men on those occasions. And it was also agree'd to propose that the advice to Ministers and Elders should be read in the first sitting of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders. Both those propositions were acceeded to by the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and directed by minute to be addopted at the next yearly Meeting.

The concluding Meeting of Ministers and Elders was a deeply instructive one; Job Scott was engaged with impressive weight to communicate the impressions his mind had been under during the Yearly Meeting, both as it related to Ministers and Elders-he said that a fear had attended his mind that some Ministers were in danger of moving on too superfitial ground, who did not wait for the constraining necessity, but was ready to set up their alter, and offer as under every green tree, not sufficiently attending to the budding and blossoming, before the fruit was preparedobserving that it was necessary for fruit to be matured and fully ripe before it was suitable to pertake of it; he illustrated this metopher with great debeth of instruction. And his observations respecting the office and duty of Elders was also very instructive, setting forth the necessity of their being deeply babtized in their spirits in order to rightly distinguish betwixt that which proceeded from the immortal birth and that which is produced by the will and activity of the creature.—Ministers were tenderly and also closly cautioned against gratifying the cravings of the People at Burials and other publick occasions. Samuel Emlin, Martha Routh, Esther Tuke, Anna Prise, Richd. Phillips,¹⁸ and Elizth. Hoyland were also engaged to minister in this highly favoured Meeting, which was to me a heart tendring season—and under the melting influence of this precious feeling, by which my spirit was clothed with devotional reverence I separated from my beloved Friend[s]—I was favoured to get safe home the 2nd of the 6th mo., after an absence of three weeks all but one night.

At the Yearly Meeting we were favor'd with the company and communications of Job Scott, from James Jenkins Providence, in Rhode Island, who ministered unto us with that energy of manner and rapid flow of native eloquence, which often enchains and delights attention; when warm'd with his subject his voice was extremely musical. In the last sitting he stood up and with melodious voice and much emphasis and solemnity, deliver'd a pretty long and prophetic address. He stated his strong impression that amidst the great commotions then prevalent in Europe, that Church would assuredly go down which had been so long and so truly stiled Antichrist by the professors of the religion of the meek and humble Jesus. . . . He advised Friends to be quiet and silent spectators of the awful scene. . . I recollect that it made a great impression on the Meeting at the time, but, as with myself, so I have reason to think it was with many others, that impression subsided, and was succeeded by a belief that this eminently qualified and excellent minister was, in what he said respecting the disturbance of Friends most assuredly mistaken. In 1798 the Pope Pius VI was dethroned without more disturbance to the Friends of this Country than the alighting of a fly on the dome of their famous Cathedral. [J. J. continues with remarks on "the dismal forebodings of American prophets and prophetesses," and concludes : "Ever since I was a boy in Ireland my faith in gallery-prophesy has been feeble."]

[A review of the Yearly Meeting of 1793, written by John Fletcher (1761-1830), of Cumberland, was printed in the Friends' Ouarterly John Metcher Examiner, Fourth Month, 1895. The style is more educated than that of R. Cockin, but we miss the personal element of the narrative of the latter Friend. John Fletcher conceives that Samuel Emlen "labours under great bodily infirmity, and the attendance of these meetings seems a task rather too much for his shattered fabrick." It is further said that, on the subject of the cost of the new meeting houses, "S. Emlen belaboured the wealthy Londoners, and said if half-a-dozen of them, rolling in gold, would subscribe the sum required, it would be a noble and worthy act, and though they might know they had done such a thing, they would not feel it." A subscription list was opened in the Library, and at a later sitting the receipt of f2,000 was reported, which did not quite cover the deficiency.]

From the Women's Meeting, M. Routh and myself were deputed to attend the Men's Meeting to inform them how it had been con-Anna Orice ducted. Samuel Emlen spoke very encouragingly on behalf of women Friends, as did J. Abbott. We were followed out of meeting by a certain young man, who was fearful we should be too much set up, and convey too much encouragement to Women's Meetings. spoke to M. R. who was a match for him. I said nothing, but was painfully sensible that the life which was in Christ, and may also be in us, was not so in dominion in the Men's Meeting as I thought we had witnessed it. Painful is the jealousy of Men Friends. (Friends' Quarterly Examiner. 1894, p. 195.)

NOTES

¹ PHILIP MADIN (1733-1804) lived at Sheffield. He was associated with Thomas Colley in religious work at home and abroad.

² BENJAMIN MIDDLETON (1746-1814), of Wellingborough, married Tabitha Hoyland (c. 1750-1809); their daughter Maria (1793-1844) married Samuel Fox, of Wellington, Somerset. TABITHA MIDDLETON was one of the women who pleaded for a Women's Y.M. in 1784. ³ SAMUEL EMLEN (1729/30-1799) was of Philadelphia, a noted Minister. He paid seven visits to Europe and took a prominent part in the service of the Y.M. He was a great and constant preacher. J. Jenkins narrates that once, "being in a friends family with Samuel Neale from Ireland, by way of a social visit, scarcely were they seated before S. Emlen began preaching, upon which S. Neale, clapping his hand on the knee of S. Emlen, said to him : 'Come Sammy, let us enjoy our friends company and not be always preaching to them—they hear from us a good deal in that way at Meeting,'" In 1764 he married Elizabeth Moode, of Philadelphia, who died in 1767, and, later he married Sarah Mott.

Jnl. F.H.S. various vols., esp. xv. xx.; Gummere, John Woolman, 1922; Jenkins, Records; Piety Promoted, x. 1838.

4 SAMUEL STOTT (c. 1718-1796) was a Minister, of Edmundsbury (Bury St. Edmunds), in Suffolk. He was in Ireland in 1753 with William Reckitt—" Samuel was wholly silent in Cork and Bandon, and they made but a short stay"—and in Scotland in 1767. J. Jenkins states that "he was unhappily involved in a difference (about pecuniary matters) with another minister, Benjamin Evens, of Woodbridge."

Jnl. F.H.S. ii. x. xiii. xiv.

⁵ SARAH HARRISON (1746-1812) was a daughter of Rowland Richards, of Chester County, Pa. She was the wife of Thomas Harrison, of Philadelphia (c. 1740-1815). They had a family of ten sons (1765-1778), of which there were two Johns, two Thomas's, and four Samuels. She was in Europe 1792-1799. After enumerating twelve American Ministers present in Y.M., 1784, and "the exclusive tone" of each, J. Jenkins refers to S.H.: "On comparing the different tones with musical instruments, it several times struck me that when she preached we heard with pleasure 'the deep, majestic solemn organ blow.'"

⁶ JOB SCOTT (1751-1793), of Providence, Rhode Island, came to Europe in 1793 on a religious visit, and died in Ireland, at the house of Elizabeth Shackleton at Ballitore.

His *fournal* was first published in 1797 and his *Works* in 1831. Extracts from his writings have appeared, edited by John E. Southall in 1911, and by Henry W. Wilbur in 1912; etc.

⁷ DEBORAH DARBY (1754-1810) was a daughter of John and Hannah Barnard, of Upperthorpe, near Sheffield, Yorkshire. In 1776 she married Samuel, son of Abraham and Abiah Darby, of Coalbrookdale. Her visit to the States will ever be memorable in connection with the conversion of Stephen Grellet.

Jnl. F.H.S. various reff., esp. vol. \mathbf{x} .; reff. in many biographies; ms. Memoirs, in \mathbf{D} .

⁷ REBECCA YOUNG (1758-1834) was a daughter of John and Jane Young, of Shrewsbury. She was the companion of D. Darby for many years. They were in America 1793-1796. In 1800 she married William Byrd, of Marnhull, Dorset.

Jnl. F.H.S. reff. under D. Darby, and esp. vols. x. XXi.

⁸ An Addendum to London Yearly Meeting during 250 Years, 1919, gives a list of the eighty-two holders of the CLERKSHIP (two more added to date) and describes the various methods adopted in their appointment to office. In the first instance the Recording Clerk acted; in 1704 and two subsequent years John Field held the position; from 1707 to 1807 the Clerks were appointed according to certain specified districts, no Friend serving more than once and representatives only being eligible. Thence forward appointments have been made as found desirable.

9 CHARLES PARKER (c. 1752-1822) was a Minister, of Yealand, in North Lancashire, and a flax-dresser. His wife, Sarah, died in 1816, and daughter Dorothy in 1831, aged forty-three. He died at Needham Market, at the house of Samuel Alexander. Stephen Grellet writes of him: "My long beloved, valuable and aged friend," anno 1820.

Annual Monitor, 1823, 1832; Carr, Thomas Wilkinson, 1905, p. 142.

¹⁰ ELIZABETH ROBINSON. Was this a slip for Elizabeth Gibson, who was Robinson till 1778?

11 ANNA PRICE (c. 1759-1846), née Tregelles, married Peter Price (d. 1821) in 1781, and they had ten children. Their home was Neath Abbey, in South Wales. T. Mardy Rees quotes her, writing from Abbey, in South Wales. T. Mardy Rees quotes her, writing from London before marriage: "I am sitting down in the country house, writing, while our dear Friends, Rachel Wigham and Barbara Drewry sit smoking their pipes, and other Friends are in the parlour " (The Quakers in Wales, 1925, where may be read particulars of the Price family). Anna Price was one of the last of the correspondents of R. Cockin.

¹² Apparently, the Y.M. delegated the question to the Meeting for Sufferings-that body addressed the King on the existing war. War against France had been declared in February.

Souvenir of Presentations of Addresses to the Throne, 1910.

¹³ The adjournments of the meetings of the Ackworth School Committee held during Y.M. were often very trying times, there being much divergence of view between the country portion of the com-mittee and the Town section. In 1871, John S. Rowntree reported that it was " concluded to discontinue holding the adjourned G.M. for Ackworth School in Y.M. time. An excellent decision."

14 JOHN MERRYWEATHER (c. 1757-1827), of Ringwood, Hants., married Mary Davis, of Minehead, the fiancée of Joshua Sparrow, who, with Edith Lovell, was drowned in the Irish Channel in 1781. He was in Ireland in 1801-2, on Gospel service; and was clerk of Y.M. in 1804. Merryweather Farm was long in the possession of this family. Jul. F.H.S. vii. xv.

¹⁵ WILLIAM BLECKLEY (1738-1794) was the forty-first Clerk of Y.M., in 1780. His home was Long Stratton, co. of Norfolk. He married Sarah Springall.

Clarke, Bleckleys and Springalls, 1911; Jnl. F.H.S. vii-ix.

¹⁶ MARY WATSON (1750-1834) was a daughter of Joseph and Hannah Fothergill, of Warrington, and a niece of Samuel Fothergill, by whom she was brought up. In 1771 she married Robert Watson, an eminent merchant, of Waterford, Ireland, and she resided in that city for the remainder of her life. J. Jenkins writes: "I dearly loved her company, not only because she was kind and courteous, but to whatever subject my enquiries were directed, I always met with a ready answer." J. J. had recently come of age. Jnl. F.H.S. vii. xiii, xv. xvi. xviii. xx.

¹⁷ JOHN ROPER (c. 1724-1798) entered the Society from the Anglican Church, and became a useful Minister. J. Jenkins has much to record respecting him: "His voice [as a Minister] was of singular tone, but he spoke energetically. . . . He travelled for orders as a silk merchant under the firm of Roper, Toll & Co." He came under dealing in consequence of a dispute with Toll, and appealed to Y.M. 1785, but lost his case. On this case Elihu Robinson wrote: "John Roper found that he could now conform and submit to the advice of Friends, that, though when the report of the Committee of Appeals was read, he found the man's part a little stirred, but now found much peace in submitting to the advice of the Church." His subscription to Meeting funds was declined.

But it appears from R. Cockin's note that there was another appeal in 1793, which presumably resulted in his being replaced as a Minister. Journal of Joseph Oxley, 1837; Jnl. F.H.S. xiii.

¹⁸ RICHARD PHILLIPS (1756-1836), of London, was a conveyancer by profession and a considerable preacher—" the tones of his fine melodious voice often swelled into a chant." He was associated with Elizabeth Fry in several religious journeys. J. Jenkins styles him " the *honest* Attorney." His wife was Sarah Corbyn (d. 1819), youngest daughter of Thomas Corbyn.

Memoir, 1841; Jnl. F.H.S. xiv. xv. xx. xxiii.

Clerk: JOSEPH GURNEY BEVAN

Some account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in the year 1794. I set out from home **Richard Cochin** the 11th of 5th Month on Horsback and by appointment met Nathan Dearman¹ at Chesterfield. We called to see Ruth Fallows² at Castledunington, which was cheeringly pleasant, she appeared to be clothed with spiritual greenness; altho we called upon Friends on our way to London at divers places besids, I kept no account of any other occurance on the road; we reached London on 5th-day afternoon.

On Sixth-day foor-noon I attended a Meeting for worship; in which George Dilwin and Samuel Emlin were clothed with Gospel authority to preach with demonstrative efficacy to the tendring the spirits of many present. In the *afternoon* I was at the Adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School, which was as usual a trying meeting; it was proposed that the two Committees should meet the next morning, Seventh-day at eight o'clock in order to discuss some subjects where in they could not cordially concur. At 10 o'clock the Meeting of Ministers and Elders begunduring the reading the answers to the queries divers observations were made, calculated to excite Friends to an increase of vigilence in the attendance of their various duties—the remainder of the answers were read in the *afternoon* sitting.

On First-day morning I was at Devonshire House Meeting, the Friends engaged in publickly advocating the cause of Truth were Mary Loyd, Pheby Blakes³ and Geo. Dilwin, and Martha Routh was engaged in supplication. In the afternoon I was at Ratcliff Meeting where Richard Low, Richard Baker, and Mary Proud⁴ were engaged to labour in publick.

The Meeting of Ministers and Elders stood adjourned to nine o'clock on Second-day; at this sitting John Wigham⁵ and Martha Routh spread their prospects of paying a visit to Friends in America, and many Friends expressed near unity and sympathy, indeed the currant of unity and incourageing approbation flowed very freely. Ann Tuke was engaged in supplication, so that it was a memorable sitting. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the Yearly Meeting begun, when was read the account from America of the pestilential fever⁶ that had been so prevalent, with an interesting report of the attention that had been paid to Indian concerns, giving a circumstantial relation of the journey which some Friends had taken to attend a conference with the Indians⁷--those accounts from America produced a very impressive effect upon the Meeting, exciting a tender and lively feeling of near sympathy with our Friends in Philadelphia where the fever had been so prevalent. The Committees were nominated for auditing the Yearly Meetings accounts and on Appeals and also the large Committee for answer the Forign Epistols-and the Counties whose turn it was to chuse a Clerk called over.

The whole of *Third-day* was occupied with reading the answers to the queries and a few Testimonies of Ministers deceased in the course of last year—divers observations were made on the deficiencies in the answers, tending to excite Friends to more faithfulness in the support of our various testimonies.

Fourth-day morning I was at Westminster Meeting, where the Friends ingaged in Testimony were Fredk. Smith⁸, Josuah Wheeler⁹, John Abbott, Nicholas Naftel,¹⁰ Martha Howarth,¹¹ and John Thorp,¹² and Sarah Trigallis¹³ in supplication.

The Yearly Meeting was adjourned to *four*, when the remainder of the answers to the queries were read—at this sitting a discussion respecting Tiths took place, when, at length, the subject was referred to the large Committee; at the close of this sitting the large Committee met and seperated sub Committees for the purpose of preparing a General Epistol and also answering the different Forign Epistols.

On *Fifth-day morning* at 9 o'clock the Meeting of Ministers and Elders met according to adjournment, when the

Committees that were appointed to prepare Certificats for John Wigham and Martha Routh presented them, and the Friends who were nominated to draw up a report of the state of the select Meetings, as conveyed to the Meeting of Ministers and Elders in London in order to be laid before the Yearly Meeting was read at this sitting-and the subject was again revived at this sitting of paying a visit to the Select Quarterly and Monthly Meetings; when, after considerable discussion, the subject was left just as it was taken up. At this sitting Joseph Williams proposed that the Elders should hold a conference them selves to consider the state of the Ministry, previous to their sitting down in their Select Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, the same as was practised in Ireland; divers Friends united in the proposal, but after many others communicated their doubts as to the expediency of this Meeting recomending the addoption thereof, as a general practice, Friends were left at liberty to act as they apprehended would most conduce to the best interests of Meetings and Individuals.

At four o'clock the Yearly Meeting again met, when the minuts of the Meeting for Sufferings were read—one of which proposed an alteration being made in the times of holding their Meetings. The subject of the Slave Trade was also discussed at this sitting, and the Committee consisting of one representative from each Quarterly Meeting who had had the subject of altering the mode of Registering Marriages, Births, and Burials, were called upon for their report, which however was not quite ready. The Counties were called over to know if there were any propositions to lay before the Yearly Meeting, which was refered to the large Committee.

Sixth-day morning the large Committee met at 7 o'clock when the subject respecting Tiths in kind was largely discussed, and after about two hours being occupied with the subject, it was concluded to continue in the same practice as had been addopted heretofore. The Committee adjourned to II, when the Proposition from Westmoreland was considered respecting the granting and signing Certificats, which also occupied a long time, and which was left as it was taken up. The Yearly Meeting stood adjourned to four o'clock when an account of the Books that was on hand that was the property of the Yearly [Meeting] was given, which produced a pritty long discussion; and it was also considered whether the Book of Extracts should be printed or not—which after some discussion was agree'd to be put off till next year;¹⁴ During this sitting a proposition was made to visit the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, which the Meeting did not unite with.

Seventh-day morning the large Committee met at 7 o'clock. when the Proposition from Lancashire was considered, respecting what was the proper business of Preparitive The subject was fully entered into, and Friends Meetings. in each Quarterly Meeting gave an account what were their practice—some doubted whether it was of any real advantage holding Preparitive Meetings at all; it however appeared the prevailing sense of the Committee that holding Preparitive Meetings under proper regulations were of advantage; and it then became the consideration of the Committee what was the proper business of Preparitive Meetings: this opened a wide field for discussion, at length it was concluded to appoint a sub-Committee to digest the subject, and prepare a report to a future Meeting-this Committee was nominated so as to have Friends who were of different sentiments upon it—they could not however at their first sitting unite in judgment, there being so great a difference in sentiment on the subject.

At *four o'clock* the Yearly Meeting again met when the Committee on the Marriage Certificats and Birth and Burial records brought in their report, which produced a pritty long discussion. At 7 the large Committee sat down again, when the subject of the business of Preparitive Meetings was largely and painfully debated upon and at length concluded to propose to the Yearly Meeting what appeared the general sense of the Committee, which however was not cordially united with by some Friends.

On *First-day morning* I was at Ratcliff Meeting; the Friends engaged in Publick were Hannah Wigham, Joseph Elger¹⁵ and — Greenwood. I was also at the same Meeting in the *afternoon*, where Timothy Bevington,¹⁶ Hannah Wigham and Thos. Speetman¹⁷ was engaged in Testimony.

On Second-day morning the large Committee met at 7, when most of the Forign Epistols were brought in. The Yearly Meeting stood adjourned till II o'clock, when the subject was resumed respecting the Yearly Meeting receiving

Testimonies respecting such Friends who had been examplry Charactors in our Society, and who had devoted much time to promote the best interests thereof, but who had not been recorded as Ministers-this subject occupied a considerable time in discussion, but Friends could not unite so as to record what was the judgment of the Meeting there on, it was therefore refered till a nother year. The Counties were then called over to inquire what had been done in consequence of the writen Epistol of last year, when it appeared that in some places both Monthly and Perticular meetings had been visited and also the Families of Friends ---in other places only the Individuals had been visited whose practice had occasioned exceptions in the answers to the queries; it however appeared that, upon the whole, casses which had occasion the Epistol to be issued had been attended to.

The Adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School stood adjourned untill 5 o'clock this evening, when the subject of receiving Legicies from persons who were not members of our Society was considered—this opened a wide field for discussion during which time there were two minutes essayed, one that it would be right to receive legaces of such, and another that it would not, at length it was concluded not to make any minute on the subject seeing that Friends could not come to an united judgment there on. There was also a nother subject connected with the affairs of the Institution at Ackworth in which Friends could not accord in sentiment, that of purchasing land in addition to the Estate already purchased at Ackworth-after considerable discussion it was agreed to appoint a Committee consisting of nine Friends with two of the London Committee and two of the Country Committee to assist in giving information respecting the sentiments of each Committee. This was a long trying sitting.

Third-day morning the large Committee met again at 7 o'clock as did also the Committee on the Ackworth concerns. The Yearly Meeting stood adjourned to 11. At this sitting the reduced state of our Society in Wales was considered—this was a very sollid opportunity wherein Friends entered with much feeling into the state of our Society in those parts, and six Friends gave up their names to pay a visit to endeavour to strengthen the things which remained, but which appeared ready to die. The next subject that came before us was the report of the Committee relative to the New Meeting Houses which produced a pritty long discussion, both with respect to the further conveniences being wanted and also the further sum of two thousand five hundred Pounds being necessary to accomplish what was wanting, and how that sum would be most suitably raised, occupied a considerable time in arranging. The consideration of subjects of a temporal nature, where the raising of mony is associated there with mostly produces a dicipating enfeebling influence over a Meeting. After spending a considerable time upon the subject, it was refer'd to the Meeting for Sufference. The next consideration which came before the Yearly Meeting was the religious state of Beckels Mo. Meeting, which was concluded not to be disolved.

The second adjournment of the General Meeting for Ackworth School was to meet at 5 o'clock this evening, which many Friends almost dredded attending from an apprehension that it would be a painfully trying one; but so it was that it proved a sollid comfortable sitting—the various subjects which came under consideration were discussed and concluded in a very harmonious manner, to the humble admiration of many.

Fourth-day morning the large Committee again met. and at II o'clock the Yearly Meeting sat down. The first business which came before us was receiving the report of the Friends who were appointed last year to visit the Meetings in Lincolnshire—after several observations respecting the state of Friends in the County and the perticular sittuation of Wainfleet Mo. Meeting, the Committee was discharged, and the sittuation of Wainfleet Mo. Meeting recommended to the perticular attention of Lincoln Quarterly Meeting. The consideration of shortning the duration of the Yearly Meeting came next under the attention of this sitting, in order if possible to have the business of the Yearly Meeting transacted in less time, which consideration was to be resumed a nother year; that which would contribute much towards both shortning the time of the Yearly Meeting, and increasing the weight there of, would be, Friend's own wills being more under the regulating power of the Divine Will, subjecting the

reasoning faculty of the Creature-and also, by Friends not urging their sentiments by speaking a second and a third time on the same subject, and to transact the business which comes before them in the spirit of harmony and brotherly condecention; but for want of this being as a governing principle, by which the dispositions of those who take an active part in our Meetings are regulated and influenced, our sittings are unprofitably protracted, and the solemn weight there of lessen'd.

At this sitting Ann Tuke and Margt. Hoyland¹⁸ acompanied by Martha Rowth and Margt. Allen¹⁹ paid us a visit. All the Friends were engaged in Testimony and Ann Tuke in supplication. The Yearly Meeting adjourned to five o'clock. The clerk reading the concluding minute was so affected that he wept, which seem'd to defuse a tendring influence over the Meeting and under this solemn covering the Meeting closed.

I was favoured to reach home in safty having been absent three Weeks.

Sixth-day 16th at meeting in the New Women's Meeting Room, the first Meeting ever held in it, John Lecky²⁰ the number of persons present & they mostly of the Society was computed to 1,500, a great Number of Ministers but from the great crowd they were obliged to be scatter'd all over the Meeting. Several spoke & some largely . . . Y.M. began on Second-day at four. The new Men's Room was fill'd &

the number of Friends present computed by some at 1,200, but I think 950 or 1,000 nearer the Number. (Inl. F.H.S. xv. 3.)

NOTES

¹ NATHAN DEARMAN (1741-1811) lived at Thorne, and later near Barnsley, in Yorkshire. He was a son of John Dearman, of Wakefield. His first wife was Mary Huitson, their daughters married into the families of Backhouse, Robson and Mennell. His second wife was Mary Linskill, widow.

Ecroyd, Smith of Cantley, 1878.

² RUTH FOLLOWS (Fallows) (1717-1809) was a daughter of Richard and Ruth Alcock, of Weston, in Nottinghamshire, and wife of George Follows, of Castle Donington, in Leicestershire. She exercised a gift in the ministry for sixty years. Memoirs, 1829; Smith, Cata.

³ PHEBE BLAKES (1741-1814) was a daughter of John and Sarah Marshall, of Rawdon Meeting, Yorkshire. She married James Blakes, of Leeds, in 1784, who died in 1819, aged seventy-one.

Jnl. F.H.S. xvi.

⁴ MARY PROUD (1742-1826) was a daughter of Rowland and Elizabeth Jones, of Ross. Her first marriage was to a non-Friend. In 1775 she married William Proud, of Hull, and in 1803, with husband and daughter Rachel Proud, she removed into Essex.

Testimony; Jnl. F.H.S. xiii.-xv. xvi. xxiii.

⁵ JOHN WIGHAM (1749-1839) was of the Northumberland family, of Coanwood (Cornwood), and was later of Scotland. His trans-atlantic journeyings occupied the years 1794-1797. Elizabeth Fry describes him, in 1808, as "a nice old man in the lower line of life." Wigham and Martha Routh met frequently in America.

⁶ There is a chapter in *The Life of William Savery*, by F. R. Taylor, 1925, on the YELLOW FEVER, 1793. Several Friends died—Daniel Offley, Charles Williams, Joseph Moore—and others were attacked but recovered—Rebecca Jones, Stephen Grellet.

Cresson, Meditations during the Prevalence of the Yellow Fever . . . in 1793; Bulletin F.H.S. vi. viii; Comly, Misc., many reff., esp. ii. 342; Jnl. F.H.S. xv. 115.

⁷ Francis R. Taylor gives a chapter in his *Life of William Savery*, published in 1925, to "The Attempted Indian TREATY of 1793."

⁸ FREDERICK SMITH (1757-1823) became a Friend in 1786 and, later, a Minister. He was a chemist, in the Haymarket, London, till about 1806, when he retired to Croydon.

Autobiography, 1848; Smith, Cata.; Jnl. F.H.S. xiv. XV. xix. xxiii.

⁹ JOSHUA WHEELER (1755-1803) lived at Hitchin. He was a son of Rudd and Fidelity Wheeler, of the same place. His first wife was Elizabeth Brown, of Ampthill, who died in 1793; in 1795 he married Elizabeth, daughter of William Tuke, of York.

Piety Promoted, x. 1838.

¹⁰ NICHOLAS NAFTEL (c. 1762-1842) lived in the Island of Guernsey in early life. He married Mary Higman (1756-1820), of St. Austell, in 1789, and in 1804 they quitted the Island, but N. N. returned thither after his wife's death. Both husband and wife were Ministers.

Jnl. F.H.S. xiii. xiv. xv. xviii. xxiii.

¹¹ MARTHA HAWORTH (Howarth) (1750-1799) was the daughter of George and Martha Haworth, of Shuttleworth Hall, Lancs. She was a Minister about twenty-seven years. Thomas Wilkinson writes of her as "a young heroine" (Carr, *Thomas Wilkinson*, 1905, p. 90). J. Jenkins records her death "of an illness contracted (in the course of a religious visit) by sleeping next to a damp wall, which she thought the delicate constitution of her companion unable to bear. She was a Minister possessed of a large gift . but she frequently exhibited gestures that were by many (I thought) too severely condemned."

Martha Routh, 1822.

¹² JOHN THORP (1742-1817) was a native of Wilmslow in Cheshire. He joined Friends in 1762 and settled in Manchester in 1767. In 1769 he married Martha Goodier, and in 1775 he married Martha Cash, of Morley. J. Jenkins is gratified to hear that Thorp's *Letters* were published "without having been previously submitted to the over-cautious criticism of the Morning Meeting."

Letters, 1820; Smith, Cata.; Jnl. F.H.S. v.

¹³ SARAH TREGELLES. Perhaps, the wife of Joseph Tregelles, of Falmouth. She died in 1811, aged about 75.

¹⁴ BOOK OF EXTRACTS. The question of a revision of the Book of 1783 and Appendix of 1792, raised this year, caused much debate. In 1796 a proposal to reprint was negatived; in 1797 it was agreed that the subject should "lay over for another year"; in 1799 the work of revision and addition was handed to the Meeting for Sufferings. The second edition appeared in 1802; J. Jenkins states that the new edition was given *in exchange* for the old one, free of expense. The first edition was not held as private property but belonged to the Monthly Meeting of the holder.

¹⁵ JOSEPH ELGAR (1731-1804) lived at Folkestone. J. Jenkins records: "As a Minister (I understand) he was not eminent, but that his communications were generally acceptable, and his public prayers uncommonly weighty and solemn."

Jnl. F.H.S. xxi.

¹⁶ TIMOTHY BEVINGTON (c. 1727-1802), of Worcester, married Hannah, daughter of Joseph and Ann Freeth, of Coventry, in 1750. (She was born in 1727 and died in 1791). He was prosperous in the trade of a glover, but was much reduced financially in his later days.

Jenkins, Records; Jnl. F.H.S. vii. x.

¹⁷ THOMAS SPEAKMAN (c. 1745-1823) was a Minister, of Reading Meeting.

Annual Monitor, 1824.

¹⁸ MARGARET HOYLAND (1765-1833) was a daughter of Nathaniel and Jane English, of Sheepscar, Leeds. On becoming the wife of Joseph Hoyland, and after a short residence in Sheffield, they removed to Waterford, Ireland, After her husband's decease (1801) she continued his business of druggist. Upon retiring from business she went to reside at Taunton in Somerset and thenafter returned to Ireland.

Annual Monitor, 1834; Jnl. F.H.S. iii. xv.

¹⁹ MARGARET ALLEN (1747-1830), *née* Stafford, was the wife of Job Allen (1734-1800), and mother of William Allen, F.R.S. "A valuable Minister, full of good works among the poor and afflicted" (*Stephen Grellet*).

Sturge, Leaves from the Past, 1905; Jnl. F.H.S. xxv.

²⁰ JOHN LECKY (1764-1839) was the eldest son of Robert Lecky, of Youghal (d. 1772). He married in 1796, Susanna, daughter of Joseph Jacob, of Waterford.

Jnl. F.H.S. XV. XX.

Clerk: LAWRENCE CANDLER^I

Richard Cockin No report.

Fifth Month 18th, at four to the opening of the Yearly Meeting for business. Felt a Willingness to bear my burthen and exercise in silence and did so for some time, but at length seemed as though I could not avoid bearing testimony against a forward active spirit. . . The state of the little society at Pyrmont in Germany came under consideration. The way closed up for making such a visit. . . I was much exercised during the Yearly Meeting and my health impaired (Memoirs, 1845, p. 166).

NOTES

¹ LAWRENCE CANDLER (c. 1748-1820), of Cringleford Mill, near Norwich, was an Elder and his wife a Minister. Elizabeth Gurney records: "As I was reading to my children in the laundry, my father brought in Lawrence Candler and John Kirkham. As soon as I had finished reading we were all silent. . . Many of my dear children were much affected by what was said."

² THOMAS SCATTERGOOD (1748-1814) was the son of Joseph and Rebecca Scattergood, of Burlington, New Jersey. He became a prominent Philadelphian Friend. He was in Europe 1794 to 1800. J. Jenkins describes him as "a mournful prophet" and records a saying of his: "'Friends, the sound of the distress which is coming upon you is in my ears, and I cannot leave you until it has fulfilled its commission, spent its fury and passed by.'. The calamity never came." R. Cockin reports that when T. Scattergood asked for a returning certificate, "divers Friends expressed near unity in his religious services."

Memoirs, 1844, 1845; Fourth and Arch Centennial, Phila., 1904; Jenkins, Records, freq.; Bulletin F.H.S.

Clerk: ROBERT FOWLER^I

Richard Cockin No report.

A proposal to reprint the Book of Abstracts was negatived. Thomas Scattergood **John fletcher** warned Friends that they ought not to make *law* too cheap; that its general diffusion might make clever civilians but not therefore the most useful members of Society—"the letter killeth" (Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1894, p. 467).

NOTE

¹ ROBERT FOWLER (1755-1825) lived at Melksham in Wiltshire. He married, in 1790, Rachel Barnard, of Coalbrookdale; descendants have occupied prominent places in Church and State. James Jenkins met R. Fowler at Stratford-on-Avon in 1784, but the latter "after a short hesitation, declined the indulgence of his curiosity 'in things unfit for a Friend."

Clerk: JOSEPH GIBBINS¹

Some account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in the year 1797. On the 16th of the 5th **Richard Cockin** mo. I left home accompanied by Hannah Grant and several other of the girls who were then at the School at York. I had seven of them under my care, some of whome seperated from me on the road. I reached London on *Fourth-day evening*, and on *Fifth-day* I made many calls, partly on Business and partly calls of friendship. At Joseph Smith's² in Broad Street I met with David Sands,³ who gave me an interesting account of his visit to Germany and France. [Here follows information respecting Friends in the two countries.]

Sixth-day morning I attended the Meeting which was held in the new Men's Meeting House at Devonshire House, to me a replenishing season.

Seventh-day morning at 10 o'clock the Meeting of Ministers and Elders begun. When the answers to the queries were all read, there appeared a considerable exercise over the Meeting on account of the deficiences which appeared in this part of the Body, and divers Friends were engaged with lively zeal to endeavour to excite a more vigilent concern in the minds of Ministers and Elders after an increase of love and good works. David Sands suggested that as the Meeting had sat long, and the subject was of great importance, he wished Friends to closly attend to their various exercises and to resume the consideration of the subject at a future Meeting.

First-day evening, I was at Devonshire House David Sands was largely and livingly engaged. Before he entered upon the subject which had opened upon his mind, he addressed those who were the most distant, observing that if they would be still and quiet, he would exert all the faculties. he was possessed of, to make them both hear and understand the subject which had occupied his mind in the Meeting during his sitting in silence. It was the declaration of Christ Himself that except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood ye have no life in you. At the close he addressed those who did not profess with Friends, acknowledging their quiet, solid behaviour, which he said had been a comfort to him.

Second-day morning at 10 the adjourned Meeting of Ministers and Elders sat down. After an exercise and fervancy of solicitude that this part of the Body might be helped, it appeared as if the Meeting would nominate a Committee to visit all the Meetings of Ministers and Elders and also the Individual Members thereof. It was, however, at length concluded to appoint a Committee to prepare a minute of advice on the subject, and to recommend to Quarterly Meetings the appointing of Committees of visitation. William Savery,⁴ in a most impressive manner, contrasted the practice of Friends too generally now, with the practice of the Primitive believers, who sold their possessions and brought the prise there of and laid it at the Apostals feet-that Friends in too general a way were endeavouring to grasp after the things of this life and to increase their possessions therein, notwithstanding divers appeared to take much pains to keep the out side clean. He observed many who were very exact about the cut and shape of their cloths, who would even strain at a gnat, but when he came to their Houses, he found they were not redeemed from the world, yea, it appeared to him as if some would even comparitively swallow a Camil.

At four oclock the Yearly Meeting began it was agreed that this year seperate Committees should be chose for each service and not a large Committee as in former years. Several of the Forign Epistols having expressed the near sympathy that had been felt towards the Friends that were confined in the Castle at York,⁵ on account of our Testimony against the support of an hireling Ministry; it was agreed to make extracts there from, to be communicated to the Friends in prison.

Third-day afternoon. Before entering upon the business Wm. Savery cautioned Friends against making apologies for speaking or introductory prefaces before communicating what they had to offer, observing that if the subject was worth hearing, it did not need an apology, and if it was not, an appology would not add weight to it.

Fourth-day afternoon. The state of Society as represented in the answers to the queries, came under consideration, when David Sands observed that retaining unsound Members amongst us was like having so many dead weights upon us, which prevented us from journeying forwards in the Heavenly journey—something like a Woman carrying a number of dead Children upon her back, which rendered her scarse able to sucker the living Child at her brest.

Thomas Scattergood was largely engaged in Fifth-day. Testimony, where in he had to notice the great overturnings that was to take place in many parts of the World, and that the clouds appeared to be still gathering and big with tempestuous stormes; he, in much awfulness warned Friends to endeavour to have a place of safety to retire to, as unto a quiet habitation. William Savery was engaged to demonstrate the great hurt that riches had done-that now Friends was seeking for them selves and Children great things. their City Houses and their Country Houses, and when they had got one ten thousand, they were anxious to grasp after another, as if they were to have a continuing City here. And David Sands urged that Friends would contract their temporal concerns-that common prudence pointed out the expediency thereof, as, in a squally sea, the sails were gathered into as little compass as possible. Thus were those dear Friends engaged to admonish, exhort, and caution us. It was indeed a memorable season.

Sixth-day afternoon. The Quarterly Meetings were called over to know if there were any propositions. The Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex proposed that the minute restricting the appointment of Representatives in Select Meetings to Elders should be resinded, and that Ministers should be indiscriminately nominated along with Elders in future, which, after much discussion, was agreed to. There was also a proposition from Wales setting forth the expediency of discontinuing the holding of Yearly and Quarterly Meetings and in the room there of to have two half-yearly Meetings,⁶ which was refer'd to a Committee.

Seventh-day forenoon. A proposition from Ireland was considered, which proposed discontinuing appointing representatives to the Yearly Meeting in London. After a pretty

long discussion it was concluded to let the subject lay over untill another year. The Meeting for Sufferings brought before the Meeting the situation of the Friends in Germany, when it appeared that there was a want of harmony amongst them, when Wm Savery and David Sands gave an account of their visit amongst the Friends in those parts-how a reconciliation had taken place at Permont and Friends had embraced one another with open arms. I thought the attending of this Meeting was worth coming to London. Both Friends were impressed with an encouraging prospect that there would be raised up, both in Germany and France, a living spiritually minded People professing the principles of Friends. In the afternoon an account was given that a further sum of seven hundred pounds was wanted to compleat the expenditure of the two New Meeting Houses. A Letter from Joseph Brown was read, who was then a Prisoner in York Castle, for the support of our Testimony against the payment of Tithes.

Second-day morning at II was the adjournment of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, a very memorable sitting. Divers Friends engaged in living powerful Testimonies when the solemnizing power of Truth was preciously felt to unite Friends together in an harmonious fellowship. The Adjourned Ackworth General Meeting was held at *five oclock*, which was an exercising trying meeting, one subject occupied two hours, respecting vesting all Legaces of 50 pounds or upwards.

Third-day at ten. The Yearly Meeting met. The first subject that came before the Meeting was receiving the report of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders and the reading of the epistle to the Quarterly Meetings, which occasioned considerable discussion. Quarterly select Meetings were left to do as it appeared expedient. A committee was appointed to visit Cambridge and Huntington Quarterly Meeting⁷. During the time of this sitting J. G. Beaven expressed himself in very strong terms upon a subject, when some time after, he in a tender frame of mind got up and publickly condemned the manner of his speaking, which appeared to make a good impression upon the Meeting. After considerable discussion it was agreed to lay over to a nother year the reprinting the Book of extracts. The minute respecting dealing with such Friends as are unfaithful in our Testimony in paying Tiths was read, when Geo. Harrison⁸ in strong terms disapproved of Members of our Society being disowned for paying Tiths. *Afternoon* we were favour'd with a visit from Deborah Darby, Mary Dudley,⁹ Mary Watson, and Mary Sterry,¹⁰ which was a season of Divine regard. At the close of the Epistol being read, it was proposed not to read it a second time least the covering which was over the Meeting should be dicipated thereby, which proposition was not however united with, and by the reading Paragraph by Paragraph, it occasioned divers observations to be made, which had a scattering effect upon the Meeting.

Fourth-day afternoon the adjournment of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders washeld, when the Certificats of Ministers traveling in the work of the Ministry were read, and also an endorsment to Sarah Harrison's Certificat which was granted her last year, when a Friend objected to some of the expressions as being too strong. What the Friend remarked appeared to affect Sarah Harrison considerably, who observed it had touched her in a tender part, and said how deficient Friends must have been in their duty to her, if they were sensible she had not moved under the clear pointings of duty, or, if they had any doubts there of ; and not to have communicated the same to her, which occasioned Friends from various quarters to testify their unity with her labours since her coming into this land.

On Sixth-day night, the 2nd of 6th mo. I was favoured to reach home in safety, and found my family all well.

NOTES

¹ JOSEPH GIBBINS, SENR. (1756-1811) was a banker of Birmingham, married Martha Bevington in 1778. J. Jenkins narrates: "As Joseph Gibbins was on his way to the concluding sitting of the Yearly Meeting, he fell down in a fit of apoplexy, nearly opposite to the London Tavern in Bishopsgate Street, and expired about five hours afterwards."

Records of the Gibbins Family, 1911; Jnl. F.H.S. xv.

² JOSEPH SMITH was the London banker, of Broad Street and later of Yorkshire. While in London he entertained bountifully. His wife was Rachel Wilson, of Kendal; they married in 1790, s.p. J. Smith died in 1813 and his wife in 1814. J. Jenkins begins a considerable record with the words: "During many years I was acquainted with him."

Somervell, Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924.

1797]

³ DAVID SANDS (1745-1818) was a Minister from Cornwall, state of New York, whose service was remarkably fruitful in New England. He was in Europe in 1795-1805 and again in 1816. He was strongly evangelical and came into conflict with the New Lights in Ireland. J. Jenkins reports a prophecy of D. Sands which had a fatal effect.

Journal, 1846; Jnl. F.H.S. many reff., esp. vol. xxii.

4 WILLIAM SAVERY (1750-1804) was a business Friend, of Philadelphia and a prominent Minister. He was in Europe—in the British Isles and on the Continent—1796-1798, when he was "constantly dropping those benevolent sentiments at which Sectarian bigotry must always hide his head" (J. Jenkins).

hide his head" (J. Jenkins). *Piety Promoted*, pt. x.; Journal, 1844; Jnl. F.H.S. several reff., esp. vol. xxiii.; Taylor, Life of William Savery, 1925.

5 There is an article in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, vol. xii. (1878)—"The Lothersdale Friends in York Castle," giving a very full account of the imprisonment of eight Friends for their refusal to pay tithes. The diary of Henry Wormall, one of the prisoners, is in **D**.

⁶ Meetings for religious association and Gospel preaching circulated throughout the Principality yearly for over a century and were attended by numerous Ministers and large companies from the surrounding districts. A list of these annual gatherings, 1682 to 1797, is given in Rees. The Quakers in Wales, 1925.

Other Circular Yearly Meetings were discontinued about this time they had out-grown their usefulness.

7 The committee consisted of Joshua Wheeler, Samuel Alexander, James Wright, William Lucas and William Grover.

⁸ GEORGE HARRISON (c. 1747-1827), of Wandsworth, co. Surrey, was a son of Edward Harrison, of Kendal, and a barrister-at-law by profession. He was at one time a tutor in the family of Richard Reynolds. He was prominent in the matter of Hannah Barnard and a man of very independent judgement. He was concerned in some controversy respecting the will of Samuel Southall. (Peter Bedford MSS. in D.) Richard Reynolds; Jnl. F.H.S. xxi; Jenkins, Records.

9 MARY DUDLEY (1750-1823) was a daughter of Joseph and Mary Stokes, of Bristol, who appear to have been followers of John Wesley. She became a Friend in or about 1773, and in 1777 married Robert Dudley, of Ireland, and settled at Clonmel. After her husband's death she removed into the neighbourhood of London.

Memoir, 1825; Jnl. F.H.S. i. xii.-xvi. xx. xxi. xxiii; Jenkins, Records.

¹⁰ MARY STERRY (1744-1816) was the wife and widow of Henry Sterry, of London. J. Jenkins writes that she was born in London, but displayed in her preaching the accent of Yorkshire. "She was deemed to be a pretty large and acceptable Minister, but the *manner* of her delivery was to me gratingly unpleasant. . . ." Of Henry Sterry, J. J. writes: "Although in affluent circumstances. . he suffered from the dread of becoming a pauper." She is said to have sat in every meeting house in England and Ireland, but she was refused a certificate to visit America.

Inl. F.H.S. xii. xv. xxiii.

Clerk: JOSEPH BIRKBECK¹

Richard Cockin No report.

[William Savery of Philadelphia (1750-1804) thus records his passage up to London to Y.M.] Numbers of Friends passing this William Savery this road annually to the Yearly Meeting. as well as divers other roads to London, the people along it have learned to know the time, and appeared to look with much pleasure on us as we passed through the villages, about fifty having gone along today. The Innkeeper and waiters are especially glad when Yearly Meeting comes, as Friends generally stop at the best and mostly at the same They were hard set today to find us all post-horses, Inn. but were as polite and obliging as possible. We let some Friends have the chaises and go on another stage, and two companies of us lodged comfortably at Daventry.

Taylor, Life of William Savery, 1925.

¹ Probably, JOSEPH BIRKBECK (1752-1820), son of John and Sarah (Wilson) Birkbeck, of Settle, Yorkshire. He died unmarried. Birkbecks of Westmorland, 1900.

Clerk: GEORGE STACEY^I

Some account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in 1799. I left home on Fifth-day the Richard Cockin . . . of fifth Mo. and was favoured to reach London in safety on Sixth-day afternoon, where, as usual, I met with a cordial reception from my relatives in the Old Jury.

Second-day morning at 10 the Meeting of Ministers and Elders met; soon after the Meeting was gathered Sarah Lines² was ingaged in Supplication, when all within me capable of feeling was impresed with tender sensebility, and united in an harmonious travel of spirit that the power of Truth might rise into dominion. At four oclock John Hall³ spread his prospect of paying a visit to Friends in America. The Certificats of Hannah Barnard⁴ and Elizth Cogshill⁵ were read, after which they both made divers observations, principly upon the manner in which Friends were indulging themselves and their Children, adverting to various perticulars which they said was inconsistant with the self denying principles we as a Religious Society profess. Marv Pryor⁶ gave a report of her visit to America. [Returning] certificates were ordered on behalf of Thomas Scattergood and Sarah Talbot.⁷]

Third-day afternoon I was at the adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School, where it was agreed to advance the terms of admission of the children to ten Guineas. There was considerable discussion respecting the Gramer.

Fourth-day at ten the Yearly Meeting commenced. The Epistols from abroad were read that from Philadelphia communicated much affecting information respecting the yealow fever⁸ which had so greatly prevailed that at one time about two thirds of the Inhabitants of the City had left, and that about four thousand had died. There was also an

Epistol presented from those persons in France who profess to be Friends, which was referd to a few Friends to examine before it was read.

Fifth-day forenoon was occupied with reading the answers to the queries. At the close I attended a conference of Elders, where J. G. Beaven and Geo. Stacy made some instructive observations.

Sixth-day four oclock the Quarterly Meetings were called over when it appeared there were several propositions; some were refer'd to the Committee on Epistols, one to an especial Committee, and one, relative to the accepting and lending of Meeting Houses, was agreed to be discussed in the Meeting at large, when, at length, it was agreed that a minute should be issued expressive of the Meeting's judgment on the subject.

On Seventh-day the Yearly Meeting did not sit down till eleven oclock in order to afford the Committees some time in the morning. An Epistol from the Friends of Permont and Minden was read. They in a very simple manner laid open their situation, being shut out of their Meeting Houses and in other respects much persecuted, principally at the instigation of the Priests. The Meeting enter'd very interestidly into the state of Friends there, but could not quite harmonize as to what would be best to do. It was at length agreed to resume the subject at the *afternoon* sitting, when George Dilwin, David Sands, John Abbott, Samuel Alexander, and some others, were of the judgment that it would be right to acknowledge them as Brethren. The Epistol was refered to the Committee on Epistols, to prepare an answer. The number of Friends of Permont and Minden were about 50, including Children.

Second-day morning. A message was received from the Womans Yearly Meeting, informing that a few Woman Friends wished to come into the Men's Meeting when it was suitable. The Friends were Martha Routh, Mary Stacy,⁹ Sarah Benson,¹⁰ Sarah Roe, and Elizth Rathbone.¹¹ Martha Routh informed the Meeting the occasion of their coming which was to lay before our Meeting a minute of theirs, expressive of the exercise of their Meeting, when it was agree'd to propose to the Mens Meeting a visit being paid to the Quarterly Meetings. Their visit appeared to me to produce a profitable effect upon our Meeting, which, before their coming in, was in a rather scattered state. At seven o'clock I attended the large Committee when the religious state of Friends in Ireland came under consideration, and a Committee was nominated to prepare a Epistol addressed to Friends in that land.

Third-day morning, I again attended the large Committee when the propositions from Cheshire and Staffordshire and that from Hampshire respecting making provision for the expence of holding Publick Meetings in places which are not within the acknowledged limits of any Mo. Meeting, were considered, and, after considerable discussion, it was agreed to propose to the Yearly Meeting that, when such cases occured, the Friends who accompany Ministers engaged in holding Publick Meetings should pay the expences thereof and report the same to their Mo. Meeting and that the Mo: Meeting should apply [viâ the Quarterly Meetings] for reimbursement by the Meeting for Sufferings. Four oclock the proposition of our Women Friends was taken up. Divers Friends expressed their uniting concurrance with the proposal and after considerable deliberation it was concluded to make an appointment of Men Friends to visit the Quarterly Meeting of Norfolk and Norwich and that of Surry, and to send the minute thereon to the Womans Yearly Meeting informing that if they felt inclined to unite in the visit it would be acceptable, and also that if the Womans Meeting apprehended an extension of labour would be best, to other Quarterly Meetings, they were at liberty to communicate their feelings thereon to a future sitting of the Mens Meeting. It was to me a cause of admiration how cordially the Mens Meeting united with this new measure of Men and Women being appointed by their seperate Yearly Meetings to unite in visiting Quarterly Meetings, it being the first time that the Society had addopted such a practice. It has, however, been a settled principle in my mind for several years that the more Men and Woman are united in religious service the more it will promote the best interests of our Society, seeing that Male and Feemale are one in Christ, and whatever relates to the mind (so far as Divine influence is to be regarded as the qualification for religious service) there can be no distinction of sexes. Four Men Friends were appointed to take the minute to the Womans meeting, in order to explain any question which might be asked.

Fourth-day, four oclock. At this sitting Hannah Barnard accompanied by Charity Cook¹² and Elizth Cogshill came into the Mens Meeting and requested she might hear a minute read, respecting the Borrowing and lending of Meeting Houses; considerable discussion was produced by this request; some Friends being inclined to have the minute read, and again considered; it was, however, at length concluded to request the Women Friends to withdraw, and that they should be informed with the conclusion of the Meeting on the subject. After the remainder of this sitting being occupied with endeavouring to asertain what would be best, it was concluded not admissable to grant the request of Hannah Barnard, and David Sands, Geo. Dilwin and J. J. Bevan were requested to inform her there with.

On Fifth-day morning at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 oclock I attended the large Committee when the proposition from Bristol was considered respecting Men and Women sitting together in small Preparitive Meetings. The subject occupied a considerable time, when it was at length concluded that when it was considered best for Men and Women to sit together in preparitive meetings it must be under the direction of the Quarterly Meeting. During the discussion it appeared to me that too much of the reasoning powers of Man was substituted for the pure unmixed feeling after the mind of Truth.

The Yearly Meeting again met at *four oclock* when the Proposition from London and Middlesex, which had laid over since last year, was considered, respecting the answering queries so frequently. This subject was discus'd in a very sollid manner, not withstanding there were different sentiments thereon. It was at length concluded to drop answering the queries in the 6th month, from the Monthly Meetings to the Quarterly Meeting. At this sitting the minute respecting printing a new edition of the Book of Extracts were read and the Meeting for Sufferings were requested to arrange all the Minutes under their proper heads, which had been made since the printing the former Book. The proposition from Ireland, which had laid over since last year was also read, when a representitive from that Land informed the Meeting that their Yearly Meeting had agreed to withdraw the same.

Sixth-day morning, Thomas Shillitoe,¹³ William Crotch, Frederick Smith and Joseph Huntley,¹⁴ accompanied by Richd.

Chester¹⁵ and Wm. Grover, paid a visit to the Womans Yearly Meeting. At five the Yearly Meeting again sat down. Before the business was proceeded upon, divers Friends were engaged in short lively Testimonies. At this sitting George Dilwin, David Sands and John Abbott, accompanied by John Bludwick,¹⁶ paid a visit to the Womans Meeting; and Deborah Darby, Sarah Lambley,¹⁷ Mary Stacy and Elizth. Ashby,¹⁸ accompanied by Sarah Benson and Deborah Braithwaite,¹⁹ came into the Mens Meeting, and brought a minute of their Meeting informing what Women were nominated to unite with the Mens Committee in paving a Visit to Norfolk and Norwich Quarterly Meeting and also that of Dorsetshire. Sarah Lambley spread an exercise her mind was impressed with, that Friends would more closely consider whether they were setting an example of dedication consistant with the profession that we were making of being led by the spirit of Truth, in keeping part of their servants or Children at home on a Week day to look after their business, exhorting Friends to shut up their Shops and leave their Temporal concerns. After the Women Friends were with drawn the Yearly Meeting Epistle was read. Divers Friends were engaged to address us. David Sands observed that he had been more comforted during this Yearly Meeting then in any of the former ones which he had attended in this land that there was an increasing concern to support our various Testimonies. Thus closed the Yearly Meeting about nine o'clock on Sixth-day night.

On Seventh-day morning the committee of Elders met at 9 and the Meeting of Ministers and Elders at eleven. Wm. Crotch spread his prospect of paying a visit to Friends in America, which was united with. My heart was melted in brokenness, so that I could not forbear sheding tears, on parting with many of my beloved Friends, especially dear David Sands, who manifested much cordial regard towards me.

The female part of the Yearly Meeting (now growing into great consideration) may perhaps **Joseph** (Woods in a few years be the upper house. Hannah Barnard is much admired. She speaks with great propriety and even an elegant assortment of words. She appears to be a woman who has both read and thought. (Jnl. F.H.S. xxii. 81-84.)

20th of 5th mo. At 4 ye Meeting of Ministers & Elders. Among several feeling Testi-Eligu (Robinson²⁰ monies, Hannah Barnard had а memorable one indeed ! particurly from ye Words of ye Query "True Moderation." She addressed ye Present Assembly in very Strong Language indeed, in a Number of Close and Home Queries, Thus, "Is it consistant with true Moderation, to have Carpets spread on ye Floors, at half a Guinea p Square Yard, or with Coverings which would make many Comfortable Beds for ye Poor or Cloath ye Naked Children? Is it Consistant, with true Moderation, to have more Trappings or Appendages to a Bed, that would provide several Comfortable Beds for many poor Creatures amongst ye Mountains of Wales? Is it consistant with true Moderation to Drink such Quantities of Wine which should only be taken as Cordials for ye Stomachs Sake?" &c., &c. I must restrain my Pen for fear of getting into a flow of fine Expressions only--H.B. seems to exhibit a remarkable specimen of Sacred Eloquence.

24th, Sixth-day at ten the Meeting for Worship in ye New Meeting House, Devonshire House. A very large Gathering whether there were many not of ye Society I cannot say, as many Young Women who profess with us appear very Gay. Several appeared in Short Testimonies whose Names I dont know. Hannah Barnard, I think began rather in a particular manner nearly to this Effect, "If others have given their oppinions, Why may not I?" [with a resumé of her address] —a most remarkable systematical, persuasive & heartfelt Declaration I have [not] often heard. Oh ! may its Effects be permanent.

Respecting holding Meetings in ye Meetinghouse of Methodists & Other Dissenters & lending Ours to them, which had a long discussion in ye Meeting at large, after continuing to state Cases pro and con, for a very long time, at length came to this Conclusion that except in very particular Case, it was better neither to borrow nor lend.

[At another meeting for worship] Hannah Barnard stood up. . . . Her words with Authority indeed ! So far I should not have been doubtful or uneasy if ye Arch-B--of C--- had been an Auditor !

C. Cook signified her uneasiness with Friends lodging and calling so much at Inns, as she would be better contented with Bread & Water at a poor Friends house than ye most Sumptuous Entertainment at an Inn.

I have thought That under the Testimonies of H: Barnard & S: Lines, if Felix did not Tremble Yet the Mild King Agripa would have been "Almost persuaded to be a Christian."

Most probably my *last* Attendance of ye Yearly Meeting. I have attended ten times.

" In 1799 Thomas Wilkinson, being at the Yearly Meeting in London, was on the committee

Ehomas Wilkinson for composing the General Epistle. It so happened he found himself in

pleasant society at the house of the Earl of Lonsdale when the time approached for a sitting of the Committee that evening, but all insisted he should not leave. As he was very decided, the Earl said : 'Can you not send a message ? I will take care it goes safely.' The fact was T. Wilkinson had in his pocket a paragraph ready drawn up, so this was put under cover and sent to a Friend on the appointment. Next day when they were generally gathered to the consideration of things, this Friend said he had received a paragraph which he thought eminently suitable to insert, but the manner in which it had reached him made him hesitate about it. A highly laced footman who said he came from the Earl of Lonsdale, left it at his door the night preceding.

"When read, Thomas Wilkinson had to rise, owning it, and explaining the singular messenger. It was warmly received [and appeared in the epistle], and afterwards became the concluding paragraph in the 'Book of Extracts' [1802], & was retained at the revision of 1835 and 1861."

Quoted from a statement by Elizabeth Rimington, of Penrith, in Mary Carr's Thomas Wilkinson, 1805.

At our Yearly Meeting in the 5th Mo. Hannah Barnard (one of our American visitors) came into our meeting for discipline and made a request at once novel and (as I believe it appeared to most of us) highly inconsistent, and therefore improper to comply with.

As I consider this to have been the commencement of the Barnardian controversy, I propose a little to dilate. She requested that a minute which had been made the day before might be read ; that minute was made, after a debate of four hours, on the question of whether Friends meeting-houses should be lent to ministers of other societies as *their* meetinghouses were then, sometimes, borrowed by Friends, and which had been decided in the negative. Josh. G. Bevan, without expressing any opinion as to the propriety or otherwise of complying with her desire, requested the meeting to pause a little. It did so, and several Friends soon expressed their opinion that by reading a minute fixed and established was not consistent with good order, and that doing so in this case would probably lead to a debate as long or longer than the former discussion. That poor man of weak intellect, Willm Crotch, hoped that the desire of an exercised and burthened sister might be complied with, and hoped that no discussion would follow. As no notice whatever was taken of his recommendation, she stood up and said that, with the reasons which had been given she was dissatisfied, and requested Geo. Stacey (the Clerk this year) to read the minute in "I have (said he), considering the matter auestion. abstractedly, not the smallest objection to read it, but unless I am directed by the Meeting, I should think it wrong to read the minute of a former sitting whereby the matter may be opened again." She then called upon him to explain what he meant by "abstractedly consider'd." This he readily did, but she again rose and declared that she had heard nothing which induced her to withdraw her request of having the minute read. Upon this, Ino. Eliot (that frequent promoter of conciliation) endeavoured to convince her of the necessity of yielding to the general opinion. "It is evident (said he) that Friends are afraid of establishing a dangerous precedent; if, after a long and full discussion, a conclusion is come to, to have it disturbed and brought again before the Meeting for its reconsideration; it may bring us into serious inconvenience, and therefore I hope the friend will not any longer urge her request." But, still expressing herself not satisfied, and again requesting that the minute might be read, Geo. Harrison expressed his astonishment at what he could scarely forbear calling the greatest obstinacy he had ever witnessed, that the Meeting, even after so much importunity, could not comply, was evident, and therefore the women friends had better withdraw. This, however, she signified she was not willing to do, unless the minute was

read, or that she was desired to withdraw by the Meeting through its organ the Clerk. Friends paused for some time, in hopes that the Meeting would not be driven to the adoption of such an alternative, but finding that it was the only way of getting rid of her, and her uncommon tenacity together, Geo. Stacey at last pronounced : "The Women friends are requested to withdraw," upon which they return'd to their own meeting.

This, alass ! was, however, but as "the beginning of sorrows" to Friends in England, as will fully appear in my relation of the Barnardian Controversy of the years 1800 & 1801. [Added interlinear] It has often struck me that if some kind Friend had at this time whisper'd in her ear the following words, it would have been true prophesy—" in this thou hast been 'a vexer of the Brethren '—' a troubler of Israel,' and be assured that by extreme contumacy will be remembered *in a day to come*."

NOTES

² SARAH LYNES, afterward Grubb (1773-1842), was born at Shadwell, London, and went to Clonmel as a nurse in the family of Sarah Grubb, of Anner Mills. In or about 1803 she married John Grubb (1766-1841), of Clonmel, and in 1818 they moved to England. John Grubb was quiet in spirit and demeanour and his "Sally" was highly humorous. She was an extraordinary and inspiring preacher. Thomas Wilkinson describes her as "powerful Grubb, that sounds her Master's praise in streets, in markets, prisons and highways." Elizabeth Fry wrote: "2 mo. 10. 1802. S. Lines brought in her account to the monthly meeting of her late visit, and asked to go out again. This appeared almost too much for my weak intellect to comprehend; at least it appeared as if she never could rest."

Letters, 1848, 1864; Biog. Cata. London Frds. Inst. 1888; Jnl. F.H.S. xiv-xviii. xx.

³ JOHN HALL (1744-1810) was a Cumberland Friend, living at Broughton. He was a companion of Stephen Grellet in missionary journeys in America. His mother, Alice Hall (1708-1762), had travelled in America, leaving three young children at home, and died there. John Hall married Hannah Wigham, of Coanwood, in 1769.

Irwin, The Featherstones and Halls, 1890.

4 HANNAH BARNARD (1754-), whose maiden name was Jenkins, was born of parents who were Baptists and became a Friend when about 1799]

eighteen. She married a Friend, Peter Barnard, of Hudson, New York. On her return to America she was disowned by her home Meeting. John Hall visited her shortly after her return, and reported : "Her mind seems to me much afloat.'

Jnl. F.H.S. x. xv. xx-xxii. xxv.; many reff. in print and manuscript, see Jones, Later Periods, 1921.

⁵ ELIZABETH COGGESHALL (1770-1851) was a daughter of Giles and Elizabeth Hosier, of Newport, Rhode Island. In 1793 she married Caleb Coggeshall, and lived in New York City. She was in Europe in 1798-1801 and 1813-1815. Her first thought was to cross the Atlantic as companion to Hannah Barnard, but her Friends wished her to have an independent certificate, and this, in the sequel, proved the right decision. Memoir, 1908; Jnl. F.H.S. v. xix. xx. xxii. xxiii. ; Jones, Later

Periods, 1921.

⁶ MARY PRYOR (1737-1815) would have a striking tale to tell of her adventures on the Atlantic in 1797. (These may be read in Mary Pryor, a Life Story, by Mary P. Hack, 1887.) Her maiden name was Bray, of London. In 1760 she married John Pryor of Hertford, and had eight children. She had three interviews with George III. in reference to the war with America.

Testimony; Quaker Biographies, Philadelphia, vol. iii. 1910.

⁷ SARAH TALBOT was the wife of John Talbot, of Chichester, Pa. She was in Europe 1796-1800, accompanying Phebe Speakman on religious service.

Comly, Misc., various reff.

⁸ Another epidemic of YELLOW FEVER attacked Philadelphia in 1798, in the Ninth Month, at the time of the Y.M. there, among the victims being Hannah, wife of Jacob Lindley, James Emlen, Abraham Gibbons, and Warner Mifflin. After one sitting, the Y.M. adjourned to the Twelfth Month, and it was decided that in future the Y.M. should be held earlier in the year. Y.M. of 1799 convened in the Fourth Month. and both Y.M.'s are now held in the Spring.

9 MARY STACEY (1755-1836) was the wife of George Stacey, Senr. and daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson. She was a valuable Minister of Tottenham, which place " became a centre for sisters, nephews, and nieces to draw up to on their frequent visits to London for Yearly Meetings or for business "(Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924).

¹⁰ ROBERT BENSON and SARAH BENSON, his wife, frequently entertained Friends on arrival in or departure from Liverpool-a service so kindly rendered of late years in connection with Southampton, by Edward Clibborn.

¹¹ ELIZABETH RATHBONE. Not yet identified.

¹² CHARITY COOK (1745-1822), of South Carolina, and her companion, Mary Swett, of New Jersey, crossed the Atlantic in 1797, and returned home in 1801. In 1832 Hannah C. Backhouse met a number of Charity Cook's descendants in Indiana. J. Jenkins refers to "the little gifts in the ministry " of these two visitors.

A ms. " Life " of C.C. is in possession of Earlham College, Richmond. Ind.

¹³ THOMAS SHILLITOE (1754-1836) was a remarkable man and preacher. Though of only moderate education, and nervous to an extreme, he was enabled by Divine power to stand before princes and to travel extensively in both hemispheres in the work of Gospel ministry. Journal, 1839; Jnl. F.H.S. various vols., esp. xi.

¹⁴ JOSEPH HUNTLEY (1775-1849) was a Minister, of Reading. He was a son of Thomas and Mary Huntley, of Burford, and "a yeoman, of Sibford Gower" when he married Mary Willis in 1801.

Berks and Oxon Q.M. Registers.

¹⁵ RICHARD CHESTER (1736-1810) and his wife, PATIENCE CHESTER (c. 1742-1802), were Friends of Stoke Newington, near London. The husband was clerk of Y.M. in 1784 and his wife clerk of the Women's Y.M. 1788 to 1794.

Inl. F.H.S. x. xii. xvi. xxi.

¹⁶ JOHN BLUDWICK (c. 1741-1826) was a Warrington Friend, an Elder, and his wife, Elizabeth (c. 1748-1828), was a Minister for some thirty years. Annual Monitor, 1827, 1829.

¹⁷ SARAH LAMLEY (1750-1836) was a Minister, of Tredington. Martha Routh visited the home of John and Sarah Lamley in about 1787. Jnl. F.H.S. xiii.

¹⁸ ELIZABETH ASHBY (1771-1815), daughter of James and Elizabeth Stevens, married Thomas Ashby, of Staines, in 1798. She was a Minister.

¹⁹ DEBORAH BRAITHWAITE (1743-1821) was a daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson. She married George Braithwaite in 1767. She " was of a gentle spirit, somewhat overshadowed by her young and capable daughter-in-law, Anna Braithwaite "(Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924.) Braithwaite, Who are We? 1927.

²⁰ ELIHU ROBINSON (1734-1809) lived at Eaglesfield, in Cumberland. He was a prominent meteorologist. In 1757 he married Ruth Mark.

Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1890-1893; Newcastle Friends, 1899, p. 165; Jnl. F.H.S. xv. xvi.; lives of John Dalton; mss. in D.

1800

Clerk: WILLIAM ALEXANDER¹

On looking over my accounts of being at the Yearly Meeting, I don't meet with any account of my being there in either 1800 or 1801, neither do I find any memorandum giving account why I did not attend either of those years.

At our Yearly Meeting this year, as at our last, we had as American visitors Hannah Barnard and her companion Elizabeth Coggeshall, both of whose ministerial services were cordially received, without the

smallest suspicion on the part of the body at large of what was about to happen.

In relating what I may, in some degree, say, "all which I saw and part of which I was," I propose to be strictly impartial, and whilst, on the one hand, I endeavour to show how unfairly she acted towards the Church of which she was a member, so, on the other, explain why I think that towards her the conduct of some individuals was extremely deficient in candor and justice.

Between this and the last yearly-meeting she and her companion had paid the usual visit to the Churches in Ireland, and there, unhappily, she connected herself with Shackleton,² Bewley,³ and some other furious Apostles of the New Lights.⁴ This junction not only excited the notice, but disapprobation of her Irish friends, and several dealt very honestly with her both by warning and reproof, at the head of whom was my much valued friend Joseph Williams of Dublin.

It is needful that I here state, what was then unknown, but afterwards ascertained by Friends, that, previous to her leaving home she had become extremely intimate with a gentleman of the medical profession, a sensible, well-informed man, and her neighbour at the town of Hudson, in the state of New York. This man was, by religious profession, a strict Unitarian, as they call themselves, or, as they are often called by others, Socinians or modern Deists. I understood (from herself) that she had obtained from him some valuable knowlodge of a medical nature, and from him, it appeared, that she had also derived those Unitarian principles which she openly avowed, after being detected in their private dissemination amongst the members of a Society who had granted her a certificate to proclaim the doctrines of Christ, without the denial of his co-eval divinity.

[Here follows more, dealing with her conduct in general, and in Ireland in particular.]

From the first to the last time that I was in her company I watched her attentively, besides treasuring up what others said respecting her. She and I (as she expressed it) always behaved as we ought, towards each other—we conversed together, differed in sentiment, but all without quarrel. (She told me her maiden name was Jenkins, and referred me to Thomas Story's Journal, for some account of her grandfather,⁵ and once intimated to me that if she was tenacious it might be attributed to the *unconquerable spirit* of the Jenkins's.)

[Then follow records of the visits of H. Barnard to various Meetings and of impressions made.]

At the Yearly-Meeting all passed smoothly and quietly on, until, in the meeting of Ministers and Elders, she applied for their sanction to accompany her companion on a religious visit to the then new Churches on the European Continent. A negative was put upon this application by Joseph Williams of Dublin, on the ground of its being improper to grant such permission to one who (in her late visit to Ireland) had proved herself "not to be one with Friends in some important points of doctrine." This naturally provoked enquiry and discussion, and terminated in an exclusive passport to Elizabeth Coggeshall, and, by which, they were, from that time, no longer companions. Until this transpired, we poor commoners had only noticed the unusual circumstance of the protracted and frequent meetings of our spiritual and lay lords [members of the Morning Meeting], who did not separate this year at the usual time-not until, finding their advice to her of " returning home "6 to be ineffectual, she was by two deputies, Josiah

1800]

Messer⁷ and the late Benjamin Simkin⁸, handed over by minute to our Monthly Meeting of Devonshire-house, in order to be dealt with on the score of delinquency.

At this time she had become an inmate with Samuel Southall's family, and became such, in succession, in the families of Thomas Compton¹⁰ and his son in law Thomas Foster¹¹ of Bromley in Middlesex, all of whom espoused her cause.

Devonshire House was slow and reluctant in proceeding. . . After much debate, we came to an approval of the recommendation of the Morning Meeting of Ministers and Elders, in advising her to return home. She informed us that "she was not easy to comply" and gave notice of her intention to appeal to the next Quarterly-Meeting.

[At the Quarterly Meeting for London and Middlesex, after the appeal was heard, the decision of the Monthly Meeting (given in full by J. Jenkins), was upheld; and as a result, H. Barnard gave notice of appeal to the Yearly Meeting. The Q.M. Respondents were Sparks Moline,¹² J. G. Bevan, William Dillwyn,¹³ Richard Phillips, Frederick Smith and William Forster.¹⁴

NOTES

¹ WILLIAM ALEXANDER (1768-1841), bookseller, publisher and author, of York, was a native of Needham Market, son of Dykes and Martha Alexander. In 1796 he married Ann Tuke (1767-1849), of York, and in 1808 they took charge of the school for girls in York. The bookselling business was opened about the year 1811. In 1813 the publication began of *The Annual Monitor*.

Annual Monitor, 1842; Smith, Cata.; Jnl. F.H.S. ii. xi. xiv. xv.

² ABRAHAM SHACKLETON (1752-1818) was head of the noted school at Ballitore. J. Jenkins writes: "What a pity that he, learned, wise and useful, should have become a dupe and the tool of the Irish Newlights and afterwards the willing disciple of Hannah Barnard." He was disowned by Carlow M.M.

Rathbone: Narrative of Events in Ireland, 1804; Jnl. F.H.S. xx.

³ James Jenkins writes: In Leinster Province, the 'vexers of the brethren' [see next note] were numerous, and the chiefs of whom (my correspondent says) were "JNO. BEWLEY and Abm. Shackleton, the former a man of a bold and forward spirit and the latter a very eccentric character."

4 Writing, under date of 1798, J. Jenkins records: "It was about this time that a schism amongst Friends in Ireland took place, and that to those who seperated from the body the appellation of NEW LIGHTS was given, because of their pretention to have received into their minds new light under sundry important points of discipline. One of their first steps was an avowal of disbelief of the truth of many historical passages of the Old Testament . . . also that to be enclosed by a hedge of discipline was incompatible with Christian liberty," and much more on the same subject.

⁵ Various Friends named Jenkins are on record in Thomas Story's *Journal*, but our knowledge is at present insufficient to differentiate them. William Jenkins, the Sidcot schoolmaster (d. 1735), was mentioned by Story. He was "stiff and refractory." (*Hist. of Sidcot*, 1908.) Was he the grandfather?

⁶ The minute of the Morning Meeting, held on the 30th of 6 mo., 1800, "recommended her to desist from travelling or speaking as a minister of our religious Society, but that she quietly returns home by the first convenient opportunity."

⁷ JOSIAH MESSER (1753-1830) was a London Friend, living in Holborn. He was one of the seven sons-in-law of Isaac and Rachel Wilson by his marriage in 1786 with Elizabeth, the fourth daughter. They had seven children.

Somervell, Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924.

⁸ BENJAMIN SIMKIN (c. 1745-1821) was a Southwark Friend. J. Jenkins refers to him as "the late," when, long after the events described, he was writing up his account of the Y.M.

⁹ SAMUEL SOUTHALL (1760-1818), of London, seems to have been as a thorn in the side of orthodox Friends, being closely attached to Hannah Barnard and her religious views. She lodged at his house when in London. But he afterwards recanted and became associated with other Friends in the ministry. "He was in several respects an eccentric character. I believe he was a native of Herefordshire, and learned the trade of a glover, but afterwards added the manufacture of umbrellas, which proved very profitable." He died at his home, Pennsbury, near Wandsworth, so named out of great veneration for William Penn. There was considerable controversy respecting his will, affecting his wife Sarah Southall, whom as Sarah Fossick, he had married in 1785.

Smith, Cata.

¹⁰ THOMAS COMPTON (1749-1817) was a native of a village near Southampton, and served his apprenticeship as a shoemaker in Whitechapel, London. He married Mary, the eldest daughter of John Townsend, and obtained a share in her father's business as a pewterer in which a handsome competence was made. He became a prominent and useful Friend, "when, alack! and alas! came Hannah Barnard and spoiled all" (J. Jenkins).

Compton, Recollections of Spitalfields, 1908.

¹¹ THOMAS FOSTER (c. 1759-1834), of Bromley, in Middlesex, was a supporter of Hannah Barnard. For his appeal to Y.M. 1814 see under that year. He wrote several controversial and anti-orthodox pieces. He removed to Evesham and died at Rushwick, near Worcester.

Smith, Cata.; London Friends' Meetings, 1869, p. 83; Jnl. F.H.S. ii. xxi. xxii. (Joseph Foster should read Thomas), xxiii.; London Y.M. during 250 Years, 1919. ¹² SPARKS MOLINE (1758-1844), was a London Friend, living at Stoke Newington. He is mentioned by James Jenkins in connection with the Barnardian Controversy.

¹³ WILLIAM DILLWYN (1743-1824) was then of Higham Lodge, Walthamstow, Essex, his British residence. He was a son of John Dillwyn, of U.S.A., and brother of George Dillwyn. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of John Smith, of Burlington, N.J., their only child, Susanna, married Samuel Emlen, Jr. After settling in England, he married, in 1777, another Sarah, daughter of Lewis Weston. Their daughters married into the families of Bevan and Alexander. Their son, Lewis Weston, became a prominent property owner in South Wales and M.P.

Smith, Cata.; Jnl. F.H.S. vi. xxii. xxiii.; Bulletin F.H.A. ix. xy; Gummere, John Woolman, 1922.

¹⁴ WILLIAM FORSTER (1747-1824), of Tottenham, was a schoolmaster and land surveyor, son of Josiah Forster and his wife, Jane Birkbeck. In 1781 he married Elizabeth Hayward (c. 1759-1837). Numerous letters to his unmarried sisters are extant. He had two sons who married— Josiah and William, and one son and six daughters who remained single.

1801

Clerk: WILLIAM RAWES, JR.

Richard Cockin No report. See under 1800.

Our Yearly-Meeting began this year on the 20th of the 5th mo., and as soon as the Committee of Appeals were appointed, the Appeal of Hannah Barnard was handed to them. [Here follow the names of twelve Friends.] From my personal knowledge of nearly all the Friends, I venture to pronounce that some of them were the most, and some the least suitable that could have been nominated, but the strong no doubt helped the weak or acted for them in coming to a decision of which a majority of the body at large approved. [J.J. gives H. Barnard's appeal in full, dated "London, 19th of 5th Mo. 1801."]

The report of the Y.M. Appeal Committee was delivered in to the Yearly Meeting as follows :

"To the Yearly Meeting :

"We your Committee for hearing and judging of Appeals have received and deliberately considered the Appeal of Hannah Barnard, of the State of New York, in North America, against the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex for confirming the conclusion of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, which had united in the recommendation given to the said Hannah Barnard to desist from travelling and speaking as a Minister, and advised her to return home.

"And this Committee having heard the appellant, together with the Respondents on behalf of the Quarterly Meeting, until both parties acknowledged that we had heard them fully and fairly—Do report that it appears to us that the said Hannah Barnard does not unite with our Society in its belief of the Holy Scriptures, the truth of which in several important instances, she does not acknowledge, particularly those parts of the Old Testament which assert that the Almighty commanded the Israelites to make war upon other Nations, and various parts of the New Testament relative to the Miracles and the Miraculous conception of Jesus Christ.

"We are therefore unanimously of the Judgment that the said Quarterly-Meeting is fully justified in confirming the judgment of the Monthly Meeting of Devonshire House, and its advice to the said Hannah Barnard—

"And it further appears that the proceedings of the said Monthly and Quarterly Meetings have been regular and orderly."

[Signed by all the Committee.]

The Appellant claimed the right of having the case opened to the Meeting at large, which being consented to, Sparks Moline, Joseph Gurney Bevan and Richard Phillips were appointed managers on behalf of the Meeting and J. G. Bevan was appointed by the Respondents to be their spokeman.

Although the Y. Meeting had now lasted twelve days, yet this one was crouded to excess and many Friends had taken their seats early. Previous to H. Barnard's entry George Harrison reminded us that "the Appellant was about to to appear amongst us as a stricken deer—a stranger in a foreign land—a female three thousand miles from home; far from her natural protector, and from all that was near and dear in social life, abandoned and deserted by those whom she came to visit; let us (said he) treat her with complacency, with tenderness, and with that decency which is due to her sex and station." She was introduced by Samuel Alexander and George Harrison, and Mary Compton accompanied her. She took her seat at the desk, next to the Clerk's assistant.

[Then follows a full account, "compiled nearly the whole from my own manuscript written at the time," of the examination of the Appellant by J. G. Bevan, occupying twelve pages of manuscript, resulting in the confirmation of the judgment of the Committee of her unsoundness of doctrine and a request that she should return home.]

Thus terminated a contest that excited more Interest and curiosity in our Society than any other Event within my recollection. During her trial she had her private secretaries, or privy Counsellors.¹ They not only assisted her with advice as to the best mode of thwarting the Respondents, but printed and sent round by the two-penny post a Catechism to every Friend whom they supposed likely to feel an interest. I wish just to add that after all this bustle and alarm but few of our Friends embraced the Unitarian doctrine. In the families of Samuel Southall, Thomas Compton, Thomas Foster, and a few more, besides perhaps a small number scattered up and down in the Nation without leaving our Society, were probably infected, but the first of these afterwards, with great zeal, published his recantation before the Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meeting in London, as " one who had been deceived by a deceived and deceiving woman."

Hannah Barnard went home soon after her last defeat [declining to receive the cost of the return-journey], was there dealt with by Friends, and ultimately disowned both as a Minister and member of our Society. She was about the middle size with slenderness of make and form of body. She stooped a little and her walk was not graceful. It was when sitting that she displayed a presence highly interesting and pleasing. Her eyes were at once brilliant and penetrating, and often lighted up a countenance full of mind, and that mind ardent and animated.²

I found in this yearly meeting NO instruments ought to be looked up to, for they appear almost all

Elizabeth fry³ frail mortals, and although I trust, at times under a superior to mortal influ-

times under a superior to mortal influence, yet at others they appear under earthly passions and inclinations. . . I have thought some of our first ministers appear too free to preach, or too much inclined to run on with the ministry, and in our meetings of discipline to mix business and ministry. I have thought that if those in the gallery and high places in the Society were more cautious how they spoke, and if others even ever so weak and low in place said what they thought when they saw clearly, that things would go on better and the sense of the Meeting be more understood. I often felt during yearly meeting rather clouded than enlightened by the numerous sermons I heard both in and out of meeting.

NOTES

¹ James Jenkins writes: "John Bewley and Abraham Shackleton accompanied her to London, and I understood there joined William Matthews, of Bath, and Henry Finch, of Reading, and that those four acted as her private Counsellors during her conflict with the Yearly Meeting."

² ELIZABETH GURNEY (afterwards Fry, then aet. 19) met Hannah Barnard at Ackworth General Meeting, 1799, and wrote: "Hannah Barnard is here. I see *how much* there is to admire in her, and yet, from her reserve of manner, I feel vex'd with her "|

Letters on the controversy are extant, e.g., Nathan Robson to Edward Robson (London Y.M. during 250 Years, p. 61) and Henry Tuk³ to George Miller (Memorials of Hope Park, p. 46).

³ ELIZABETH FRY (1780-1845) was a daughter of John and Catherine (Bell) Gurney, of Earlham Hall, Norwich. Her prison-work and many associated forms of philanthropy brought her into touch with rich and poor, prince and peasant. In 1800 she married Joseph Fry (1777-1861), of London and became the mother of eleven children. J. Jenkins reports that at a funeral E. Fry "knelt down and deliberately chanted a sweet prayer."

Very many reff. in print and manuscript; Lewis, *Elizabeth Fry*, 1909; etc.

1802

Clerk: JOSEPH GIBBINS

Some account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in 1802. On the 13th of the 5th mo. 1802 I went **Richard Cockin** to London in company with George Miller¹ and Caroline Frazer. On our way we lodged at Oakham and at Harford. I, as usual, met with a very cordial reception at the Old Jewry by my Brother and Sister Sanderson.

On Seventh-day afternoon I met (by appointment of the Committee at Ackworth) a debutation of the London Committee on business relating to the Institution.

First day I was at Ratcliff Meeting in the morning. It felt to me to be a laborious season, somewhat like toiling as in the night and catching nothing; it was held in Silence. I dined with my old Friends Owen and Mary Weston. After dinner I went to Henry Knights² to see Sarah Lynes; it was a revivingly cheering visit.

[Usual business in the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and in the early sittings of the Yearly Meeting.]

Fifth-day morning the Yearly Meeting again met. The subject of Friends more frequently reading the Scriptur was very sollidly considered, and many Friends were concerned to press a more general reading of the Scriptures in their Families. The subject was refer'd to the large Committee, it having made so great an impression upon the Meeting that it appeared probable some advice would be issued by the Yearly Meeting on the subject.³ Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings were read, perticularly relating to the corrispondence betwixt the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia and that of London, our Friends in America having entered into much sympathetic feeling towards Friends in low circumstances in England on account of the high prise of Bread.

Seventh-day morning. It was mentioned the amount of the sum that Friends in America had contributed for the use of such Friends in England who were in need. The subscription amounted to $f_{8,365}$. An account of Books on hand was read, which occasioned some discussion, whether the practice should be continued seeing that it occupied a considerable portion of time, without affording much interesting information. The Yearly Meeting adjourned to four o'clock. Soon after the business was opened, Geo. Harrison proposed that the Meeting should present an address to the King on the restoration of Peace. After the subject was largely discussed, it was agreed to suspend the conclusion there of untill another sitting. An Epistle from the Friends of Permont was read ; a letter from some Friendly People at Amsterdam, which produced considerable discussion, they having proposed to the consideration of the Yearly Meeting the Meeting House at Amsterdam being made use of for some other purpose then that of a place of Worship for Friends.

[Here follows about a page depicting the feelings of the narrator, produced by having "made a premature observation" in the Large Committee, relieved only by a public confession "in much brokenness" that he "had improperly called the attention of the Committee to what I felt afterwards would have been better for me not to have done."]

Third-day morning. The state of Devonshire Quarterly Meeting was considered, and Geo. Dilwin, Thos. Fox,⁴ Thos. Clark⁵ and Wm. Byrd⁶ were appointed to pay a visit to the same, and it being proposed to inform the Womans Yearly Meeting thereof, it occupied some time in agreeing as to the manner in which the Yearly Meeting would communicate the information, it was at length concluded to send a note to the Womans Yearly Meeting.

Fourth-day at five. The Meeting's attention was again turned to consider the expediency of addressing the King on the restoration of Peace; divers Friends urged the measure to be adopted, others expressed their doubts as to the expedience there of; apprehending the Meeting had not been sufficiently impressed there with, so as to afford that approving evidence which was necessary before concluding so to do, the Meeting sat untill *eight o'clock* without coming to a conclusion; it was accordingly left for future consideration.

Fifth-day forenoon the Meeting's attention was again turned to consider whether it would be best to move forwards with an address to the King or not. It was an exercisingly trying case; some times it appeared as if the curant flowed towards proceeding, and then again it was obstructed. Thus the whole of the foornoon sitting was occupied and an united judgment could not be obtained during this sitting. In the afternoon the subject was again discussed and nearly the whole of the sitting was occupied therewith, when at length, somewhat like an accomodating expedient was addopted by refering the subject to the Meeting for Sufferings to act there in as it should appear best. The subject was discussed with as much calmness and regard to the sentiments one of another as could be expected seeing that Friends were so opposed in their views on the subject.⁷

Sixth-day at five the Meeting of Ministers and Elders met. Joseph Cloud⁸ was first engaged in Testimony, after which Richard Jourdan⁹ was largely engaged. He observed that the conducting the business of the Yearly Meeting was somewhat like the stearing of a Vessel by a compass, the finger of which, by the power of a Magnett, always pointed one way, but by the tossing of the waves and from adverse winds, the finger became a little shook, and sometimes accasioned a trifling variation which required a time of calm before it regained its right center,—so, in conducting the business of the Yearly Meeting, when the sure guide was not watchfully attended to, it produced a little disorder and obstructed the progress in the right way, untill a quiet settlement was again obtained, under the direction of the sure Pilot. John Grubb in this sitting was engaged in Testimony. He stood up with observing that a farewell salutation lived in his heart towards this Assembly with whome he had been united in the covenant of life, but, on his looking towards his Native Land, his heart was sad in the prospect of the field of labour that opened, and of the prevalence of wrong things.

Such was the indearing feeling of nearness one towards another that so preciously prevailed, that it seemed difficult for us to separate, there being two attemps to break up the Meeting before it was accomplished. 1802]

5 mo. 31. Yearly Meeting is now, I am happy to say, finished. I attended all the meetings but one. Hearing some of the Queries answer'd quite hurt me. I was so sorry to observe the great remissness in some parts and more particularly drinking. We have had but one [family] sitting, which is different to last year, for I think we had thirteen.

NOTES

¹ GEORGE MILLER (1759-1831) lived in Edinburgh and was a prominent Friend, registrar and clerk of Edinburgh M.M. He married Ann (Tweedie) Reid in 1786. She, with Elizabeth Wigham, visited the prisoners in York Castle when passing homewards from Y.M. 1797. CAROLINE FRAZER had also, probably, come from Edinburgh.

² There was a Friend named HENRY KNIGHT, who was a member of Ratcliff Meeting, who died "near Swansea, at the house of his sonin-law, Robert Eaton, in 5 mo. 1840."

Annual Monitor, 1841.

³ A slight leaflet was issued by the Y.M., and printed in 1802, headed "Scriptures," taken from the Book of Extracts reprinted by the Y.M.

⁴ This was, probably, THOMAS FOX (1747/8-1821), of Wellington, Somerset. He was a son of Edward Fox, of Wadebridge, Cornwall, and his wife, Anne Were. He entered the woollen business of his grandfather Were, and married Sarah, daughter of Thomas Smith, banker, of London. They had sixteen children. The parents and several of their children were Ministers.

Jnl. F.H.S. vii. xvii.; information from Margaret W. Fox, of Wellington, 1929.

⁵ THOMAS CLARK (1759-1850) was born at Greinton, Somerset, and died at Bridgwater. He undertook many missionary tours in the British Isles. He married Mary Metford.

Jnl. F.H.S. ii. xv. xvi. xx. xxv.

⁶ WILLIAM BYRD (1757-1835) was a native of Uffculme in Devonshire, born of Quaker parents. He settled at Marnhull in Dorset in a small way of business and married, in 1800, Rebecca Young, of Shrewsbury. They visited Friends in various parts of the country. Stephen Grellet describes them as "Zacharias and Elizabeth, so blameless appears their daily walk."

Testimony.

There was a William Byrd who married Ann Hitchcock in 1768 and lived at Uffculme, and died in 1796, aged 88.

⁷ The treaty at Amiens was signed, March 27th, between Great Britain, Holland, France and Spain. The matter was weightily considered by the Meeting for Sufferings, adjourned, and again considered, and finally not proceeded with.

The Friend (London), 1902, p. 551, printed, from first-hand sources, an account of the discussion.

[1802

⁸ JOSEPH CLOUD (1742-1816) was a native of Pennsylvania and removed, after his marriage, into North Carolina. Later he resided in Indiana, in Cane Creek M.M., Orange County. Rebecca Jones styles him "innocent Joseph Cloud." His European visit occupied the years 1802-1804.

⁹ RICHARD JORDAN (1756-1826) was of Rich Square, North Carolina, and later of Haddonfield, New Jersey. His parents were Joseph and Patience Jordan and his wife was Pharaby Knox. He was in Europe from 1799 to 1803. He came into conflict with the New Lights and Hannah Barnard when in Ireland and with the Barnard party in Great Britain.

Journal, 1829; Jnl. F.H.S. xi. xv. xix. xx.; Bulletin F.H.S. Phila. iii. iv.; Arch Street, Phila., Centennial, 1904; Jenkins, Records.

1803

Clerk: ROBERT BARNARD^I

Some account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in the year 1803. I left home on Fifth-day the 12th of 5th mo. and on Sixth-day I met a welcome reception from my Brother and Sister Sanderson. The afternoon and Seventh-day were mostly occupied in calling upon Friends, and transacting such business as I had to attend to, as I always believed it best to get my business done before the Yearly Meeting commenced.

I went to Radcliff Meeting on *First-day morning*. Ann Crawley² was largly engaged to minister to divers states. I dined with my old Friends Owin and Mary Weston. I was at Devonshire House in the *evening* [?afternoon]. The Friends engaged in testimony were William Martin³ and William Byrd.

Second-day morning at 10 the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders begun. Mary Pryor, Deborah Darby and David Sands were engaged in testimony. The answers to the Queries were read as far as Westmoorland, and the remainder in the *afternoon*, when Henry Tuke⁴ and Deborah Darby were engaged to minister to us. A committee was appointed to prepare a summary of the answers to the Queries for the Yearly Meeting. At this sitting Ann Alexander, in a tender and impressive manner, informed us with the prospect she had, of paying a visit to Friends in America, and, on her return, to visit part of Ireland and the Westren part of Scotland. Many Friends expressed their unity with her prospect, when William Tuke [father of A.A.] requested that Friends would suppress further communications, there having been such an aboundant expression of unity and concurance. On *Third-day morning* at 10, the Meeting of Ministers and Elders again sat down. Joseph Cloud was engaged in supplication. At this sitting Thomas Shillitoe spread a concern to visit parts of Holland, Germany and France. Divers Friends expressed their concurance and sympathy, others however expressed some doubt or hisitation ; it was a time of much exercise, but seeing that there were some difference of sentiment on the subject, it was at length agreed to enter his prospect on the minutes, and resume the consideration at a future sitting. In the *evening* after supper Sarah Lynes was engaged to minister to us with impressive clearness.

Fourth-day at ten the Yearly Meeting commenced. The Committee for nominating a clerk met at the close of the Meeting and agreed to propose Robert Barnard. I was just about rising to propose Henry Tuke, and I found, when the conference was over, that divers other Friends had thought of Henry Tuke. The sittings both fore and afternoon were principly occupied with reading the answers to the Queries, and also some testimonies of Ministers deseased, namely Josuah Wheeler, Sarah Stevanson⁵, Tabitha Fox, of Falmonth⁶, Thomas Mellowish⁷, John Thomas⁸, Mary Robinson of Carlisle⁹ and Sarah Abbott.¹⁰

Fifth-day forenoon was also occupied with reading the answers to the Queries and some further Testimonies of Ministers, namely Elizabeth Pimm of Ireland,¹¹ and Timothy Bevan,¹² with Sarah Row and Patience Chester from London. Rudd Wheeler¹³ and John Lister¹⁴ made some observations, and Benjamin Simkins paid a visit to the Womans Meeting accompanied by John Bevans and William Grover. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the Yearly Meeting again sat down. John Wilkinson¹⁵ was engaged in supplication. Joseph Brown¹⁶ made some observations respecting our Testimony against the payment of tithes.

Sixth-day morning I was at Westminster Meeting. Margaret Bragg,¹⁷ Elizabeth Wheeler,¹⁸ Elizabeth Hoyland, Henry Tuke and Ann Alexander engaged in Testimony. The Yearly Meeting met at *four o'clock*. The sitting was rather short, as the Committee on Appeals had to meet there being two appeals from the Qr. Meeting of London and Midlesex and one from the county of Durham. There were *after supper* at my Bro. Sandersons a religious opportunity 1803]

when Sarah Bowley,¹⁹ Elizabeth Hoyland, Mary Naftle²⁰ and Elizabeth Wheeler were engaged to minister to us.

Seventh-day morning David Sands called at my lodgings and we walked together to Meeting. The Yearly Meeting gathered at II o'clock. John Conran²¹ was engaged in testimony. At *four o'clock* the report of Ackworth School was read which produced a long and trying discussion. It was concluded not to hold a General Meeting at Ackworth, on account of the scarlet Fever.

First-day morning I was at Gracechurch Street Meeting, in the afternoon I was at Devonshire House, during the Meeting there were two appearances in the line of ministry which did not help us, but rather tended to scatter then raise life.

Second-day morning. Samuel Alexander, Richard Brown,²² and Joseph Clark²³ were engaged to minister to us. There was a Proposition from the Womans Meeting, desiring the religious states of Hampshire and Lincolnshire Quarterly Meetings and the half years Meeting in Scotland might be considered. After being discussed it was refered to the Large Committee. In the *evening* at my lodgings there was a religious opportunity, when Sarah Lines was engaged to address various states.

Third-day forenoon, a committee was nominated to visit Dorset and Hampshire Quarterly Meetings—Robert Fowler, George Stacy, William Grover, Thomas Sparkes²⁴ and Morris Birkbeck—and it was agreed that the Womans Meeting should be informed thereof, and left at liberty to make an appointment to unite in the visit. At five o'clock the Committee on Appeals made a further report, one of the Appealants were present to hear the report on his case, when he expressed much dissatisfaction therewith, which produced an unprofitable discussion.

Fourth-day morning. My mind was in such a tryed striped situation that I was lead to call in question the propriety of my leaving my family. I attended Ratcliffe Meeting in the forenoon, and although I believed that the power of Truth rose into considerable dominion, yet my mind was in a barran unsucceptable state. Mary Haggar²⁵ was engaged in supplication. The Yearly Meeting met at four o'clock when a letter from John Ianson,²⁶ the Appealant against the Monthly Meeting of Stockton and the Quarterly Meeting of Durham, was read, which produced considerable discussion; when divers gave it as their judgment that the rules for the government of Appeals required revising. Two other subjects were before the Meeting namely the consideration of building a Meeting House at Guernsy, and what business was proper for the Womans Meeting to attend to, but such was the scattered state of the Meeting that no satisfactory conclusion could be attained upon any subject.

Fifth-day at eleven the Yearly Meeting again met. Four Woman Friends came to inform our Meeting that their's were about to close, namely Ann Alexander, Hannah Plumstead,²⁷ Sarah Wilson²⁸ and Sarah Phillips.²⁹ Ann Alexander and Sarah Wilson engaged in Testimony. During this sitting Wilson Birkbeck³⁰ reproved some young Friends who were in the Gallery for behaving in a light unbecoming manner. Towards the close, when the whole of the business was got through, J. G. Beavens thought it might be said that this Meeting concluds under a feeling of gratitude to the Almighty for all the blessings he has so bountifully bestowed upon us. He was so tendred into brokenness as to be scarse able to cloth his feelings with expression.

Sixth-day at ten. The Meeting of Ministers and Elders considered the Minute respecting Thomas Shillitoes visit to Holland, Germany and France. This sitting was such a season of deep exercising travel, as divers Friends expressed they had scarse remembered. The Meeting seemed to be babtized together as into a cloud, where, for a time, no light appeared to shine so as to afford sufficient evidence that it would be best to proceed towards liberating Thomas Shillitoe. Divers Friends expressed their doubts respecting it, when Thomas informed the Meeting how he continued to feel respecting the subject. He said that since the preceding meeting, he had endeavoured to feel whether the trial of his faith in communicating the concern to the Meeting would not have been accepted as the ram for the sacrifice; but in his indeavouring to feel after the will of his Heavenly Father. he could not witness his mind to be released, without still casting his burthen upon the Meeting for it to dispose of him; and if the Meeting should come to the conclusion not to set him at liberty, he should regard it as a great favour. he having done what he believed was required of him, as he would not take one step therein without the unity of his

Friends. It felt to me like deep calling unto deep, and for a considerable time sufficient light did not appear to shine upon it, so as the Meeting could move forward, but in time the cloud gradually appeared to disperce, till at length Friends became so unanimous as that the Clerk could form a minute recording that the Meeting sweetly united in liberating our beloved Friend. At *five oclock*, a certificate on behalf of Ann Alexander and one also for Thomas Shillitoe were produced. Testimonies from New York and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings were read on behalf of Sarah Stevenson, to which Mary Jeffery³¹ added some very interesting information respecting her religious service in America before her death.

Thus I not only parted with my beloved Friend David Sands, but also from many others to whom I felt sweetly united in the cementing bond of Gospel fellowship.

NOTES

^I ROBERT BARNARD (1762-1830) was a son of John and Hannah (Wilson) Barnard, and brother of Deborah Darby and Rachel Fowler. He married Hannah Gaylard in 1796. At this time he was living in Manchester—hence both Friends were living in the same electoral division—North—R. and H. Barnard removed to Coalbrookdale in Shropshire in 1806.

Smith, Cata.; Deborah Darby, ms. in D.

² ANN CROWLEY (1765-1826) was one of eight sisters. She travelled widely in the ministry and was a companion of Phebe Speakman, of Pa., in 1797, they covering over 4,000 miles and attending 397 meetings. Her home was Uxbridge in Middlesex.

Account of Religious Experience, 1842; Jnl. F.H.S. xxiii. xxv.

³ Probably WILLIAM MARTEN (1764-1823), of Lewes, Sussex. Selections from Diary, 1828; Smith, Cata.

4 HENRY TUKE (1755-1814), of York, was a son of William Tuke, and a member of the noted firm of tea-dealers, "which, handed down through seven generations of the same family, still flourishes" (1928). His wife was Mary Maria Scott, of Norwich; she died in 1815. He was a considerable author.

We regret that H. Tuke did not have another opportunity to be chosen Y.M. Clerk.

Murray, Works of Henry Tuke, 1815; Smith, Cata.; Gummere, John Woolman, 1922.

⁵ SARAH STEPHENSON (1738-1802) was a daughter of Daniel and Sarah Stephenson, and was born at Whitehaven. With Mary Jefferys, S. Stephenson (then of Melksham, in Wiltshire) travelled in most places in the British Isles where Friends resided, and in 1801 they crossed the Atlantic. S. S. died in Philadelphia.

Memoirs, 1807; Piety Promoted, x; Jnl. F.H.S. x. xiii. xv. xvi. xx.

⁶ TABITHA FOX (1731-1801) was the eldest daughter of George Fox, of Par, Cornwall, and Anna Debell, and a prominent Friend, and Minister from about 1794.

Testimony; Fox of St. Germans, 1872.

⁷ THOMAS MELHUISH (c. 1737-1802) was a Somersetshire man, a general shopkeeper and tailor. The autobiography of Joseph Metford (1776-1863; see *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxv.) mentions "his naturally reserved and morbid temperament . . . a slave to the pipe." From about 1768 he travelled in the ministry. His wife was Jane Mullet, widow, and his home was Taunton.

Life, 1805.

⁸ JOHN THOMAS (1714-1802) was a Minister of Somerset M.M. Testimony.

9 MARY ROBINSON (1711-1802) lived at Carlisle, Cumberland. She visited Ireland in 1775 and 1778.

Testimony.

¹⁰ This SARAH ABBOTT was probably one of the four wives of John Abbott, of Plymouth, his first Sarah, the second Sarah being a daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson, whom he married in 1806. John and Sarah Abbott visited Ireland in 1800.

Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924; Jnl. F.H.S. xv.

II ELIZABETH PIM (c. 1749-1802). A Testimony respecting this Friend was issued by the M.M. of the County of Tipperary, Ireland, but it is devoid of any biographical details. She resided at Clonmel.

Testimony in Robson MSS. in D.

¹² TIMOTHY BEVAN. This should, doubtless, be TIMOTHY BEVING-TON, of Worcester, who died in 1802, and of whom there is a slight notice in the volume of Testimonies for 1803.

¹³ RUDD WHEELER (1728-1807) was a Hitchin Friend. His first wife was Fidelity Pennell, and his second wife was Mary Gulson (correcting Smith of Cantley, p. 69 by account of Joshua Wheeler in Piety Promoted, x.). J. Jenkins gives a record of R. Wheeler's sudden death and largely attended funeral in which he and another" formed the 25th of 51 couples in the walking procession from his house to the graveyard."

¹⁴ JOHN LISTER (1737-1836) was of London and Stoke Newington.

¹⁵ This is the first introduction by R. Cockin of a prominent Friend whom we shall meet again—JOHN WILKINSON (c. 1783-1846), of High Wycombe, Bucks. He came among Friends as a young man and left again in the Beaconite days. In 1806 he married Esther Wilson (1781-1856), and they had one daughter, Sarah Wilson Wilkinson (1816-1829). He was the first of the clerks of Y.M. in modern times, to serve successive years—1808-1814. Jnl. F.H.S. xiv-xvii. xxiii. xxv.; Pedigree of the Wilson Family,

1912; Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924.

¹⁶ JOSEPH BROWN (c. 1751-1803) was a recorded Minister of Lothersdale, Yorkshire. With seven other Friends he was imprisoned in York Castle, 1795-97, for refusing to pay tithe to the vicar of Carlton. The claim amounted to f_{15} 4s. o_{12}^{1} . He had a wife and ten children.

1803]

The poet, James Montgomery, wrote a poem on the decease of Joseph Brown, beginning : " Spirit, leave thy house of clay."

Testimony ; Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1878; Wormall, Diary, in ms.

¹⁷ MARGARET BRAGG (1761-1840) was the youngest daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson, of Kendal. In 1790 she became the wife of Hadwen Bragg (1763-1820), draper, of Newcastle. "She was endowed with a very superior share of natural abilities" (Testimony).

Friends in Newcastle, 1899; Jnl. F.H.S. xv. xix. xx.; Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924.

¹⁸ ELIZABETH WHEELER (1761-1826) was a daughter of William Tuke; she became the second wife of Joshua Wheeler (1755-1803), of Hitchin, in 1795.

Annual Monitor, 1827.

¹⁹ SARAH BOWLY (1773-1829) was a daughter of William Crotch, and became the wife of Samuel Bowly (c. 1767-1820), of Cirencester, and mother of Samuel Bowly (1802-1884), the well-known Temperance advo-She died at Nailsworth. cate.

Testimony; Biog. Cata. Lond. Frds'. Inst., 1888; Jnl. F.H.S. XXV.

²⁰ MARY NAFTEL (1756-1820) was, by birth, Mary Higman, of St. Austell, Cornwall. She married Nicholas Naftel, of Guernsey, in 1789. She travelled in America as a Minister for two years, beginning in 1816.

Comly, Miscellany, various reff: Inl. F.H.S. xiii. xiv. xv. xviii. xxiii.

²¹ JOHN CONRAN (1739-1827), of Moyallen, co. Down, Ireland, visited many meetings. In 1783 he married Louisa Strangman (1755-1805; Piety Promoted, x.), of Mountmellick. In her reminiscences of Lisburn School (printed Jnl. F.H.S. xviii), Mary Tolerton (1792-1884) records : "The work that I liked best of all was to darn John Conran's stockings. I thought him the best of men and that if I could only live with him always I should certainly be a very good child." Journal, 1850; Irish Friend, 1837, 1839; Jnl. F.H.S. XV. xviii.

²² RICHARD BROWN. There were two of this name living at Luton, father and son. The elder died shortly after this Y.M. (1721-1803) and his son died ten years later (1758-1813). Pedigree in Austin's History of Luton, 1929.

²³ JOSEPH CLARK (c. 1762-1831) travelled extensively as a Minister-"notwithstanding the disadvantages of a very limited education" (Annual Monitor, 1832). He lived at Street, Somerset.

Testimony.

24 THOMAS SPARKES (1744-1835) was an Elder of Exeter Meeting.

²⁵ MARY HAGGAR (1758-1840) was a daughter of William and Lettice Knight, of Essex. Extracts from the Memoranda of her life and travels were printed in the seventh volume of Evans's Friends' Library. 1843. Testimony.

²⁶ This was, presumably, JOHN IANSON, fifth son of Joshua and Beatrice, who left his home in the North " in the station of a servant," in 1768. If so, his membership in Stockton M.M. must have remained. His disownment was confirmed. From his only son, James (1777-1827), descend the Umfreville-Jansons.

He was brother of James Ianson who appealed to Y.M. 1779. Penney, My Ancestors, 1920, p. 209.

²⁷ HANNAH PLUMSTED (1729-1807) was the wife of Robert Plumsted and mother of Mary Bevan and Hannah Birkbeck. J. Jenkins eulogizes her as follows: "An excellent woman, of great piety, and benevolence being blessed with ample means, her charitable deeds were many. She was an Elder, of London.

²⁸ SARAH WILSON (1759-1843) was the sixth daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson, of Kendal. In 1806, she became the fourth wife of John Abbott, of Plymouth. "Notwithstanding her eccentricities she appears to have been a valuable Friend."

Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924.

²⁹ SARAH PHILLIPS (1754-1819) was the youngest daughter of Thomas and Sarah Corbyn and married Richard Phillips (1756-1836), of London.

Memoir of Richard Phillips, 1841.

³⁰ WILSON BIRKBECK (1754-1812) was the son of John and Sarah (Wilson) Birkbeck, of Settle. He was an iron founder in London in connection with Darby, of Coalbrookdale and Southwark. His first wife was Hannah Plumsted, Junr. (d. 1791) and his second wife was Grizell Hoare, who, as his widow, became the third wife of William Allen. F.R.S. (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xviii. xix). J. Jenkins devotes six pages of his *Records* to W. Birkbeck. His wives brought him riches, and he was able to devote much time to the Society and its affairs. "The gifts of fortune were not in vain shower'd upon him—he gave liberally and often awaken'd into action the generosity of others."

Jnl. F.H.S. v. XV. xviii. XXI.

³¹ MARY JEFFERYS (1767-1847) was a daughter of Robert and Mary Jefferys, of Melksham, Wilts. She companioned several Ministering Friends and was with Sarah Stephenson in America in 1802. She married William Powell of Wiltshire in 1819 and, apparently, ceased travelling as a Minister.

Sarah Stephenson, 1807; Jnl. F.H.S. xiii-xv. xxiii. xxiv.

1804

Clerk: JOHN MERRYWEATHER

Richard Cockin No report.

I have been well satisfied with my attendance 5 mo 28 this morning, but look forward to a trying sitting of the Y.M. this Jøaac Stephenson¹ afternoon at 4. James Fawcet's case, which occupied about the whole of the sitting on 7th day afternoon is to be brought forward again, and the Committee of Appeals have proposed to confirm the Judgment of York Q.M., but apprehension having arisen of his being at this time insane occasions much perplexity and diversity of sentiment.

(Letter from Isaac Stephenson to his wife, Hannah Stephenson—original in \mathbf{D} .)

¹ ISAAC STEPHENSON, the younger (1765-1830), was for many years a miller of Stockton-on-Tees and, later, a cornfactor in Manchester. In 1798 he married Hannah Masterman. He travelled extensively in Europe and America; he died while on a visit to Ireland. Testimony; Corder's Memorials, 1845 (correcting 1820 to 1830);

Jnl. F.H.S. v. xiv. xv. xviii.-xx.

1805

Clerk: JOSEPH GURNEY^I

I left home on 4th day, the 14th of 5th month and was favoured to get well to London. **Richard Cockin** Seventh-day at ten oclock I met by appointment of the Committee of Ackworth School, some of the London Committee; we set till after one oclock and then adjourned untill four. The subject of the Committees meeting quarterly and appointing Sub-committees to meet monthly, occupied much time in settling. It was however at length agreed to adop't the practice, notwithstanding the difference of sentiment which at first prevailed.

On *First-day morning* I was at Gracechurch Street Meeting. Jesse Kersey,² Mary Bevan and Sarah Bowden³ were publickly engaged, and in the *afternoon* meeting at Devonshire House George Sanders.⁴ William Tomlinson and others were livingly drawn forth.

Second-day at ten the Meeting of Ministers and Elders began. Divers observations were made, principly on Parents indulging their Children improperly. Mary Bevan, Thomas Shillitoe, John Wilkinson, Mary Sterry, Ady Bellomy, Christiana Hustler, and others united in the exercise. At four oclock Friends attention were again turned to the same important subject. Thomas Shillitoe noticed the manner of many Friends (who were Members of Meetings of Ministers and Elders) furnishing their Houses, and in other respects exampling their Children in a way calculated to lead them out of the simplicity of the Truth &c. Jessey Kercy entered pretty largly into the subject, concluding with the observation, "Friends, let your commands to your Children be the result of deliberate consideration and be sure that they are executed with firmness." 1805]

Third-day at ten. The first business was a letter, addressed to the Meeting of Ministers and Elders by William Crotch. Divers Friends were so favourably impressed there with as to propose it's being forwarded to the Quarterly Meeting[s] of Ministers and Elders. It perticularly alluded to the appointing of Publick Meetings, and a solicitude was expressed in the Meeting that Friends in appointing those Meetings might not mistake goodwill and affection for the People, for a Divine command—there being a diversity of gifts it behoved Friends to indeavour clearly to comprehend, and faithfully attend to, the line of service they were gifted for, that in speaking to subjects in Meetings for descipline no stamps that we could put upon what we said would add weight thereto; and Friends were cautioned against contracting habits in Meetings of descipline in speaking in a tone of voice, as if they were speaking under a Divine impression.

Fourth-day morning at 10 oclock, the Yearly Meeting commenced. Jessey Kersy was largely engaged. He observed that many impediments and obstructions were in the way of our becoming children of the Light [and a further report of his address, also of those by William Byrd and John Wilkinson].

Fifth-day morning at ten the Yearly Meeting proceeded with reading the answers to the Queries. Divers observations were made with respect to Friends training up their Children in an expensive manner, by which means their Parents had to drudge on in Business in order to meet the expences which they brought upon themselves, and by having to extend their Trads, and their attention being so much occupied with the pursuit of temporal things their usefulness in Society was prevented. And those who were about to set out in the world, it was impressed upon them to duly consider how much their comfort in the World would be promoted by setting out in frugal manner, seeing that by getting large houses and costly Furniture, a foundation was lade for many other expension, and hence Servants had to be imployed in doing work that was not necessary, they had frequently to rise early and sit up late in keeping costly furniture and superfluous Clothing in such order as the nature of it required. And in many Families the Daughters of Friends took a very little share of the labour. Friends were tenderly reminded how much their comfort was promoted by the service of

their Servants and therefore it behoved us to treat them with due respect and consideration. There appeared to be a cordial uniting with the sentiments thus communicated, divers Friends lamented that our Woman Friends had been deprived of hearing those interesting observations. The Meeting adjourned to *four oclock*, when William Jackson⁵ was pritty largely engaged. He observed that it had often given them concern to notice the great distance that some Friends appeared to keep their Servants that they were not admitted at such times as the Master and Mistriss with their children were in the practice of reading the Scriptures or other religious Books.

Sixth-day morning I was at Westminster Meeting. The Friends engaged were Ann Ransom,⁶ Frederick Smith, Susannah Adwin⁷ and Mary Birkbeck.⁸ The Yearly Meeting stood adjourned at *four oclock*, when William Jackson entered pritty largely into a view of the religious state of our Society and adverted to many weaknesses which too much abounded therein, also Jessey Kersey noted the practice of some Friends who seldom attended our Meetings for discipline, who would sit in judgment upon what was transacted therein. At this sitting there was a sealed letter⁹ addressed to the Yearly Meeting sent out to be perused by three Friends. When they returned they requested that some more Friends might be nominated to confer on the subject of the letter.

Seventh-day morning at ten the Yearly Meeting again met. The Quarterly Meeting for Worick Leister and Rutland presented a proposition respecting Monthly Meetings taking up casses that was brought before them that related to Friends who kept company with Persons in order for Marriage who were not of our Society. The Yearly Meeting was of the judgment that after due care had been extended in a private way and the party refused to take councel that it was the duty of Monthly Meetings to record the case, on being informed that unavailing private care had been taken. At this sitting there was a discussion took place respecting James Fawsit,¹⁰ when it was at length concluded to request Luke Howard^{II} and William Allen¹² to consult a Medical Person as to his being in a sound state of mind. Friends in the station of Elder who were nominated to over see the Meetings for worship during the Yearly Meeting met, and proposed to what Meetings they intended going the next day.

First-day morning I was a Southwark Meeting. [Four Maries ministered—Watson, Proud, Bowden¹³ and Alexander¹⁴ —there is no mention of any man-minister taking vocal part.] At three oclock I met the sub-committee on the Permont Epistle. In the evening I was again at Southwark Meeting.

Second-day at eleven oclock the Yearly Meeting again sat Jessey Kersey was engaged to advise Friends to dwell down. deep in their minds and endeavour to get under the weight of the importance of the subject that we were engaged about. Some consideration was given to the subject of the Slave Trade, introduced by J. G. Bevan, concluding with the reference of the subject to the Meeting for Sufferings.] Attention was drawn to a minute of a former Yearly Meeting that when Friends in the station of Elders do by their conduct administer uneasiness to their Friends and could not by private endeavours be reclaimed that the Monthly Meetings should remove such from their station. The report of the Physian who had examined James Fawsit was then read, declaring him not capable of prosecuting his Appeal, from the present state of his mind. It was proposed that the judgment of Brighouse Monthly Meeting and that also of York Quarterly Meeting should be resinded and James Fawsit should be again restored into Membership; those proposals were very trying to Friends in our County. The subject occupied the whole of this sitting when it was concluded that he should be so far restored into Membership that if he became necessitous he should be relieved as a poor Friend, but not to be allowed to attend Meetings for discipline.

Third-day afternoon the large Committees attention was occupied with considering the neglected state of many children in our Society, as to their knowledge of the fundamental Principles of the Christian religion. Some Friends suggested whether meetings could not be held for the special purpose of instructing our young People in the knowledge of our Principles. Some recommended the collecting Families together morning and evening in order to have portions of the Scriptures read; and some other Friends were solicitous that something might be compiled and printed particularly addapted to supply what appeared to be so much wanted. It was concluded that a paragraph should be introduced into the General Epistle on the subject and also to take a minute to the Yearly Meeting.¹⁵

1805]

Fourth-day morning after meeting at Ratcliff William Tomlinson¹⁶ was intered, who since I came to London this time I had heard him bear a living Testimony. At four o'clock the Yearly Meeting sat down. It was decided that Brighouse Mo. Meeting should not have to bear the expence of supporting James Fawsit. [The Committee appointed to visit Ireland—Henry Tuke, John Wilkinson and George Stacey—reported on their visit; as also did the Friends appointed to visit Gloucester and Wilts and Dorset and Hants Q.M.s. It was decided that Dorset and Hants Q.M.s should be united.]

Fifth-day morning the Yearly Meeting sat down to the consideration of paying a visit to those Quarterly Meetings which the large Committee had agreed to propose—Kent, Durham, Herefordshire, Lincolnshire, Warrick, Leister and The Friends nominated were George Stacey, Rutland. William Tuke, J. G. Bevan, John Bevan[s],¹⁷ John Hull¹⁸, John Wilkinson, Joseph Storrs, 19 Geo. Jones, 20 John Holmes, 21 George Sanders, Isaac Taylor,²² John Bateman,²³ Joseph Gurney, William Byrd, Henry Bragg,²⁴ Samuel Alexander, William Grover, William Alexander, Sparks Moline, and my name was also proposed as one of the Committee. A proposition was made that the Womans Yearly Meeting should be left at liberty to unite with the Men's Committee if way opened for it, which was not united with by the Meeting, which I felt much dissatisfied with it being my judgment that the more Men and Women are united in religious service, the more it will promote the best welfare of the body. A minute was entered in order to be resumed another year, respecting the most likely means of communicating religious information to the youth.

Sixth-day morning. John Kendal²⁵ was engaged to drop some salutary advice. John Wilkinson was powerfully enlarged. The clerk read the concluding minute, there was a solemn pause, when there felt such a covering of solemnity over the Meeting which appeared somewhat like an evidence or seal of Divine approbation.

First-day morning I was at Gracechurch Street Meeting. In the evening I took Coach and was favoured to reach home the next day in safety when I found my family pretty well. 1805]

With respect to our annual Congregation there is little new to be said. Much time and many words were spent on the Case (adjourned from last year) of a poor crazy friend of Yorkshire, who had been disowned by that Quarterly Meeting, and it was agreed to refer the point of insanity on which the Question turned to two medical professors— Dr. Babington and Dr. Currie, who gave it as their clear Judgment that the party wasinsane. Dr. Lettsom²⁶ concurred in judgment with these physicians.

NOTES

¹ JOSEPH GURNEY (1757-1830) was the head of that portion of the Gurney family resident at Lakenham Grove (usually The Grove, simply), near Norwich. He married, in 1784, Jane Chapman (1757-1841), of Whitby. Their daughters married into the families of Backhouse, Birkbeck, Barclay and Pease. His nephew, Joseph John, described him as "fraught with amiable tempers, sound intellectual powers, playful good humour, and, above all, deep, humble piety" (Journal of Hannah C. Backhouse, 1858, p. 94). He was a great help to his niece Elizabeth, afterwards Fry, in her religious advancement.

Jnl. F.H.S. xix. xx.; and many reff.

² JESSE KERSEY (1768-1845) was of York County, Pennsylvania. He was in Europe in 1804-5. J. Jenkins gives him a good character for "unassuming and modest demeanour," making "his company truly acceptable." He attached himself to the Hicksite body late in life.

Life, 1852; Comly, Misc. v. x. xi.; Jnl. F.H.S. iv. xv. xxii.

3 SARAH BOWDEN. Not yet identified.

4 GEORGE SANDERS (1755-1825) was a son of Jonathan Sanders, of Whitby, and a prominent Minister. His wife was Jane Dale, married in 1772.

Piety Promoted, xi.; Jnl. F.H.S. xi. xx. xxii. xxiii; Baker, Unhistoric Acts, 1906.

⁵ WILLIAM JACKSON (1746-1834) was born in London Grove Township, Chester Co., Pa. He arrived in England in 1802 and spent three years in Europe. J. Jenkins couples him with Jesse Kersey as of "unassuming and modest demeanour," and his "company truly acceptable." Here is a sad picture of disunion, from the *Journal* of John Comly (Hicksite): ". . . Dear old William Jackson, whom I hoped would never attend another Yearly Meeting because of the deceptive influences that have blinded his mind and filled it with prejudices in his old age, greatly to his unhappiness and the destruction of his comfort and peace . . ." Phila. Y.M., 1827.

⁶ ANN RANSOM (c. 1759-1838) was a Minister, of Hitchin, wife and widow of John Ransom.

Testimony; Annual Monitor, 1839.

⁷ SUSANNA HADWEN (1756-1827) was the daughter of Andrew and Susanna Gaylard, of Bristol. Then of Warwick, she married Isaac Hadwen III (1753-1842), in 1790. Her sister Hannah married Robert Barnard, of Manchester and Coalbrookdale, in 1796. She was a Minister about 42 years.

Testimony; Jnl. F.H.S. xv. (reading Gaylard for Gayland), xxii.

⁸ MARY BIRKBECK (1753-1830) was a daughter of William and Esther Dilworth of Lancaster, and wife of John Birkbeck (1749-1810), of Settle. *Testimony*; *The Birkbecks of Westmorland*, 1900, p. 117.

9 SEALED LETTER. The practice of committing a communication, addressed to the Y.M., to two Friends to consider on retirement from the Meeting, has long been discontinued. At the present time such a letter would be opened by either the Recording Clerk or the Y.M. Clerk.

¹⁰ There was a family of Fawcett living near Halifax, Yorkshire, at this time and the Burial Registers contain the information that JAMES FAWCETT, presumably the Appellant, died in 1831, aged 78, "late of Owram, co. York." There is considerable reference to this case in private letters of the period.

¹¹ LUKE HOWARD (1772-1864) was a well-known and prominent Friend, of London Y.M. His views on various subjects differed from those of many of his fellow-members (see e.g., *Jnl. F.H.S.* xvii. 104). He lived at Tottenham and had a country house at Ackworth. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society. He edited *The Yorkshireman*, 1833-1837 and wrote various scientific treatises. He resigned his membership at the time of the Beaconite Controversy.

¹² WILLIAM ALLEN (1770-1843) was the prominent philanthropist and scientist, F.R.S.

Life, 1846-7; Smith, Cata.; Jnl. F.H.S. many vols., esp. v. xviii. xix. xxv.

¹³ MARY BOWDEN (c. 1743-1815) was the wife of Josiah Bowden, of Liskeard, Cornwall, and daughter of Jonathan and Catherine Baron.

Testimony; Annual Monitor, 1817; Account (autobiographical), 1814.

¹⁴ MARY ALEXANDER (1758-1833) lived at Tottenham and later in Essex. She was the daughter of James and Priscilla Alexander, of Tottenham. She travelled in the ministry with Mary Proud, Rebecca Byrd, and others

Corder, Memorials, 1845.

¹⁵ The printed Epistle of 1805 contained some reference to this subject, and a further result was the issue of a pamphlet, Early Christian Instruction in the Form of a Dialogue between a Mother and a Child, dated 1807.

¹⁶ WILLIAM TOMLINSON (1726-1805) lived at Ratcliff, near London. J. Jenkins records: "This innocent old man preached at our afternoon meeting at Devonshire House last first-day—on the 4th day following he was buried at Ratcliff."

¹⁷ JOHN BEVANS (c. 1743-1809) began business in a small way as a carpenter and "advanced to the profession of a builder of some eminence. . . He was an Elder of Peel Meeting and frequently expressed himself with great propriety" (Jenkins).

[1805

1805]

¹⁸ JOHN HULL (1755-1816), of Uxbridge, Middlesex, mealman and philanthropist. He was associated with Elizabeth Fry in religious service and advised her on various subjects.

Smith, Cata.; Jnl. F.H.S. xi. xxiii.

¹⁹ JOSEPH STORRS (1742-1824) was a Chesterfield Friend, of a family long seated in the district. He was clerk of Y.M. 1787. He was a member of the Committee on Appeals in the Hannah Barnard case, 1801.

Jnl. F.H.S. xxi.

²⁰ GEORGE JONES (1765-1841) was born at Horsehay, Salop. In 1815 he married Ann Burgess, of Leicester. They represented a strong conservative element in Quakerism. He represented Cheshire on the Appeal Committee *re* Hannah Barnard, in 1801.

²¹ JOHN HOLMES (1745-1823) lived at Tivetshall, in Norfolk. He was associated with William Bleckley in religious travel and travail.

²² ISAAC TAYLOR (c. 1723-1801), of Yorkshire, travelled with John Pemberton and Thomas Cash in the far islands of north Scotland (1786), "the people in general disposed to attend and their behaviour commendable" (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xiii).

²³ JOHN BATEMAN (1732-1816) lived at Chatteris in Cambridgeshire.
He was an Elder and later a Minister.

Piety Promoted, xi.

²⁴ HENRY BRAGG was a representative to this Y.M. from Cumberland and Northumberland Q.M. He was probably a member of the Whitehaven family.

²⁵ JOHN KENDALL (1726-1815) was a Colchester Friend and an author. In 1764 he married Ann Havens, of Colchester. She died in 1805. Kendall's *Letters* was an acceptable publication.

Smith, Cata.; Piety Promoted, xi.; Jnl. F.H.S. i. vi. xviii.

²⁶ JOHN COAKLEY LETTSOM (1744-1815) was the well known London doctor, assisted into fame by Dr. John Fothergill. There is much reference to him in C. F Jenkins's Tortola. A Quaker Experiment in the Tropics, 1923. He was born in The Virgin Islands and died in London.

Memoirs, 1817; Smith, Cata.; Jnl. F.H.S. vi. vii. ix. X. xiii. xvi. XX. xxi.

1806

Clerk: ARNEE FRANK¹

Richard Cockin No report.

Our ministers (I have sometimes thought) come up to the Yearly Meeting as clouds filled with celestial rain, from whence the heritage is watered and refreshed; under date of 5th Mo. 18th, I find the following record: "This has been to me a day of spiritual feasting."

A meeting where a good deal was said with respect to dress and also parents dressing their Children, by Martha Routh, and she entered into many particulars to me not very agreable, but I think perhaps she was right; and indeed it struck me at meeting that it was very well now and then to have our wounds probed that no proud flesh might rise without our perceiving it.

I have not been a close attendant on Yearly Meeting. A proposition from Yorkshire took up **Joseph (Doods** much time, the tendency of which was to deprive the Appellant in cases of Appeal of the Option of being heard in his own Defence in the meeting at large. . . . The present rule was confirmed without Alteration. [Then follows a recitation of a discussion on tithes.]

[The above is from a letter to William Matthews, of Bath, see Matthews MSS. in **D**. This volume of MS. reached Friends from John Albert Bright, who wrote, March 31, 1010: "J. A. Bright sends these letters to Norman Penney wondering whether anything of interest is contained in them. Some one sent them to his father long ago."]

NOTE

¹ ARNEE FRANK (1766-1858), of Bristol, was educated at the School of Jonah Thompson, at Compton, Dorset. He became engaged in the woollen and woolstapling business and later in a cutlery and hardware business. His first wife was Edith Lovell and his second wife Hannah Benwell. In a volume of reminiscences (in **D**) he records his surprise at the nomination and appointment to the clerkship. There is a silhouette of A. F. reproduced in *Thomas Pole*, *M.D.*, 1908.

Jnl. F.H.S. iv. xxiii.

1807

Clerk : JAMES BAKER¹

Some account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in 1807. I left home on 4th day the 13th of 5th mo in company with Martha Smith; nothing occured on the road that appeared worthy of being perpetuated: we were favoured to get well to London, where I met with a cordial reception from my dear Relatives at my usual lodgings in

the Old Jury, which had a cheering influence upon me, and we spent the evening together in a manner that was revivingly pleasant.

Sixth-day morning I awoke early and was agreably surprised to feel so little of the effects of my journey. During the day I attended to some business, and also spent some hours with my Children.

Seventh-day morning. I went to breakfast with John and Sarah Grubb.

On *First-day* I attended the Meeting at Gracechurch Street; soon after the Meeting was gathered William Byrd was engaged in Testimony the purport of which was to impress the necessity of each experiencing the new birth; after which Mary Naftle was engaged to inforse the same subject. In the *afternoon* Meeting Nicholas Naftel was first engaged, after which Mary Naftle was clothed with the spirit of supplication, and George Braithwait was pritty largely ingaged in Testimony. After supper at my lodgings there was a religious opportunity.

Second-day morning at 10, the Meeting of Ministers and Elders begun. Wm. Grover having an inflamation in his eyes requested to be released from the office of Clerk. The Answer to the Queries was proceeded in as far as Westmorland. After dinner at Martha Horne's² lodgings there was a religious opportunity when dear Ann Crowley ministered to us. At 4 in the afternoon the Meeting of Ministers and Elders again met when George Stacy was proposed as Clerk and Dykes Alexander³ as assistant. The remainder of the answers to the Queries was read and a Committee appointed to prepare a report to the Yearly Meeting. The advices were then read and divers observations made. During the consideration of the subject of how Elders should conduct towards Ministers, my mind was impressed with a painful consideration least some diffident Ministers should be unprofitably discouraged by some of the observations that was made respecting the ministry, and I was also apprehencive that it might promote an active busy. meddling disposition to be set at work in some who are nominated to the station of Elders who may not possess suitable qualifications. It seemed best for me to clothe my feelings thereon with expression, impressing upon the Meeting that those who, in the cross, had to expose themselves in publick claimed the tender sympathy of their Friends. During this sitting John Grubb and Elizabeth Usher⁴ were engaged in supplication and divers Friends in Testimony. At this sitting a subject was introduced respecting the practice of a Friend sitting during their being ingaged in Supplication, when sitting at Table before or after a Meal, it being the judgment of the Friend that remaining in that position was not paying that reverence to the Supreme Being which, on such occasions was due-after some discussion it did not appear to meet the general approbation of the Meeting so, as the practice to be recommended.

Third-day at ten the Meeting of Ministers and Elders again met. At this sitting the subject of nominating a Committee of Elders to oversee the Meetings for Worship during the time of the Yearly Meeting was pritty largely discussed. At three oclock I met a sub-Committee of Ackworth School in order to prepare a report of that Institution to be laid before the General Meeting at 4. The principle business which occupied the Meetings attention was the consideration of lowering the terms of admission, which was lowered to ten guineas p Annum.

Fourth-day morning at 10 the Yearly Meeting commenced. Wm. Byrd was engaged in a short Testimony and Joseph Clark in Supplication, altho' this sitting felt to me rather a low time, yet nothing of a painfully trying nature occured. The first business of the sitting at *four oclock* was to receive the report of the Committee for chusing a Clerk, who proposed James Baker. Then proceeded upon reading the answer to the Queries—divers observations were made on the deficiencies in the answers, particularly by dear Geo. Sanders.

Fift-day morning at 10, the Yearly Meeting met, when the remainder of the answers to the queries was read. During the reading the answers there were several Testimonies of Ministers deseased namely Elizth. Beal⁵ of Drapers near Margate, aged 93; Ann Gregory⁶; Ann Hawks⁷; and Jacob Bell⁸, the reading of whose Testimony appeared to produce a tendring impression upon the Meeting, he being a Friend much known and beloved. Divers instructive remarks were made; the subject of reading the Scriptures in Families was earnestly recommended. At the afternoon sitting the Large Committee were nominated; and at the close thereof the Elders who were appointed to oversee the Meetings for Worship met.

Sixth-day formoon I was at Westminster Meeting, the Friends engaged in Testimony were Martha Smith, Elizabeth Wheeler, Sarah Abbott, John Conran and Richard Phillips. The Yearly Meeting sat down at four oclock when the Quarterly Meetings were called over to enquire if they had any thing to offer. Essex had a Proposition on the subject of Appeals which produced a pritty long discussion. J. G. Bevan and Richd. Phillips opposed any alterations, and Wm. Grover, Wm. Tuke, Joseph Storrs, Henry Tuke with divers other Friends were of the judgment that the present rules were defective. The subject was refer'd to the Large Com-Some of the minutes of the Meeting for sufferings mittee. were read, and the amount of the subscriptions for assisting Friends in America towards civilizing and otherwise assisting the Indians was also read, the ammount of which subscription was upwards of seven thousand pounds. I sup't at John Listers, where, after supper, there was a religious opportunity, when Nicho. Naftle and his wife ministered to us.

Seventh-day morning at 10 the Yearly Meeting again met. Before the business was entered upon, John Bateman observed that the qualifications which Friends possessed yesterday was not sufficient to qualify them to transact the business of the Meeting to day but that it was necessary to receive a fresh supply. Wm. Byrd also enforsed the same. At this sitting the remainder of the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings were read-the minute respecting an act of Parliment being past for the abolishing the Trading in Slaves produced a lively impression upon the Meeting. And there was another minute of the Meeting for sufferings which occupied some time, that of having appointed a sub-committee to prepare an essay to lay before the Yearly Meeting for the instruction of youth, which was refer'd to the large Committee; the whole of this sitting was a season of Divine favour. At four oclock the Large Committee met, and proceeded to take into consideration the deficiences in the answers to the queries when many instructive observations were made thereon.

First-day Morning I was at Ratcliff Meeting, where John Kirkham⁹ was largely engaged. In the afternoon I was at Grace Church Street Meeting, the foor part of which seemed to be a low exercising time. As I endeavoured to keep in a humble watchful state of dependance upon Almighty sufficiency and my mind was exercised with those considerations, Sarah Grubb stood up and what she had to communicate was peculiarly applicable to the state of my mind, I became much tendered and in brokenness of spirit, my tears flowed very copiously. In the evening I mingled in social and religious converse with Ann Capper,¹⁰ which was revivingly pleasant.

Second-day morning the large Committee met at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 oclock and proceeded to enter again into the answers to the queries. The Yearly Meeting stood adjourned to II o'clock, soon after the meeting was gathered John Kendall was engaged to express the desire that Friends might live and walk in the fear of the Lord and thus the Church would be edified, and we as a People multiplied. His voice was so feeble that J. G. Beavan repeated what he had expressed, in doing which he became so affected as to have to stop. The report of the Committee that had visited Scotland was read at this sitting. J. G. Bevan requested that Friends would not make the situation of Friends of Scotland a subject of conversation, he said divers erronious reports were in circulation respecting them, who, he observed, was not only deserving the sympathy of their Friends here, but also was worthy of their regard; the same Committee was continued.

Third-day morning the large Committee again met at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 oclock and proceeded to read the essay on religious instruction to Children,¹¹ which occupied the whole of this sitting. At 11 oclock the Yearly Meeting met, and proceeded with reading the minuts of last Yearly Meeting; the minute which refered the consideration how the Clerk of the Yearly Meeting was to be chosen, produced considerable discussion; it was at last concluded that the Representatives of all the Qr. Meetings should meet at the close of the first sitting of the Yearly Meeting, in order to nominate a Clerk and two assistants, and to propose them at the opening of the next sitting.¹² I met the other Friends who were appointed to prepare an Epistle to the Friends of Permont.

Fourth-day morning I went to Peel meeting which felt to me to be a sollid edifying season, altho the baptizing authority, which is the Crown and diadem of our Meetings, did not seem to rise so much into dominion as I have sometimes consolingly witnessed it. At six oclock the Yearly Meeting again met; at this sitting we received a visit from Sarah Grubb and Susanah Horn,¹³ accompanied by Anna Prise and Mary Fairbank¹⁴. Susanah Horn was first led to address the Standard-bearers amongst us in the line of encouraging sympathy and Sarah Grubb was livingly engaged to address various classes and growths in religious experience and was lead preticularly to address those who were as the great Men in the world, querying in a very emphatic manner whether they were not more solicitous to have their heads stor'd with knowledge and their purses with money than they were to have their hearts replenished with Heavenly treasure. Anna Prise also bore a living Testimony amongst us: After the Woman Friends were withdrawn Samuel Alexander was engaged to impress on the Meeting the favour thus bestowed upon us by the Father of the Family in having influenced his Instruments, not only to hand the cup of incouraging consolation to the faithful dedicated ones ; but also to exhort and warn others of their dangerous situation, after which it was agreed to seperate under the favoured impressions the Meeting was then under, rather than enter in to any further business, which might scatter the precious influence which was then over the Meeting.

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Fifth-day morning at 9 the large Committee met; this sitting was occupied with reading and considering the Epistles which were essay'd by the different sub-Committees in order to their being presented to the Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting again met, the first subject which was brought forwards was the report of the Committee on Appeals,¹⁵ which was, that the judgment of the Or. Meeting of London and Middlesex should be reversed and that of the Mo. Meeting of Southwark should be confirmed; during the discussion of the subject the Meeting was in a very trying state, approaching to disorder, each party endeavouring to press their side of the case upon the attention of the Meeting; the Respondants on behalf of the Quarterly Meeting being dissatisfied, and requested that the case should be opened in the Yearly Meeting, which produced much concern: the Respondants was requested to meet and try if they could not be satisfyed to withdrawn their request, in order to preserve the peace of the Meeting; this sitting having been a most painfully trying one during the discussion of this subject.

Sixth-day morning at 9, the Yearly Meeting again met, when on sitting down there appeared a solemnizing influence to overspread us, and Friends seemed to be gathered into a weighty feeling state : when Thos. Colley was engaged to exhort us to keep under the calming quieting influence with which we had been favoured; Joseph Clark also was publickly engaged to press the same sentiment upon the attention of the Meeting. The Clerk enquired of the Respondants if they still wished the case to be opened in the Meeting, to which they reply'd that they did, and had committed to writing what they had to state to the Meeting ; it was then agreed that the Respondants and Appealants should be fully heard, and any question answered that might illustrate the subject to be answered by either side. The Respondants on behalf of the Quarterly Meeting were Luke Howard, Robt. Howard¹⁶, John Elliott, Sparks Moline and John Bell,¹⁷ and the Respondants on behalf of Southwark Mo. Meeting were Geo. Harrison, Wm. Mancer,¹⁸ Thos. Crowley,¹⁹ and John Fell.²⁰ The Appeal of Thos. Sturge was first read, and then Luke Howard read what the Respondants for the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex had committed to writing as their reasons for reversing the judgment of Southwark Mo. Meeting, laying great stress

upon the manner in which Southwark Mo. Meeting had proceeded in the removal of Thos. Sturge from the Station of an appointed Elder (which was the occasion of the appeal against Southwark Monthly Meeting). Geo. Harrison read a long justification of the proceedings of the Mo. Meeting, also all the minuts of the Mo. Meeting on the case, and the answer to the Select Meeting's Queries, which had been given for about 5 years preceeding. Notwithstanding the trying nature of the subject, it was discussed with considerable order, and after each party had declared that they had been fully and fairly heard, they were requested to withdraw, and that none of the Members of the Quarterly Meeting for London and Middlesex should offer a sentiment during the Meetings coming to a judgment upon the case. It was then requested that the Meeting would center down into a state of feeling, in order to come to a right decision on the case; when it did appear as if the minds of Friends were exercised to come to a just judgment there on. After divers Friends had clothed their feelings with expression, a minute was formed confirming the judgment of Southwark Mo. Meeting. Many when going to Meeting were under the most discouraging impressions, somewhat like going forth weeping who now, at the conclusion of this much dreaded business, had to return rejoicing—such a memorable instance of Divine interposition claimed the heartfelt tribute of thankfulness to the Author of all good.

The Yearly Meeting was adjourned to *four oclock*, when the minutes of the Large Committee were read, that respecting the revising the rules for conducting appeals was entered on the Yearly Meeting records, in order to be resumed the next year; the remainder of the Epistles to Foreign parts were read, and also the general Epistle, the observations there on, upon its second reading, paragraph by paragraph, for a time seemed to have a dicipating effect upon the solemnity that was over the Meeting—which, however, after a time seemed to gather over us when a precious cementing influence felt to be prevalent.

Seventh-day morning was held the last sitting of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders—a highly favoured season. Mary Naftle was first publickly engaged; then Anna Prise was concerned to caution Friends against taking strong liqur when they felt themselves exhausted either after

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Meetings or at any other times; and she also cautioned Friends against promoting the taking spiritous liquers, and perticularly Friends at whose Houses Ministers were entertained. After she sat down Martha Routh said her heart united in the foregoing caution, and enlarged upon it, Susanah Horn also united in the same sentiment. Thus we were favoured together in this our last sitting; and thus closed this (to me) memorable Yearly Meeting.

First-day morning I was at Peel Meeting. John Conran proposed a question for consideration, which was—what is of the greatest importance in this life—the answer to which, in his mind, was, to be prepared to be happy in the next.

I was favoured to reach home in safety the 2nd of 6th. Mo.

There was an appeal of the monthly Meeting of Southwark against the Quarterly Meeting of London Joseph (Woods and Middlesex respecting the Situation of Thomas Sturge, as an Elder of the former Meeting. This friend who was always more remarkable for the exuberance of his disciplinarian Zeal than the extent of his understanding, had been displaced as an Elder by his Monthly Meeting on account of some hazardous speculations in flour and other Articles which proved unfortunately beyond his ability to bear. About five years afterwards, the transactions came to the knowledge of the Monthly Meeting, which deprived him of his Eldership. He appealed to the Quarterly Meeting. The Appeal Committee of which reported in favour of the Monthly Meeting. The Appellant insisted on opening his Case in the Meeting, and the Quarterly Meeting, in opposition to the Judgement of their own committee reversed the Decree of the Mo. Meeting. The Mo. Meeting appealed to the Yearly Meeting, the Committee of Appeals of which reported against the Quarterly Meeting, which, dissatisfied with the report, insisted on opening the subject in the Meeting at large. The discussion took up much time, but at length terminated in affirming the original Judgement of the Monthly Meeting. So T. Sturge has gained nothing by his tenacious adherence to his Eldership but an Exposure of his Speculations to the whole Nation.

[From a letter (somewhat abbreviated) to William Matthews of Bath. See Matthews MSS. in D. no. 99.]

NOTES

¹ JAMES BAKER, from the Midland section of the country, as regards the Y.M. clerkship, was the last of the one-year Clerks and the sixty-sixth from the beginning. There was a James Baker of Birmingham who died in 1845, aged 84.

² MARTHA HORNE (1765-1850) was a daughter of Thomas and Mary (Hill) Horne, of London, and a sister of Susanna (Horne) Bigg. She lived at Tottenham and was an Elder among Friends.

³ DYKES ALEXANDER (1763-1849) lived at Ipswich, "in a comfortable old-fashioned house, situated in extensive grounds."

Testimony; J.F.H.S. xv. xvi.

4 ELIZABETH USSHER (c. 1749-1817), née Paul, became Ussher in 1770 by her marriage with John Ussher, of Cappagh, co. Waterford. With her three daughters, Lucy, Judith, and Susanna, she joined Friends in 1797, and became a Minister. Her private life was saddened by the death of ten of her children.

Jnl. F.H.S. vii. xix. xx.

⁵ ELIZABETH BEALE (c. 1714-1806) was the wife of Benjamin Beale, the inventor of bathing machines (*Jnl. F.H.S.* vi), at Margate. J. Jenkins records that she "was sometimes severe in reproving the gay Quaker visitors of Margate who formed part of her audience in the summerseason." Her Testimony records that "she was a nursing mother to the Youth who came under her notice."

⁶ ANN GREGORY (1769-1806) was a daughter of William and Ann Byrd, of Uffculme, Devon, and wife of Robert Gregory, of Claverham, in Somerset.

Testimony.

⁷ ANNE HAWKES (c. 1719-1806) was, apparently, the wife and widow of Thomas Hawkes, of Wells, Norfolk. Her maiden name was Oxley. Her later life was lived at Spalding in Lincolnshire. She was a Minister for about half a century.

⁸ JACOB BELL (1737-1806), son of Jacob and Margaret, was a mastmaker, of Wapping, and later he became a hosier. "He was a Friend much known and beloved"—a non-Friend wrote of him: "The serenity of his temper, the mildness of his disposition, his benevolence, his goodness of heart, his love of virtue, claimed in no common degree our regard and esteem" (Note Book II, in **D**).

Testimony; Jenkins, Records.

9 JOHN KIRKHAM (1766-1827) was "a greatly gifted minister," of Earls Colne, Essex.

Testimony; Irish Friend, i. 44; Inl. F.H.S. xv. xx. xxiii.

¹⁰ ANNE CAPPER (1756-1821) was a daughter of John and Frances Fry; she was born at Melksham, but soon removed to London. She married Jasper Capper, of Whitechapel, in 1778.

Backhouse, Family Memoirs, 1831; Jenkins, Records; etc.

¹¹ This was issued as Early Christian Instruction, in the Form of a Dialogue between a Mother and a Child. Written at the desire of the Society of Friends, 1807.

1807]

¹² The suggested alteration in the method of choosing a Clerk came forward in 1805, was deferred in 1806, and determined in 1807 as recorded by R. Cockin. This decision opened the way for the re-appointment from year to year, as found desirable, of the same Clerk.

London Y.M. during 250 Years, 1919.

13 SUSANNA HORNE (1767-1852) was a daughter of Thomas and Mary (Hill) Horne, of London, and the wife of Thomas Bigg, of Swansea, from 1819. As S. Horne, she travelled in the ministry at home and in America. As S. Bigg she became the foster-mother of six children.

Thomas Scattergood, 1845; Penney, My Ancestors, 1920; J.F.H.S. xv. xx. xxiii.

14 MARY FAIRBANK (1739-1827), and her husband, William Fairbank (1730-1801), were weighty Elders, of Sheffield Meeting. They were married in 1758; she was a daughter of Josiah Forster I, and Jane Birkbeck.

Memoirs of William Hodgson, 1886; Forster Pedigree, in D.

¹⁵ This was, doubtless, THOMAS STURGE (1749-1825), eldest son of Joseph IV and Frances Player. "He gave up the family calling of farming and went to London, where he engaged in the very different one of sperm-whale fishing which finally involved him in serious financial difficulties from which he was extricated by the great commercial ability of his son Thomas, then a youth." (Elizabeth Sturge, *Reminiscences*, Bristol, 1928). Thomas the elder married Lydia Moxham. Information from Elizabeth Sturge, Durdham Park, Bristol, 1929.

¹⁶ ROBERT HOWARD. Presumably Robert Howard, of Old Street, London (1738-1812), father of Luke Howard. He married, in 1772, Elizabeth Leatham (1742-1816), of Pontefract, Yorkshire. He was a "tinplate worker"—" a man of singularly strong and sterling character." Smith, Cata.; Howard, Eliot Papers, 1895, pp. 93, 109, 118.

¹⁷ JOHN BELL (1774-1849) was the noted chemist, of Oxford Street, son of Jacob and Sarah (Sheppard) Bell. After leaving the school of Thomas Coar, at Tottenham, he was apprenticed to Frederick Smith, of the Haymarket, chemist. He married, in 1802, Eliza, daughter of F. Smith. Jacob Bell (1810-1859), founder of the Pharmaceutical Society, was his son.

¹⁸ This was, probably, WILLIAM MANSER, of Newington Butts, who died in 1824, aged 81.

¹⁹ James Jenkins records the decease of a THOMAS CROWLEY, "of Chamomile street, leathercutter, 1809, 8 mo. 18th. He was interred amongst his ancestors in Bunhill Fields"; and in his Index, he is described as son of Thomas Crowley (d. 1787), "during many years 'a vexer of the brethren,' and was disowned by Friends.'

20 Of JOHN FELL little has come to light. There was a John Fell, of Peckham, within Southwark M.M., who died in 1835, aged eighty-three.

1808

Clerk: JOHN WILKINSON

Some account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in 1808.

Richard Cockin I left home on 5th day, the 12th of 5th. Mo. On my way to London in the Coach I met with some agreable company, with whom I had religious conversation, and an opportunity of explaining to them some of the reasons why Friends acted differently from various other professors of Christianity, with which they appeared well satisfied, and afterwards evinced much respect towards me. I may here just notice that I have frequently met with thoughtful Persons, when traveling in Stage Coaches, with whome I have had agreable conversation, when it has furnished me with an opportunity of putting tracts into their hands of a suitable discription; as I have for pritty many years mostly taken tracts in my pocket when I have gone from home, in order to give to those whome I have met with that they appeared likely to be acceptable to.

I was favoured to get well to London, where, as usual, I met with a kind reception from my Relatives at the Old Jewry, my privileged lodgings.

On Seventh-day I made divers calls upon my Friends, namely Richard Phillips, Frederick Smith, Mary Sterry and others, when the reviving feeling of religious fellowship was cheeringly felt.

On First-day morning I went to Ratcliff; before going to Meeting I called upon my old Friend Owen Weston, who had lately buried his Wife. I attended the Meeting at Ratcliff, which was to me a laborious season. I went with Wm. Allen to dine with his daughter-in-law, who had lately lost her Husband.¹ On getting to the House my affectionate sympathick feelings was so touched that I could not suppress my tears—indeed there was a mingling our tears as in the House of mourning. In the *afternoon* I was at Devonshire House Meeting, which to me was also a low flat time.

On Second-day at ten the Meeting of Ministers and Elders commenced; it was revivingly cheering to meet many of my dear Friends—to meet with those, with whome I am united in the bond of religious fellowship. During the reading of the Answers to the queries John Abbott, J. G. Bevan, Jonathan Hutchinson,² John Bevans, Wm. Tuke, Ann Alexander, Mary Capper³ and some other Friends were engaged to make observations. The *afternoon* meeting was at 4, at which sitting the remainder of the answers to the queries were read, and John Bludwick and others made observations on the deficiency. There was no Representative from Ireland this year, which was noted with much regret.

Third-day morning the Meeting of Ministers and Elders again met. After a time Deborah Darby imphatically repeated, fear not worm Jacob; she was then lead with much encouraging sympathy to address the faithful wrestlers, and such as were under discouraging impressions. The certificats of Friends traveling in the work of the Ministry was read at this sitting namely, one for John Kirkham, one on behalf of Geo. Sanders, one for Wm. Forster and Do. on behalf of Deborah Darby and Rebecca Byrd, also for Priscilla Gurney⁴ and Susannah Naish⁵; and two minutes on behalf of John Thorp and Thos. Colley. During this sitting our dear aintiant Friend John Kendall was engaged, with much warmth of solicitude, to promote the cause of Truth and wrightiousness. In the evening, after supper, there was a religious opportunity when Elizabeth Hoyland was engaged to minister to us; her Husband made some addition and my sister Sanderson was also engaged, with which I felt near sympathy.

Fourth-day morning at 10 the Yearly Meeting commenced. [After the setting apart of several committees] the Meeting proceeded to read the accounts of Sufferings; there were an account of two Friends having suffered imprisonment on account of having refused to serve in the Militia. During this sitting there was a message from the Womans Meeting, informing that some Women Friends desired to come into

our Meeting, which produced (to me) a very trying discussion, when a minute was entered, that when either Men or Women sent messages to each others Meetings it should be mentioned when Friends were under religious concern to visit each others Meeting, that the nature of the visit should be mentioned when the message was sent. The Woman Friends were Sarah Hack⁶ and Sarah Hustlar,⁷ accompanied by Alis Chawley⁸ and Tabitha Bevan.⁹ Sarah Hack was first engaged to address those who were at seasons mourning as for the abominations of the people and who were under discouragement on viewing the desolations which two much prevailed. She then saluted the Fathers, the Young Men. and the Babes in Christ dividing to each class, or different growths in the spiritual Life their portion; after which Sarah Hustler was clothed with the spirit of supplication. The afternoon Meeting was adjourned to 4. During this sitting the Testimonies of Rudd Wheeler, Ruth Fallows and some minutes of deceased Ministers were read, John Abbott and Edwd. Simkins were engaged in lively Testimonies. The Meeting adjourned to

Ten on Fifth day. William Grover was tenderly solicitous that our various Testimonies might be supported. in order to prevent an increase of weakness from prevailing. The subject of reading the Scriptures being adverted to, Samuel Southall observed that through the means of a deceiving and deceived Woman, he had at one time some doubts raised in his mind respecting some parts of the Scriptures, but he now had different sentiments respecting those Divinely inspired records. His thus bearing a publick testimony on behalf of the Scriptures and thus condemning his and Hannah Barnards principles in disapproving some parts of the Scriptures seemed to have an agreable effect on the Meeting. A Testimony was read respecting Job Thomas,¹⁰ when divers testimonies were born as to his patience and resignation under his long and great suffering. which exceeded all that could be conceived; his body was so distorted that he could not sit up and he had not the power of moving any one of his limbs, and when there was occasion to move him in any small degree, it produced excrusiating pain. Yet under all this bodily suffering his patience and resignation was unshaken. J. G. Bevan again read the Testimony at the close of the Meeting. He became so

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tenderly impressed with the affecting account that he could not refrain weeping, many others being melted in tears.

Sixth-day formoon I went to Westminster Meeting, which was a season of favour.

At four oclock the Yearly Meeting again sat down, when the Foreign Epistles were read. The Large Committee was appointed which occasioned considerable unsettlement and a scattering of solemnity. At this sitting Thomas Shillitoe was engaged to warn Friends against getting into a expencive way of living above their circumstances, by which many sorrowful instances of failer occured amongst us.

Seventh-day morning at 10 the Yearly Meeting met. The first business was the calling over the Quarterly Meetings to enquire if they had any thing to offer to the Yearly Meeting, when it appeared there was a proposition from Bristol and Somerset respecting the establishing a School in their quarter for the benefit and accomodation of Friends." The subject occupied a considerable portion of time when it was at length refer'd to the large Committee. And there was a Proposition from the Quarterly Meeting of Gloster and Wilts, suggesting the expediency of applying to Government for relief, in the case of Magistrats not having it in their power to grant a warrent to distrain Friends property for Tiths &c for more than ten Pounds. This was refer'd to the large Committee. The Large Committee met at four. The first consideration was whether it would be best to issue a General Epistle this year. The feeling was in favour of an Epistle being prepared as here tofore.

On *First-day morning* I was at Southwark Meeting, where the Friends publickly engaged to minister to us were Ann Crowley, Edward Simkin and Mary Proud. I was also at Southwark in the *afternoon*. The Friends publickly engaged were Mary Alexander, Sarah Rudd,¹² Elizabeth Bludwick¹³ and Thos. Colley. During the Meeting my mind was thankfully impressed with feelings of gratitude that there were continued to our Society a living babtizing Ministry.

Second-day at eleven the Yearly Meeting met. Thos. Shillitoe was engaged to minister to us; he observed that a language had attended his mind, of, say to my People go forward; but a query also accompanied it—what are the causes which prevents their journying forwards out of

the wilderness which our Society appear to be entangled in? He observed that one great cause was, that Friends in the early gathering of our Society were mostly engaged either in cultivating the Ground, or in some other useful employment; but as the Society became more and more united to the spirit of the world, they gradually declined those useful occupations and betook themselves to occupations in which they would procure livings in an easier manner by the dint of the brain and the contrivance of the head, and left Country situations to live in Cities and Towns. He said it was not more trying to Friends to hear him desend into those perticulars then it was for him to have to deliver them, but his peace was concerned therin. The Committee met at *four* and proceeded further with investigating the various exceptions represented in the answers to the queries. The subject of paying Assessments when a part thereof was applied either for the Church assessment (so called) or for the Militia, was largely discussed; when it appeared the judgment of the Meeting that Friends should attend when Parish Meetings were held, for the purpose of considering the subject of levying rates upon the Inhabitants.

Third-day morning. The first business which came before the Committee was, the Proposition from the Western Counties respecting their establishing a School. The subject occupied the whole of this sitting when it was concluded to appoint a small Committee to prepare a report to the Yearly Meeting.

At II oclock the Yearly Meeting met again, when the Proposition from Gloster and Wilts respecting Magistrates was fully entered into. After occupying the whole of the sitting, it was refered to the Meeting for Sufferings. At three oclock the Large Committee met. The report of the Committee respecting Sidcot School was read, in order to be laid before the Yearly Meeting.

On Fourth day morning I was at the Peel Meeting. The Friends who were publickly engaged amongst us where Wm. Rickman,¹⁴ Sarah Fox and Francis Fox, also Mary Townsend.¹⁵ At four oclock the Yearly Meeting again met. The report of the Committee appointed to visit the Mo. Meeting of Edinburgh was also read, which produced considerable concern on account of the religious state there of ; after some painful deliberation there on, the Committee was continued, and J. G. Bevan, Charles Parker and John Bevans were nominated to inform the Womans Yearly Meeting. The report of the Committee on Appeals was also read, by which John Hutchinson, of Thirsk Mo. Meeting, was reinstated in Membership.

Sixth day-the concluding sitting of the Yearly Meeting was a memorable one. Wm. Grover observed that he had looked towards the close of this Meeting with awfulness, when each of us would have to return to our different allotments in the Vineyard, and he felt a strong solicitude that there might be an increasing dedication of heart to come up in our various ranks in faithfulness to revealed duty. J. G. Bevan read the Yearly Meetings Epistle in a very impressive, weighty manner. During the concluding sitting of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders the attention of Friends was turned towards the reduced state of those Meetings in Ireland, which produced much sympathetick feeling towards the faithful sufferers there, and Friends were encouraged to visit their Brethren and Sisters in that Land.

First-day morning I was at Grace Church Street Meeting. The Friends engaged in Testimony were George Sanders, Henry Tuke, Catherine Tricckett,¹⁶ Deborah Darby and Mary Bevan in Supplication, and in the afternoon Joseph Metford,¹⁷ Cathrine Trickett and Elizabeth Bludwick.

I was favoured to get well home on 3rd day the 31st of 5th mo. For all the favours and unmerited blessings, which in this journey I have been a pertaker of-may I with the feeling of the deepest humiliation and gratitude render the heart-felt tribute of thanksgiving and praise.

NOTES

¹ According to the genealogical chart in Family Records, by Charlotte (Allen) Sturge, 1882, WILLIAM ALLEN (1729-1808), of Ware, in Hertford-shire, had a son, John Allen (1757-1808), who married Elizabeth Marsh, of Hitchin, and who lived at Ratcliff Highway. He died a few months before this Y.M. opened. They were ancestors of the Fox family of London, through the marriage of Sarah Angell Allen with Joseph John Fox, M.D., in 1847. W. Allen was a "convinced" Friend. Clement Young Sturge, the great-grandson of John Allen, published extracts from his diary written in 1277 in 1005

extracts from his diary written in 1777, in 1905.

² JONATHAN HUTCHINSON (1760-1835) was a farmer at Gedney in Lincolnshire, "a spot which his ancestors had occupied for more than three centuries." He married Rachel Proctor.

Letters, 1835, 1841; Memoir, 1877.

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³ MARY CAPPER (1755-1845) was a daughter of William and Rebecca Capper, of Rugeley, in Staffordshire. There were ten sons and four daughters in the family, brought up in the Church of England. Jasper Capper (1751-1819), who became a Friend, was a brother. Mary joined the Society in 1785, and was acknowledged a Minister in 1794. Hannah C. Backhouse wrote of her as " the most eminently sweet, angelic woman I ever saw " (Journal, 1858).

4 This would be Priscilla HANNAH GURNEY (1757-1828), to be distinguished from her relative, Priscilla Gurney (1785-1821). She was one of the two daughters of Joseph Gurney (1729-1761), of Norwich, and Christiana Barclay. Her valuable autobiography reveals much of her religious experience and character. Her later home was in Bath; she lived many years with Richard Reynolds in Shropshire. Life of Mary Anne SchimmelPenninck, née Galton, 1858; Deborah

Darby, ms. in D.

⁵ SUSANNAH NAISH (1756-1822) lived at Bath. Her maiden name was Evill. She joined Friends, greatly to the distress of her family. Her husband was Francis Naish (1752-1785). She travelled in the ministry with Priscilla H. Gurney and W. and R. Byrd.

⁶ SARAH HACK (1762-1818) was the daughter of William and Mary Fairbank, of Sheffield. From 1788 she was in joint control of a girls' school at Tottenham, and in 1799 she united in marriage with James Hack, of Chichester. She acted as Women's Y.M. Clerk in 1806 and 1808. Piety Promoted, xi.; Testimony.

The decision of the Y.M. mentioned by R. Cockin in connection with this visit, was that visits to either Meeting should be preceded by a statement that they were either a deputation or under personal concern.

⁷ SARAH HUSTLER (1765-1817) was a daughter of John and Christiana Hustler, of Bradford. She was an active Minister and accompanied her mother and other Friends on their ministering journeys. She was Clerk of the Women's Y.M., 1795-1800.

Testimony; Piety Promoted, xi.; Samuel Hoare, 1911.

⁸ ALICE CHORLEY (c. 1746-1828) was the wife of John Chorley, of Tottenham, and an Elder. Samuel Hoare (1751-1825) lodged at the house of John and Alice Chorley. "She had a very original mind and told stories of second sight and supernatural appearances" (Samuel Hoare, 1911).

⁹ This should be TABITHA BEVANS (1751-1837), wife of John Bevans, of London. She was a daughter of Josiah Forster I and Jane Birkbeck. There is a slight account, in print, of their daughter, Ann, lamentably deficient in biographical data.

¹⁰ JOB THOMAS (c. 1750-1807) was a Minister, at New Inn, in Carmarthenshire, for many years. In 1797 an accident befell him by a throw from a horse, which produced the description given of him by Richard Cockin, and also by many other narrators.

Testimony; Piety Promoted, x.; F.Q.E., 1894; Rees, Quakers in Wales, 1925; etc.

¹¹ In 1808 the Meeting agreed to a proposition sent up by Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting for the establishment of SIDCOT SCHOOL, and agreed that the Quarterly and other Meetings which were supporting it should not be expected, in a collective capacity, to contribute to

Ackworth. Nevertheless it was stated that if, from "the Western parts," any subscriptions or representatives should be sent to the Ackworth General Meeting, the former would be "kindly received" and the latter would "meet with a cordial reception" (London Y.M. during 250 Years, 1919).

Knight, Hist. of Sidcot School, 1908.

¹² James Jenkins mentions several times the ministry of SARAH RUDD (1741-1820), who was a daughter of Samuel and Ann Rudd, of Hertford. Charlotte Sturge, in her *Family Records*, 1882, refers to S. Rudd in connection with a highway robbery—" a droll little woman."

Testimony.

¹³ ELIZABETH BLUDWICK (1747-1828) was a daughter of Richard and Alice Jolley, of Hatton, Cheshire. She married John Bludwick in 1790. She was a Minister.

¹⁴ WILLIAM RICKMAN (1745-1839) was born at Hellingly, in Sussex, and received his early education at Friends' School and Workhouse, in London. Prior to 1785 he was in America. He married Elizabeth Alexander (c. 1759-1832), in 1788, and conducted a school at Rochester, Kent. He was one of the grand old men of Quakerism.

Testimony; Corder's Memorials, 1839; John Comly, 1853, p. 230; Biog. Cata. Lond. Fds.' Inst. 1888; Jnl. F.H.S. xiii. xvii. xviii.

¹⁵ There was a MARY TOWNSEND (c. 1759-1846), of Godmanchester, Hunts, an Elder.

¹⁶ KATHERINE TRICKETT (1746-1814) was the daughter of John and Isabel Dent, of Winterden, in Lincolnshire, and second wife, from 1776, of Robert Trickett, of Sheffield.

Testimony; Jnl. F.H.S. xiii. xvi.

¹⁷ An autobiography of JOSEPH METFORD (1776-1863) was printed in *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, vol. xxv (1928), with portrait. He was a Somerset Friend; he married a daughter of William Rawes, of Marnhull, in 1801. He occupied the curious position of a speaker in meetings, after he had been removed from the status of Recorded Minister.

CORRECTION

JOHN ABBOTT. The presumption that there were two Friends of this name has been disproved by further research. The following corrects notes on pages 7, 88, 90:

John Abbott (1752-1813) was a son of Samuel and Hannah Abbott, of St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, a baker. In 1783 he was recorded as a Minister, and in 1784 he married Ann King, of Earith (1762-1791), and had several children. In 1785, J. Abbott was visiting Friends in Scotland and he was in that country again in 1789. In 1794, J. Abbott married Sarah Tregelles (1764-1802), daughter of Joseph and Sarah Tregelles, of Falmouth, to which place they moved soon after marriage and where one child was born before they took up their residence in Plymouth, where other children were born. John Abbott was in Ireland in 1795, and his wife, Sarah, and he in 1800. James Jenkins records that during this visit Sarah Abbott "imbibed the rebellious doctrines of the Irish New-Lights. It was reported that John had also indulged in forbidden fruit, but of this charge he thought proper to make the most public refutation that could be made amongst his friends." A third marriage took place in 1806—with Sarah Wilson (1759-1843), daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson, of Kendal, "a valuable but eccentric Friend,"— "a beautiful life and saintly character." "Report states that, one day, J. Abbott quietly remarked: 'Sarah, I have been considering that I have had thee the same length of time as my other dear wives.' On which she told him straight that she was not ready to follow them" (Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924, no evidence is at hand that Sarah Wilson became the fourth wife). John Abbott paid a religious visit to London in 1812, and on his return home, he suddenly died at Bath, his remains being interred there.

Testimonies; Mary Waring, 1810; Irish Friend, 1839; The Friend (Phila.), xviii (1844), 22, 325; Ball, Memorials, 1865; Jnl. F.H.S. xiii. xv. xix. xxii. xxiii.; Diaries of Edward Pease, 1907; Somervell, Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924; Jenkins, Record; and mss. in D.