

**PEN PICTURES OF
LONDON YEARLY MEETING**

"Pen Pictures" is issued as
Supplements 16 and 17 to
THE JOURNAL OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

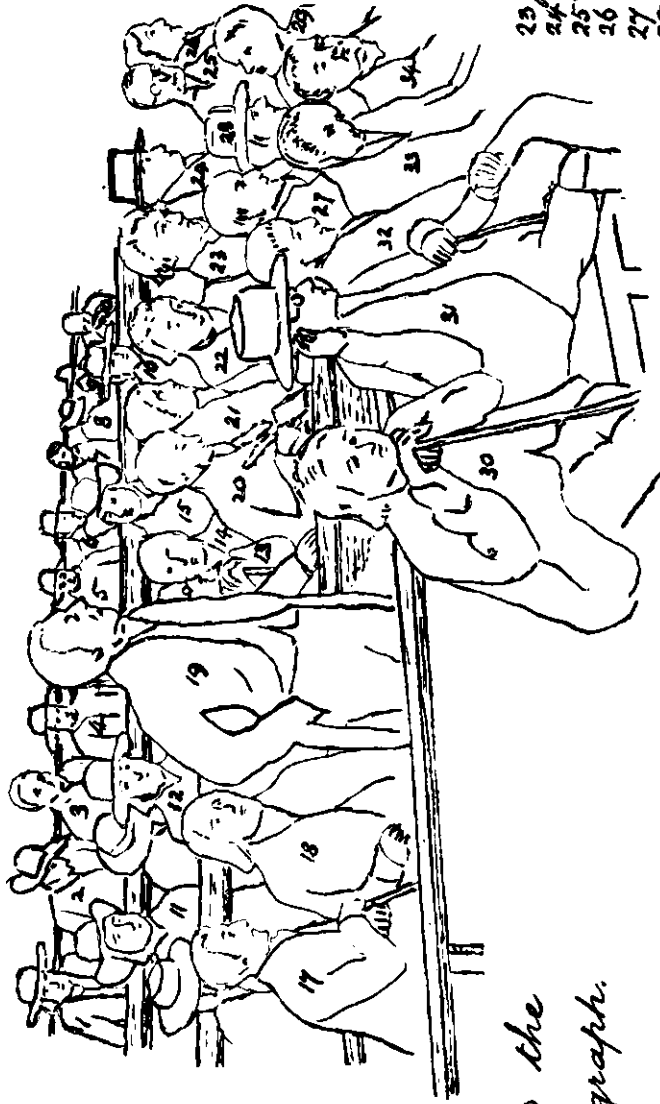
*The Journal, edited by Norman
Penney, LL.D., F.S.A., is issued
by the Society from Friends House,
Euston Road, London, N.W.1.
Price 5/- (\$1.25) a year.*

Made and Printed in Great Britain



A SITTING OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, ABOUT 1835
Twenty-four of the Friends pictured above are mentioned in the following pages.

Photograph of a painting of a sitting of the London Yearly Meeting
of Friends Painted by Samuel Lucas of Hitchen about 1840



Key to the
Photograph.

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 William Sewell | 6 William Rickman | 11 George Jones | 17 Samuel Mike |
| 2 Gaven Ball | 7 Solomon Chapman | 12 Richard Locken | 18 William Allen |
| 3 Samuel Randell | 8 Peter Bedford | 13 Joseph Y. Price | 19 Josiah Foster |
| 4 Thomas Skiltoe | 9 Joseph Healey | 14 Jonathan Backhouse | 20 George Stacy |
| 5 Daniel Wheeler | 10 Richard Barrett | 15 William Gundry | 21 Samuel Young |
| | | 16 Jonathan Hutchinson | 22 William Foster |
| | | | 23 Isaac Bass |
| | | | 24 Joseph Gurney |
| | | | 25 Joseph Manning |
| | | | 26 John Foster |
| | | | 27 Edward Smith |
| | | | 28 Silvanus Fox |
| | | | 29 Samuel Allen |
| | | | 30 Luke Howard |
| | | | 31 Robert Ruston |
| | | | 32 Paulinus Pabbay |
| | | | 33 Robert Alsop |
| | | | 34 William Jones |

PEN PICTURES
OF
LONDON YEARLY MEETING
1789—1833

Being Extracts from the Notes of
RICHARD COCKIN, JAMES JENKINS
and others

Edited by
NORMAN PENNEY, LL.D., F.S.A.

With Introduction by
T. EDMUND HARVEY

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

American Agency
304 ARCH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

1930

ABBREVIATIONS

D=Friends Reference Library, Friends House,
Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Bulletin F.H.S. (A)=*Bulletin of Friends
Historical Association*, Philadelphia.

Comly, *Misc.*=*Friends' Miscellany*, edited by
John and Isaac Comly, Philadelphia, 12
vols., 1831-1839.

D.N.B.=*Dictionary of National Biography*,
London.

F.Q.E.=*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, London.

Jnl. F.H.S.=*Journal of the Friends Historical
Society*, London.

Smith, *Cata.*=*Descriptive Catalogue of Friends'
Books*, prepared by Joseph Smith,
London, 2 vols., 1867.

Introduction

THESE is a peculiar pleasure in turning over the leaves of these volumes of recollections written down a century and more ago. It may be compared to that of finding, in some rarely opened drawer of an old mahogany tallboy, the neatly-folded muslin caps, the old silk aprons, the fine woven kerchiefs and the white damask table linen which were laid there long ago by gentle hands, which had once, too, gathered the lavender flowers whose colour now has faded, but whose fragrance still hangs about the whole drawer. To open that drawer and unfold its simple treasures is to be taken back into a vanished world, more ordered and leisurely than ours, quieter and in many ways more sober-hued, yet with a beauty of its own. It is to be brought near also to the woman who laid by those things in lavender, to hear the rustle of the fawn-coloured poplin dress, and catch a glimpse of the peaceful kindly face above it.

Richard Cockin's notes were clearly written without thought of future publication, for his own use and for the interest and help of a little group of friends. They are simple in style, as became the writer, with no special power of narrative, no attempt at characterisation, no gift of incisive insight, the plain record of a good, cautious man of sympathetic spirit, who tried to do his duty and loved his fellow-men.

It is of value as shewing to us the impressions of one who had no commanding gifts, but may stand out to us as a typical well-concerned Friend of his generation, esteemed by others for his character and kindness of heart. That character looks out upon us from his pages, as it does from the memory portrait of Samuel Lucas in his well-known picture of the Ministers' Gallery at Yearly Meeting. It is the same earnest, honest, frank and kindly face. There is no unkind word about others, no bitter saying in all these pages of recollections, though the writer's feelings must

have been sometimes deeply stirred by some of the experiences in which he shared, as in the wearisome appeal cases, or the stubborn differences of standpoint between the London and Ackworth committees of the great School, of which for a short time, in 1829, he was Deputy Superintendent. Beginning life in a humble position, he never rose, or fell, to a position of affluence, but we find him, in 1811, looking back to the time when as a young man he used to walk the London streets with a tray upon his head or a porter's knot on his shoulder, and naïvely adding: "But now I am deemed worthy to be associated with those who have their menservants to wait upon them, and invited to take a seat with them in their carriages, and what is of still greater value and importance to me, I am now united with those in endeared friendship." It is almost the only occasion in this record in which there is a trace of the deference to wealth and social position which, alas, had crept in, even into a Society which had fenced itself off from the world and its ways, by the plain dress and plain language of Quakerism, and by a discipline of life which seemed to others almost monastic.

Characteristic of the deep conscientiousness of the man and of his sensitiveness to the responsibility involved in unguarded speech on a solemn occasion, is the way in which Richard Cockin laments his having "made a premature observation" in the Large Committee of 1802, and at length relieved his burdened spirit by publicly confessing, "in much brokenness," the error he had made.

Even when advanced in years and evidently looked up to and trusted by his fellow members, he shewed the same touching humility of spirit. Thus in 1831 we find him writing: "I met the Committee on the General Epistle, when my mind became so impressed with the humiliating consideration, how unworthy I was to be thus united with such Friends as were upon this Committee, that I could not refrain from shedding tears most of the time we were together, so that it was to me a very tendering season."

He had not the advantage of a wide education, but he was gifted with sound judgment, and his width of view is shown by the cordial welcome he gives to the enlarging opportunities for the service of Women Friends and the growth of greater freedom for their co-operation with men.

"It has," he writes in 1799, "been a settled principle in my mind for several years that the more Men and Women are united in religious service the more it will promote the best interests of our Society, seeing that Male and Female are *one* in Christ, and whatever relates to the mind (as far as Divine influence is to be regarded as the qualification for religious service) there can be no distinction of sexes."

Richard Cockin was a deeply religious man, but the same calm and reserve which marks his sober record of certain tense and moving sittings of the Yearly Meeting, whose stirring nature we only realise from other contemporary accounts, is also to be seen in most of his references to the meetings for worship which he attended so diligently, and to the ministry in them. Yet sometimes his old-fashioned, restrained language brings home to us, better than a more emotional writer would have done, the essence of the matter, as when we read of a Minister being "eminently clothed with the spirit of supplication," or of another notable meeting for worship, which "separated under a solid covering." It is noteworthy that, as the years go by, he gives more and more place to the record of religious meetings and communications.

At the solemn closing sitting of the Yearly Meeting of 1833, the last which Richard Cockin was to record, he tells us that he was so deeply moved with devotional gratitude, "that I could scarcely suppress my excited feelings from weeping aloud."

The good man had no thought of the picture of himself that he drew for us as he wrote, but it is one that makes us glad to read how, in his extreme old age, a friend calling to see him notes "his brightness of eye as well as intellect, with lively interest in what concerns the best welfare of his fellow-beings," and gives us a parting glimpse of him "wheeled from room to room in an easy chair, where he sits upright, with a venerable smiling countenance and flowing white locks."

For forty-five years, with the occasional intermission of a year or two, when it seems likely that business cares and difficulties prevented him from making his annual visit to London, Richard Cockin recorded his notes of the Yearly Meeting, only laying down his pen when, at eighty years of

age, his strength was no longer equal to the burden. These years cover the Quietist period of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century, when the Society of Friends was largely shut off from the life of the outer world, save in its deep interest in efforts for the abolition of the slave trade, on behalf of the American Indians, and in advocating the abolition of capital punishment; they cover too the time when the work of Joseph Lancaster and William Allen for the spread of popular education, and of Elizabeth Fry for penal reform, brought a wider outlook and enlarged service to many Friends, and they close at the period when the influence of the evangelical revival was making itself increasingly felt, although the culture and piety of Joseph John Gurney had not yet allayed the uneasiness of many leading Friends of the older school at the developments of which he was to be the leader.

The special value of Richard Cockin's record is to be found less in the detailed information which it provides about important sittings of the Yearly Meeting than in the picture that it gives us of the Quaker life of his day, and the glimpses of the men and women who helped to make it what it was. The time of the Yearly Meeting was occupied almost entirely by the internal life of the Society of Friends; appeals from disownment of membership occupied prolonged sittings; a great deal of time was taken up with the answers to the Queries, and with the discussion of suggested alterations in procedure; such matters as the rival claims of Sidcot and Ackworth Schools on the financial support of Friends in the South, and the recurring differences of opinion between the two Committees of Ackworth School, which met in Yorkshire and in London respectively. Outside in Bishops-gate the crowded street hummed with the noise of traffic; within the peaceful precincts of Devonshire House the busy throng so close at hand seemed far away. In the great world without the French Revolution shakes the fabric of the old order of society to its foundations; war follows war; Napoleon climbs to power and has Europe at his feet, but only once or twice do echoes of these great happenings stir the deliberations of Yearly Meeting.

In 1789 we find a reference to Friends suffering hardship for refusing to "illuminate their houses on the occasion of victory"; in 1793 at the very close of the sittings, after the

reading of the General Epistle, we can feel how the meeting was stirred by the solemn address of Job Scott, enlarging on the commotions which prevailed in various parts of the world, and foretelling the fall of "mystery Babylon" and the shaking of the kingdoms which supported her: when even Richard Cockin says: "It was awfully impressive," we can almost feel the awed whispers and the shaking of heads as the meeting separated.

That Yearly Meeting had discussed an address to the King on the prospect of war, and when the peace of Amiens came, in 1802, the question of an address to the King on the conclusion of peace was considered at length, in repeated sittings, and finally remitted, in default of agreement, to the Meeting for Sufferings, an expedient which subsequent generations have sometimes also adopted.

In the same year, 1802, we have recorded the generous help sent by American Friends, to the amount of £8,365, to assist Friends in need in England during the period of acute economic distress which resulted from the long war. But of the war itself we seldom get more than a hint, though Yearly Meeting would have to be informed of cases of hardship arising to individual Friends under the Militia Acts.

In 1810, however, serious consideration was given to consistency in the maintenance of Friends' testimony for peace by avoiding "in any manner, aiding and assisting in the conveyance of soldiers, their baggage, arms, ammunition or other military stores."

In 1813, when we have no report from Richard Cockin, we find Nathaniel Morgan, the banker of Ross, expressing his concern at the payment of a tax specially levied for war.

Deep interest in the cause of the abolition of slavery brought Friends even in the quietest period of the later eighteenth century into contact with the wider world and its politics, and the feelings thus aroused lent strength to the support given later to the brave Hannah Kilham, who, after years of experience as a Quaker schoolmistress, dedicated herself to bringing the message of Christianity to West Africa, learning their hitherto unwritten language from native African sailors, writing and printing a grammar, and going out in 1825 herself to Africa to teach and open schools.

In 1822, Richard Cockin tells us how William Allen introduced her concern to the Yearly Meeting; even with his weighty support the Meeting shewed the caution characteristic of that time: "The Meeting very harmoniously concluded to recommend that a subscription be immediately opened for this purpose, but not yet to be considered as the Act of the Yearly Meeting." There was no mention of the name of missionary in the title of the Committee, which was one "for promoting African instruction."

When Hannah Kilham spoke in 1825, after her first homecoming, to a crowded Meeting of Friends who had come "to hear information respecting whatever might regard the cause of the oppressed African race," it was at the close of Yearly Meeting, and not during its session.

As Friends now were coming into close contact and co-operation with others, not only in connection with the question of slavery, but in the cause of popular education, in the work of the Bible Society and the Peace Society, and in other ways, there was grave anxiety on the part of earnest-minded men and women of the quietest school, lest "creaturely activities" should injure the true life, and lest the influence of these new associates might deflect the strict Quaker testimony into conformity with the world's ways. Thus in 1820 we find Thomas Shillitoe warning Friends against "interfering in publick meetings for the discussion of political subjects," while in 1821 Nathan Hunt's "instructive observations respecting friends supporting our various Testimonies when mixing with others in the support of publick institutions" led to an interesting discussion in which both sides of the question were set forth.

At intervals during the long period which these records cover, we may note the earnest concern of one and another among the leading Ministering Friends of the time for greater simplicity of life and freedom from the entangling risks of luxury, which were insensibly growing greater as wealth increased.

Considerable sums of money were raised from time to time for various good causes. Thus in 1807 we note that upwards of seven thousand pounds were raised in subscriptions "for assisting Friends in America towards civilising and otherwise assisting the Indians." But there must have been wealthy Friends whose gifts did not involve the sacrifice

which others made, who on one occasion were soundly rated by a visiting American Minister for their shortcomings in meeting the deficiency on the rebuilding of the two large Meeting Houses at Devonshire House. John Fletcher, of Cumberland, records that in the Yearly Meeting of 1793, "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."

In 1797, another notable American preacher, William Savery, "in a most impressive manner, contrasted the practice of Friends too generally now with the practice of the primitive believers . . . that Friends in too general a way were endeavouring to grasp after the things of this life and to increase their possessions therein. . . . He observed many who were very exact about the cut and shape of their clothes, 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 comparatively swallow a camel." David Sands took up the theme once more at the same Yearly Meeting.

In 1799 we find two women Ministers from America, Hannah Barnard and Elizabeth Coggeshall, dealing again faithfully with the duty of plain living. Hannah Barnard's searching queries are recorded by Elihu Robinson: "Is it consistent with true moderation to have carpets spread on the floors at half a guinea per square yard, or with coverings which would make many comfortable beds for the poor or clothe the naked children? Is it consistent with true moderation to have more trappings or appendages to a bed than would provide several comfortable beds for many poor creatures amongst the mountains of Wales? Is it consistent with true moderation to drink such quantities of wine, which should only be taken as cordials for the stomach's sake?"

In 1805 the subject took hold of the attention of Yearly Meeting in connection with training of children; there is a touch of John Woolman's spirit in the thought that the accumulation of domestic possessions meant that "servants had to be employed 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 in the labour."

The need for simplicity of life was much at the heart of Thomas Shillitoe. Richard Cockin records an impressive plea of his in 1808, in which he pointed out that in the early days of the Society, Friends "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 could 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."

In 1810 we find Thomas Shillitoe warning Friends "against extending their temporal concerns," so as "to be enabled to support a way of living that was inconsistent with the simplicity of our profession." Again and again that note must have sounded in his earnest ministry, commended by the humble faithfulness of his own daily life. In 1817 we find him pleading against wearing "gold seals and long gold chains, and very costly gold watches."

All down the ages it would seem that there has been reason for the Christian community to give heed to the appeal of the prophets who call for simplicity of life and strive to free man's spirit from the fetters of material possessions. The need is not less in our own day, when many inventions multiply our demands and increase our claims on the labour of others.

In contrasting the record of successive Yearly Meetings which lies before us in Richard Cockin's pages with the Yearly Meetings of our own day, we note not only the difference of the more intensive and introspective character of the subjects considered then, from the wider outlook and sometimes overcrowded programme of the present day, which covers such a vast field of human activities and interest; as we look back we must regret the ample time available for those sedate assemblies, the background of quiet and of worship, the intervals between Meetings occupied in friendly social intercourse or illumined by intimate communion in worship. Friends would meet for a meal in the houses of

London Friends or in the lodgings of some Friend from the country, and frequently would come one of those "opportunities" in which Ministering Friends spoke some message or "appeared in supplication."

Only on very rare occasions were the sittings of Yearly Meeting prolonged till darkness had set in, and candlesticks were placed on the Clerk's desk.

The modern reader must be struck, too, by the larger space occupied at Yearly Meeting by the various meetings for worship, which were often of great length, many Ministers taking vocal part in them, and of these a large number being women Ministers. Ministers from America took a leading part not only in these meetings for worship but in the general discussions, and as they often spent a year or more in visiting different parts of the country, they became familiarly known and frequently deeply loved.

Sermons were much longer than at the present day, not seldom an hour or more in duration. In 1831, Richard Cockin tells us that when Joseph John Gurney had a meeting one evening for young Friends and attenders, "he was on his feet more than two hours."

In 1821, Richard Cockin records a meeting which lasted from ten o'clock till nearly three, some ten or twelve Friends taking vocal part. "Divers Friends observed," he adds, "that they had not recollected ever being at such a meeting before. Nathan Hunt said: 'The shout of a King has been heard in our camp.'" It is characteristic that at the beginning of the day, after reading, Thomas Shillitoe ministered at Richard Cockin's lodgings, and at night, after supper, Nicholas Naftel ministered likewise. Such a day seems almost a foretaste on earth of that vision of the hymn-writer who looked forward to the abode "where congregations ne'er break up and Sabbaths never end."

We may question whether our weaker vessels of today could hold all the good wine of communion which was poured out to our forefathers in such liberal measure in these spiritual assemblies. But no one can study the simple record of those years without being impressed with the power and the place which these meetings for worship and the ministry which was offered in them took in the lives of faithful Friends. Those Friends may seem to us now to have had a limited outlook on life, a narrow vision

of duty ; but they cared very much for some of the things that matter most.

On three important occasions in the period covered by these records, the Yearly Meeting had to deal with matters of painful religious controversy. Richard Cockin has left us no account of the Yearly Meetings of 1800 and 1801, and in 1799 his record is so cautious that we should hardly realise the nature of the prolonged and difficult sitting in which the gifted American Minister, Hannah Barnard, first came into opposition with the judgment of the Meeting. In extracts from the "Records and Recollections of James Jenkins" we do, however, get a vivid picture of that remarkable woman, and of the tenacious way in which she stood out for her view of truth. She had evidently great gifts as a Minister, which at first had found general acceptance, and the final decision of Yearly Meeting to request her to desist from travelling and speaking as a Minister, and advising her to return home to America, must have been painful to many besides the small group of Friends who shared her views and advocated her case. In "The Later Periods of Quakerism," Rufus Jones has told the pathetic story of Hannah Barnard. Her keen sense of the wrongfulness of war led her to challenge the inspiration of the historical books of the Old Testament ; her attitude to the miracles of the New Testament was to confess her ignorance—not to question their possibility, but rather to consider them as not "essential points of practical faith."

As we read the account given by James Jenkins of the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting, with all allowance for the fact that he was a strong critic of her views, it becomes clear that the tenacity with which she unyieldingly maintained her own position may have contributed in the end to the decision, but his description of her brings before us clearly the impression made by her remarkable personality : "She was about the middle size, with a 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."

In 1814 the Yearly Meeting dealt with another case of grave doctrinal importance which occupied part of five sittings, in the matter of the disownment of Thomas Foster for the circulation of Unitarian writings. The meeting was united in its decision, but we learn from John Hodgkin's record that the Clerk impartially rebuked an orthodox Friend who had compared the rebuttal of Thomas Foster's arguments to Goliath's head being cut off with his own sword: "However we might regret the views taken by Thomas Foster on some important points of Christian doctrine, it could not be right to compare him to the heathen giant who had defied the armies of the Living God."

On the most serious of all these religious differences, which resulted in 1828-29 in the separation of the Society of Friends in America into two groups of Yearly Meetings, Richard Cockin's record casts little new light, unless in helping us better to realise the atmosphere of Quakerism in England at the time when it seemed to so many good men and women that truth was to be found on one side alone. Richard Cockin himself shared the orthodox views of Thomas Shillitoe, but he also shared his mystical outlook. He loved and honoured Joseph John Gurney and sympathised with much of that wider outlook on the world which the evangelical movement brought with it into the walled garden of early nineteenth century Quakerism. But he felt also something of the danger which Friends like Thomas Shillitoe and Sarah Grubb saw in the growth of this new spirit, and in 1833 we find him pointing out in the committee on the General Epistle, "the danger that I had from time to time felt of the Archdeceiver gaining an entrance to divide and separate Friends. . . . These two avenues seemed to me to be that of exalting the letter of the Scripture above the Spirit by which the sacred penmen were inspired when they wrote, and the other avenue . . . was the attributing so much having been done for us by the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ as to lessen our reverent watchful dependence upon the guidance and preserving influence of the Holy Spirit."

But theological controversy was alien from Richard Cockin's spirit, and the historian of Quakerism must turn elsewhere for a detailed record of these painful differences.

During the periods of his attendance at Yearly Meeting, we may note from time to time references to a more interesting development in Quaker history. He tells us of the attendance at Yearly Meeting of Jean de Marsillac in 1789, and of Louis Majolier in 1791, and we are thus brought into contact with the remarkable little group of French Quakers. Later there are repeated references to the difficulties of the group of German Quakers at Pymont and Minden, as well as to the frequent visits paid to them by Ministering Friends from England and America, and we hear echoes of the laborious ministerial journeys made on the Continent of Europe by Thomas Shillitoe and Stephen Grellet. It is interesting to note that Thomas Shillitoe was only liberated for his service of European travel in 1803 after much difficulty and hesitation, which he met with a humility and faith that recalls the spirit of John Woolman, the meeting in the end agreeing to liberate him with cordial unanimity. In 1814 we find Frederick Smith calling the attention of the meeting to "28 persons on board a prison ship that appeared to be convinced of Friends' principles," these later forming the nucleus of little groups of Quakers in Denmark and Norway, while in 1833 we find William Allen reading a letter to Yearly Meeting reporting that Norwegian Friends "had, by their faithfully supporting their testimonies, obtained from the Government liberty by altering the laws in their favour similar to the laws in England respecting Friends."

Thus throughout this period when Quaker thought and activity was confined to channels so much narrower than those of our own day, we have evidence of a reaching out of sympathy to fellow seekers after truth in other nations. Under the impulse of the evangelical revival, and in close connection with the deep Quaker interest in the cause of the slaves, the needs of the non-Christian peoples came increasingly before the minds of Friends, but the organisation of foreign missionary work seemed to very many, and especially to weighty Friends of the older school, to conflict with the Quaker testimony against an organised and salaried ministerial class. In 1830, at the suggestion of Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting, the Yearly Meeting considered "respecting the propriety of Friends in a united capacity promoting the Christianizing the heathen nations," and, after prolonged discussion, adjourned any decision

till the following year, when to Richard Cockin's satisfaction the subject proved to rouse increasing interest amongst many Friends, "yet some Friends did not seem prepared to unite in the conclusion that Friends as a body" were "called upon to take an active part in converting the heathens from the error of their ways." And so the question was again deferred for another year, when a committee was appointed to consider the subject and report to the following Yearly Meeting. Slowly and cautiously indeed did the Yearly Meeting move. It was yet many years before the overseas missionary work of Friends could be organised under an independent committee, and many years more before this became an integral part of the work of the Yearly Meeting. Yet all the while, along the older lines, international work was being undertaken and religious service in foreign parts carried out at intervals by concerned Friends who felt called to it and received the support of the Yearly Meeting, both spiritually and financially. Again and again we find Richard Cockin referring to such calls to service abroad. The interest which they aroused among Friends must have been a means of linking the thought and prayer of many who never left their native land with the peoples of other races and countries, on all of whom the one Light shines.

During the forty-five years which Richard Cockin's records cover, we note the gradual widening of the horizon of interests which occupied the attention of Quaker thought. With it there came slowly, too, a change in the regulations of the Society itself and in the part played by its various members. The opportunities open to Women Friends gradually increased, not always without difficulty. Little by little some of the strictest rules were modified. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, and for some time afterwards, great importance attached to the select Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders which preceded the Yearly Meeting, and often held its adjourned sessions in the intervals of the Yearly Meeting itself and after its close. At this time the line between Elders and Ministers was closely drawn: it was only in the year 1823 that the rule was rescinded by which Elders who "believed it to be their duty to appear in meetings in the line of the ministry" were directed to withdraw from the Select Meetings. Eldership was too generally

repressive and critical rather than encouraging in its nature. The sensitive spirit of Stephen Grellet was conscious of this defect and we find him, in 1814, querying " what it was that prevented Friends from coming forward into religious service, particularly the Elders, who seldom were engaged in any religious service out of their own meetings, as if they thought they had no other part or lot in labouring for the spreading of truth than to sit as judges over poor Ministers, to hear them when they misquoted a passage, or to judge when they exceeded proper limits in the exercise of their gifts, &c." In 1809 it had actually been proposed by some Friends in the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders that a list should be made out of texts of Scripture which Friends were most in the habit of misquoting. This select gathering was, however, often employed in more profitable matters, entering with deep interest and fellowship into the concern of Friends who felt called to undertake religious service in foreign parts and providing an opportunity for the intimate exchange of thought on the spiritual life of the Society. The large body of Friends who were not in the station of Elders or recorded Ministers had little or no information of what passed in these confidential meetings, and we find James Jenkins speaking sarcastically of the way in which " we poor commoners " were kept in ignorance " during the protracted and frequent meetings of our spiritual and lay lords," on the occasion of the discussion of the case of Hannah Barnard in 1800.

Yet we need to remember that, though age carried weight, authority came in the Yearly Meeting and in the Society to those whose lives were marked by devotion and by those spiritual gifts which neither wealth nor culture confer. Men and women of humble origin and poor in this world's goods were looked up to as leaders and exercised great influence ; Sarah (Lynes) Grubb began her long and remarkable work as a Minister while still engaged in domestic service, and Thomas Shillitoe exercised his trade as a shoemaker throughout a long period in which he laboured as an eminent Minister. Nor was youth necessarily a barrier, for we note how deep was the impression made in the Meeting of Ministers and Elders of 1809 by John Wilkinson at the age of twenty-six — " Indeed it seemed more like the language of a Father in the Church than that of a young man," observes Richard Cockin.

As we look back over the record of these successive Yearly Meetings, in which Richard Cockin's narrative has been enriched by the addition of interesting extracts from other contemporary sources, and illuminated by a wealth of valuable notes from the antiquarian stores of Norman Penney, we find a wide field for thought opening out before us. Apart from the human interest of that bygone world, with which we are thus brought into contact, the touches of unconscious humour, the incidents which provoke our amusement, or sometimes our sorrow, there remains a deeper importance in this record, which enables us to picture through a generation and a half the life of a religious Society which, without written constitution, or formal creed, has continued through well-nigh three centuries to carry on its corporate life, in the endeavour to be loyal to the guidance of the Spirit of Christ. Sometimes mistakes were made, even grave mistakes, but that endeavour remained, and with it hope for the future. In all those years no vote has been taken, for the method of reaching a decision has not been that of counting heads, but by arriving at the sense of the meeting, through a clerk who is at once its interpreter and its servant, whose task it is to draw up the minute accordingly. At intervals, and sometimes insensibly, the atmosphere of the meeting becomes one of worship, and differences of opinion are transcended by a common loyalty to the guidance of the Spirit of the common Lord. The meeting is, after all, one of Christian disciples, and the nature of a disciple is to follow and to learn. Thus Richard Shackleton, writing in 1791 of a difficult committee on the revision of the *Queries*, which he attended and took part in, adds the words: "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." By those words we may be brought close to the central experience of the Society of Friends as a fellowship of Christian believers.

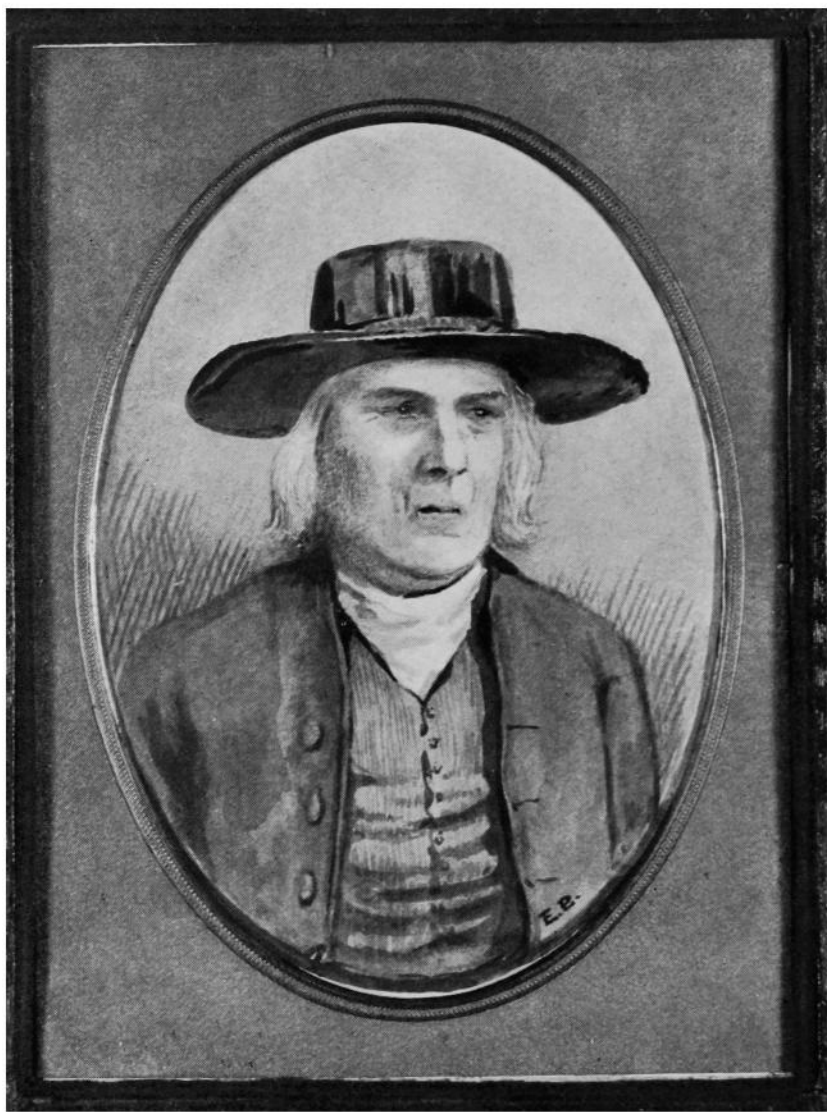
The barriers of time seem to vanish at the touch of friendship. As we turn from our survey of these five and forty years, our gratitude goes out to dear old Richard Cockin, who penned these records and, as he tells us, had often to get up early and to forego pleasant opportunities of conversation with his friends, in order to set down his

narrative, not with a ready but with a faithful pen. We cannot press his hand and say: "We are greatly obliged to thee, dear Friend!" But we may at least thank his Editor, Norman Penney, who has given so much labour of love to his task. He has enhanced the value of Richard Cockin's record by additional contemporary matter, much of which now appears in print for the first time. The vigorous and incisive narrative of James Jenkins makes one reader at least wish to be able to peruse a much more copious selection from his manuscript "Records and Recollections," which now repose in the Library of Friends House. We are also much indebted to the Editor for a number of hitherto unprinted extracts from the private papers of Elizabeth Fry, which cast fresh light on the inner life of the Quaker Society of her day and bring vividly before us the sympathetic insight of that good and gifted woman.

3. vi. 1930

T. EDMUND HARVEY

At the close of the volume will be found several pages extracted from the original journal of William Savery, during the period of the Yearly Meetings of 1797 and 1798, which are of considerable interest. They bear evidence to the wisdom and power of observation of one of the most eminent of the band of American ministering Friends who rendered such good service in England throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century.



RICHARD COCKIN (1753-1845)

(Original Painting by Elisabeth Brockbank, R.M.S., from contemporary sources)

To face p. i

1809

Clerk : JOHN WILKINSON

Some account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in the year 1809. I set out on 5th day the **Richard Cockin** 18th of 5th mo, and was favoured to get well to London. On *Seventh-day* I made divers calls on business and upon Friends.

On *First-day* I was at Grace Church Street Meeting. Ann Dymond¹ and William Candler² were engaged in testimony. At *one o'clock* I attended the burial of our much valued Friend John Bevans.³

Second-day morning at 10 the Yearly Meeting of Ministers & Elders sat down. This sitting was to me a rather flater time than is often the case. I went to dine with Elizabeth Fry. The Meeting adjourned to *four*. The subject of misquoting and misapplying the Scriptures was pritty largely discussed. Some Friends proposed a list made out of Texts of Scripture, which Friends were most in the habit of misquoting, and it was proposed to enter the subject on minute ; neither of these proposals were however adopted. [The names of seventeen Friends who spoke are given. We have met them all before.]

Third-day at *ten* the Meeting of Ministers & Elders again met. John Wilkinson observed that a subject which had frequently occupied his attention had so revived that he seemed willing to expose him self by attempting to advert there to. The general state of the ministry was rather low, but he was also lead to believe that the present state of the Church might not probably require the extension of Ministerial labours, as at some former times. . . . He then, in a most impressive manner queried why it was that the ministry should produce so little effect, and that whilst some would continue Preaching for half-an-hour, and that instead of life being raised in a Meeting, and that quickened which was

ready to die, they would go on until some of those who heard them was ready to go to sleep; he said it was possible for Friends in the Ministry to get in to the practice of standing up in Meetings without sufficiently feeling the necessity, and adopt a routine of expression in a tone of voice contracted by habit, and in their communications would sometimes make use of expressions, which, if they were stopped and queried of what they meant thereby, would be at a loss how to explain them selves. Divers Friends expressed their unity with what he had observed—indeed it seemed more like the language of a Father in the Church than that of a Young Man. [He was then about twenty-six.]

Fourth-day at ten the Yearly Meeting commenced. John Taylor and John Shipley⁴ were engaged in Testimony.

Sixth-day and *Seventh-day* was engaged in the consideration of the religious state of our Society.

Second-day morning. The Yearly Meeting opened at eleven. William Byrd informed us with the exercise his mind was under to pay a visit to the Womans Meeting,⁵ also Richard Jacob⁶; J. G. Bevan was appointed to accompany them. The Quarterly Meetings were called over, when it appeared there were three propositions, namely one from Dorset and Hants, one from Cumberland and Northumberland and one from Westmorland, which were agreed to be taken up by the Yearly Meeting [instead of being committed to the Large Committee as before]. The Proposition from Dorset and Hants was, to be associated with Sitcott in sending Children to the School there, and also to retain the privilege of sending Children to Ackworth. After discussion the Proposition was returned. The Quarterly Meeting of Westmoorland requested the Yearly Meeting's judgment whether a Monthly Meeting could consistently return a Certificate when no notice was taken therein of conduct. The judgment was that when no notice of conduct was taken in a Certificate such should be returned. And the proposition from Cumberland and Northumberland proposed that the rule of Society respecting holding no Meeting at the time of the burial of Persons not in Membership should not be imperative, but that Friends should be left to judge of the suitableness thereof as the difference of cases might appear to require. After considerable discussion it was concluded that no alteration in the Rule was to be made.⁷

Third-day morning. Ann Byrd and Mary Pryor paid us a visit. After dinner at my brother Sandersons there was a religious opportunity when Martha Routh, Mary Alexander, Mary Naftle and Elizabeth Bludwick were engaged to address those present.

Fourth-day morning I was at Peel Meeting. Jane Doncaster,⁸ Mary Gillott,⁹ Mary Powell¹⁰ and others were engaged publicly. The concluding sitting was a little hurt by too much criticising upon the wording of one paragraph in the General Epistle.

I was favoured to reach home in safty on *Third-day forenoon*. On the road I had much religious conversation with one of the Passengers, which has frequently been the case as I have traveled in Stage Coaches, when I have had opportunities of putting Tracts into the hands of those I have traveled in company with.

[A long narrative of the proceedings of the Women's Yearly Meeting of 1809 is preserved in **D** (portfolio 17. 71).]

NOTES

¹ ANN DYMOND (1768-1816) was a daughter of George and Ann Dymond, of Exeter. She appeared in public ministry when about twenty-five and visited many Meetings on the mainland and also in the Scilly Islands, in company with P. H. Gurney.

Some Account, 1820.

² WILLIAM CANDLER (c. 1750-1820) was a Friend and Minister, of Ipswich.

Testimony.

³ James Jenkins records the funeral of JOHN BEVANS, on the 21st of Fifth Month. "His remains were buried at Bunhill Fields, and the sight excited a smile, when I saw his old and frequent opponent, Wilson Birkbeck, assisting in the conveyance of his coffin from the hearse to the grave. The concourse was very great, and Richard Jones of Shrewsbury, Mary Naftell, Mary Stacey, and some others favoured us with a little characteristic eulogy respecting the deceased and a great deal of suitable admonition."

⁴ JOHN SHIPLEY (1776-1854) was a son of Thomas Shipley and Jane Dearman, his wife, married in 1765 at Sheffield and living first at Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire and later, from 1770, at Zeals, in Wiltshire. He appeared early in the ministry. Rachel Gurney (of The Grove) wrote, in a report of Y.M. 1813: "A good sermon from John Shipley, a young man who is *come out* this year." He was a draper in Shaftesbury; married Sarah Humphreys in 1803, who died in 1821, aged 39 years. In the Friends' Registers of Deaths we find the following: "Shipley, John, 1854. 12. 19; 78; Gloucester. N.M." (non-member). Did J. Shipley's membership cease for some reason?

Letters in **D**, 1817-1821; for the family see *Ruth Follows*, 1829, pp. 30, 57, 58; *Smith of Cantley*, 1878; *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiv. xv. xviii. xx. xxiii. xxiv.

⁵ According to a report of the proceedings of the Women's Meeting, the burden of William Byrd's "concern" was "respecting superfluity in furniture and provisions for the table, a subject which had been solidly and weightily before the Men's Meeting."

⁶ RICHARD JACOB (1758-1810) was a son of Joseph and Hannah Jacob, of Waterford, Ireland. His attendance, as a representative from Ireland at the 1809 Y.M. is noted in his *Testimony*, "his dedication to this service produced solid peace to his own mind." His was a late introduction to English Friends.
Piety Promoted; MSS. in **D**.

⁷ Book of Extracts, 1802, p. 85, reads:

"It is the judgment of this meeting, that it is inconsistent with our discipline to have meetings appointed or held, when persons disowned are interred in friends' burying-grounds, at the desire of their relations. 1770."

The Q.M. proposition referred specifically to "disowned persons." The Y.M. decided "that any alteration in the present rule is not expedient or safe."

In 1832 (see under that year in R. Cockin's report) the words "persons not members" are used and burials allowed, "but no meeting for worship is to be appointed on any such occasion." In 1861 the quoted words are omitted and a discretionary power given to appoint such meetings. This was repeated in 1883, etc.

In Ireland it was decided in 1700: "It is the judgment of Friends that such as have been denied & testified against by friends should not be buried in friends burying place unless they can pretend Right to the ground, and if so no friend to accompany them to burial" (Cork Men's Meeting).

⁸ JANE DONCASTER (1765-1837) was the daughter of William and Hannah Rowntree, of Riseborough, Yorkshire. In 1788 she married Daniel Doncaster (d. 1819), of Sheffield and in 1805 she was acknowledged as a Minister.

Testimony.

⁹ MARY GILLETT (c. 1757-1827) was a ministering Friend, of Exeter, a spinster.

¹⁰ MARY POWELL (c. 1767-1817) was a daughter of Willoughby and Margaret Stevens, of Staines, adherents to the Established Church. She followed her eldest brother into the Society and when about 23 she first spoke in the ministry. In 1795 she became the wife of William Powell, of Nursted, near Devizes, in Wiltshire. William Powell married, in 1819, Mary Jefferys, of Melksham.

Testimony; *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxiv.

1810

Clerk: JOHN WILKINSON

I left home on 5th day the 17th of 5th mo. in company with Henry Tuke; and was favoured **Richard Cockin** to get well to London, where I met with my children and relations at the Old Jury all in the injoyment of health.

[*Second* and *Third-days* were occupied as usual, with the sittings of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, in which the answers to the Queries were considered, freely interspersed with spiritual counsel.]

Fourth-day morning at 10 the Yearly Meeting began. The representatives were called over and the Committees nominated for auditing the accounts. J. G. Bevan and William Sewell^r were nominated as Assistants to the Clerk. The query respecting Friends growing in the Truth, and the answer thereto, occupied some time in discussion, and the subject of Friends being called upon to carry Baggage for Souldiers also claimed the attention of this sitting.² In the evening at J. Fry's there was a religious opportunity.

Sixth-day at four. Some very interesting information from America was given respecting the civilization of the Indians.

[Next day] Thomas Shillitoe was largely engaged to warn Friends against extending their Temporal concerns in a manner many were doing, in order to be enabled to support a way of living that was inconsistent with the simplicity of our profession. Greater sufferings would be experienced then had yet been known by the perplexities and disappointments attendant on the carrying on of large concerns in Trade. A proposition was offered from London and Middlesex respecting the manner of acknowledging Ministers in Monthly Meetings. I ventured to communicate my views thereon and

to propose that at the close of the Meeting for Worship at a Mo. Meeting Men & Women should unitedly deliberate upon the case. The Yearly Meeting recognized the Principle that, by men & women sitting together in judgment, an increas of weight is obtained.

Second-day morning at 10 the Yearly Meeting again met, when the proposition from Suffolk, respecting the printing of Accounts of Meetings was agreed to, and the proposition from Yorkshire respecting the printing of Sewels History and Ruttys rise and progress of Friends in Ireland was also, after some discussion, agreed to.³ At this sitting the State of Society as represented in the answers to the queries was under consideration.

At the next sitting, Benjamin White⁴ observed that altho he had not taken an active part in the transactions of the Meeting, he had not been an unconcerned observer there of, and added some observations.

On *Fourth-day* at *four o'clock*. The greater part of the sitting was occupied with considering the religious state of Scotland and the continued state of differences which still exist there amongst Friends. Henry Bragg, Edward Pease⁵ and Hadwen Bragg⁶ were added to the committee already appointed to assist in indeavouring to compose the differences. Ann Byrd and Susanna Horn, accompanied by Mary Stacey and Ann Till Adams,⁷ paid a visit to the Mens Meeting. Benjamin White & J. G. Beven paid a visit to the Womans Yearly Meeting.

Sixth-day morning, after breakfast at my lodgings there was a religious opportunity. Sarah Bowly was first engaged to salute the heads of the Family with encouraging nearness. Ann Burgess, in saluting my Brother and Sister Sanderson, observed that they were not only blessed with the dew of Heaven, but with the fatness of the earth, and that this dew were decending upon their branches—their beloved ofspring. Ann Ashby⁸ was also engaged.

First-day morning I was at Grace Church Street Meeting. Henry Tuke was opened to unfold the mysteries of redeeming love—that Christ was not only the Propiciatory Sacrafice for the sins of poor fallen man, but he still remains the advocate of the penitant contrited ones.

I was favoured to get safe home to my Family on *Third-day forenoon*.

NOTES

¹ Presumably WILLIAM SEWELL (1753-1836), son of Abraham and Mary Sewell, born at Yarmouth, Norfolk. He married Hannah Mary Fuller, in 1775, when a grocer, at Swaffham, Norfolk. In the memoir of his grandson, Joseph S. Sewell, of Madagascar, W. and M. H. Sewell are described as "strict Friends, but with wider intellectual interests than might have been expected." William Sewell died at Scarborough.

Richard Jordan, 1829, p. 92.

² In 1811 the following minute was passed :

"It is the judgment of this Meeting that it is inconsistent with our known testimony against war for Friends to be in any manner aiding and assisting in the conveyance of soldiers, their baggage, arms, ammunition or other military stores."

³ The Y.M. of 1809 agreed to purchase of William Phillips 800 copies each of the three volumes—Sewel's *History of Friends* (2 vols.) and Ritty's *History of Friends in Ireland*.

⁴ BENJAMIN WHITE was a visitor from Pennsylvania. He paid a second visit in 1818. Stephen Grellet, in a letter from New York in 1820, writes: "Poor Benjamin White continues in the Asylum." Isaac Stephenson when in the States visited B. White at the home of his son-in-law, Joseph Watson—"he appeared to have no recollection of me" and more respecting him (letter in Friends' Library, Haverford College, Pa.).

Jnl. F.H.S. xv. xx. xxiii; Note Book 2, in D.

⁵ EDWARD PEASE (1767-1858), of Darlington, co. Durham, a noted Quaker Elder, "father of English Railways," and father of a family become prominent in the world of Quakerism and public utility. His wife was Rachel Whitwell, of Kendal (1771-1833). He was a worker rather than a speaker.

Diaries, 1907; D.N.B.

⁶ HADWEN BRAGG (1763-1820) was a son of John and Margaret Bragg, of Whitehaven. In 1788 he fixed his residence in Newcastle-on-Tyne, having previously been associated in business as a draper with Jasper Capper, in London. In 1790 he married Margaret, youngest daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson. He was an Elder in his Meeting.

Piety Promoted; Robson MSS. in D.

⁷ ANN TILL-ADAMS (1752-1817) was the widow of Dr. John Till-Adams, of Bristol (1748-1786). As Ann Fry, daughter of William and Hannah Fry, of Bristol, she married Dr. Till-Adams in 1777. The Tills of Staffordshire were of a very old family.

Of Dr. Till-Adams, Samuel Dyer wrote in his Diary under date, 7 mo. 19, 1781: "My kind friend took me in his carriage to Pensford . . . he went to visit a patient. On our return we had some Profitable conversation. . . . He told me of a good man, called by some Dr. Fuller, a Friend in America, who had a knowledge of Physic given him by a supernatural power. . . ."

Extracts from the will of Dr. Till-Adams are printed in *Quakeriana*, ii. 69. See also "An Elegy: sacred to the Memory of that Patron of virtue, the truly admired and pious John Till Adams, M.D., of Bristol, whose Heaven-born soul, leaving its Earthly shrine, fled to its native Home, and was received to Rest on Monday the 20th day of February,

one hour P.M. or afternoon, 1786," printed in Bristol in 1786, with frontispiece.

Rancocas *John Woolman*, 1922 ; Friends' Bristol Registers under T. ; Samuel Dyer, *Diary*, MS. deposited in D.

⁸ ANN ASHBY (1760-1826) lived at Banbury, in Oxfordshire. " On many occasions she rendered important services to her Friends as an attendant on sickness," and at the last of these she contracted the fever from which three of her patients died, and succumbed thereto. She had also some little service in the public ministry.

1811

Clerk : JOHN WILKINSON

On my first walking in the streets this year and noticing the countinances of many of **Richard Cockin** the People, my mind became considerably impressed with painful concern, on observing the light, dicipated deportment of many of the upper classes of the inhabitants, and the affectingly profligate state of many of the lower orders of the People.

[*First-day* was spent at Southwark. Benjamin Simkins was the only Friend publicly engaged in the *morning* and Special West¹ was engaged in the *evening*.]

Second-day at *ten* the Meeting of Ministers & Elders begun, in which Henry Hull² was considerably enlarged. John Wilkinson was also engaged to communicate the impressions his mind was under that it appeared to him that the dispensations of Providence towards our Society had been various, that in the early time of Friends they had to run to and fro that spiritual knowledge might increase, and that much ministerial labour was extended in our Meetings for Worship to the Members of our Society, but that for many years past there had been much less of that in our Meetings ; and but few compared with early times that was commissioned and sent forth to publickly advocate the cause of Truth, so that the present time seemed like a baran time as to Ministerial labours. On contemplating the subject he observed it was opened upon his mind that, in the outward, when the clouds were most charged with rain, and by frequent showers the plants and trees was covered with verdure and increased with branches and leaves, that it frequently happened that there was not much fruit produced ; and it sometimes was the case that by long drought there appeared little verdure, and the prospect of fruitfulness was discouraging—yet after

seasons like that of the appearance of scarcity there would be more fruit and sustinence produced than in branch-growing seasons, so that if it had but the effect of turning the attention of the People from the Ministry of the Servants and cause them to be placed upon the Master of our Assemblies, the Church might be thereby profited.

[Next day] Anna Prise observed that the communication which was offered yesterday had made considerable impression on her mind, with the fear that any rightly anointed diffident Minister should be discouraged thereby from a consideration that there was not the same occasion now, as formerly, for the exercise of Gosple Ministry.

Fourth-day morning the Yearly Meeting began. Joseph Foster³ and W. D. Crudson⁴ were proposed as assistant clerks.

[Nothing of special interest is reported in connection with several sittings.]

Second-day afternoon in the Yearly Meeting there was a long discussion respecting the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex establishing a School somewhat like Ackworth⁵; this was a subject on which the Meeting could not come to any conclusion.

Third-day at ten, the Yearly Meeting sat down. The subject respecting the School which occupied so much time yesterday, was again brought forward. The conclusion was very pleasantly united in by the same Friends who had the day before opposed each other. J. G. Bevan made some judiciously instructive observations respecting Friends differing in their sentiments. Richard Phillips said that Friends being agitated and entering warmly into subjects which came before Meetings was not, in his view, like spending time in vain, for it frequently prepared the way to come to satisfactory conclusions in our Meetings.

[Here follows an interesting reminiscence of R. Cockin's early life in London, contrasted with his present position:]

At the time I first became acquainted with Friends, how different it was with me then to what it now was, as to those I then had to associate with, and I had to contrast my then situation with the many priviledges I now am an unworthy partaker of, that when I walked London streets I frequently at that time had a Tray upon my head or a Porters knott upon my shoulder—but that now I am deemed worthy to be

associated with those who have their menservants to wait upon them, and invited to take a seat with them in their Carriages ; and what is of still greater value and importance to me, I am now united with those in endeared fellowship.

On *Fourth-day morning* I was at Peel Meeting which was to me a season of favour both immediately and instrumentally. The Friends engaged in Testimony were Nicholas Naftle, Lucy Maw,⁶ John Phillips,⁷ William Gundry,⁸ Mary Naftle, John Pimm⁹ and Henry Tuke. *Afternoon* Mary Naftle, Mary Stacy and Abigail Pimm,¹⁰ accompanied by Cicely Crudson¹¹, paid the Men's Meeting a visit. Abigail Pimm impressed the query—why was it that so much greater a proportion of their sex were anointed and sent forth to publickly advocate the cause of Truth then of the Men? She observed that it was not the design of the Head of the Church that it should be so ; if men had kept their ranks in righteousness and been willing to have abode those preparative babtizms which are necessary to be experienced before the vessel is in a state suitable to retain the wine and oil of the Kingdom.

Under the endearing fellowship of precious unity the Yearly Meeting closed, and many Friends seperated one from another with hearts overflowing with gratitude, giving God the glory.

First-day morning at Grace Church Street Meeting Henry Hull was engaged to inculcate the necessity of a timely preparation for the awfully important time of death.

N.B. I don't find any memorandum made this year, after returning home.

The Adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School was held 5th mo. 21st. The **William Hargreaves**¹² attention of the meeting was turned to the propriety of introducing the new mode of education into the School as adopted by J.L. [Joseph Lancaster¹³], and in support of this Richard Phillips, Wilson Birkbeck and William Allen were the principal advocates ; C. Parker & Henry Tuke could not unite with the aforesaid friends, although C.P. observed the Country Committee would at any time be pleased to see any friend at Ackworth perfectly acquainted with the scheme, if they were disposed to separate the Sense from the Nonsense uniformly

observed in J.L.'s School, to which J.L. replied that he hoped a proper attention would be paid to the judgment of many of the first People in England, and they unitedly declared the plan to be proper and suitable to be adopted, with some other remarks in which I tho't he suppress'd any appearance of resentment that possibly might have arisen from the above remark by C.P. It was also very broadly hinted by R.P., W.A. and G.H. [probably George Harrison] that the Children were only receiving a moral education there and not a religious one. J.L., in a long speech, urged the propriety of a Catechism being used. . . . D.C., J.B., and W.T. asserted the Children were receiving a religious education. . . .

Y.M. 5 mo. 24. There was a proposition from Suffolk Quarterly Meeting relating to a marriage that had been conducted in a clandestine manner in one of the meeting houses, it being a 3d marriage and with the Sister of his Second Wife, and declared not to come within the act provided for the preventing of such marriages, called the Canonical Act.

5 mo. 28. The report relating to Clandestine marriages was brought in and read—that friends cannot recognise marriages conducted in a manner therein stated, and within this degree of consanguinity and affinity. Some unnecessary remarks were made [respecting legality rights of the wife and legitimacy of offspring] which the meeting concluded had much better be left for the debate of those to whom it might be more interesting. The man thus drawn into this disreputable conduct was an Elder, Robert Ransom¹⁴.

The attention of the Yearly Meeting was turned to the conduct of London and Middlesex Qy. Meeting, who have been extending the School at Islington and making accomodation for the reception of 100 Children. They had also sent a printed Circular to Nine surrounding Qy. Meetings, informing them they intended to receive poor Children at 10 guineas pr Annum for board, Cloathing, Education &c. and that such of the meetings as inclined to subscribe in proportion to the Children they inclined to send might be received as above stated, the school to be opened the 1st of 7th month 1811. By many friends this was considered censurable conduct and the friends of London and Middlesex were informed they should have proceeded as those had done who promoted the School at Sidcot by consulting the Yearly Meeting, because it could not be supposed these 10 Q. Meetings

would continue their Subscriptions in support of Ackworth as they had done heretofore and subscribe to Islington also. In reply to which the advocates for Islington said they could not see into the necessity of this as Islington School was established near 80 years before Ackworth was opened. On this subject we sat late and left it unfinished, it was a very unsettled meeting, many friends said they were heartily tired of it. [The subject was adjourned without being minuted. Finally] A minute was made acknowledging the good intentions of said Q. Meeting and referring the further consideration of the present circumstances and in their present unpleasant dilemma to the ensuing Q. Meeting.

The Women friends also informed this meeting that they were likely to close their business at this time, and that all their meetings had been held in much harmony and to good satisfaction,—this was more than could be truly said on our side. It was observed by a man friend, after the Women had withdrawn, that he would not have any tender mind discouraged because perhaps we could not give so good a report of ourselves, but to consider that with us dwelt the consideration of Propositions and the formation of Rules, and that it was not to be expected in such a meeting as this that friends should see exactly alike on all occasions.

NOTES

¹ Unlike the early days of many Friends recorded in these Notes, SPECIAL WEST's early career was in the army, which he entered after running away from his Quaker home. Dangers passed through brought him to himself, and though he had had very few advantages of education, he became an able Minister. He married Hannah Hagger in 1773 and occupied a farm at Northaw, Herts. (1740-1817.)

Testimony ; Piety Promoted ; Jenkins, Records ; Jnl. F.H.S. xvi. xxiii.

² HENRY HULL (1765-1834) was of Stanford, State of New York. In 1785 he married Sarah Hallock, who, with others of the family, died within a few days of one another while H. Hull was in Europe, in 1810-12. In 1814 he married Sarah Cooper, of New Jersey. J. Jenkins records : " His delivery was clear, distinct, and audible, and his highly instructive subject-matter often flowed like a copious stream in a descending course."

Memoirs, 1840 ; Thomas Pole, M.D., 1908 ; Jnl. F.H.S. xiii. xv. xix.

³ JOSEPH FOSTER (1761-1835) lived in state at Bromley Hall, in Middlesex. He was a son of Robert and Ann Foster, of Worcester, and a brother of Thomas Foster (1759-1834). In 1785 he married Sarah Lloyd (1764-1847), daughter of Sampson Lloyd, of Birmingham, when he is described as " calico printer, of Bromley Hall." He was a well-known philanthropist, specially interested in education.

Backhouse, Family Memoirs, 1831 ; Foster, Pedigrees ; Binns, Century of Education, 1908.

⁴ WILLIAM DILWORTH CREWDSON (1774-1851), son of Thomas and Cicely Crewdson, of Kendal, occupied a prominent position for many years in the Society, and from 1815 to 1819 inclusive was Y.M. Clerk. He resigned his membership in 1840, being at variance with Friends on the subject of the Sacraments. His wife was Deborah Braithwaite (1775-1844).

Biog. Cata. Lond. Fds' Inst., 1888; Benson, *Wilson Family*, 1912; *Isaac and Rachel Wilson*, 1924.

⁵ " In 1811 a minute records the decision of London Friends to extend over a wider area the benefits of their school in Islington Road. Founded as an almshouse and school in 1702, its service in the former capacity now came to an end, and henceforth it was carried on as a school similar to Ackworth. In 1825 it was removed to Croydon, and in 1879 to Saffron Walden " (*London Yearly Meeting during 250 Years*, 1919, p. 55).

⁶ LUCY MAW (1774-1856) was the eldest daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Alexander, of Needham Market. She was acknowledged a Minister in 1801, and became the wife of Thomas Maw, of Needham, in 1804. Needham was the home of the Maw family for many years.

Testimony.

⁷ Some record of the life of JOHN PHILLIPS (1758-1831) is to be read in a Testimony issued by Pardshaw M.M. in Cumberland. He began work when eleven and lived for fourteen years a seafaring life, receiving rapid promotion. " His mind became gradually enlightened and he became a Friend about 1788, and undertook the care of a school." Once, accompanied by his wife, he performed a Journey on foot of upwards of 300 miles to attend the Yearly Meeting in London." He possessed very little of this world's substance.

⁸ WILLIAM GUNDRY (1777-1851) was the " grand old man " of Wiltshire Quakerism; he lived at Calne, but visited as a Minister nearly all the Meetings of Friends in Great Britain. Lydia Ann Barclay, in a letter to William Hodgson, in 1853, remarked that " dear William Gundry was one who made a bold stand against J. J. Gurney's visit to America, even plumply alluding to his printed doctrines " (*Letters of William Hodgson*, Phila., 1886, p. 165). His face is seen in Lucas's painting of Y.M. about 1840.

Testimony.

⁹ JOHN PIM (1752-1829) was a son of John Pim (1718-1796), of London, where he settled in 1773, and in 1790 he married Elizabeth Bevan (1762-1835), daughter of Paul Bevan. He was a merchant and Minister.

Jnl. F.H.S. xv.

¹⁰ ABIGAIL PIM (1767-1821) was a daughter of John and Sarah Pim, of Dublin and, later, of London. She was one of the Ministers of Peel Meeting.

Piety Promoted; *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxiii; *Jenkins, Records*.

¹¹ CICELY CREWDSON (1748-1814) was a daughter of William and Esther Dilworth, of Lancaster. At Yealand in 1774 she married Thomas Crewdson (1737-1795), and had seven sons and two daughters, the eldest being William Dilworth Crewdson the elder.

Foster, Pedigree, 1871.

¹² The anonymous writer of accounts of Y.M. 1811, 1818, 1822, 1824, has been identified as William Hargreaves, by the kindness of Harold C. Hunt, of York, who searched the minutes of Yorkshire Q.M.

WILLIAM HARGREAVES (1769-1834) was a Sheffield Friend. He married Rachel Holbem in 1794. In 1832 John Wilbur visited Sheffield and abode at the house of William Hargreaves, arriving there "benighted and much wet." He met the son, William, Junior (*obit coelebs*, 1874) and daughter Lydia, who married Wilbur's travelling companion, Ralph Neild, in 1839 and was a valuable Minister (d. 1859).

Jnl. F.H.S. x. xvi.

¹³ JOSEPH LANCASTER (1778-1838), the well-known originator of the Lancasterian School system.

Many references—see *Life*, by David Salmon, 1904; *Jnl. F.H.S.* v. vii. x. xii. xxi. xxiii.

¹⁴ Presumably ROBERT RANSOME, of Ipswich (1753-1830), a noted inventor and manufacturer of agricultural instruments. We have not traced all the marriages, but in 1802 he married Mary Webb, Jr., of London, who died in 1807.

Biog. Cata. Lond. Fds'. Inst., 1888; *D.N.B.*; *F.Q.E.* vol. 42 (1908).

1812

Clerk : JOHN WILKINSON

Richard Cockin No report.

[The following is recorded on the minutes of this year :

“ It appearing to this Meeting that some of our Members have caused their property to be protected by armed men, a tender concern has been felt that Friends may on all occasions endeavour to feel their confidence placed in the Divine protection, and thus be enabled to support our Christian testimony against such modes of defence.

“ This Meeting further feels itself engaged to caution Friends every where against keeping Guns or Arms of any kind in their houses, or on their premises, or in any manner uniting in armed associations, that so, whatever trials may take place, our Society may not by thus becoming liable to contribute to the destruction of their fellow creatures, violate our peaceable principles, in the belief of the rectitude and even safety of which we feel our minds increasingly confirmed.”]

1813

Clerk : JOHN WILKINSON

Richard Cockin No report.

It is very instructive and encouraging to see collected together so many dignified and valuable **Stephen Grellet**¹ servants, Ministers and Elders, of both sexes ; many of them with grey hairs, bowed down with years, but erect in mind, like pillars in the Lord's house that shall never go out. There are also those of middle age, and dear young people, who evince that, under the influence of the same Spirit who has rendered their elders honourable in the Church of Christ, they are also preparing to fill up, in due time, the same stations with dignity. My spirit has been greatly comforted in the Lord on account of many of these. (*Memoirs*, 1860, i. 231.)

15 v. 1813. I left Ross for London, arrived there the following evening.

Nathaniel Morgan² Yearly Meeting commenced the 19th inst. but little business attracted my notice till ye 24th, when there was a proposal made by Stephen Grellet for altering ye mode of conducting appeals. I took part in the discussion.

26th v. 1813. This morning the Clerk, very unexpectedly to me, said he was a-going to read the adjournment ; and as I had had on my mind to speak on ye subject of ye Property Tax, and had let slip an opportunity or two, and knowing no other could present itself to me this year, having taken my place in ye Gloster Mail Coach for that evening, I felt myself under the necessity of instantly getting up—which I did and, taking off my hat, I believe I spoke very distinctly as follows :
“ I lament we should have joined with the Nations in blood

by assenting to the payment of a tax specially levied for war." Robert Barnard, of Coalbrookdale, brother of Deborah Darby, said there was not time then to enter into it, but he hoped there would be proper time to discuss it. (Information from Margaret Sefton-Jones, 1929.)

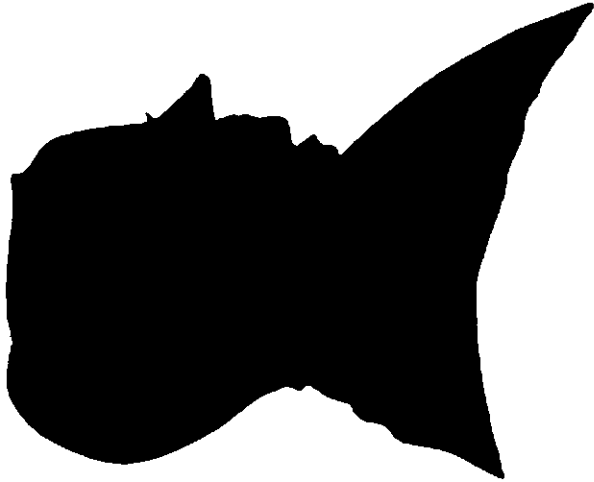
NOTES

¹ STEPHEN GRELET (1773-1855), well-known Minister in both hemispheres. In 1804 he married Rebecca Collins (1772-1861), of New York and he had one child, Rachel (1810-1901). He paid four visits to Europe, 1807-8, 1811-14, 1818-22, 1831-34. When at London Y.M. he took very frequent part in the public religious exercises.

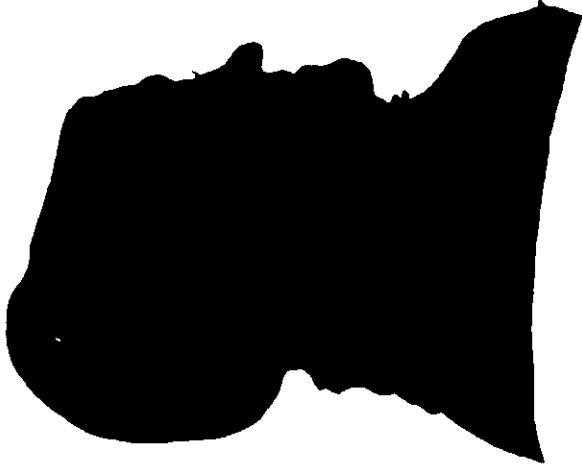
Memoirs, by Benjamin Seebohm, 1860; and many biographical notices.

² NATHANIEL MORGAN (1775-1854) was a banker, living at Ross-on-Wye, in Herefordshire.

Jnl. F.H.S. xv.



ELIZABETH COGESHALL
(1770-1851)



MARY NAFTL
(1730-1820)

To face p. 150

1814

Clerk : JOHN WILKINSON

I left home on 5th day the 12th of 5th Mo., in company with my wife and Henry and Mary **Richard Cockin** Smith.¹ We took Hitching on our way, where we were cordially received by Elizabeth Wheeler and her choice Daughter.²

On *Seventh-day* about *two oclock* we got to Tottenham, where we found my dear Sister Anna Sanderson very ill. After stoping a part of the afternoon we went forwards to Islington School.

I spent the whole of *First-day* at the School with our Children, except when at meeting at the Peel.

Second-day at *ten* the Meeting of Ministers and Elders commenced. Elizabeth Coggeshall desired to pay a visit to some parts of the Continent of Europe. Mary Proud, Mary Naffle, my Wife, & divers other Friends publicly expressed their unity with her. Stephen Grellitt also was very encouraging. I dined at William Allens at Plow Court with E. Cogshall, Elizabeth Wigham,³ Edward Carroll⁴ and divers other choice Friends. S. Grellitt read me several letters from different Persons in various parts where he and William Allen had travelled. Stephen Grellitt queried *what* it was that prevented Friends from coming forwards into religious service, peticularly the Elders, who seldom were engaged in any religious service out of their own Meetings, as if they thought they had no other part or lot in labouring for the spreading of Truth then to sit as judges over poor Ministers, to hear when they misquoted a passage, or to judge when they exceeded proper limits in the exercise of their gifts, &c.

At ten on *Fourth-day morning* the Yearly Meeting commenced. [The usual procedure was followed.]

At this sitting John Shipley, accompanied by J. G. Bevan, paid a visit to the Womans Meeting. [From a narra-

tive of the proceedings of the Women's Y.M., written by Mercy Exton and preserved in **D**, we are informed that J. G. Bevan introduced John Shipley as pretty much a stranger to both sides of the house. Mary Pryor then arose and addressed him encouragingly, after which he knelt in prayer and then spoke.]

Fifth-day morning at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock I attended the anuel meeting of the Tract Society. At ten the Yearly Meeting met. At this sitting Frederick Smith mentioned there being 28 Persons on board a Prison Ship that appeared to be convinced of Friends principles.⁵ The *afternoon* sitting was mostly occupied with considering the religious state of Friends in Scotland and what could be done for their help, when it was recommended to the Two-Months Meeting of Edinburgh and Glasgo to nominate a Committee to try if they could not restore love and unity amongst them, and if that could not be effected without removing those from their stations who were under the appointment of Ministers and Elders, to proceed to do so. This was a very exercising trying sitting.

Sixth-day at *four* the Yearly Meeting met. A question was asked respecting a Friend being a partner in a Bank where a Watchman was kep't who carried fire armes; and also a question asked respecting a Friend being a Partner in a House where mony was paid for Military purposes. After diner at Peter Bedfords⁶ there was a religious opportunity, and after supper at Thomas Christies⁷ there was a religious opportunity. Ann Crowley and W. and R. Byrd were engaged to minister to us.

Third-day morning at 10, a message was sent from the Womans Yearly Meeting that two Women Friends under religious exercise wished to pay us a visit when it was convenient, which was Sarah Grubb⁸ and Elizabeth Dudley⁹. Sarah Grubb observed that she was very apprehensive that divers were taking an active part in our Meetings for discipline who had not experienced the necessary babtizms or those clensing renovating operations, which may be compared to the washing in Jourdon, the river of judgment and purification, so as to have brought their stones of memorial from the bottom thereof. . . . She believed that if some present were faithful they would have to be sent as the Lord's Ambassadors to Pul and Lud, Juble and Javan and to the Isles a far off. Tabitha Bevans and Ann Till Addams

accompanied them. After the Woman Friends were withdrawn the Meeting proceeded upon the appeal of Thomas Foster.

Fourth-day morning I attended Devonshire House at which was the Duches of Oldenburgh¹⁰ and several other persons of account both men and women. [John Wilkinson spoke, also Ellen Cockin, Stephen Grellet, Joseph Gurney and John Batger.¹¹]

[Then follows a slight reference to the Foster Appeal, "we sat some time by candle-light in order to get through the whole of what both parties had to advance."—"I thought I had never been present when a more harmonious united judgment was com'd to, then was the case at this time, not one desenting voice was heard on the occasion—thus after occupying part of five sittings the case was issued with much cordiality."]

Sixth-day afternoon a message came from the Womans Meeting informing that two Woman Friends under religious exercise wished to come into the Men's Meeting when it was suitable. I was requested to go and accompany them into the Mens Meeting. It was Mary Naftle and Susanah Horn.

After the Yearly Meeting, my Wife & I went to Bristol to see our Relations, and was favoured to reach home on the second fourth-day in the 6th Mo.

The attendance of the Yearly Meeting this year was fraught with peculiar interest to me. It **John Hodgkin**¹² was the last year that Joseph Gurney Bevan was present. But it was much more striking to me as the year of the appeal brought by Thomas Foster against his disownment for the circulating of Unitarian doctrine. I attended the whole of the sittings. I watched the proceedings with intense anxiety. After Thomas Foster had occupied four or five sittings in stating his case, introducing many specious reasonings in favour of a lower view of the character and attributes of Christ than that entertained by Friends and other orthodox Christians, the Respondents concentrated their reply into the space of one sitting. The respondents were George Stacey, Luke Howard, William Allen, John Eliot, Richard Bowman¹³ and Josiah Forster.¹⁴ The answer to the Appellant was embodied in a long document, their joint production, which was read by Josiah Forster, the

youngest of the six. . . . The thoroughly judicial bearing of John Wilkinson was very interesting. The Respondents' answer was admirable, consisting of a clear narrative of the disciplinary proceedings, showing that they were correct in form—a comparison of Thomas Foster's statements of doctrine and those of the Unitarian Book Society, of which he was an active member, with the writings of our approved authors, from which they most remarkably differed—and finally a complete refutation of Thomas Foster's opinions from Scripture. The debate which followed was animated and comforting. But one somewhat uncouth and not very intelligent Friend said: "Friends, this appeal and the course taken by the Appellant and Respondents reminds me of what we read in Scripture of Goliath's head cut off with his own sword." The Clerk protested against the use of such language—however we might regret the views taken by Thomas Foster on some important points of Christian doctrine, it could not be right to compare him to the heathen giant who had defied the armies of the Living God.

(From *Friends' Witness to Scripture Truth*, 1908, p. 40.)

After the appellant had replied, both parties withdrew, and our large assembly of about 1,200 **J. J. Gurney**¹⁵ men Friends, of various ages and conditions, without any written creed and without any human president, was left to form its decision. A solemn silence overspread the whole meeting. At length William Grover arose—an elderly man, as remarkable for his clearness of mind as he was striking from his pleasing and venerable appearance. In a single expressive sentence he pronounced his judgment against the appellant. After him our elder Friends rose one after another, all with the same sentiment; then Friends in the middle stages of life, then the young, the more and the less serious, the plain and those whom we somewhat technically call the gay. I am almost ready to question whether 1,200 men, gathered together without previous concert, from so many different places—persons of such various ages, circumstances and characters—were ever before known to manifest, on a theological subject, so perfect an unanimity.

(*Memoirs*, 1854, i. 98.)

One subject of great importance was of a trying nature, being an appeal by which the fundamental principles of vital Christianity were assailed, and these had to be unfolded and defended; it proved, by the Lord's help and strength, one of the most instructive and solemn seasons that even the aged present had ever witnessed.

(*Memoirs*, 1860, i. 312.)

NOTES

¹ Would HENRY and MARY SMITH be the surviving children of William and Martha Smith, of Doncaster? Henry would be about twenty and Mary twenty-three. Mary became Harrison later. Ecroyd, *Smith of Cantley*, 1878.

² ELIZABETH WHEELER had three daughters, the eldest was probably the one mentioned—ESTHER, born 1798, who married Benjamin Seebohm.

³ ELIZABETH WIGHAM (1748-1827) was a daughter of John and Jane Donwideoy, of Cumberland, and married John Wigham, Senr. (1749-1839). With seven children they removed into Scotland in 1784, under a feeling of religious duty and lived at Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Their married life numbered fifty-seven years.

Testimony; Shield, *Genealogical Notes*, 1915.

⁴ EDWARD CARROLL (1784-1865) was born at Cork, Ireland and removed to Uxbridge, near London, where he married Anna Lowe, of Worcester, in 1816. Later, they resided in various places. Anna Carroll (1787-1850) visited most of the Meetings in Great Britain and Ireland. E. Carroll ended his days in the Bloomfield Retreat, near Dublin.

Jnl. F.H.S. xiv.-xvi. xxi. xxiii.

⁵ The story of the Norwegian and Danish prisoners on a ship at Chatham has recently been told by Henry J. Cadbury in his article: "The Norwegian Quakers of 1825," in the *Harvard Theological Review*, Oct., 1925—"the Friends paid the visit, and though 'they could not, then, at all converse intelligibly with each other, yet by signs, in love and friendship, they understood a little of each others' feelings.'"

Grellet, *Memoirs*, anno 1814; etc.

⁶ PETER BEDFORD (1780-1864), "the Spitalfields Philanthropist," was born in Essex, was a silk-weaver of Steward Street, Spitalfields, and retired in 1836 to Croydon. He has also been called "the Thieves' Friend." His interests were world-wide. He was a bachelor.

Tallack, *Peter Bedford*, 1865, 1893; many reff. in D.

⁷ THOMAS CHRISTY (1777-1846) was a hatter, of Gracechurch Street, London. He was one of Richard Cockin's oldest correspondents. His wife, Rebecca Christy (1774-1837, *Testimony*), was a prominent Minister. Stephen Grellet lodged with these Friends and "found them in the midst of many engagements," in danger of a fire "close to their house and store" (*Memoirs*, 1860, ii. 126 (anno 1820)).

Jnl. F.H.S. xv. xix. xxi. xxiii.

⁸ Readers of the Cockin Notes will be able to judge of the service of SARAH (LYNES) GRUBB at Y.M. time.

Sarah Lynes (1773-1842) was a daughter of Mason and Hannah Lynes, of Wapping, London, attended school at Clerkenwell, in 1791, became a nurse in the family of Sarah Grubb, of Anner Mills, Clonmel, Ireland, and shortly after came out in the ministry, preaching often out of doors. In 1803 John Grubb (Benjamin) (1766-1841) became her husband and in 1818 they removed to England. Her addresses in Y.M. impressed her hearers differently. R. Cockin often expressed spiritual help—on one occasion, in Y.M. 1836, Luke Howard described what had been spoken in the Men's Meeting as "actuated by a spirit from beneath." And yet we are told that she could be "highly humorous" (though it does not so appear in her printed letters), while her husband was "very reverent and quiet." She was grandmother of our Friend Edward Grubb.

Annual Monitor, 1844; *Account*, Phila. 1863, 1876; *Letters, etc.*, 1864; *Biog. Cata. Lond. Fds'. Inst.*, 1888; *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiv.-xvi. xvii. xviii. xx. xxiii.

⁹ ELIZABETH DUDLEY (1779-1849) shared with her mother, Mary Dudley, many ministerial exercises. She was clerk of Women's Y.M. in 1816-17, 1826-34. She died unmarried.

Memoirs, 1861; numerous reff. in **D** in print and MS.

¹⁰ The Duchess of Oldenburg was the sister of the Emperor Alexander I. of Russia. According to mss. in **D**, her suit consisted of the following: Princess Valendonski, Countess Levan, Madame Allendonski, Prince Gargerring (grand chamberlain), Secretary Jourdan, General Turner, Colonel Arsanoff, Doctor Hamel. "The Duchess and Countess were dressed in mourning with veils—deportment very solid." "The Duchess and suit staid the whole time and she expressed approbation of what she had heard."

When in England her brother and she visited the Quaker home of Nathaniel Rickman at Amberstone, Sussex. "On parting the Emperor kissed Mary Rickman's hand and the Duchess kissed her. They stayed about twenty minutes" (Penney, *My Ancestors*, 1920, pp. 89, 100).

Sherman, *William Allen*, 1851; Robinson, *The Time of her Life* and other Quaker stories, 1919.

¹¹ JOHN BATGER (c. 1754-1825) was a confectioner, in Bishopsgate and Houndsditch, London. His wife was Elizabeth Reed (1769-1847), eldest daughter of Thomas Reed.

Particulars of the trial "Finch v. Batger," 1805, and George Harrison's opinions thereon, are in **D**.

Jnl. F.H.S. xxiii.

¹² JOHN HODGKIN (1800-1875), prominent Friend, a lawyer and a Minister, of London and Sussex. He was Clerk of Y.M. in 1850, 1851. He left descendants by his three wives, many of note in the Society.

D.N.B.; *Biog. Cata. Lond. Fds'. Inst.*, 1888; *Testimony*; etc.

¹³ RICHARD BOWMAN (c. 1763-1819) lived at Low Cross, near Lowther, Westmorland. His wife was Hannah Wilkinson, of Yanwath, married in 1794 and died in 1815.

Annual Monitor, 1820.

¹⁴ JOSIAH FORSTER (1782-1870), the third of the name, was a son of William Forster, of Tottenham, and a brother of William Forster, the Minister. He married Rachel Wilson, in 1808, and had one daughter,



ELIZABETH DUDLEY (1779-1849)

To face p. 144

who died young. He was a very active Friend—active in mind and also so active in body that when in France he was dubbed “*Toujours courant.*” He was Y.M. clerk 1820-1831, and has been described as “*Knight of the Yearly Epistle.*” He was a frequent speaker in Y.M., a frequency which increased with age. “*The influence he had all over our Y. Meeting is astonishing.*” “*He may have attended Y.M. before the close of the 18th century and have sat with Friends who had met in 1740, who, in their turn, may have sat with George Fox.*”

¹⁵ JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY (1788-1847) was a son of the Earham family (originally *Joseph* only, but *John* added for distinction's sake—early references in the Y.M. minutes have “*Joseph (John) Gurney*”). He was one of the prominent Y.M. attenders—might be described as *primus inter pares*. He took a *very* great share in the religious exercises of the Y.M. and his mental equipment was often very helpful—though he became the storm-centre of much controversy. Few, if any, descendants are now Friends.

Memoirs; *D.N.B.*; etc. There are 104 cards in the card-catalogue in **D** headed “*Gurney, J. J.*”—some containing eight references.

1815

Clerk : WILLIAM DILWORTH
CREWDSON

I left home on 5th day the 18th of 5th mo, and on account of my dear Brother Sanderson's being in a feeble state of health, I stop'd at **Richard Cockin** Tottenham.

First-day I was at the Meetings there. The Friends engaged in Testimony in the *foornoon* were Jane Doncaster and Anna Braithwaite,¹ and in the *afternoon*, William Forster² was largely engaged.

Fourth-day at *ten* the Yearly Meeting met when John Kinsey,³ Joseph Gurney, Joseph Allen⁴, and others appeared. John Wilkinson and Thomas Maw⁵ were appointed assistant clerks. An Appeal was presented from William Goundry⁶ which produced considerable discussion.

There were divers impressive communications respecting the removal by death of J. G. Bevan, divers Friends being of the judgment that it would be well to make a record of his acceptable services in the Yearly Meeting, and thereby perpetuate his memory but after some discussion it was concluded not to do so, he not having been recorded as a Minister.

Sixth-day at *four*, William Forster proposed a Committee being appointed to visit the Meetings for Discipline in Ireland, which produced a pritty long discussion—an appointment was not however made.

Third-day afternoon was occupied by the Large Committee when a long discussion took place respecting the discontinuing entering the account of Friends sufferings in the General Epistle ; after spending most of this sitting in the discussing the subject no alteration could be agree'd to be made.

Fourth-day morning I was at Peel Meeting. At the close Arnee Frank addressed the Children belonging Islington

School. In the *afternoon*, towards the close of the sitting, William Gundry and William Forster were engaged to advise Friends to watchful circumspection, in mixing with others in promoting the many useful Institutions, which occupy the attention of the Benevolent Persons of various religious denominations, so as not to compromise our various Testimonies.

[Later Elizabeth Coggeshall visited the Men's Meeting and "adverted to Friends being watchfully careful when mixing with others not of our Society that the Enemy did not gain an entrance through this means to lead out of the simplicity of the Truth."]

The Yearly Meeting passed to me a satisfactory one, though rather a low time. I felt I thought **Elizabeth Fry** a material difference in the feeling of friends generally towards me. I have believed that I always had their unity, but from my *frequency, voice, &c., &c.*, I think many let in fears respecting me that I believed this Y.M. were much if not quite removed. I thought I could feel as well as observe the openness of friends towards me, and how kindly my remarks were listen'd to and attended to, when it appear'd right for me to make them, which it frequently did, considering my youthful state. [E. Fry was then thirty-five.]

NOTES

¹ ANNA BRAITHWAITE (1788-1859) was a daughter of Charles and Mary (Farmer) Lloyd, and married Isaac Braithwaite (1781-1861), in 1808. She became a very prominent Friend and travelling Minister; was in the States, 1823-24, 1825, and 1827, at a time of great religious agitation, and entered very fully into the Separation-movement. Her many absences from home, undertaken under a belief of Divine prompting, influenced the family life of her seven children—her son Bevan wrote: "The long absence of my beloved parents in America cast a shade over our early years." Anna Braithwaite was Clerk of the Women's Yearly Meeting, 1819, 1821-23.

Memoir, by J. B. Braithwaite, 1905; many reff. in D. On her visit to America, see *Letters of William Hodgson*, Phila., 1886, p. 165.

² FORSTER, WILLIAM (1784-1854), of co. Dorset, was a son of William Forster, of Tottenham. In 1816 he married Anna Buxton (c. 1785-1855). Their sole descendant was the Right Hon. William Edward Forster (1818-1886), the politician and educationist. William Forster was a very prominent Minister. He died while one of a religious delegation in the States, and his remains were interred at Friendsville, Tennessee. *Memoirs*, 1865; etc.

³ JOHN KINCEY (1741-1825) had his parentage amongst the Moravians and was born at Kings Newton, in Derbyshire. The "Truth" gradually dawned upon him and he became convinced of the soundness of Quaker doctrines. In 1769 he married Mary, daughter of John Smith, of Clerkenwell. In 1798 he first appeared in the ministry. From his London home he removed to Colchester in 1816. His *Testimony* gives a long account of his last illness and "dying sayings."

William Phillips, 1891, pp. 44, 59; *Jnl. F.H.S.* xvi. 12.

⁴ JOSEPH ALLEN (1774-1849) was a son of Job and Margaret Allen and brother of William Allen, F.R.S. He married, *s.p.*, Anna Impey. They lived and died at Dunmow, in Essex.

Minute of Essex Q.M.; *Diary of John Allen*, by Sturge, 1905, where a silhouette is reproduced.

⁵ There is a considerable account of THOMAS MAW (1772-1849) in the Robson MSS. in **D**. He was a son of Simon Maw, of Ipswich, and carried on a business of chemist and druggist "at Needham, and the business suiting his taste, he took pleasure in it." In 1804 he married Lucy, daughter of Samuel Alexander. He was taken ill while in attendance at Y.M. in 1849.

⁶ WILLIAM GOUNDRY lost both his appeals, which were against disownment. The Registers give the date of his death 1830 and his age 51 with the addition of the letters N.M.

Goundry must be distinguished from *Gundry*.

1816

Clerk : W. D. CREWDSON

Richard Cockin No Report.

[An Appeal by Francis Arnitt, Junr., against the Quarterly Meeting of York, was heard. The Respondents on behalf of the Quarterly Meeting were William Tuke, Junr., John Hipsley, Junr., and Samuel Tuke; the Committee decided against the Quarterly Meeting and the Respondents waived their right to open the case in the Yearly Meeting itself.

Andrew Reid appealed against the General Meeting for Scotland, Alexander Cruickshank and Anthony Wigham being respondents, and lost his case.

The concluding Minute runs :

“ Under a humbling sense of the goodness of God in having permitted us to assemble together and of our insufficiency without the immediate influence of his Holy Spirit to exalt His cause, this Meeting concludes, intending to meet at this place at the usual time, the next year, if the Lord permit.]

[It is to be regretted that the concluding portion of the above has been omitted in the last year or two.]

1817

Clerk: W. D. CREWDSON

I left home on 4th day, the 14th of 5th month, and had the company of Charles Parker in the
Richard Cockin Rockingham Coach.

On *Sixth-day morning* I went to the Meeting which was appointed to consider the new Rules for removals and settlements. After discussing the subject till near two o'clock, it was agreed to appoint a Committee to prepare a proposition embracing the prevailing judgment of the Friends now met to be laid before an adjournment of the Meeting for Sufferings prior to its being taken to the Yearly Meeting.

Seventh-day evening I went to my old lodgings at the Old Jewry, where my Nephew and Nieces gave me a very cordial reception.¹

First-day morning I went to Grace Church Street Meeting. The Friends engaged in publicly advocating the precious cause were Charles Parker, John Alexander,² James Howarth,³ Anna Prise, Hannah Field,⁴ and Rebecca Christy and Elizabeth Fry were clothed with the spirit of supplication.

Second-day morning at 10 the Meeting of Ministers and Elders met. The low state of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders in Cumberland and Northumberland claimed solid attention. I thought that the Meeting was considerably solemnized during Elizabeth Fry's being engaged in Testimony.

Third-day morning at the Meeting of Ministers & Elders Hannah Field and her Companion, Elizabeth Barker,⁵ spread a prospect to visit those Persons in the South of France who profess after the manner of Friends; a Committee was appointed to prepare a Certificate.

Fourth-day at ten the Yearly Meeting met. There were three Appeals this year—two from London and Middlesex

and one from Cambridge and Huntingdonshire Quarterly Meetings. Two of the Friends nominated on the Committee were objected to by William Goundry.

[Later] The committee of Appeals brought in their report, which confirmed the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex in the appeal of John Hubbard.⁶ The committee also reported their judgment on the appeal of John Crouch⁷ against Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, which being only signed by 17 of the committee, annulling the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting, it was queried of the Respondants whether they would avail themselves of the privilege the rules respecting Appeals gave them, of having the subject opened in the Yearly Meeting; their reply was that they wished to have time to consider thereof. [The decision was against the introduction of the matter to the Yearly Meeting; and the action of the Quarterly Meeting was approved.]

Thomas Shillitoe at this [a later] sitting adverted to Friends wearing Gold seals and long gold chains, and very costly Gold Watches, as a practice that was not consistent with the simplicity of the Profession they were making. Thomas Richardson⁸ also adverted to some practices inconsistent with Truth, as wearing Buckles and Girdles in their Hats, &c. After supper at my lodgings Hannah Field was engaged to minister to us—there were present William and Ann Tweedy,⁹ also John and Phillipia Williams,¹⁰ which revived in a cordially pleasant manner the comfortable feelings I had when at their Houses in Cornwall.

It was pressed upon the committee which had visited Germany and France [William Allen, Josiah Forster, Thomas Christy and Luke Howard] to have their expenses born out of the Yearly Meeting's Stock; many arguments were advanced, to prevail upon them, but without effect. It was cheerfully pleasant to see dear William Allen so finely restored to health after having been so very ill.

The Committee on Appeals brought in their report on William Goundry's case, which annulled the Judgment of the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex, which had reinstated William Goundry on his Appeal against Ratcliff Monthly Meeting, and confirmed the judgment of Ratcliff in disowning William Goundry, in accordance with their appeal against the Quarterly Meeting.

[£400 were raised during the Yearly Meeting to assist "a denomination of Persons in the King of Wirtenburgh dominion who professed similar religious principles as Friends." A contribution was also made for poor Friends in Germany and France.]

NOTES

¹ JOHN SANDERSON, of Old Jewry, was a great entertainer at Y.M. time. In 1808 Elizabeth Rowntree, Tabitha Middleton, and two other Friends occupied the same bedroom, and after his death in 1816 his son JOHN (1781-1841) carried on the traditions of the family with the aid of his sisters Mary (afterwards Fox) and Elizabeth (later Hanbury).

Jnl. F.H.S. xiv. xvi. xviii. xix. xxi.-xxiv.

² JOHN ALEXANDER (c. 1762-1834) was a Minister of Coggeshall M.M. A minute issued by his M.M. is entirely occupied with his last illness.

³ JAMES HAWORTH (1751-1837) lived at Marsden in Lancashire and practised as a conveyancer. "In his early appearances as a Minister he was led to use figurative language, drawing comparisons from outward things, which rendered this service the more trying to his natural will" (*Testimony*). His wife was Martha Fawcett (1761-1853), married in 1787.

Family of Tatham, 1857.

⁴ HANNAH FIELD (1763-1828) was a child of John and Anne Cromwell, of New York State, and wife of William Field. She was in Europe 1816-1818, her companion being Elizabeth Barker, of Nantucket.

Piety Promoted, Phila., 1890; *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiv. xv. xix. xxiii.

⁵ ELIZABETH BARKER (-) was in Europe with Hannah Field, 1816-1818. In a letter from S. Grellet we read: "She appears to live comfortably, her daughter appears a promising young woman: the dear creature appears cheerful, yet she has evidently passed through close baptisms since her return [? from Europe]." Her home was on the island of Nantucket.

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

⁶ It is not possible, in the limits of a note, fully to review the incidents of the appeal of JOHN HUBBERT. At the time of his appeal Hubbert caused to be printed a sheet dated "Lambeth, 5 mo. 27th, 1817," and headed *A serious Check to the Yearly Meeting's Inquisitors in 1817*, in which we read that J. H. "was now for many years a sort of Porter to the Yearly Meeting (not a free member)." Three prominent Friends acted as Respondents, viz., Samuel Gurney, Joseph Neatby and Richard Payne. The nature of the appeal does not appear. The appellant considered that "he had been acting on account of the Society and on Truth's behalf." Hubbert printed several other pieces, dated from Islington and Deptford, 1808 to 1831.

⁷ There was a family of CROUCH living at St. Ives in Huntingdonshire.

⁸ THOMAS RICHARDSON. There was a Friend of this name, living at Sunderland (1773-1835), and another who was of London and Great Ayton, financier and philanthropist (1771-1853).

Jnl. F.H.S. xix.

⁹ WILLIAM and ANN TWEEDIE were married in 1796, and at that time were cordially attached to the Church of England. In 1802 they removed from London to Cornwall. In 1809 Ann Tweedie joined Friends, followed shortly by her husband; and in 1818 she was recorded a Minister. William Tweedie died in 1854, and his wife in 1867 at the advanced age of ninety-four years.

The "Harvestman," in *Quakerieties for 1838*, apprizes Ann Tweedie thus:

"Ann Tweedy, Ann Tweedy,
Thou friend of the needy,
I have oft heard thee preach and admired.
Yet learn from a friend
It is safest to end
When the people begin to grow tired,
Ann Tweedy,
When the people begin to grow tired."

¹⁰ JOHN and PHILIPPA WILLIAMS were well-known Friends, of Cornwall. The latter was a sister of Ann Tweedie—their maiden name being Naudin. John Williams deceased in 1849 and his widow in 1861, aged nearly 88.

Testimony; Ball, *Memorials*, 1865.

1818

Clerk : W. D. CREWDSON

I left home in company with Hannah Walker,¹ of Penrith, the 14th of 5th mo., and was favoured
Richard Cockin to get well to London, where I found my Children and Relations well, except my Nephew Joseph Sanderson. I lodged the first fortnight at my Son and Daughter Gowers,² where, hearing that a great change had taken place in the appearance and sentiments of a part of the late John Barclay's³ Family, I felt inclined to call upon them. Accordingly, on *Seventh-day morning* I did so; I thought I had scarsly remembred having before seen a youth whose countenance and deportment evinced a greater degree of genuine simplicity and amiable sweetness then that of John Barclay, who appeared pleased with my calling.

[On the *First-day forenoon* R. Cockin was at Gracechurch Street meeting. "After diner at Samuel Foseiks⁴ there was a religious opportunity, when Isaac Stephenson had perticularly to address Benjamin and Hannah Thomas⁵ in the line of encouragement." In the *afternoon* Southwark meeting was attended. John Alexander and Elizabeth Copeland⁶ ministered.]

Fourth-day at ten the Yearly Meeting commenced. J. J. Gurney was engaged in supplication. This appears to have been the first time that Joseph John Gurney was publicly engaged in the Yearly Meeting. There were four Appeals presented to this sitting, and also a letter addressed from John Crouch, lodging a complaint against Cambridge and Huntington Quarterly Meeting, which, after some discussion was returned to him. There were also two sealed Letters directed to the Yearly Meeting, which, as usual, was given to a few Friends to open.

John Crouch withdrew his two Appeals against his Quarterly Meeting.

Fifth-day. The Epistle from Ireland was read in which there was a paragraph noticing how much Friends there had felt on account of so many persons having been condemned of late to death. The Meeting became impressed with the subject.

Seventh-day. After dinner at Samuel Gurney's lodgings, Ann Withers,⁷ Ann Ashby, and Anna Prise were engaged in testimony and P. H. Gurney in supplication. At *four* I met the Committee on Appeals, on the appeal of Westminster Monthly Meeting against the Quarterly Meeting of Kent. We sat till *nine* that night, when we signed a report to the Yearly Meeting in favour of the Quarterly Meeting of Kent. It was respecting the settlement of a Friend as to support. [The Y.M. approved of the judgement of its committee.]

Third-day morning the Appeal of David Doeg against York Quarterly Meeting was opened in the Meeting, which occupied the whole of this sitting and also that of the *afternoon* sitting, without being concluded.

Fifth-day the case of David Doeg's Appeal⁸ occupied the whole of the *morning* sitting. Divers Friends appeared as if they were determined to have the case given against York Quarterly Meeting. Notwithstanding many Friends of weight, and indeed what might be regarded as the weighty part of the Meeting, was for confirming the judgement of York Quarterly Meeting, yet, in order to get the case done with, it was concluded to reinstate him in membership seeing that a considerable number of Friends would not be satisfied without it.

I met a pritty many Friends in order to consider whether it would be best for Friends to take any steps respecting a number of Indians who were going about in this Country and exhibiting for the amusement of the publick, under the direction and controul of those who had no regard to their mentle improvement.⁹

At the concluding Meeting of Ministers and Elders a certificate on behalf of William Rickman [for a visit to America] was read and united with, and a certificate for Hannah Field certifying of her acceptable labours in this land, and exemplary deportment.

Third-day morning I took Coach for Wellingborough in order to call upon John and Mary Cook¹⁰ at Irchester, in whose family my Daughter Deborah was at this time.

[The concluding page of this year's report is occupied by a review of the impression the Y.M. made upon the narrator—"according to my judgment it afforded a more cheering prospect than in some former years, especially amongst the youth of both sexes."]

At the Adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School a minute was read informing the Yearly Meeting that "some children are sent to Ackworth in a state of great ignorance, even at an age when the period of childhood is so far elapsed as to leave little time for their improvement. . . . Some of them," it added, "could not read words of one syllable." A discussion thereon resulted in *An Epistle on the Subject of Religious Care over Children*, printed in 1808, and reprinted.

The placing of the Tract Association directly under the notice of the Yearly Meeting was deliberated upon but declined for the present.

The Yearly Meeting "solidly considered the awful subject of the punishment of death, as now practised in this empire," and instructed the Meeting for Sufferings to address the legislature on the subject.

(*London Yearly Meeting during 250 Years*, 1919, p. 46.)

NOTES

¹ HANNAH WALKER (c. 1751-1833), of Penrith, was "in the station of Elder, approved and respected by her Monthly and Quarterly Meetings" (*Annual Monitor*, 1834, p. 35).

² MARY COCKIN, eldest daughter of Richard, married EDMUND GOWER, of Islington, in 1810.

³ JOHN BARCLAY. After consultation with a present member of the Barclay family it appears that Cockin was incorrect in referring to a late *John* Barclay. The parents of the John in whose spiritual condition he was interested were *Robert* Barclay, and Ann, his wife; he was born at Clapham, Surrey, in 1797. Apparently his school days had not been satisfactory, but by the time of this interview other influences were at work producing the agreeable impressions made on R. Cockin. There is a short biography of John Barclay (1797-1838),

written by his brother, Abram Rawlinson Barclay, reprinted in Evans's *Friends' Library*, Philadelphia, 1842, vol. vi. He edited various items of Friends' literature.

⁴ SAMUEL FOSSICK (1777-1836) was the son of Samuel Fossick, of London (1726-1797) and Sarah Marrishall. He married Ann Lucas in 1800. His sister Sarah having married Samuel Southall, he became concerned in the disagreement respecting the will of his brother-in-law. His widow removed to Darlington.

Annals of the Richardsons, 1850, pp. 21, 22; *The Richardsons of Cleveland*, 1889, esp. Table V—"Fossick, of Welbury"; *The Pease Family*, 1891.

⁵ BENJAMIN and HANNAH THOMAS were Bristol Friends. Hannah was a daughter of John Sanderson by his first wife, Mary Funston, and was born in 1782 and married Benjamin Thomas in 1808. Benjamin Thomas died young in 1831, his widow lived till 1868. She was a Minister and there is an admirable notice of her in *The Annual Monitor* for 1869. *Jnl. F.H.S.* xix. 139.

⁶ ELIZABETH COPELAND (1754-1830) was a daughter of Thomas and Martha Brady, of Thorne, Yorkshire. She was one of the assistant teachers at the opening of Ackworth School in 1779. Thomas Copeland, of Leeds, became her husband in 1785. They had various homes in Yorkshire; after her husband's death in 1819 E. Copeland became a member of Southwark M.M., London. Phebe Blakes and she travelled together.

Testimony; *Mary Waring*, 1810, p. 95.

⁷ ANN WITHERS (c. 1754-1831) was the wife of Thomas Withers, whom she married in 1783. They settled in London and later removed to Thatcham, near Newbury, Berkshire.

Testimony; *Jenkins, Records*.

⁸ There is more respecting the appeal of David Doeg in William Hargreaves' manuscript in D (S.026.06), the writer of which was opposed to the introduction of the subject in the Y.M., although one of the Respondents, William Alexander, took up the time of one sitting nearly five hours in making the defence of Yorkshire and a whole sitting was required to decide the subject—"if Yorkshire had lost her cause she had not her reputation, as he [William Fox] told me, as he never knew the strong to give way to the weak in so remarkable a manner. . . . Yorkshire is again placed in the background."

"Hist. of the Y.M., 1818," by J. H. Bowen, pp. 2, 6, 9, 10, MS. in D.

⁹ On the 31st of First Month, 1818, accompanied by an Interpreter, whose name was Augustus C. Fox, seven men of the Seneca tribe of Indians arrived in this country for exhibition as "Indian Savages from the Wilds of North America." The exhibition attracted the notice of a Friend in Leeds, John Broadhead, and the interests of the "savages" were soon taken up by Friends. They were invited to breakfast at the Retreat in York, and London Friends continued the course of instruction which was given in York. Their English names were: Long Horns, Beaver, Little Bear, I Like Her, Steep Rock, Black Squirrel and Two Guns.

Annual Monitor, 1819, 1820; *Select Miscellanies*, vol. 6 (1851).

¹⁰ There is a Testimony concerning MARY COOK (d. 1838). She was daughter of Joseph and Sarah Burgess, of Grooby Lodge, near Leicester and wife of John Cook of Irchester. Having a large family they would need help from Deborah Cockin.

¹¹ JONATHAN HOPKINS BOWEN (1798-1826) was a grocer, of Gainsborough, son of Simon Maw Bowen of the same. His notes on the Yearly Meetings of 1818 and 1825, beautifully written, were presented to D in 1917, by Arthur F. Gravely, of Wellingborough. Extracts are printed in *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiv.

1819

Clerk : W. D. CREWDSON

Richard Cockin No report.

The Meeting for Sufferings in 1817 proposed that a general fund should be raised for the poor, the administration of relief remaining under the care of the Monthly Meetings. . . . The Yearly Meeting of 1819 declined to adopt the proposal.

(London Yearly Meeting during 250 Years, 1919, p. 37.)

1820

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

I left home on 5th day, the 17th of 5th mo. and was favoured to get in safty to London about 12 oclock on 6th. In the evening at Edmund and Mary Gower's, **Richard Cockin** John Barckley called upon me and [we] spent some time pleasantly together. He also came to see me on *Seventh-day*. I went to see William Allen, who pressed to dine with him, desiring I would just come to his House as if it was my home, adding : " For I love thee with much affection." He left me letters to read when he left to fulfil an appointment. To be thus favoured by this dear Friend produced a very humiliating effect upon my mind.

[The opening work of the Yearly Meeting was carried through, amid much ministerial exhortation.] A visit was paid us by Sarah Grubb and Mary Naftel, accompanied by Allis Chorley. Sarah Grubb stood up with observing that she was com'd amongst us to revive an antient exortation : Friends, keep all your Meetings for discipline in the power of God—that the will, wisdom, and activity of the Creature could not promote the cause of Truth and righteousness—she then impressively informed us with the painful exercise she had waded under on account of the apprehension she was impressed with, that the letter of our rules was regarded by many in our Meetings for discipline more then the spirit thereof ; and without Friends were vigilant in guarding against the very plausible appearance thereof, there was a danger of our Meetings becoming like the Courts of Law more then the Meetings of Friends who professed to be lead by the spirit of Truth. . . . She had also, in a rousing manner, to warn Friends to search the Camp, repeating with awful weight the Scripture declaration : that the broth of abominable things being in the Vessels of some amongst us.

Her communications were in the demonstration of that authority which carries its evidence from what source it is derived. She was also engaged in a powerfully impressive supplication.

There were two Appeals—one from Gracechurch Street Monthly Meeting against a decision of London & Middlesex Quarterly Meeting and one from a Woman Friend¹ against the said Quarterly Meeting. The Committee on Appeals delivered their report, signed by 20 of the Committee, annulling the conclusion of London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting in the case of Lanslet Palmer. [Later] The brother of Lanslet Palmer informed the Meeting that he claimed the privilege the rules gave him to be heard in the Meeting at large, this produced a very trying feeling. The Appealant's Assistant, Charles Palmer, attempted to read a paper reflecting in strong language upon Gracechurch Mo. Meeting, which however was not permitted to be read through. He nevertheless persisted that he could claim reading certain documents. [Gracechurch Street M.M. "conceded the case solely with the view of saving the valuable time" of the Y.M.]

The report of William Allens and Stephen Grellets visit [on the Continent] took near three hours reading—the deep interest it produced cannot to the full be described in words. Some proposed the account being printed—it was left to the Meeting for Sufferings. [It was not printed.] Rules for conducting appeals were read. This was a very trying exercising sitting, their being a few youngish Men, principally residing in London, who appeared determined to oppose some of the clauses being approved. All opposition ceased, when it was concluded that the principle on which those alterations were made should be adopted. New rules for removals and settlements were agreed to.

At the adjourned Meeting of Ministers and Elders, a certificate was prepared for Stephen Grellet [who had taken a very large share in the vocal exercises of the Meeting]. Dear Stephen, in a very broken manner observed that all within him capable of feeling was humbled as in the dust, in being thus permitted to participate of the love and regard of those with whom he had been sweetly united—yea it was contriting to him to consider how he had been taken as from the very stones of the street, nay even as from the

dung-hill, to be thus favoured with the unity of his beloved Friends.

[It was reported that the expenses incurred by Stephen Grellet's journey, and by books given away, etc., amounted to £800. William Allen bore all his own expenses.]

[Later] T. Shillitoe addressed the Meeting on the subject of Friends interfering in Publick Meetings for the discussion of Political subjects—also their being engaged in any business that took from poor People their labour, &c., and how necessary it was for Friends to consider the quality of their Business as well as the quantity they were doing.

NOTE

¹ The "Woman Friend" was SUSANNA TILNEY, according to the minutes of the Y.M. She lost her case, but there is no indication of the nature of the appeal.

1821

Clerk: JOSIAH FORSTER

I left home on 5th day the 17th of 5th mo., in company with William Smith and Mordecai Casson.¹ We lodged at Welford the first night, 84 miles from Doncaster and got to Northampton the next morning to breakfast; after which we sat with John Hoyland² by appointment of our Mo. Meeting. It was a visit I had (since I was appointed) anticipated with feelings of much interested concern. After the opportunity was over, I felt a degree of peaceful satisfaction to have discharged the trust reposed in me by our Mo. Meeting to sit in judgment on the religious state of others. We had also a very tending religious opportunity with dear Elizabeth Hoyland. We lodged at Albans and were favoured to get to London about 11 o'clock on *Seventh-day*.

Second-day the Meeting of Ministers and Elders met. The certificates of Nathan Hunt³ & Huldah Sears⁴ were read, and William Rickman gave an account of his visit to America and George Withy⁵ spread his prospect of paying a visit to America.

[The next day produced a rapid succession of religious engagements. After Bible reading at the lodgings, "Thomas Shillitoe ministered." At *ten* religious communications began again. Nathan Hunt discoursed on "the Priests Garments under the Law"; Huldah Sears "warned Friends against the ensnaring friendship of the World"; five women (named), two men "and divers others" took part. It was near 3 o'clock before the Meeting closed. "Divers Friends observed that they had not recollected ever being at such a Meeting before." Nathan Hunt said: "The shout of a King has been heard in our Camp." At *five* the Adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School was held. "After *supper*, at my lodgings, Nicholas Naftel ministered to us."]

Fifth-day morning. At this sitting Charles Loyd⁶ made some very impressive observations on the excellency of the Scriptures above all other writings. Nathan Hunt compared the Enemy of Man's happiness to a Spider that was on the watch to ensnare a poor unsuspecting fly—how it concealed itself from the fly's observation, and when it was fluttering about not expecting danger, the artful spider would intangle it in its web, some times laying hold of one wing first, and then by degrees inclosing the unwary fly in its web. In the *afternoon* a proposition was received from London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting respecting so many young men coming to London in search of employment.⁷

Sixth-day at four, when the foreign Epistles were read, the subject of every Yearly Meeting in America being independant of another, and each having power to make and alter their own rules, were considered ; and altho' it appeared to the Meeting that this was not calculated to promote the general good of our Society in America, yet way did not open with sufficient clearness to issue any advice on the subject to Friends in that Land. Nathan Hunt very cordially united in a suggestion that obtained considerable discussion, that if there were a Meeting of Friends, deligated from each of the Yearly Meetings, to meet once a year, in order to effect more of an union in practice, as to the discipline established throughout all the Yearly Meetings, the best interests of our Society would be promoted thereby.⁸

Seventh-day. I dined at Samuel Gurney's⁹ lodgings, where, in the pause before dinner, J. J. Gurney was engaged to cloth his feelings with expression, and after dinner, in a religious opportunity, he was engaged both in testimony and supplication. It was a tending time. At *four* the large Committee met. Nathan Hunt made some instructive observations respecting friends supporting our various Testimonies when mixing with others in the support of publick Institutions, in which sentiment, divers united, namely, William Grover, Isaac Crudson,¹⁰ William Allen, Charles Parker, Luke Howard, and some others ; who, altho' uniting in the sentiment of Friends supporting our various Testimonies, yet had a somewhat different view respecting Members of our Society uniting with those not in Profession with us ; some taking a view of the good which such Institutions were doing, and which claimed the support of Friends, and others being affraid of

the danger Friends were in by a too familiar intercourse with those whose sentiments and example was calculated to do harm, without keeping a watchful guard over ourselves whilst in their company.

A letter was read from the King of Wortemburgh, and also one from the Crown Prince of Bavaria, acknowledging the receipt of some Books, and in acceptable terms noticing the visit of Stephen Grellit. And at this sitting information was given of the difficulty Friends were under in administering to Wills and acting as executers, the Arch Bishop of Canterbury and Sir John Nicol not allowing Friends to strike out those titles which the printed form gives to Persons, that Friends as a religious Society does not admit to be suitable to be applied to Man. The present state of Affrican Slavory was considered and a subscription was proposed to defray the expence of the youths under Hannah Kilham's care, and on William Singleton's¹¹ account going to Affrica.

Third-day morning at 10, the report of the Committee of Appeals was read, confirming the judgment of York Quarterly Meeting respecting the Appeal of William Tuke, Junr.¹²

[At the close of Y.M.] there was a meeting appointed for the Servants of all discriptions who lived in Friends Families, it was a crowded Meeting and several hundred standing in the Passages and Yards. Nathan Hunt was engaged for more than an hour.

I was favoured to get home in safety where I found all my Family in usual health.

It has been considered a more than usually interesting Meeting. It commenced on the 23rd **William Miller**¹³ & concluded at the fifteenth sitting. The consideration of rules with regard to Appeals occupied nearly four sittings. . . . J. J. Gurney appeared to great advantage on several occasions, as his perspicuous mode of unravelling intricate subjects was often the means of enabling the Meeting to come to a judgment.

(Letter of William Miller (1796-1882), of Edinburgh, to his parents, George and Ann Miller, 6th month 2nd, 1821, printed in *Memorials of Hope Park*, 1886, p. 104.)

NOTES

¹ MORDECAI CASSON (1745-1822) lived at Thorne, in Yorkshire. He was educated in the principles of the Anglican Church and later he attended Methodist gatherings. About 1776 he became a Friend, and shortly afterwards a preacher.

Another report by R. Cockin gives MORDECAI CASSON, JUNR., as his fellow-traveller.

² We have known that JOHN HOYLAND (1752-1831), of Northampton, left Friends and returned—R. Cockin here gives us a little more information. He was evidently under dealing of his M.M. in Yorkshire. His wife was Elizabeth Barlow, of Sheffield, a Minister (1757-1839). He wrote *An Epitome of the History of the World*, 1812-1823 and *A Historical Survey of the Customs . . . of the Gypies* 1816.

Jnl. F.H.S. xxii.

³ NATHAN HUNT (1758-1853) was a son of William Hunt (1733-1772), of North Carolina. He married Martha Ruckman, and later, Prudence Thornburgh. He travelled far and wide in his own country and visited Europe in 1820. J. Jenkins calls him "that wonderful American blacksmith." He took a very large share in the service of the Yearly Meeting.

Memoirs, 1854, 1858; *Bulletin F.H.S. Phila.* i. 92—"Nathan Hunt and his Times."

⁴ Little is forthcoming regarding HULDAH SEARS. When reporting on the Q.M. at York in 1820, Richard Cockin writes to his niece Mary Sanderson: "Huldah Sears is here. She is 55 years of age, looks rather wore down, is very simple in her deportment, and in conversation evinces a diffident sweetness of disposition." (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xx. 67, see also xv. 59). Her home was in Virginia.

⁵ When Thomas Carrington, of America, was visiting public houses in Bristol, he met a pot boy, George Withy, a careless youth, and told him that he would become a Friend and Minister and visit America, all of which came to pass. GEORGE WITHY (1763-1837) became united with Friends when about twenty-two and shortly afterwards appeared in the ministry. In 1794 he married, and settled in Bristol till 1805, when he removed to Frenchay and thence to Melksham. He was noted for "strong talent and native humor." He was in America in 1821-2. It is said that he once preached at Y.M. time with such energy that he removed his outer garments, and that his voice sounded across to the other meeting house and interfered with the service there. He is frequently referred to in the Diaries of Samuel Dyer of Bristol, who wrote in 4 mo. 1789: "Geo. Withey had a testimony to bear which did my heart good; he has opened his mouth among us several times with a degree of the savour of good."

Corder, *Memorials*, 1845; *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 79, p. 164; and numerous references in D, in print and manuscript.

⁶ CHARLES LLOYD (1748-1828) was of Bingley Hall, banker. His wife was Mary Farmer. There is a marble bust of Charles Lloyd in the General Hospital in Birmingham (see *The Lloyds of Birmingham*, 1908, chap. 7).

⁷ To numerous Y.Ms. beginning 1822 the Q.M. of London and Middlesex reported on "an office opened for finding places for young men," presumably at Gracechurch Street. Many of these reports are in D.

Smith, *Cata.* i. 718.

⁸ This is interesting as a foreshadowing of what is known as the "Five-Years Meeting," altho' this Meeting does not include all the Y.M.s in America. The first "Quinquennial Conference" was held in 1892; the name was changed to "Five-Years Meeting." (See *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 86 (1912), p. 49.)

The Hicksite Friends hold a "General Conference" every two years.

⁹ SAMUEL GURNEY (1786-1856) was the ninth child of John and Catherine (Bell) Gurney, of Earlham Hall, Norwich. He was the well-known banker and philanthropist. He married Elizabeth Sheppard in 1808. Ham House was their residence, but they would be in rooms in the city for Y.M.

Life, by Mrs. Geldart, 1857.

¹⁰ ISAAC CREWDSON (1780-1844) was a son of Thomas and Cicely Crewdson, of Kendal and younger brother of William Dilworth Crewdson. He married Elizabeth Jowitt of Leeds (1779-1855) and settled at Ardwick, Manchester. He was survived by one daughter, Mary, who married Henry Waterhouse in 1832. His name will ever be inseparable from the Controversy in the Society known as the Beaconite, so named from Crewdson's book, which appeared in 1835, *A Beacon to the Society of Friends*. Smith's *Catalogue* records the great quantity of pamphlet literature which the Controversy produced. Crewdson and his adherents took a wider view of the study of the Bible and other matters than the body of Friends. There were numerous secessions, but after the death of Crewdson the association seems to have quickly dissolved.

Smith, *Cata.*; *D.N.B.*

¹¹ The life-story of WILLIAM SINGLETON is of a varied and interesting character. His home during part of his life was near Sheffield. After his period of teaching at Ackworth he opened a boarding school for boys at Broomhall, and in 1820 he went out to Africa to investigate for missionary purposes. In 1823 he resigned his membership, having given dissatisfaction to the Elders and others by his ministry. The Yorkshire Register of burials contains the entry: "Singleton, William, 1832, vi. 10. 62. Sheffield, schoolmaster, N.M." He wrote some *Strictures* on the Y.M. Epistle of 1824 and other anti-Quaker pamphlets.

Jnl. F.H.S. xiv.-xxii.; Ackworth School Centenary publications, 1879; Benson, *From the Lune to the Neva*, 1879; *Quaker Pioneers*, 1902; MSS. in D including copies of letters to his "Dear Sarah," describing the close examination of his motives respecting Africa by several prominent Friends.

¹² WILLIAM TUKE, JUNR. (1758-1835), was a son of William Tuke, the Retreat projector, and the fourth of the name. His sister Sarah wrote of him in 1779: "William, the second son, is a husbandman (with John Burgess), an oak of Bashan, which is bending a little because the axe has touched the root" (*Memoirs of Samuel Tuke*, 1860, i. 56). In 1789 he married Rachel Priestman, of York, who died at Thirsk in 1848. Respecting his appeal, Richard Cockin wrote to Sylvanus Fox, 5. i. 1821:

"William Tuke, Jr., appealed against the proceedings of Thirsk M.M., and at our last Q.M. appealed against the disownment thereof. The cause and effects of this afflictive case has been, and continues to be an occasion of mourning and lamentation in our quarter. I may just observe that the appelent has from the first refused to meet face to face any of his accusers, and that nine Friends who were appointed as a

Comte. by our Q.M. *all* very unanimously accorded in judgment on the case, notwithstanding which, most of his relations, both privately and publickly, aid him in the support of his appeal."

¹³ WILLIAM MILLER (1796-1882) was a son of George and Ann Miller, of Edinburgh. He became the noted engraver and "acquired fame as an interpreter of the works of Turner" (*D.N.B.*). In 1833 he married Ellen, the younger daughter of Richard and Ellen Cockin and in 1844 he united in marriage with Jane Woodhead. A portfolio of some seventy of Miller's engravings was presented to Friends House in 1930 by the widow of William F. Miller, son of William and Ellen Miller.

Testimony; *Biog. Cata. Lond. Fds. Inst.*, 1888; *Memorials of Hope Park*, 1886.

1822

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

Richard Cockin No report.

5 mo. 22. Whilst I thought the meeting was gathering strength [by the communications of Isaac Stephenson and John Shipley] in the best sense, Thomas Sturge desired the business might be proceeded with. I thought this an unreasonable remark, and I am afraid the meeting suffered by it. In the *evening* there was a very animated debate on the subject of giving illegal receipts, during which Isaac Crewdson remarked he considered the subject of minor importance compared with some other things. Some others were much concerned at such a remark, and many friends felt and expressed their uneasiness on the subject, which was nearly concluded by Thomas Clark repeating the words of the Psalmist, Let the righteous smite me it shall be a kindness, &c.

27th. William Allen introduced the subject of the Slave Trade, or rather the concern of our beloved friend Hannah Kilham¹ to go to Africa in company with her two Pupils, to make a beginning in the instruction of that people in useful learning. He spoke in favour of the measure altho' he acknowledged it had only been of later time that he had been of this sentiment, but the evidence on his mind was in favour of liberating H. Kilham. . . . The meeting very harmoniously concluded to recommend that a subscription be immediately opened for this purpose, but not yet to be considered as the act of the Yearly Meeting. [Testimonies respecting Joseph Wood² and others were read.]

[An Epistle was adopted, addressed, " To the Inhabitants of Europe on the Iniquity of the Slave Trade."]

NOTES

¹ The concern of Hannah Kilham for Africa opened the way for Friends to take an interest in foreign missions, while careful that no *official* action should be taken.

HANNAH KILHAM (1774-1832), formerly Spurr, married Alexander Kilham, a Methodist minister, as his second wife, in 1798, he dying the same year. She joined Friends in 1802, and headed a boarding school in Sheffield, 1805-1821. She visited West Africa thrice and died and was buried at sea near Sierra Leone. Her two African pupils were Mahmadee and Sandanee. Friends took much interest in these African youths, but their later life in Africa was unsatisfactory. (For further *re* these two, see *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiv.)

Hannah Kilham, 1837; *D.N.B.*; *Jnl. F.H.S.* iv. x. xiii. xiv. xx. ; etc.

² In JOSEPH WOOD (1750-1821), of Newhouse, near High Flatts, within Pontefract M.M., we have an usual type of Friend. "He had been a Yorkshire clothier but relinquished business in the prime of life and spent the rest of his days in assiduous pastoral labour of a kind of which we have few examples. He would travel on foot with John Bottomley also a Friend and a preacher and at one time his servant, and visit neighbouring Meetings, and on his return home he would spend the day in an upper room, without a fire, even in the severest weather, writing a minute account of all that had happened" (*John Yeardley*, 1859, who was much influenced by him).

Testimony; *Biog. Cata. Lond. Fds. Inst.*, 1888, 742; *Armistead's Select Miscellanies*, 1851, iv. 333.

1823

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

I left home in company with my wife on 3rd day the 13th of 5th mo. We met with agreeable company in the Coach, with whom we had much religious conversation and got well to London.

Richard Cockin *Second-day at ten* the Meeting of Ministers and Elders met. Isaac Stephenson and Anna Braithwaite opened a prospect of visiting America and Robert Fowler to reside some time in Paris.

Fifth-day afternoon, Mary Stacey delivered a message from Ann Crowley, who was very ill ; she desired that Ministers and Elders would be cautious how they spoke of Ministers before young Friends, so as not to lower them in the esteem of such. This opened the way for divers instructive observations.

[Later.] The Minute in the Book of Extracts directing that when Friends in the Station of Elders believe it to be their duty to appear in Meetings in the line of the Ministry, that they should withdraw from attending Select Meetings, was concluded to be resinded.

Third-day at four the Yearly Meeting again met, when the reports of Ackworth, Islington, Sidcot and Wigton Schools were read, and also at this sitting an account was given what Servants and Apprentices had been furnished with places through the medium of the Institution under William Manley's¹ care.

Sixth-day. We went to dine at Luke Howard's Lodgings, where, after dinner, there was an interesting conference on African affairs, at which were present Hannah Kilham and Richard Smith.²

We were favoured to reach home in safety, where we found our Family well.

[Then follows one and a quarter pages of reflection on the spiritual effect on the writer of the proceedings of the Meeting.]

NOTES

¹ WILLIAM MANLEY (1771-1851) was the eleventh Recording Clerk of the Society. (For a list of these officers see *Jnl. F.H.S.* vol. 1.) He held the position from 1811 to 1844. In 1811 he married Priscilla James (1773-1850), of Redruth, Cornwall. Their son William (1814-) married Lydia Tuke (1820-1857), daughter of Robert Tuke, at Ackworth, in 1843. (L. Manley later became Clayton.) Priscilla (James) Manley, then of London, was recorded a Minister in 1804. William Manley, Senr., joined Friends. His home was at Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire.

² Extracts from the Journal of RICHARD SMITH (1784-1824) were prepared by John Dymond Crosfield and printed in the *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiii. xiv. He joined Friends during a business visit to America, in 1819. He offered himself for service in Africa and was accepted in 1823, and shortly afterwards died in that country at Birkow on the Gambia River.

Life of Hannah Kilham, 1837, pp. 171, 258, 504; *Annual Monitor*, 1825; *Yorkshireman*, 1833, vol. 1; *Mary Howitt*, 1889, vol. 1, p. 88.

1824

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

Richard Cockin No report.

5 mo. 17, 1824. The Meetings of Ministers and Elders held this day. A proposition
William Hargreaves was made for the meeting of sufferings to be authorised by the Y Meeting to make a suitable provision for friends travelling upon the continent, by providing them with suitable Interpreters ; much sympathy was expressed for T.S. on this account and friends generally were desirous that he should on account of his age &c. be properly cared for.

18th. The meeting opened this morning with a proposition from E. H. Walker,¹ that friends would enter into feeling with her in the prospect of her going to Pymont, Minden, and a few other places. She had the unity of the meeting in her prospect, and a certificate was directed to be prepared for her. Isaac Crewdson made a few remarks thereon, which might be construed to mean that he should be as well satisfied by E. Walker moving along with her present documents only, but other friends saw the subject very differently and three precedents were quoted where friends from America so circumstanced had rec^d the support of friends in this way.

[On the prospect of Elizabeth Robson to visit America] exercise and concern were felt & that bonds and afflictions awaited her . . . friends unitedly agreed to loose her and let her go. I observed the Fathers were silent spectators of what was going forward, as I did not observe W. Grover, G. Withy, J. Haworth and several other valuable friends offer a sentiment on any of these important subjects.²

19th. John Dixon gave notice of an Appeal against London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting. [He lost his

case.] I. Crewdson again expressed an earnest desire that friends would again consider the subject of giving friends Certificates to travel upon the continent, with whom we had not had much opportunity of being acquainted ; the subject pressed very closely on his mind, but he was put by, by being told there was not time then to enter further into it.³ The manner of Elders conferring on the ministry after each meeting was next taken up ; a proposition was made for all those in that station conferring together after a meeting for worship. This was objected to by Hannah Price ; she said she hoped friends knew there was such a thing as false fear, and she hoped if anything should occur requiring to be noticed a more private way would be adopted than the one proposed. The discussion did not get on very well, friends had so many different views ; in the end near 20 men and women were appointed to oversee the meetings.

21st. At Westminster in the *morning*. Five Men friends were publicly engaged and only two women. J. Haworth was on his feet a long time.

NOTES

¹ ELIZABETH HANNAH WALKER (1761-1827) was a daughter of William and Mary Hoyland, of Sheffield, Yorkshire. In 1789 she conducted a school in Birmingham, and in 1798 she taught school in New York City. In 1802 she married Thomas Walker and they became members of Purchase M.M. There is a record of her very extensive travels in the ministry, in *New York Memorials*, 1846.

British Friend, 1882, p. 124 ; *John Comly*, 1853, p. 166 ; *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxii.

² Perhaps they had a prophetic insight into the difficulties which subsequently arose in connection with the visit to U.S.A. of Elizabeth Robson and others. See note respecting E.R.

³ The question of the responsibility moral and financial of London Y.M. towards American Ministers travelling beyond the limits of the British Isles was raised from time to time. In 1878 London Y.M. declined responsibility " as regards the companionship or the travelling expenses," and in 1902 it was decided that " the Y.M. will not be responsible for liberation or for expenses incurred in such visits."

Index to Y.M. Proceedings, 1857-1906.

1825

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

In the year 1825 I went in company with Daniel Wheeler¹ to attend the Yearly Meeting at Dublin, **Richard Cockin** in my way to the Yearly Meeting in London. I reached London on *Sixth-day* preceeding the Yearly Meeting.

First-day morning I was at Gracechurch-street Meeting, where Elizabeth Fox,² Cornelius Hanbury,³ Samuel Capper,⁴ William Allen, Elizabeth Ashby, and Mary Fox⁵ were publicly engaged to promote an increase of the Redeemers Kingdom in the hearts of those present.

Second-day afternoon, the Meeting of Ministers & Elders again gathered. During this sitting Elizabeth Fry, Mary Proud, Elizabeth Dudley, Jonathan Hutchinson, Isaac Crewdson, J. J. Gurney, John Pease,⁶ and divers other Friends were publicly engaged. Martha Savory communicated an exercise she was under to visit some parts of the Continent.

Third-day at ten, Anna Braithwaite gave some account of her visit to America, and also informed us with the exercise she was under to return to that Land. At *six* I attended the annual meeting of the Peace Society, which was very interesting.

[At the close of Y.M.] there was a meeting of Men and Woman Friends to hear information respecting whatever might regard the cause of the oppressed Affrican race. William Allen and Hannah Kilham were the principal speakers. The Mens Meeting House, both below and in the Galleries, was quite filled.

Second-day morning at 7 oclock I took Coach and was favoured to reach home in safety, having been absent six weeks and one day.

[R. Cockin's account has been contracted to allow space for notes by other Friends.]

[The Friend who reported on Y.M. 1818. He was now aged twenty-seven and evidently in low spirits—
Jonathan Hopkins Bowen “this is a day of poverty and leanness.” He records various visits between the Men’s and Women’s Meetings.]

J. J. Gurney and W. Allen visited the Women’s Meeting, a dear young Friend (S. F. of Wellington)⁷ requested permission, which was withheld on account of his not being as yet acknowledged. William Alexander requested permission to visit the women’s meeting in the capacity of an Elder. Some friends expressed unity and sympathy, yet the meeting felt a difficulty in acquiescing for fear of constituting a wrong precedent; in the progress of the deliberation James Wetherald⁸ [a Minister] expressed a concern to go, which got the meeting out of a difficulty.

Dined at Mildred’s Court [the city home of Joseph and Elizabeth Fry]. The party was gay and extremely volatile. As there was more than the dining room could contain, the surplus (including a youth from Cornwall, myself, my cousin Joseph Hopkins⁹ and Thos. Pumphrey¹⁰) sat down to a table in the drawing room. J. J. Gurney joined this little company separated, as it might seem in the view of some, by accident, yet others of us chose rather to ascribe it to an over-ruling hand, and J.J.G., sending for Jona. Pim, he afterwards addressed these five individuals successively.

There are no propositions this year and no appeals.

Martha Smith and my Sally paid, I think, a very extraordinary visit to the Men’s Meeting. M.S.
John Grubb looks very badly; she speaks sitting, with her head leaning back, resting on a cushion. She seems full of Love and very beautiful in the exercise of her Gift. I think I heard there were 30 friends from Ireland in London.

[A long account of a meeting for the youth in which Joseph John Gurney united.] The large
Elizabeth Fry meeting house crowded 1800 to 2000, principally the youth. All my children were there [nine in number] except little Harry—hundreds I hear went away, who could not get in. Joseph rose and

stood for an hour—then dear sister E. Fry¹¹ said something and my uncle Joseph [Gurney]. Afterwards I knelt down in prayer. It lasted about 2 hours and a half. My beloved husband was most kind to me throughout this concern and my children took a deep interest.

[Joseph Rowntree described the prayer of Elizabeth Fry as "in a manner the most angelic I ever heard."—*Memoir*, 1868, p. 79.]

NOTES

¹ DANIEL WHEELER (1771-1840) was a well-known foreign missionary of the Quaker Church in the nineteenth century. He joined Friends in 1798; was manager of imperial farms in Russia 1818 to 1831; visited many islands in the south seas in his ship, *Henry Freeling*, died in New York while on a religious visit.

Memoir, 1842; *Jnl. F.H.S.* iii. viii. x. xii.-xvii. xix. xxii. xxiv. xxvi.; and many reff. in print and ms. in D.

² ELIZABETH FOX (1768-1849) was a daughter of Joseph and Sarah Tregelles, of Falmouth. In 1788 she married Robert Were Fox, and they had a family of seven sons and three daughters. In 1818 she became a widow. She was an Elder and occasionally spoke in meeting.

Annual Monitor, 1849, p. 122; *Fox of St. Germans*, 1872.

³ CORNELIUS HANBURY (1796-1869) was the second son of Capel and Charlotte Hanbury, born at Ware, in Hertfordshire. His ministry began when guide to Hannah Field and Elizabeth Barker. In 1822 he married Mary, only child of William Allen, and in 1826 he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Sanderson, who lived to the age of 108 years. He was a member of the well-known Plough Court pharmacy.

Testimony; *Hist. of Hanbury Family*, 1916; letters, etc. in D.

⁴ SAMUEL CAPPER (1782-1852) was a son of Jasper and Ann Capper, of London, and became well-known as a prominent evangelical Friend, especially interested in open-air preaching. There is a silhouette of him in *The Diaries of Edward Pease*—"in person so dapper, yet bold as a lion in heart."

Memoir, 1855; and many reff. in D.

⁵ MARY FOX (1788-1846) was a daughter of John Sanderson and his wife, Margaret Shillitoe, and niece of Richard Cockin. She married Sylvanus Fox, of Wellington, Somerset, in 1821. Both were prominent Ministers.

Jnl. F.H.S. xiv.-xvi. xix. xx.

⁶ JOHN PEASE (1797-1868), of East Mount, Darlington, eldest son of Edward Pease. He married Sophia Jowitt (1801-1870), of Leeds. He was a very prominent Minister, sometimes styled "the silver trumpet of the North." He was in North America, 1843-45. His two daughters became Fry and Hodgkin.

Testimony; *Biog. Cata. Lond. Frds. Inst.*, 1888; etc.

⁷ This is an interesting mention of SAMUEL FOX (1794-1874), who became very prominent in the Society's concerns for thirty years, and with various philanthropic movements. He was born at Wellington, Somerset, the eleventh of Thomas and Sarah Fox's sixteen children.

He was recorded a Minister in 1827 and in the same year he united in marriage with Maria, daughter of Benjamin and Tabitha Middleton, who died in 1844. In 1849 he married Charlotte Fox, of Falmouth. In 1838 he settled at Tottenham, retired from business in 1857 and lived for the last eight years at Falmouth. He was a brother of Sylvanus Fox.

Testimony; *Annual Monitor*, 1876; Pike, *Quaker Anecdotes*, 1880, p. 113; *Jonathan Dymond*, 1907, pp. 6, 24, 40, 55; Fox, *Woollen Manufacture at Wellington, Somerset*, 1914; etc.

⁸ If this was JAMES WETHERALD (1795-), son of Joseph and Mally, of Wensleydale and Wakefield, his recording had taken place within the previous year or two.

The procedure of these interchange visits is worthy of record, seeing there are no more thereof. By the kindness of John Morland, of Somerset, now (x.1929) aged 92, we have secured a description from his pen, which will be of interest:

"When a Woman Minister felt a 'concern' to visit the Men's Meeting, whether the Yearly or Quarterly Meeting, she laid the matter before the Women's Meeting and if it met with approval a note was sent by the women door-keepers to the Men's Meeting and handed to the Men's door-keeper, who took it to the table. The note was to this effect: 'Is the present a suitable time for a Minister under concern to visit the Men's Meeting?' Signed by the Women's Meeting Clerk. Two women Elders were appointed to accompany the Minister. The Men's Meeting on receipt of this note considered whether it was a suitable time. The Clerk generally brought the matter of the Note forward at some break in the business and the reply was generally to the effect that it was a suitable time. Then 2 or 3 men Elders were sent out, and coming as far as the door of the Women's Meeting they reported themselves. The 'Concerned Friend' and the two women Elders left their meeting and were escorted, arm in arm, by the men Elders appointed by the Men's Meeting to seats in the Ministers' gallery. After a pause the visiting minister would deliver her message and after another pause the little procession would re-form and the visitors be conducted back to their own Meeting.

"In the case of a Man Minister feeling a concern to visit the Women's Meeting the procedure was in essence the same except that the Minister and his escorting Elders were not met by women Elders."

⁹ This would be JOSEPH HOPKINS (1801-1880), of Brigg, Lincolnshire. In his religious life he was much influenced by Joseph John Gurney, James Backhouse and Christopher Healy and was recorded a Minister in 1832. He was a poor-law guardian and fully occupied in other local and benevolent matters.

Testimony.

¹⁰ Presumably, THOMAS PUMPHREY (1802-1862), later Superintendent of Ackworth School, (1834-1862). He was the son of Stanley and Ann Pumphrey, of Worcester, and after school-days he assisted in his father's business of a glover. In 1826 he married Rachel Richardson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, who died in 1842. In 1845 he married Isabel Unthank, of North Shields.

Memoir, 1864; *Friends of a Half Century*, 1891; and other reff. in D.

¹¹ ELIZABETH FRY (1779-1844) was a daughter of William Storrs and Elizabeth Fry. She frequently travelled in the ministry with her sister-in-law, Elizabeth (Joseph) Fry. The two Elizabeths sat side by side in the meeting house at Plashet.

Portrait in D; Hare, *Gurneys of Earlham*, 1895.

1826

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

Some account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in 1826. And at the same time attending my daughter Ann Smith's¹ Burial at Uxbridge.

Richard Cockin

[Before the opening of Y.M. our Friend paid numerous visits to Friends and Meetings. One afternoon] I went to Newington where I took tea with William Allen, in company with Josiah Forster, Samuel Gurney, and George Stacy; and after went to Susannah Corder's School,² where, in the evening, divers Friends came to attend the Girls reading, after which William Allen and Cathrine Backhouse³ sweetly ministered to us. The Girls were a lovely well-ordered company.

As soon as the Meeting of Ministers and Elders was constituted Thomas Shillitoe spread his prospect of visiting America [and the next day] George and Ann Jones⁴ opened their prospect of paying a religious visit to America.

[R. Cockin's report of this Y.M. contains little more than routine business which was conducted amid a great amount of religious exhortation.]

Samuel Gurney invited me to spend the [First] day at Upton, where I had the company of Thomas F. Buxton⁵, Jonathan Hutchinson, J. J. Gurney, William D. Crewdson, James Cropper,⁶ Robert Benson,⁷ Dr. Hancock,⁸ Amelia Opey,⁹ Elizabeth Herrick¹⁰, and some other Friends.

Isaac Hammer¹¹ and William Allen informed us with an attraction of love to go into the Womans Meeting. Joseph Marriage and I were nominated to accompany them.

On the 4th of 6th mo. I was favoured to reach home in safety.

We are in the midst of the Yearly Meeting—to me a very important time, as I am greatly interested in the welfare of the Society. But I think in our Meetings for Discipline too much stress is laid on minor parts of our testimonies, such as “plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel,” rather than on the greater and weightier matters of the law. I do not like the habit of that mysterious, ambiguous mode of expression, in which Friends at times clothe their observations and their ministry. I like the truth in simplicity; it needs no mysterious garment. I do not like in the Meetings of Ministers and Elders the constant advice given to Ministers and not to Elders, and a sort of partiality shown them. I also can hardly bear to hear Friends make us out as of a chosen people above others.

The incessant rain which has fallen almost ever since the Meeting began, and the confusion of carriages and umbrellas and wet Cloaks and Clogs consequent, has been indescribable. I cannot but remark the beauty of numbers of our younger Sisters, many are indeed, as to the outward, polished after the similitude of a Palace.

(Letter from Margaret Crosfield to Mary Fox, London, 5th mo. 31st, 1826; see *Journal F.H.S.* xx. 92.)

NOTES

¹ Richard Cockin's second daughter, Ann, born 1786, married Henry Hall Smith, of Spitalfields, in 1815.

² SUSANNA CORDER (1787-1864) was in the capacity of an educationist, first at Suir Island School, Ireland, and, later, in 1824, as head of a school at Stoke Newington. She edited memoirs of William Allen, Elizabeth Fry and Priscilla Gurney, compiled a volume *Memorials of Friends*, and wrote various treatises. S. Corder was a daughter of John and Ruth (Marriage) Corder.

Micah Corder, 1885, etc.; *Harris Family Memorials*, 1869; etc.

³ KATHARINE BACKHOUSE (1792-1882) was a daughter of Jasper and Ann Capper, of Stoke Newington. She was recorded a Minister in 1814 and in 1823 became the second wife of John Backhouse of Darlington (1784-1847). She was Clerk to the Women's Y.M. five times between 1835 and 1858. We well remember this active little Friend making her way from Beechwood to the meeting house and taking her seat at the head of the women's side of the house without waiting or entering into conversation.

Testimony; MSS. in D.

⁴ ANN JONES (1774-1846) was the third daughter of Joseph and Sarah Burgess, of Grooby Lodge, in the county of Leicester. She travelled in the ministry while Ann Burgess; "in 1813 she received an injury on the spine from a fall, from the effects of which she never fully recovered." Yet for many years after her marriage with George Jones, of Stockport, in 1815, she was an active Minister, visiting Friends in America from 1826 to 1830.

Testimony; *Deborah Darby*, MS. in D.

⁵ SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON (1786-1845) was a prominent non-Quaker enthusiast in the anti-slavery cause. In 1816 he married Hannah Gurney, of Earlham (1783-1872).

Memoirs, 1849; *D.N.B.*

⁶ JAMES CROPPER (1773-1840), of the Dingle, near Liverpool, was well-known throughout the Society and beyond it for his great benevolence and philanthropy.

Waterhouse, *Memorials*, 1864; *D.N.B.*; Conybeare, *Dingle Bank*, 1925.

⁷ Probably, ROBERT BENSON (1780-1857), of Kendal. In 1807 he married Dorothy Braithwaite (1783-1861), of Kendal, daughter of George and Deborah (Wilson) Braithwaite.

Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924.

⁸ THOMAS HANCOCK, M.D. (1783-1849), was born in Ireland and, after taking his degree in 1806, he settled in London. In 1810 he married Hannah Strangman, of Waterford, who died in 1828. For some years he practised his profession in Liverpool. His health failing he returned to Lisburn, Ireland. He was an earnest advocate of the abolition of capital punishment and took deep interest in many philanthropic movements.

Annual Monitor, 1850; *Smith, Cata.*; *D.N.B.*

⁹ AMELIA OPIE (1769-1853) was a daughter of Dr. Alderson, of Norwich. In 1798 she married John Opie, the celebrated painter. Influenced largely by the Earlham family and associates, she applied for and was received into membership in 1825. Her Quakerism was an unusual type for that period, although she entered heartily into philanthropic work.

Memorials, 1854, 1855; *D.N.B.*; *Smith, Cata.*; *Emma Marshall*, 1900; *Jnl. F.H.S.* x. xiv. xvii. xix. xxvi.

¹⁰ ELIZABETH HEYRICK (1769-1831) was a prominent advocate of the immediate abolition of the Slave Trade. Her maiden name was Coltman, of Leicester. At the age of nineteen she married John Heyrick, of a prominent Leicester family. After the death of her husband, as a childless widow she became acquainted with some Friends and was admitted into membership. "Though enjoying an ample maintenance under her father's roof," she felt it right to open a school, and later engaged in many philanthropic movements—one being the opposition to bull-baiting. She preceded Elizabeth Fry, frequently visiting the prisons in her native town. David Sellers, of Philadelphia, writes respecting a correspondent who "had met with a pamphlet, 'Immediate not Gradual Abolition' and who thought it powerful and cogent, but exclaimed: 'Is it possible that any woman could write in that manner?'" (*David Sellers*, 1928, p. 45.)

Brief Sketch, printed in Leicester, 1862.

¹¹ ISAAC HAMMER (1769-1835) came from Tennessee. He was first a Methodist preacher and then a preacher among the Dunkards, and became a Quaker in 1808. In 1826-27 he visited England, Holland, Westphalia, Würtemberg, Austria, Baden, Switzerland and France. "His visit in Germany was extraordinary. . . . We never heard of a travelling Minister who sat in silence in meetings so frequently as he did in London."

MS. Journal, preserved in Guilford College, N.C. ; Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 1896 ; *Hannah C. Backhouse*, 1858 ; *Jnl. F.H.S.* xvii. xxi.

¹² MARGARET CROSFIELD (1786-1855), née Chorley, was the wife of George Crosfield, an Elder, of Liverpool Meeting.
Jnl. F.H.S. xx.

1827

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

I left home on 6th day the 18th of 5th mo., in company with John Hustler¹ and Rebecca **Richard Cockin** Sturges² and was favoured to get safely to London.

[At one sitting] the subject of Officers making excessive charges in executing the warrants of distress granted them by Magistrats came under consideration, and it appearing from the accounts of Sufferings that in London and Middlesex and in the County of Durham there had been the greatest excesses committed, it was requested that the Representatives of those two Quarterly Meetings should have a conference on the subject. It was concluded that, when cases occurred in the Country, Friends would send the particulars thereof to the Meeting for Sufferings.

There was a Meeting appointed for information on African affairs, which was a very interesting one. James Cropper, Richard Phillips, Samuel Gurney and some other Friends communicated information on the subject.

[At one sitting] Sarah Grubb paid us a visit. She several times repeated the passage of the King hating the Prophet who spoke no good for him, &c., and she believed that in a similar manner divers present would not receive her message; in a very impressive manner she addressed those who were, by the power of their natural faculties, considering themselves qualified to transact the discipline established in the Society, and in a most emphatic manner she addressed those who were lighting the torch of reason to enable them to comprehend the truths of the Gospel. To this class she had, in an awful manner, to warn them of their danger.

On 3rd day the 5th of 6th mo., I was favoured to reach home in safety.

[Testimonies were read respecting John Gripper,³ James Brandwood,⁴ Isabel Wetherald,⁵ and others.]

NOTES

¹ This was JOHN HUSTLER, third (1768-1842), of Undercliffe House, Bradford, a residence bought from his elder brother William for over £12,000. He was a most energetic and large minded man and liberal withal. His first wife was Elizabeth Pease, sister of Edward Pease, founder of railways, and his second Mary Mildred, who was a Minister. "He left one son only, John Mildred Hustler, who was as gay as his father was sedate" (Hodgson, *The Society of Friends in Bradford*, 1926).

² REBECCA STURGES (1797-1869) was one of a family which held an influential position in the county of York, resident at Bowling Hall, near Bradford. A severe illness caused her to turn her thoughts to religion and to preaching the Gospel, but as there was no opening for such, in the Anglican Church, she turned to the Wesleyan, and addressed large audiences, in consequence of which she was obliged to withdraw from her father's house. Later she became much impressed by reading the *Memoirs of Mary Dudley*, and in 1826 she became a member of Balby M.M. She resided for a time with Susanna Corder at Stoke Newington and later with Elizabeth Fry, of Plashet. Her ministry was recorded in 1834. The ancient Friend and the year-old member would find much to say to one another on the road to Y.M. The latter had consulted the former on the subject of her membership (letter from Richard Cockin, 18 ix. 1826, in D).

Testimony.

³ A brief Minute of Colchester M.M. records the decease of JOHN GRIPPER (1755-1826), who died at his residence at Colchester, and whose remains were buried at Ware, in Hertfordshire, his ancestral home. He was the son of Thomas and Mary Gripper, of Ware; he married Elizabeth Adams, in 1780 (d. 1792). He was a Minister for about eight years; was known as "John Gripper of Layer Breton" (Essex).

Gripper Family Chart.

⁴ JAMES BRANDWOOD (1739-1826) was born of parents connected with the Anglican Church at Entwistle, near Bolton, Lancashire. He became a Friend in 1761, and settled at Edgworth. "Through a combination of circumstances," in 1813 he was discontinued as an acknowledged Minister and in 1824 re-instated at West Houghton. "He was a plain countryman, and had not the advantage of a liberal education," but when a Minister visited Friends in several counties.

Letters, with memoir, 1828.

⁵ ISABEL WETHERALD (1781-1826) was the daughter of Richard and Agnes Thistlethwaite, of Carr End, in Wensleydale, N.W. Yorkshire. In 1803 she married John Wetherald, of Hulme, Manchester, a butcher. In 1825 the family removed to Wakefield.

Testimony.

1828

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

Some account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in 1828.

Richard Cockin I, however, have no expectation of committing much to writing this year ; my eyes being rather weak, and having entered my 76 year, it does not seem probable that I shall be capable of much of a written account. [Nevertheless the account of this Y.M., as finally transcribed, occupies nineteen pages !]

I left home on 5th day the 15th of 5th mo and spent 7th day at my son John's.

Third-day morning at ten, the Meeting of Ministers and Elders met again. Divers Friends adverted to the religious state of Friends in America, and some of them advised Friends here not to enter into much conversation respecting the divisions that prevailed in that Land, but rather be engaged to have their minds preserved in an inward, watchful state.

Fourth-day at ten, the Yearly Meeting met. Some of the answers to the Queries were read. On one of the Quarterly Meetings answers, noticing that a Preparitive meeting had missed being held, it produced a pritty long discussion, whether preparitive Meetings could be properly termed Meetings for discipline—when, at length, it was concluded that a minute should be made declaring how far Preparitive Meetings was to be regarded as Meetings for discipline.

Sixth-day morning I was at Grace-church Street Meeting where the Friends engaged were Thomas Frankland,¹ George Holmes,² Isaac Crudson, Hannah Kilham, John Rickman,³ Sarah Abbott, Rachel Fowler, Samuel Loyd,⁴ Susanna Bigg,

and divers others, and Hannah Backhouse⁵ in supplication. Altho nothing that was to me painful was publickly offered in this meeting, yet it did not feel to my apprehension as if the life rose baptizingly into dominion.

Third-day morning the Selected Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings were read, affording information respecting divers conferences that the Members of the Meeting for Sufferings had had with Persons in Authority respecting the Corporation and Test Acts,⁶ and also respecting Friends being called upon to give evidence in Courts of Law, in criminal and civil cases. Near the close of the meeting the Clerk informed us that he had received a Communication addressed to the Yearly Meeting, when a few Friends were appointed to examine the same out of meeting, and report whether it was suitable to be read therein. On the opening of the Meeting in the *afternoon*, the Friends appointed to read the written communication reported that it was an Epistle sent from the Yearly Meeting of Separatists in Philadelphia, addressed to this. This information produced a considerable sensation over the Meeting, when divers expressed their judgment that our Meeting could not receive it or suffer it to be read therein. After a sollid discussion of the subject it was unanimously agree'd to record on our minutes that such a document had been received by the Clerk of our Yearly Meeting, but that we could not recognise any Meeting that was held by persons seperating from those with whome this Meeting have been in the practice of corisponding with before ; and the Clerk was directed to return the document to the Person who had sent it from America. And it was also concluded that each of the Yearly Meetings in America should be informed how our Yearly Meeting had treated the case. . . . Notwithstanding the feeling of mourning and lamentation produced, yet at the same time it was an occasion of rejoicing to be a witness of such a cordial unity in judgment as was the case respecting this subject, not one voice being heard either to oppose the conclusion the Meeting came to, or even in the least to attempt to appaliate.

Josiah Forster called the attention of Friends to the consideration of being more engaged in indeavouring to enlighten the Heathen Nations by promoting Education amongst them. He spread the subject before the Meeting in a very impressive manner, but the subject was not much

intered into by the Meeting. [Later] the subject was introduced of paying increasing attention to the state of the Heathen Nations by the members of our Society; the way, however, did not appear to open with clearness to organize any plan for proceeding upon at this time, indeed the time was much too limited even to enter upon the subject with that calm deliberation, which it's importance demanded.

On 3rd day the 3rd of the 6th mo. I left London & found my dear wife much as when I left home and the other parts of my family in good health.

Thomas thinks the conference on Missionary subjects answered very little purpose; indeed it was **Lucy Maw** hardly likely at so late an hour, and when many had expended their strength, that much would come of it. A considerable difference of opinion seemed to exist. Several acknowledged being much interested in accounts they had read of missionary proceedings; but John Hipsley⁷ expressed that though this was his case he had never seen his way clear to unite in them, for fear of compromising in any way our peculiar testimonies; and this, I suppose, accorded with the views of a good many others. Samuel Tuke⁸ said he did not want Friends to point out a way or plan for him; he could find sufficient openings which he was free to embrace for all he had it in his power to give; and I think we shall follow his plan. Josiah Forster seemed to think that Scriptural Education was the great lever which our Society would have to work; and this, I think, cannot be objected to. The Irish Friends thought there was enough to do in Ireland, we need not go further. Some, that we are surrounded with claims of an imperious nature; and that is true, but still I think we must *not overlook*, but look beyond them. James Cropper manifested a lively interest in the subject. William Allen, I believe, wishes our exertions, if any are made, to be through the British and Foreign School Society, but my husband thinks that will not come up to the purpose; they cannot provide translators &c. sufficient.

(Lucy Maw, wife of Thomas Maw, in a letter to Elizabeth Dudley, 4 vi. 1828, printed in *Memoirs of Elizabeth Dudley*, 1861, p. 153.)

NOTES

¹ There are various references to the ministry of THOMAS FRANKLAND (), of Liverpool. At the Y.M. of 1826 he addressed a family gathering at Edward Harris's "enlarging on our having the celestial treasure in earthen vessels and then, quoting the passage: 'a garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse,' he added that although this language is used in speaking of the Church, it is applicable to individuals—such he believed there were present who were encircled by the love of the Almighty and who would bear sweet fruits and fragrant flowers" (Harris, *Family Memorials*, 1869, p. 140). He took a conservative view in Society affairs.

² GEORGE HOLMES (c.1775-1843) was, at this time, resident within Woodbridge M.M., co. Suffolk. In 1835 he removed to within Kingston M.M. and lived at Wandsworth. He is recorded at the time of his burial as "gentleman—widower."

³ Probably, JOHN RICKMAN (-), who, and whose wife Elizabeth, are frequently mentioned in *Memorials of Hope Park* (Edinburgh), by W. F. Miller. Elizabeth Rickman was formerly Barnard; of their three sons two died in infancy. John Rickman was a representative from Scotland to Y.M. in 1826, was prevented attendance next year "owing to indisposition," and was in London again 1828. His wife died in 1825.

⁴ SAMUEL LLOYD (1768-1849) was a banker and Minister, of Birmingham. He married Rachel, eldest daughter of George and Deborah Braithwaite, of Kendal. Influenced by the new teaching recorded in the *Beacon to the Society of Friends*, by Isaac Crewdson, published in 1835, and after much thoughtful consideration he resigned his membership in the Society and joined the "Brethren," his wife remaining a Friend. In the possession of his descendant, John Henry Lloyd, of Birmingham, is (1930) a manuscript volume, beginning "Memoranda of the Resignation of the right of membership of Samuel Lloyd, of Birmingham, Banker, in the Society of Friends, 12 month, 1839, after being an accepted Minister above 20 years."

The Lloyds of Birmingham, 1907, 1907, 1908; and many ref. in D.

⁵ HANNAH CHAPMAN BACKHOUSE (1787-1850) was a daughter of Joseph Gurney, of The Grove and his wife, Jane Chapman. In 1811 she married Jonathan Backhouse, of Darlington, and throughout life travelled incessantly in the ministry, undergoing extraordinary hardships during her long American tour. J. and H. C. Backhouse had nine children, seven of whom died before their mother.

Testimony; Annual Monitor, 1851; *Journal and Letters*, 1858; and many ref. in D.

⁶ CORPORATION AND TEST ACTS.

"The Corporation Act 1661 obliged all holders of office in municipal Corporations to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. . . . The Test Act of 1673 imposed the sacramental test on all persons holding any office of trust." (Maitland, *Constitutional History*, 1920 ed., p. 515.)

"The removal of this sacramental test was effected in 1828. This was part of the general struggle for religious equality of the nineteenth century and was led by Lord John Russell. Nonconformists obtained free admission to municipal office and to almost all offices in the gift of the Crown."

Information from Edward H. Collinson, Ipswich, 1930.

⁷ JOHN HIPSLEY (1775-1866) was born at Congresbury, near Bristol, son of John and Elizabeth and descendant of Hipsley of Chew, in Somerset. After various changes he settled, in 1799, as a woollen draper in Hull, and in 1804 he married Mabel Tuke, (1770-1864), the youngest daughter of William and Esther Tuke, and had issue. He was an Elder and his wife a Minister. There is a useful biography in *Annual Monitor* for 1868.

Memoirs of Samuel Tuke, 1860.

⁸ SAMUEL TUKE (1784-1857) was a son of Henry Tuke and a grandson of William Tuke of York, and a prominent Friend for many years. He married Priscilla Hack, of Chichester, in 1810, and had twelve children. It is said that it was he who wrote the sketch of the origin of Meetings for Discipline which first appeared in the third edition of the *Rules of Discipline*, 1834.

Memoirs, 2 vols. 1860; Tylor, *Samuel Tuke, His Life, Work and Thought*, 1900; etc.

1829

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

I left home on the 14th of 5th mo. in company with Ann Conning¹; nothing occurred on the Road worthy of being noticed.

Richard Cockin On *Seventh-day morning*, before rising, at my son John's, my mind became tenderly impressed with a grateful sense of my many favours vouchsafed to me by a gracious Providence, and with tears of gratitude my mind was impressed with feelings of thankfulness; and it became the fervant breathing of my spirit that I might be preserved in a watchful, weighty frame of spirit during this Yearly Meeting.

First-day morning I was at Grace-Church Street Meeting where the Friends publicly engaged were Joseph Knight², Jonathan Hutchinson, Anthony Wigham,³ Sylvanus Fox, Thomas Frankland, and Mary Fox. I was also at the same Meeting in the *afternoon* when Isaac Stephenson, Benjamin Sebhoem⁴ and Margaret Richardson⁵ were engaged.

Third-day afternoon the Meeting of Ministers and Elders met again. It was concluded to grant a certificate on behalf of William Flanner.⁶ During this sitting Elizabeth Robson⁷ gave a most interestingly impressive report of her visit to America. She gave an affecting account of the desolating effects that the divisions had produced in some Meetings, and the grievous suffering it had occasioned the faithful part of the Body, with which the Meeting felt to be deeply penetrated. At *five* the Adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School was held, which proved an unusually satisfactory time. At *half-past six* the Annual Meeting of the Peace Society was held in Friends Meeting House at White Hart Court, divers Ministers of various denominations addressed the meeting with good effect.

Fifth-day afternoon. The Large Committee was nominated

with less interruption to the quiet settlement of the Meeting then is frequently the case.

Sixth-day morning. Elizabeth Fox of Falmouth, and divers other Friends came to breakfast. At Devonshire House Meeting, Anna Price, John Jallan⁸ and J. Talwin Sewell⁹ were engaged, and Sarah Grubb stood up with the declaration that all had sined and fallen short of glorifying God & therefore had need of seeking after a state of repentance. She desired Friends to bear with her, knowing that some considered her as always a fault finder. After some consideration it was concluded that any Friend coming from America with a Certificat or any written document purporting their being a Minister, that such Certificat or other recommendation should be sent to a member of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, in order to ascertain whether such Friend was of Sound Principles or not, before they exercise their gift in the Ministry.

First-day afternoon at Devonshire House Sarah Grubb was on her feet near an hour and a half. She divers times repeated " O London, London, thou Royal City," and in a very impressive manner inumerated the many evils which abounded therein. She observed that she trembled at the awfulness of speaking in the Name of the Lord. She was after clothed with the spirit of Supplication, to the tendring many into a state of broken contrition.

Second-day morning at ten the Yearly Meeting again met, when the attention there of was turned to the consideration of nominating a Friend or two to attend a conferance to be held in Philadelphia in the 7th mo. by the united Committees nominated by the different Yearly Meetings in America except two, but way did not open to make an appointment. It was however concluded to essay a minute addressed to the united Committees expressive of the solicitude this Yearly Meeting has felt that they might be favoured with the guidance of Divine wisdom in their deliberations. In the *afternoon* the report of Ackworth School was read, which produced some discussion respecting the Illness which had been in the Family last year, of which illness Henry Brady¹⁰ had died, when it was proposed that a subscription should be entered into for the Widow and Child. Reports of Croydon, Wigton and Sidcot Schools came before the Meeting.

[It is instructive to notice the increasing interest taken by Friends gathered together for the Yearly Meeting in philanthropic objects, and also the increasing concern for "the Heathen Nations." At a meeting held after Y.M.] a meeting of subscribers to the relief of sufferers in the Greco-Turkish war was held, and another subject introduced in which I felt a lively interest—that of considering how far Friends as a Body could unite in adopting some way of assisting in the educating and endeavouring to Civilize Heathen Nations in any part of the world. Many Friends appeared to have the subject much at heart. It was at length concluded that a pritty large Committee should be nominated to have the subject under their care.

I was favoured to reach home in safety, where I found my dear wife and family quite as well as when I left home.

NOTES

¹ ANN CONING (1772-1858) was a daughter of William and Ann Coning, of Guisbrough, Yorkshire. She was one of the early pupils at Ackworth. She was recorded a Minister in 1816.

Testimony,

² JOSEPH KNIGHT (c.1766-1836) removed to Woodbridge, Suffolk, late in life from "an adjoining county," probably Essex.

Testimony.

³ ANTHONY WIGHAM (1776-1857) was a son of John and Elizabeth Wigham, of Coanwood, the Wigham home in Northumberland. He settled in business in Glasgow and retired to Aberdeen in 1835. His wife was Mary Nicholson (c.1780-1865). He was recorded a Minister in 1821 and visited Meetings in England and Ireland.

Testimony; Shields, *Wigham Family*, 1915.

⁴ BENJAMIN SEEBOHM (1798-1871) was born at Friedensthal, Germany, and came over to England under the care of Sarah Hustler, of Bradford, in 1814. He became a very prominent Friend. He married Esther Wheeler, of Hitchin, in 1831. At four years old he had a fall which left him lame for life. From 1846 to 1851 he paid a Gospel visit to America. He edited several Quaker biographies.

Private Memoirs, 1873; Cudworth, *The Seebohm Family*, pamphlet. On his visit to America, see *In My Youth*, by Robert Dudley, 1914, chap. xiii.

⁵ MARGARET RICHARDSON (1775-1858) was the youngest daughter of Thomas and Margaret Robson and was born at Darlington. On her marriage with William Richardson she removed to North Shields and after his decease she made her home in Sunderland.

Testimony; *Annals of the Richardsons*, 1850; ref. in D.

⁶ WILLIAM FLANNER (1766-1837) was born of humble parents, non-Friends, in North Carolina. First a Methodist, he afterwards became

a Friend, and a member of Short Creek M.M., Ohio. He was nearly six feet two inches high, and of somewhat uncouth form. In 1819 he arrived in Liverpool, but before long made a hasty return home. In 1828-9 he was again in Europe. He is criticised as "James Flannil" in Mrs. Greer's book *Quakerism*, 1851, and is defended in Sandham Elly's *Ostentation*, 1853.

Ohio Memorials; *Jnl. F.H.S.* iv. xiii.-xvi. xix. xxi. xxii. xxiv.

⁷ There is a précis of the life of ELIZABETH ROBSON (1771-1843) in *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiv. She was a daughter of Isaac Stephenson, the elder, and married Thomas Robson (1768-1852) in 1796. They lived in Sunderland and later in Liverpool. She was a remarkable woman and eminent Minister. Her first visit to America coincided with the Separation of 1827, in which, it would appear, that she and other Ministers from Europe took a mistaken part through lack of the knowledge of local conditions.

Many reff. in D.

⁸ The Lincolnshire Friends Registers contain many entries of JALLAND, of Stapleton, for some two centuries. In 1753, John Storer "set out from home, came to Stapleton and lodg'd at Jno Jallands" (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xiii.).

⁹ A quarto volume of 450 pages records a Memoir of JOHN TALWIN SHEWELL (1782-1866), of Rushmere, Ipswich (64 pages), Memoranda of a Journey on the Continent, 1824-5 (340 pages), followed by a collection of Fragmentary Pieces. J. T. Shewell was a son of Thomas Shewell, of London, and Ann Talwin, of Royston. His grandmother was Sarah Shewell of Camberwell, who is frequently mentioned, with much affection, in the Diary of Samuel Dyer, of Bristol. In 1796 he became connected with the family and business of Isaac and Mary Liversidge and, whilst still a minor, became a partner, owing to the death of Isaac Liversidge, and later sole proprietor. In 1829 he was recorded a Minister; in 1831 he retired from business; in 1833 he married Elizabeth, only daughter of Jonathan and Susanna Peckover, of Wisbech. The work of the Bible Society claimed close attention. He appears to have been a man of earnest religious character.

A copy of the first edition of *The Journal of George Fox*, 1694, is in D. which belonged to I. Liversidge and was lent to Charles Lamb, who "derived very great satisfaction from the perusal of it."

Memoir, 1870; *Testimony*; *Annual Monitor*, 1867; *F.Q.E.* 1908.

¹⁰ "In the Spring of 1828 a malignant fever broke out at Ackworth School. This terrible visit of disease and death was rendered still more melancholy by its robbing the School of one of its masters, who had adorned his station with almost every quality that could mark the perfect teacher. Henry Brady died on the 9th of Tenth Month 1828" (Thompson, *Hist. of Ackworth School*, 1879).

HENRY BRADY (1798-1828) was an Ackworth Scholar, apprentice and Master. He married Hannah Smith, who after his death, became Head Mistress of the Mount School, York, and held the office from 1832 to 1842 (*Henry Brady Priestman*, 1918).

1830

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

I left home on 5th day the 13th of 5th mo, under somewhat discouraging impressions, having had
Richard Cockin for a considerable time a weakness in my thigh or hip and also a considerable cough. I was, however, favoured to get well to London. I lodged at my Son Johns on *Sixth-day night* and on *Seventh-day evening* I went to my lodgings in the Old Jewry.

First-day morning I was at Grace Church Street Meeting. The Friends engaged in Testimony were Thomas Brown,¹ Joseph Pollard,² Sarah Rundal,³ Ann Hunt, and George Richardson.⁴

Fourth-day morning. There were notices of two appeals presented, one from Joseph Horsfall⁵ against York Quarterly Meeting, and one from John McDermott⁶ against the Halfyears Meeting of Scotland. [Later] The Yearly Meeting confirmed the judgment of York Quarterly Meeting and also that of the Halfyears Meeting of Scotland.

Third-day morning. The subject from Bristol and Somerset was considered respecting the propriety of Friends in an united capacity promoting the Christianizing the Heathen Nations. It was a deeply interesting discussion. It was at length agreed to record the Proposition and to refer the Meeting's conclusion thereon untill a futer year.

Fifth-day afternoon J. J. Gurney adverted to the illness of the King,⁷ which appeared to bring some weight over the Meeting.

Seventh-day, the Committee appointed to visit the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings met, William Allen was chosen Clerk and Samuel Gurney assistant. Divers Friends offered themselves as being willing to unite in visiting such and such Quarterly Meetings,⁸ and some other Friends expressed a willingness to be at the Committee's disposal. Sub-Committees were nominated to pay visits to [twelve

Q.M.'s]. I made the first observation in the Yearly Meeting, promoting a visit being paid.

I was favoured to reach home in a somewhat improved state of health.

N.B. I finished the transcribing the accounts I had kept of attending the Yearly Meeting, the 28th of the 4th Mo., 1831, being now entered the 79th year of my age; and therefore not very probable I shall be able again to attend the Yearly Meeting.

A year or two before our Friend Ann Hunt, of Bristol [1810-1897], passed away, I called **Thomas Davidson**⁹ on her, and, among other interesting reminiscences, she told me that she first attended Yearly Meeting in 1830, and that, during one of the sittings, the Duchess of Gloucester¹⁰ drove down to Devonshire House and had William Allen and Elizabeth Fry called out, and informed them that the King being in great extremity, both in mind and body, desired the prayers of Friends. This request was communicated to both the Men's and Women's Meetings, and the business being suspended, each meeting became a Meeting for Worship during the rest of the sitting. Friends were requested not to speak of it out of meeting.

(*Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, ix (1912), 173.)

24 Rochester Terrace, Headingley, Leeds, 1 vii. 1912.

My dear Friend, Joseph Storrs Fry.
Octavius Hunt My brother Theodore has written me at some length about a message sent down to the Yearly Meeting in 1830, asking Friends to pray for the dying King George IV, and asking me to write thee if Ann Hunt had spoken to me on the subject.

Yes, she did speak of it, and I well remember it, although it must be 30 or 40 years ago. I had been reading with intense interest the account in Thomas Shillitoe's *Journal* of the letter he wrote to George IV, and delivered in person to him, and I asked Ann Hunt if there was any sequel to that letter, and she told me that she was sitting in the Yearly Meeting in 1830, when the Duchess came to the Meeting and called some Friends out and asked the Friends to pray for the King.

She further told me that the King had been asked by the Duchess if he would see a clergyman, and he said: "No. Send for that Quaker," meaning Thomas Shillitoe. Thomas Shillitoe was in the Y.M. when the message came, but he did *not* speak on the matter, and my Aunt did not think he communicated with the King. I think she (A.H.) said that the information of the exact message of George IV was told to some Friend visiting the Court later on. Thy friend sincerely,

OCT. HUNT.

(From a copy of the letter in Note Book, i. 179, in D.)

NOTES

¹ This was, probably THOMAS BROWN (1764-1849) born at Amwellbury in Hertfordshire, but at about fourteen removed to Cirencester. He was acknowledged a Minister in 1810 and subsequently visited nearly all the Meetings in England and Wales and many in Scotland and Ireland. "He had a large family dependent on him," but "he relinquished, from a sense of religious duty, a profitable part of his business and withdrew from a lucrative concern" (*Testimony*).

² JOSEPH POLLARD (1759-1831) was a Baptist by up-bringing but "from these he separated and joined a body of professors who maintained a strict and literal observance of what they believed to be enjoined, even to the washing of each others feet; also to the words 'Swear not at all,' which brought him into business difficulty" (related in his *Testimony*). He was now in a position to look towards the Society of Friends and became a member in 1801 and a Minister in 1822. His membership was at Swansea in South Wales.

Rees, *Quakers in Wales*, 1925.

³ SARAH RUNDELL (1764-1856) was the wife of Samuel Rundell (1763-1848), of Liskeard; her parents were William and Charity James, of Redruth, Cornwall. "She attended meetings with much regularity through a long series of years" (*Testimony*).

⁴ The name of GEORGE RICHARDSON (1773-1862) will always be associated with the inception of the Friends Foreign Mission Association, he having written many letters to Friends inciting to interest in the "heathen world," about the year 1859. He was also alive to the promotion of efforts for the abolition of slavery and on behalf of temperance and peace. He first addressed a meeting for worship, when nineteen, in 1793 and was "recorded" in 1797. In 1800 he married Eleanor, daughter of Joshua Watson.

Richardson MSS.; *Newcastle Friends* with portrait, 1899; Hodgkin, *Friends Beyond Seas*, 1916; etc.

⁵ The appeal of JOSEPH HORSFALL was against the judgement of Brighthouse M.M. but the reason for the appeal is not given in the minute-books, kindly examined by H. C. Hunt, of York. The Q.M. of Yorkshire confirmed the decision of the M.M. and the appellant went forward to the Y.M.; the respondents for Yorkshire, being Newman Cash, John Rowntree and William West. The Y.M. confirmed the decision of the Q.M.

The Yorkshire Burial Registers record the death of one Joseph Horsfall, of Leeds (late of Gildersome) who died, a non-member, in 1833, aged 58.

⁶ The appeal of JOHN McDERMOTT was against the action of Edinburgh M.M. (supported by the superior Meetings) in disowning him on account of business failure. The appeal failed.

Information from Arthur H. Catford, Glasgow, 1930.

⁷ GEORGE IV (1762-1830). Our late friend Francis C. Clayton took much interest in the relations of George IV with Friends, especially with Thomas Shillitoe and a narration from his pen was printed in *Jnl. F.H.S.* xi. xiii. The King's death took place one month after the Yearly Meeting. William Tallack, in his life of Thomas Shillitoe (1867, p. 111), reports: "It has been said that when the monarch was on his death-bed, he called out: 'Oh! that Quaker, that Quaker,' probably as if oppressed with a deep sense of despair and remorse at his inattention to the counsels which his faithful and godly subject had long ago urged upon his attention."

⁸ The Quarterly Meetings at this period were:

Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire.
 Berkshire and Oxfordshire.
 Bristol and Somersetshire.
 Buckinghamshire.
 Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.
 Cheshire and Staffordshire.
 Cornwall.
 Cumberland and Northumberland.
 Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.
 Devonshire.
 Dorsetshire and Hampshire.
 Durham.
 Essex.
 Gloucestershire and Wiltshire.
 Herefordshire and Worcestershire.
 Kent.
 Lancashire.
 Lincolnshire.
 London and Middlesex.
 Norfolk and Norwich.
 Northamptonshire.
 Suffolk.
 Sussex and Surrey.
 Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Rutlandshire.
 Westmorland.
 Yorkshire.
 Wales.
 Scotland.

In the above list all the counties of England are represented except Shropshire.

⁹ THOMAS DAVIDSON (c. 1850-1928) was a prominent Friend in the little company known as "Fritchley General Meeting." He kept the village general shop at Fritchley, Derbyshire, but was frequently absent on gospel ministry, having thrice visited America. He was a native of the Scottish Highlands.

The Friend (Lond.), 1928, 1173.

¹⁰ MARY, DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER (1776-1857), was a sister of George IV.—She married William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester in 1816.

1831

Clerk : JOSIAH FORSTER

I left home on 5th day the 12th of 5th mo., accompanied by my daughter Ellen,¹ and was favoured to get well to London.

Richard Cockin *First-day morning and afternoon* I was at Grace Church Street Meeting. John Pease was first engaged, after which Sarah Grubb was engaged, and after some time Anna Braithwaite. In the *afternoon* Sarah Grubb was engaged in a heart tendring supplication, next Mary Cooper² in Testimony, after which John Pease was pretty largely engaged, yet whether it was the state of my own mind or the religious state of the meeting, it did not seem to me as if the life rose into dominion in the same degree that it did in the forenoon meeting, at least that was my impression.

Fourth-day at ten the Yearly Meeting commenced. There were notices of Appeals, one from John Crouch against Cambridge and Huntington Quarterly Meeting and one from J. and M. Walton³ against York Quarterly Meeting. During this sitting Barnard Dickinson,⁴ Edward Carroll and some others were engaged in Testimony and one or two Friends in supplication.

Sixth-day. The Committee on Appeals confirmed the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting respecting John Crouch.

Seventh-day. Some of the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings were read which brought before us the situation of Friends in America, both as to their religious state and also the want there was in divers parts of pecuniary means of giving their Children a suitable education, providing them selves with Bibles and other Books which was needed for their instruction, both on religious and other subjects ; also to enable them to build Meeting Houses, which divers places were wanting. After some discussion it was concluded to

set a subscription on foot to assist them. The minutes gave information that it was proposed to nominate from each of the Yearly Meetings in America a committee to consider how far the different Meetings could unite in forming Rules more in accordance one with another than is now the case, apprehending that it would promote more of an united fellowship one with another through the different Yearly Meetings.

Third-day morning the Clerk produced a minute, which he was directed at a former meeting to prepare, respecting Monthly Meetings having a discretional power to disown Children when their Parents have quite left our Society, and will not suffer Friends to have any access to their Children. This led to the subject being again discussed and produced an unprofitable feeling over the Meeting. [R. Cockin, who had suggested the subject at a former sitting, now suggested its discontinuance, "in order to restore the harmony of the Meeting, in which divers Friends united."]

The next subject was the minute of last year—how far Friends as a Society could endeavour to promote the spiritual welfare of the Heathen Nations. It was a subject in which I felt a lively interest. It was encouragingly evident that the subject had gained much interested weight on many Friends minds since last year [Samuel Tuke's attitude had changed since the Y.M. of 1828], yet some Friends did not seem prepared to unite in the conclusion that the time was come for the Yearly Meeting to declare that Friends as a Body was called upon to take an active part in converting the Heathens from the error of their ways. The subject was therefore left for consideration next year.

Divers Friends after Meeting observed to me that this subject had produced a greater degree of weight over the Meeting than any one had done before. It felt to me, and I expressed it in the Meeting, as if the solemnity which we had been favoured with during the consideration of this case was a seal of approbation. At this sitting John Rickman, from the Committee on the Yorkshire Appeal, wished to be informed whether the Committee might be permitted to ask a question, which implied that they found difficulty in coming to an unanimous judgment thereon. It was, however, regarded as not admissible, in as much as it might lead to the subject being discussed in the Meeting at large; that seeing the Yearly Meeting had committed the hearing and judging

of Appeals to the committee especially appointed for that purpose, that Committee must therefore form the best judgment they could in the Case. The next sitting of the Yearly Meeting was informed by the Committee that they had agree'd to anul the judgment of York Quarterly Meeting.

Fifth-day morning. The Clerk brought in the Minute he was requested to prepare, clearly describing what description of Friends in America this Yearly Meeting was united with in religious fellowship, and who those Persons were that Friends could not unite with, but who were called Friends, in order to assist the sound body of Friends in America, as evidence in Courts of Law, respecting the Property which those who had imbraced unsound principles had seized for their own use.

Sixth-day morning at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, I met the Committee on the General Epistle, when my mind became so impressed with the humiliating consideration, how unworthy I was to be thus united with such Friends as were upon this Committee, that I could not refrain from shedding tears most of the time we were together, so that it was to me a very tendring season.

[At the concluding sitting of the Ministers and Elders] committees were appointed to visit all the Quarterly and other Meetings which had not been visited last year, and also the Meetings in Ireland.

I may here note that it has appeared best for me during my attending this Yearly Meeting to take a rather more active part than what I have done in some former ones ; with which my Friends appeared to cordially unite.

N.B. I omitted noticing in its proper place that J. J. Gurney had a meeting one evening for young Friends, and others who are in the practice of attending our Meetings—he was on his feet more than two hours.

Third-day. Ackworth Committee at *half-past three* ; time occupied chiefly in agreeing on the **Joseph Rowntree**'s report ; business agreeably conducted. General Meeting : S. Lucas clerk. J. J. Gurney suggested that increased accommodation should be obtained for the girls' lodging rooms ; Thomas Richardson, that the boys' play-ground be enlarged ; Luke Howard, that the ventilation of the schoolrooms be improved ; and Richard

Cadbury⁶ that the lodging room floors [then of asphalt, upon which the boys were wont to slide] be boarded. A long discussion as to whether the subjects be mentioned in the Yearly Meeting; finally determined not to do so, with the understanding that S. Gurney would introduce them to the notice of the Country Committee.

(*Memoir of Joseph Rowntree*, 1868, 146.)

NOTES

¹ ELLEN COCKIN (1803-1841) was one of the two daughters of Richard and Ellen (Abraham) Cockin. In 1833 she married William Miller of Edinburgh.

Hannah Cockin (1800-1879), her sister, married Joseph Thorp, of Halifax, as his second Hannah.

² MARY COOPER (1770-1850) was the daughter of Thomas and Mary Bleckley, of Sutton, in the Isle of Ely, and the wife of Thomas Cooper, of Brighthouse, from 1813. Much suffering was her portion, and hearing and sight were lost some time before her decease. She was recorded a Minister in 1806.

Testimony.

³ According to the minutes at the Y.M., the appellants were JOSEPH and MARGARET WHALLEY.

⁴ BARNARD DICKINSON (1781-1852) was a son of John and Mary (Barnard) Dickinson, of Beverley, Yorkshire. His mother died at his birth and his father five years later. His schooldays were spent at York, Gildersome and Leeds, and his apprenticeship under William Stickney at Ridgmount in E. Yorkshire, in farming. In 1802 he entered upon a farm at Thorpe Basset, but in 1810 after his marriage with Ann Darby (1779-1840) he removed to Coalbrookdale in Shropshire and became a manager of iron-works. He was often a guide to travelling Friends, and later, as a Minister, visited widely in the British Isles. His eldest daughter, Mary Darby, married into the Sturge family. There were numerous other children. Deborah Darby and Rachel Fowler were his aunts.

Annual Monitor, 1853; *Ball's Memorials*, 1865, p. 180; Norris MSS. in D., vol. ix. p. 180.

⁵ JOSEPH ROWNTREE (1801-1859) was born at Scarborough, and removed to York on attaining his majority. He was much interested in the work of education. In 1832 he married Sarah, daughter of Isaac and Hannah Stephenson of Manchester, having previously commenced business as a grocer. He was an Alderman of the city.

Memoir, 1868; *D.N.B.*

⁶ This would be RICHARD TAPPER CADBURY (1768-1860), who "was a frequent attender at Ackworth School and for some years was a member of the managing committee" (*The Friend* (Lond.), 1860, 81). He was a regular attender of Y.M. He was a son of Joel and Sarah (Moon) Cadbury and he married Elizabeth Head (1768-1851), of Ipswich, in 1796. He was prominent in the local affairs of the city of Birmingham.

Cadbury Pedigree, 1904; Jenkins, *Records*.

1832

Clerk : SAMUEL TUKE

I left home on 2nd day the 16th of 5th month. I was favoured to bear the fatigue of travelling all night by Coach now in the 80 year of my age, quite as well as for a few years past, which produced on my mind feelings of gratitude.

[The first claim on the attention of the diarist was attendance at the meetings of the Visitation Committee, which occupied several days. At the last sitting] the attention of the Committee was occupied with deliberating upon the expediency of proposing to the Yearly Meeting the revising of the Advises in the Book of Extracts, and also making some small alterations in the Queries which was at length agreed to be embodied in our report.

First-day morning I was at Grace Church street Meeting where dear Stephen Grellet was engaged to minister to us.

Second-day at ten. The Meeting of Ministers and Elders commenced. At this sitting Ann Jones saluted our Friends present from America, namely Stephen Grellet, Charles Osburn,¹ and Christopher Healey.² It was proposed that a memorial of the religious services of Jonathan Taylor³ from America, who died in Ireland when on a religious visit, should be entered on our records ; which was united with.

Fourth-day at ten the Yearly Meeting met. Sarah Grubb paid us a visit. She was first lead to speak of the awful state that this nation had been and was in, by being visited with the Cholera, which she exorted us to regard as the divine rod held over the Land, and, in an impressive manner, exorted us to be humbled under the visitation, warning us of the approaching judgements of the Lord, if there were not a more faithful supporting of those testimonies which Friends were

raised up to bear and to become a separate people. . . . She said friends might make memorandums of what she had delivered amongst us. Could my memory furnish me with correct recollection and I had time to make the record of the Testimonies I have this day heard from my beloved Friends, they are worthy to be perpetuated, yea, and to be engraved on my heart in indelible characters.

Sixth-day afternoon the Committee on Appeals brought in their report on John Crouch's Appeals; on his first Appeal, against being disowned as a Member, the Committee confirmed the judgement of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings; on his second Appeal the Committee reported some irregularity in the proceedings of the Society in his case, which occupied much time I thought very unprofitably.

[The question of the revision of the Book of Extracts was introduced. A conference, consisting of representatives from each Quarterly Meeting and the members of the Meeting for Sufferings was called for Tenth Month.] At this sitting the proposition from London and Middlesex respecting holding meetings when Persons are buried in Friends Burying Ground who are not Members occupied much time. It was at length agreed to substitute a minute a little differently worded to that now in the Book of Extracts.

[A Committee was appointed in the subject of the "Heathen World,"] to whom the subject should be committed without any specific direction who should report to the next Yearly Meeting the result of their deliberations.

First-day I went to Peckham meeting where, in the *morning*, Rachel Fowler and Lydia Sutton⁴ were engaged, after which Charles Osburn was largely, and with dignifying authority engaged in a deeply instructive Testimony. In the *afternoon* Grover Kemp⁵ and J. T. Sewel were first engaged, after which Charles Osburn was again enlarged.

I was favoured to reach home after an absence of three weeks all but one day.

Having never opened my mouth in any of the meetings for discipline until *Sixth-day morning*, the **John Wilbur**⁶ 1st of Sixth mo., I then asked, and obtained liberty to pay a visit to women friends, in their meeting, and my dear friend Charles Osborne, finding a similar engagement on his mind, obtained the like liberty;

and we went together and were satisfied in our labors with our dear sisters. I was greatly exercised throughout all the meetings for business under a serious apprehension that everything was not right amongst them. In this meeting, great professions of faith in the mediation and atonement of Jesus Christ our Lord were made, and this profession was abundantly reiterated, but still I mournfully felt a great want of that precious sweetness and savor of life which gives weight and solidity, as well as power, to a meeting, and without which all the professions of faith, however high and glowing, as to words, are but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. My mental grief was such that I could not refrain from excessive weeping, after the conclusion of the meetings for discipline; so, under the kind superintendence of my friend Geo. Crosfield,⁷ I went immediately to my lodgings, and retired to my chamber, where my head was as waters and mine eyes as fountains of tears, in weeping for the back-sliding of the sons and daughters of my people, occasioning the face of the Beloved to be so turned from us in the day of our great necessity.

(*Journal*, 1859, p. 123.)

NOTES

¹ CHARLES OSBORN (1775-1850) was born in North Carolina. He was in Europe in 1832-3. He is thus pictured in the memory of Samuel Alexander, who was a school-boy at Waterford: "A tall man Friend with unusually broad-brimmed, drab, beaver hat, long drab coat, reaching almost to the heel, and grave face, bearing traces of mental feelings, which we understood as 'exercises' only waiting the opportunity for vent" (*Jnl. F.H.S.* iv. 90). His home was at Economy, Wayne Co., Indiana.

Journal, 1854.

² CHRISTOPHER HEALY (1773-1851) was a native of Rhode Island. He joined Friends when about eighteen and became a Minister at twenty-eight. In 1831 he visited Europe, leaving behind a wife and seventeen children. He was in great poverty in his earlier years. John Comly visited him at Coeymans, in 1815 (*Journal*, 210).

Memoir, 1886; *Jnl. F.H.S.* iv. xiii. xiv. xv. xix.

³ The life-story of JONATHAN TAYLOR (1768-1831), of Mount Pleasant in the state of Ohio, contains much of interest but cannot be detailed here. He married Ann Schofield and removed from Virginia to Ohio, "where they held the first Friends' meeting in that section, sitting side by side on a log in the open woods." In June, 1831, he landed in Liverpool and proceeded to visit Scotland; from thence he reached Ireland and after a short period of service he died at Kilnock in the County Carlow.

Testimonies by Ohio Y.M. and Dublin Y.M.; many reff. in D.

⁴ LYDIA SUTTON (1774-1848) was a daughter of Thomas and Sarah Sutton, of Scotby, near Carlisle. She was recorded a Minister in 1817. *Testimony*; *John Sharp*, 1857, p. 49; Norris MSS. vi. 34.

⁵ GROVER KEMP (1792-1869) and his son, Caleb Rickman Kemp (1836-1908, assistant clerk and then clerk of Y.M. 1872-1899), were prominent Friends in their days. Father and son visited the West Indies in 1857. Grover Kemp married, in 1816, Susanna Horne; he was a druggist in Brighton.

Testimony; *Biog. Cata. Lond. Frds. Inst.*, 1888; Penney, *My Ancestors*, 1920.

⁶ JOHN WILBUR (1774-1856) was the storm-centre of much religious controversy on both sides of the Atlantic. He was born at Hopkinton, Rhode Island, and in 1798 he married Lydia Collins. He was twice in England on religious service, in 1831-3 and 1853-4. He stood for the conservative view of Truth in opposition to the modern view promulgated by J. J. Gurney and others on both sides of the Atlantic. "In his preaching his manner was vehement, and his voice great almost to a roar, as he set forth the indwelling of the Holy Spirit as 'the Inward Light' and the privileges of God's people" (*Jnl. F.H.S.* iv. 91).

Journal, 1859, there are indexes to this, in ms. in London and Haverford College, Pa. with a list of Friends mentioned in the *Journal*, ranged on the side of Wilbur and that of Gurney; *Letters to George Crossfield*, 1879; *Jnl. F.H.S.* iv. xi. xv. xvi. xvii. xxiii.

⁷ GEORGE CROSFIELD (1785-1847), of Liverpool, was closely associated with John Wilbur and upheld his cause during his visit to Europe. He was a prominent Friend and an Elder. He married Margaret Chorley in 1815.

John Wilbur, 1859; *D.N.B.*; numerous letters from his correspondents, 1832-1845, are in D., and other mss.

P. 91. JAMES FAWCETT: "It is clear from the Minute Books that he was a source of great trouble. In 1797 he became bankrupt and executed an assignment of his Effects for the benefit of his creditors. Friends were by no means satisfied with his explanations and he was requested to appear at a M.M., when a Testimony of Denial was read. Subsequently the Q.M. had the matter before them on an appeal and they agreed with the action of the M.M. In 1801 J. F. asked for copies of Minutes of the M.M. In 1805 he obtruded himself into the M.M. Doctors William Babbington and James Currey examined him on behalf of the Y.M. The Y.M. decided to reinstate him into membership but he was not to attend Meetings of Discipline. Later that year he was out of employment, was found to be very unsatisfactory, 'his probity was strongly suspected' and he was subsisting by borrowed money. In 1806 Peel M.M. wrote about him stating that he had contracted very considerable debts in that district." (Letter of Harry R. Hodgson, Eccleshill, Bradford, Yorks., 1930.)

P. 22. DAVID DENT was born in 1774, a twin with his sister Anne. The school for boys at Cirencester was opened about 1799 and "continued in good repute for some years after."

1833

Clerk : SAMUEL TUKE

An account of my attending the Yearly Meeting in 1833, with divers observations how my mind
Richard Cockin was impressed, both before I left home, and also during my being absent. I set off for the Yearly Meeting on second day the 13th of 5th mo., in company with Robert Jowitt¹ and his daughter, and was favoured to reach London in safety, where I met with a kind reception from my nephew, John Sanderson. I very pleasantly met with George Richardson at my lodgings.

[Before the opening of the Yearly Meeting there were several sittings on the revision of the Book of Extracts.]

Third-day morning at ten the Meeting of Ministers and Elders met again. John and Martha Yeardley² spread the religious engagement they felt their minds under, to visit, in the love of the Gospel, some parts of Germany, the Waldenses, some of the Inhabitants in parts of France, Switzerland, the Morea, and the Grecian Islands.

Sixth-day afternoon. The Yearly Meeting considered the subject of Friends becoming liable to be appointed to places of trust under the Government, and also being, by the law of the land, liable to serve on Juries and in various ways be called upon to act in a Publick capacity ; wherein great care was needful, and circumspect watchfulness required, to support our various Testimonies. At this sitting the report of the Committee on appeals was read, confirming the judgment of Cambridge and Huntington Q. Meeting respecting John Crouches Appeal.

Seventh-day morning the Yearly Meeting again met, when the Quarterly Meetings were called over to enquire if they had anything to propose, when the Representatives from Devonshire informed the Meeting that they were intrusted with a

proposition from their Quarterly Meeting, which proposed that the minute prohibiting first Cousins from Marrying in our Society might be resinded.³ The subject was largely discussed ; indeed it occupied the whole of the sitting, when it was concluded not to alter the rules. I dined at Margaret Pope's⁴ lodgings, where, after dinner, Thomas Frankland was engaged.

Fourth-day morning I attended the Committee on the General Epistle and, during our being together, my mind became renewedly impressed with the danger that I had from time to time felt of the Arch deceiver gaining an entrance as through two avenues amongs the Members of our Society to divide and seperate Friends, that it seemed best to express my feelings thereon. Those two avenues had appeared to me to be *that* of exhalting the letter of the Scripture above the Spirit by which the sacred Pennmen were inspired when they wrote; and the other avenue by which the sower of discord amongst brethren appeared to be attempting to gain an entrance was the attributing so much having been done for us by the Propiciatory Sacrifice of Christ, as to lessen our reverent watchful dependance upon the guidance and preserving influence of the Holy Spirit. From the observations which some Friends made in accordance with what I communicated, it appeared that the same subject had impressed divers others.

Fifth-day morning, a letter was read by William Allen informing that those Persons in Norway, who profess the Principles of Friends, had, by their faithfully supporting their Testimonies, obtained from the Government liberty by altering the Laws in their favour similar to the Laws in England respecting Friends.

Seventh-day. John Pease and Robert Jowitt informed us with an attraction of love that they felt to pay a visit to the Womans Meeting. John Hipsley and John Glaizer⁵ were nominated to accompany them. And at this sitting a note was received from the Womans Meeting, informing that two Woman Friends were under a religious exercise to visit our Meeting when it was a suitable time. I was nominated to go to inform them that the present was a suitable time [The Meeting was engaged in discussing the new Book of Extracts], and that I was to show them to a suitable seat in the Mens Meeting. The Woman Friends were Elizabeth Fry and Mary

Fox. During the consideration of a Petition to Parliament a message was received from the Womans Meeting informing that Sarah Grubb wished to submit to the Mens Meeting whether tomorrow evening would be a suitable time to hold a Meeting with Members of our Society, which produced considerable discussion and a different sentiment was expressed thereon, so as that a satisfactory conclusion could not be comed to, which caused us to sit untill near two o'clock. I left this meeting with depressed feelings.

I was closely occupied from 10 in the *morning*, with only about one hour's absence from meeting during my taking dinner, untill eight oclock at *night*, and on divers of the subjects under consideration during the day, my mind was brought into considerable exercise, by which my mental energy and bodily powers seemed much enfeebled, so as to feel nearly exhausted both in body and mind.

[Regarding the question "how far Friends could suitably promote the religious instruction of the Heathens"—after considerable discussion it was concluded to adopt the report of the Committee, as a paragraph in the General Epistle.]

[At the closing sitting] such was the heart tendring solemnity with which we were favoured, that all within me susceptible of feeling melting sensibility was moved with devotional gratitude, so that I could scarsly suppress my excited feelings from weeping aloud.

Thus at the close of this Yearly Meeting were we owned by the Head of the Church, producing on many of our minds the grateful tribute of addoration, thanksgiving and heartfelt praise—and under those feelings, I seperated from my beloved Friends.

[Testimonies read: Thomas Davis,⁶ Lydia Scales,⁷ Hannah Fox,⁸ William Masters,⁹ Isabella Harris¹⁰, Margaret Thistlethwaite,¹¹ Anne Harford,¹² William and Martha Smith, and Hannah Kilham.]

NOTES

¹ ROBERT JOWITT (1784-1862) resided in Leeds throughout his life. His parents were John and Susanna Jowitt and his wife, whom he married in 1810, Rachel Crewdson, of Kendal. John Wilbur records that when he visited R. Jowitt in 1832, he had "a wife and five children nearly grown up" (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xvi).

Testimony.

² JOHN YEARDLEY (1786-1858) was a farmer's son of the neighbourhood of Rotherham in Yorkshire. He joined Friends at the age of sixteen and became engaged at Barnsley in the linen manufacture. In 1809 he married Elizabeth Dunn, and after her death in 1821 he went to Germany and resided for some four years among Friends at Pymont and Minden, during which time he became acquainted with Martha Savory who was travelling in the ministry; and in 1826 they married. For numerous years they travelled together on the Continent, his travels continuing after his wife's decease. MARTHA YEARDLEY (1781-1851) was a daughter of Joseph and Anna Savory, of London.

Testimonies; *Memoirs*, 1859; *D.N.B.*; *Friends of a Half Century*, 1891; *Joseph Savory*, 1921.

³ The question of the marriage of near kindred was before London Y.M. in 1675, 1747, 1749, 1801. It was decided in 1883 to rescind the regulations disallowing the marriage of first-cousins.

On the Rule of the Society of Friends which forbids the Marriage of First-cousins, a pamphlet circulated by Thomas Hodgkin, M.D.; *An Enquiry* . . ., 1843; *Observations* . . .; mss. in D.

⁴ MARGARET POPE (1778-1867), of Staines, Middlesex, was the daughter of Dr. Robert and Margaret Pope. Her father was a noted physician and was medical attendant to the Princess Amelia. Margaret Pope was warmly interested in the affairs of the Society and spoke in meetings for worship towards the end of her long life. She was widely known for her bountiful and judicious liberality.

Elizabeth Dudley, 1861; Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, 294; *Jnl. F.H.S.* v. ix. xiii. xxv.; *Biog. Cata. Lond. Fds.' Inst.*, 1888; Hine, *Hitchin*, 1929, i. 305.

⁵ JOHN GLAISYER (1739-1813) "was one of a number of earnest seekers after truth, who, more than a century ago, withdrew from all Churches, and, sitting down together, from time to time, upon the rocks on the sea-shore at Brighton, were led to wait upon and worship God much after the manner of Friends, not being then aware of the small body of Friends meeting in the town." After becoming acquainted with Friends and joining the Society, he became a Minister and leader among them.

Testimony; *Piety Promoted*, xi.; *Henry Hull*, 1873, 215; *Proceedings of London Y.M.*, 1899, 163; *The Friend* (Phila.), 1904, 62; Penney, *My Ancestors*, 1920.

⁶ THOMAS DAVIS (c. 1756-1832) was of Milverton, in Somerset, a Minister about thirty years, and also a schoolmaster, under whose care were Jonathan and Robert Dymond, Samuel Fox and other Friends.

Testimonies, vol. vi.; *Memoir of Jonathan Dymond*, 1907, 5.

⁷ We do not find any Testimony respecting Lydia Scales, probably R. Cockin intended to refer to Priscilla Scales. A brief notice of PRISCILLA SCALES (c. 1789-1832) was produced to the Y.M. 1833. She was of Taunton in Somerset; "her engagements as a Minister were confined to a sphere comparatively limited," but she paid two visits of some duration to the South of France and devoted herself for a time to the gratuitous instruction of the children of Sidcot School.

Memorials of Christine M. Alsop, 46, 48, 52.

⁸ HANNAH FOX (1757-1833) was the second daughter of Josiah Forster II. and Deborah, née Marshall. In 1786 she married Richard Fox, of Falmouth. In 1806 a severe accident compelled the amputation

of one leg and a long period of suffering. The Testimony records many dying sayings. She was appointed an Elder and later recorded a Minister.

Piety Promoted, 1890, 120.

⁹ The parents of WILLIAM MASTERS (1776-1831) belonged to the Anglican Church, but religious feelings being aroused in their son, he sought "the way of life and salvation" and walked seventeen miles to a General Meeting of Friends and became convinced "under the ministry of a Friend since deceased"; he was "instrumental to the conviction of several." His home was at Little Heywood; a surveyor by profession.

Testimony, preserved among Robson MSS. with regrettable absence of the names of persons and places.

¹⁰ ISABELLA HARRIS (1757-1832) was born in Dublin, daughter of William and Mary Bull. When twenty-one she married Anthony Harris, master-mariner, and settled at Maryport. In 1795, Anthony Harris was lost on his passage from Maryport to Waterford and she left a widow with six children. In the autumn of 1803 she settled for a while as a helper at Ackworth School and remained for 22 years, being greatly appreciated there. She exercised her gift in the ministry in various parts of the North of England. She was a member of Stockton M.M. She died at North Shields.

Testimony; *Annual Monitor*, 1834; *Corder's Memorials: History of Ackworth School*, 1879; Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*, 1930 ed., p. xv.

¹¹ MARGARET THISTLETHWAITE (1757-1832) was the daughter of Anthony and Elizabeth Mason, of Dent Dale, N.W. Yorkshire. In 1779 she married Jeremiah Thistlethwaite (1757-1838) and in 1825 they removed to Darlington.

Testimony; *Thistlethwaite Family*, 1910, 199.

¹² ANN HEAFORD (c.1754-1832) was a Minister, of Leicester. Her father having "married out," she was not a born-Friend, but she was admitted to the Society when about twenty-six years of age. "She was a firm and uncompromising advocate for the maintenance of our principles and discipline" (*Testimony*).

The GENERAL EPISTLE has been frequently mentioned. Whilst theoretically it was left to the decision of each Y.M. whether or no an epistle should be issued—the formula ran for many years "we conclude to issue an epistle"—on no occasion from the year 1675 has there been any omission in the issue of the annual letter. From 1682 the epistles have been sent out with the aid of the press and there have been various issues of reprints.

London Yearly Meeting during 250 Years, 1919.

As an intimation of the personal requirements of Friends attending Y.M., we have the following list of the impedimenta taken up by a Friend on a visit to Y.M. 1753:

"For London in *Box*: 10 shirts, 6 Neck Cloths, 8 stocks, 2 Night Caps, 4 Silk Handkerchiefs, 4 pr of stockings.

"In *Baggs*: 4 shirts and 1 on, 1 Neckcloth, 2 Nightcaps, 2 pair Stockings, 2 pair Snuggs, 6 Handkerchiefs, 3 pair gloves—Belt, Straps, Hatt band."

(Norris MSS. xiii. ms. in D.)

Addenda

1797

5 mo. 28. *First-day*. Samuel Alexander called for me with his chaise and we went to **William Savery** Wandsworth meeting, about six miles. There unexpectedly and without contrivance I met to my comfort D.D. and R.Y. [Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young]. A solid good meeting, gay people, both Friends and others. Dined at Robert Barclays,¹ who has a large family of pretty children, a very handsome garden and residence, lives in a high stile, he was very kind and respectful.

Third-day, 30th. *Afternoon* at four, D. Darby, M. Dudley, Mary Watson, and Ann Sterry came into the Men's Meeting to make report of the conducting of their Meeting, which appeared to me singular, however it brought a weight over us.

Fourth-day. Dined at the lodgings taken by D. Darby's sisters²; a large number of Friends at table.

Fifth-day, 6 mo. 1. Many Friends called at my lodgings to take leave, and give me invitations to their houses when I came in their part of the country. Dined at the Four Swans Inn, Bishopsgate Street, with my dear Ann Warder's³ connexions, her mother, brothers Joshua and Benjamin and their wives, John Capper⁴ and wife, S. Harrison, G. and S. Dillwyn,⁵ B. Johnson,⁶ &c., &c. *Evening* at six the meeting half collected in the women's meeting-house, but Friends, apprehending it would not hold the people, opened the men's and moved over to that, which was filled and crowded, supposed about 1200 people. The labourers were dear D. Darby, M. Dudley, Samuel Alexander, and my poor self. D.D. and R.Y. are as dear to me in the fellowship of the Gospel as ever they were, and I think as dignified and devoted servants as any I have seen in this nation.

6 mo. 18. *Sixth-day* at Devonshire House meeting for worship T. Scattergood in prayer and
William Savery M. Routh large in testimony and Elizabeth Ussher from Ireland in prayer—the meeting kept their seats a considerable time, not knowing her, for which I was sorry. I stood up and Friends followed me.

First-day. D.D. and R.Y. and myself, after breakfasting at J. Smiths, went in R. Reynold's four-wheeled chaise to Wandsworth, six miles. Halted at Richard Bush's, Junior, his father and mother living near. R.B., Senior,⁷ carries on the distilling of spirits, said he had paid £90,000 excise during the Winter and this Spring. I asked him if he were not tired of it. He said he wished he were out of it, but did not know how to come at it. Meeting was large, a great show of gentry, as they are called, being present, for many rich Londoners have seats thereabout. D.D. and R.Y. dined at R. Bush's, but W. Farrer⁸ and myself, with several others, at S. West's. I wanted to be with the dear children of his wife's boarding school; about twenty-nine of them dined with us, and I offered a little matter to them, under which several were much broken. A public meeting in a cornstore, supposed to contain about 500, crowded as it was; however great numbers did not get in. A clergyman sat by us and was quiet and attentive, as were also the people at large, though the low ceiling and windows and doors much stopt by the people, made it very warm. Several enquired when we would *preach* again.

Second-day. A good deal was said about dress. M. Routh and myself contended that no standard could be fixt, that countries differed in some small matters, but that plainness was still plainness in all places—wished Friends to keep to the true simplicity without formality;

thought there was much room for some of the families of Ministers and Elders to set a better example than they did. Several Friends spoke pretty largely. Dined at Thomas Wagstaffs's, 3 Kings Court.

Third-day. Dined at John Lloyd's in Mark Lane with many Friends whom I knew. A large committee was added to the committee on the Epistles. This committee was said to be open for any concerned member of the Yearly Meeting to attend, but upon a Friend mentioning who were accounted members, I found it was many years ago, perhaps 1720 or 30, fixed that Representatives, the Meeting for Sufferings and their correspondents in the country, were, with such Ministers as happened to be in Town at the time, all that were to be esteemed members of the Yearly Meeting or employed in its service. I mentioned my uneasiness with such a restriction, in which many Friends united. The subject was laid upon the Large Committee to consider and report upon.

Fourth-day. All the meetinghouses were opened for worship at ten. I attended Westminster. There were several appearances in the ministry, chiefly women. I had about six sentences at the close of unity with a few expressions of [blank]¹⁰ of Lancashire, near Ulverston, who was formerly sailing master of the frigate [blank]. In the time of the American war sailed in her at the taking of Charleston and other places, but was now a humble Christian and an acknowledged Minister; keeps school for his livelihood, and he and his wife walked up to the Yearly Meeting near 300 miles, as did another Minister, John Thompson, of Cumberland, who is in the station of a servant. After meeting went to Ann Fothergill's,¹¹ who was confined to her chamber. She expressed her joy at seeing me again, with tears. Her lively sweet frame of mind under her weakness of body and old age makes her a preacher of righteousness to visitors. Many Friends coming in and the company like to be large, W.F. and myself went to Holborn and dined with John Corbin, the former sea-captain and wife were there. Drank tea at Josiah Messer's.

Fifth-day morning. I thought it was my place to mention, previous to the business being opened, a concern to go into the Women's Meeting; Richard Chester, Adey Bellamy and John Townsend accompanied me. I was

favoured to relieve my mind respecting the departure from Gospel simplicity in some of the great and rich, to which A. Bellamy also feelingly spoke. A young woman impressed what had been delivered upon those whom it concerned in a lively manner, and D. Darby, in her usual sweetness, prayed. Their house, which may hold about 1200, was quite full, and a greater degree of consistency in appearance was evident generally than I expected. Friends are mending in this land in that respect, though there were still several powdered heads among them.

Sixth-day morning. A report from a committee stated there was between 700 and 800 in the Yearly Meeting Stock and recommended a liberal subscription through the Quarters the ensuing year; some Friends thought the expenses ran high last year, and wished to know the items. They were not gratified, but something being said about the expense attending travelling out from among Friends, as many now did, having been considerable, though far from finding fault with it; several seemed to think it was spent to good service. T.S. [Thomas Scattergood] and myself spoke our minds lest some of the young people should suppose all our expenses were paid; mine had cost me 100 guineas in Europe besides what Friends had done. Divers Friends were sorry anything had been said to draw forth our remarks, and a remarkable spirit of generosity appeared. A few Friends, they said, about London would make up all the money wanted next year without a general subscription. The country Friends grew jealous of their honour, and so it was recommended to be raised as usual. There is a great deal of wealth and hearts to apply it among Friends in England.

A great deal was said about the constitution of the Yearly Meeting; though most if not all Friends saw the necessity of an alteration, it was on the whole agreed to be left for consideration till next year.¹²

First-day. Breakfasted at J. Smiths. Dined at Samuel Southall's, Gracious Street. S. Hoare and family having often invited me to lodge a night with them at Hampstead, I got into the coach with him, his wife, and three daughters, and supped and lodged with them.

Second-day. Rose early. It was a delightful morning. Walked in the grounds and Garden of S.H., which was in

high stile, much beyond the simplicity of a Friend. His son and daughters came to me, and though they are quite in high life and gay in their appearance, were as loving and kind as possible. Here seemed to be almost everything this world could wish, and an open reception for Friends, but more conformity to the simplicity and ways of truth would have made it still pleasanter to me. I think he told me his taxes, which at the increased rate at present, were 300 or 400 p. year, and all his other expenses, charities, &c. included, amounted to near 4000 p. ann.

Meeting at *eleven*. Women soon requesting to come in, above an hour was spent in needless debate whether to admit them or no at that time [the subject before the Meeting was that of a general visit], and at length they were admitted—C. Cook, Anna Price, the wife of Isaac Bragg,¹³ and Mary Sterry. Their concern was principally on the subject of Friends' testimony against war, and brought a weight over the meeting.

[At the concluding meeting of the Ministers and Elders the subject of dress again came forward] Remarks were made upon the dress, address, &c., of the children of Friends in those stations, furniture of houses, &c., with animadversions upon men's hats with and without stays—an American, C. C. [Charity Cook], pleading for hats without stays as plainest, which English Friends controverted. T. S., J. Wigham and myself were moderators. The meeting closed sweetly and in solemn prayer through Ann Alexander. Went to my lodgings rejoiced that we were favoured with a good parting to the Yearly Meeting, which had held 13 days.

(Extracted from the original Journal of William Savery, by favour of Francis R. Taylor, of Philadelphia, author of *The Life of William Savery*, 1925.)

NOTES

¹ This would be ROBERT BARCLAY (1750-1830), known as "of Bury Hill." There is a memoir of him in *Friends' Quarterly Magazine*, 1832, p. 166. He was a son of Alexander and Ann Barclay, of Philadelphia and arrived in England, for education, when twelve years of age. He married, in 1775, Rachel, only daughter of John Gurney, of Norwich, by whom he had fifteen children. His wife died in 1794, and many years later he married Margaret Hodgson, of Burton, Westmorland. With others he established the brewery of Barclay, Perkins and Company, of Southwark. *Barclays of New York*, 1904.

² The sisters of Deborah Darby would be her sisters in law SARAH DARBY, MARY RATHBONE and REBECCA DARBY, the two last named, widows of Joseph Rathbone and Abraham Darby, 3rd. They lived at Sunnyside, Coalbrookdale and were women of means, and liberal givers.

See memoirs of Deborah Darby, ms. in D.

³ "ANN WARDER [1758-1829] was Ann Head, of Ipswich, married John Warder, and came to Philadelphia in 1786; see my life of William Savery." (Francis R. Taylor, 1930.)

Cadbury Pedigree, 1904; extracts from her diary appeared in the *Penna. Mag.* vols. 17, 18; etc.

⁴ Little appears respecting JOHN CAPPER. There are letters in D, written by a Friend of that name in 1832 and 1833. James Jenkins includes John Capper in the list of Friends following the remains of John Fry to the grave in Hertford in 1803.

⁵ SARAH DILLWYN, daughter of Dr. Richard and Deborah Hill, "was the well beloved consort of one of the loviest of human characters, George Dillwyn" (*Hill Family*, 1854, p. xix. and many other reff.). She was born in 1738/9 and died in 1826, *s.p.*

Gummere, *Quaker*, 1901, pp. 137, 166, 220; *Pa. Mag.* xvii.

⁶ BENJAMIN JOHNSON (1766-1822) was born at Lancaster, Pa., son of Caleb Johnson and his wife, Martha Davis. With his brother, Jacob Johnson, he founded a publishing house in Philadelphia. He travelled with William Savery and others in Great Britain, Ireland, France and Germany in 1796-7. On the Continent he had a severe illness. In Germany at Pymont, a linen-factory was established, which later was converted by the Government into a cavalry school. In 1799, he married Jane Richards. His journal of the European journey is in the possession of his grandson, George B. Johnson, of West Chester, Pa., from whom above information has been obtained.

Taylor, *Life of William Savery*, 1925; etc.

⁷ The Registers of London and Middlesex Q.M. give the information of the death of a RICHARD BUSH, of Croydon, in 1822, aged 83, who appears to have married Patience Wigg in 1765, who died in 1776, and Ann Morris, of near Wandsworth in 1777, who died in 1835, aged 95. At the first marriage R. Bush is described as of Southwark, Citizen and Long Bow String Maker. Richard and Patience had a son named Richard, born 1773.

Taylor, *William Savery*, 1925.

⁸ WILLIAM FARRER (c. 1743-1836) was the faithful travelling companion of David Sands and William Savery. He was an Elder, of Liverpool Meeting.

Lives of David Sands, Rebecca Jones, William Savery.

⁹ THOMAS WAGSTAFF (1724-1802) "passed the chief part of his life in London, where he carried on the trade of a watch-maker. He was particularly addicted to enquiries into the transactions of ancient times, so far as they related to Friends, and had a memory stored with anecdote. His papers relating to such subjects having been mislaid since his death, it is probable that some pleasant if not valuable information is lost" (J. G. Bevan, quoted in Smith, *Cata.* ii. 846).

Piety Promoted, x.; Britten, *Clockmakers*, 1894, 1911; Williamson, *Behind my Library Door*, 1921, 176; mss. in D, including a receipted bill for a watch.

¹⁰ On first reading it seemed easy to insert in the first blank the name Robert Foster and in the second *The Pelican*, but the eventful life of Robert Foster as told in *The Society of Friends in Newcastle and Gateshead*, 1899, and elsewhere, does not appear to coincide with the references given by William Savery.

ROBERT FOSTER (1754-1827) was the son of Dodshon and Elizabeth Foster, of Lancaster. At 18 he went to sea. In 1776 he entered on board *The Endeavour*, fitted out to cruise against American privateers, and was successively on board *The Defiance* and *The Jupiter*. Lastly he was lieutenant on board *The Pelican*. "In November, 1779, he returned home after a long fighting campaign in sundry Men of War:" He made acknowledgments which sufficed to retain his membership, settled down on an estate on Cartmel Fell, N.W. Lancashire, married Mary Burton and had issue. The reference in the text does not fit R. Foster—he generally rode horseback and was a man of considerable estate.

Boyce, *Annals of Cleveland Family* 1889; Corder, *R. S. Watson*, 1914; mss. in D.

An etching by Robert Spence represents Foster arriving at meeting in naval uniform to the consternation of the worshippers (reproduced in *R. S. Watson*).

For walking to Y.M. see Index, s.v. Yearly Meeting. For John Thompson, probably read John Phillips, see 1811, note 7.

¹¹ ANN FOTHERGILL (1718-1802) was the sister and companion of Dr. John Fothergill, of London, and Lea Hall in Cheshire, from the year 1754. "She was a plain Friend from the Yorkshire dales, brought up in a narrow circle, but she adapted herself to the place she had to fill in Fothergill's house. Her native shrewdness, good sense and kindly spirit enabled her to dispense hospitalities with wisdom if not with grace" (Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill*, 1919).

Many letters from and to her are in D.
Gentleman's Magazine, 1802, II.

¹² In this Y.M. the question of the right of entry into the Meeting came forward as follows:

"Many Friends having apprehended that the restrictions of the Minutes of this Meeting 1728, 1730, 1782, which declared who are the proper Members of this Meeting, are attended with some injurious effects, the Committee on the Epistles is desired to consider how far it may be proper to remove some or all of the said Restrictions."

In 1801 it was decided to make no change in the new Book of Extracts regarding membership. In the Extracts printed in 1834, it is stated that the Y.M. consisted of representatives, acknowledged Ministers and appointed Elders and Correspondents; and in the fourth edition, 1861: "It is concluded that this Meeting consist of all the members of the Quarterly and General Meetings"—the present existing constitution of London Yearly Meeting.

¹³ William Savery writes of ISAAC BRAGG (c. 1750-1819) and of his home "just outside of Whitehaven in Cumberland:"

"He has lately bought a handsome estate. It has an excellent new house, four rooms on a floor, two story, good garden, coppice of wood, stabling, &c. for 2800 pound" (Taylor, *William Savery*, 372). His home was at Cross; he married Margaret Wilson, of High Wray, near Windermere, Lancashire, in 1778, and had issue.

JOSEPH FRY (1777-1861) was a son of William Storrs and Elizabeth Fry. The course of his courtship with Elizabeth Gurney has been frequently told. They married in 1800 (marriage certificate in D.) and they had eleven children between 1801 and 1822. Financial difficulties bestrew his path as a banker. To the regret of his wife, Joseph Fry was somewhat lax in the testimonies of the Society, but later she records in her journal: "My much loved husband is, I fully believe, much less in the world—has given up many worldly pleasures and knows an establishment in a far greater degree in the ever-blessed Truth." J. Fry's many years of widowerhood were spent at Plashet Cottage in Essex.

The GREEN APRON is said to have been fashionable among the maids of honor to Queen Elizabeth, but to have disappeared as such before Friends took it up.

They were only worn at meetings, at other times Ministers and Elders and some very plain young Friends wore *blue* aprons—not white for that colour would require the use of starch—"the Devil's water." J. Jenkins reports a saying: "It was long before the natural part yielded to the requiring of best wisdom in this respect, but at last I was favored with strength to take up the cross and wear it." The same writer considered that Susanna Row (1719-1804) was the last Friend of Devonshire House M.M. to be thus attired.

Gummere, *Study in Costume*, 1901; Jenkins, *Records*.

Index

Figures in black type indicate main entries.

Names of places occurring in the notes are omitted.

- Abbott, of St. Ives, Hunts, 119
 Abbott, Ann, *form.* King, 2, 7, 119
 Abbott, John, 1, 7, 30, 36, 41, 59, 62, 88, 90, 113, 114, 119
 Abbott, Sarah, *form.* Tregelles, 84, 88, 119
 Abbott, Sarah, *form.* Wilson, 90, 104, 120, 185
 Abraham, Ann, ii.
 Abraham, Ellen, *aft.* Cockin, i.
 Ackworth School, ii., 1, 6, 14, 19, 22, 32, 88, 40, 44, 45, 54, 58, 78, 85, 92, 103, 119, 122, 130, 131, 134, 156, 157, 163, 167, 171, 178, 190, 191, 192, 193, 200, 201, 210
 Adams, Elizabeth, *aft.* Gripper, 184
 Africa, 167, 172, 183, *see* Kilham, Hannah
 Alcock, of Notts, 46
 Alderson, of Norwich, 181
 Alexander I., 144
 Alexander family, 73
 Alexander, of Needham, 71, 134
 Alexander, of Tottenham, 98
 Alexander, Ann, *form.* Tuke, 71, 83, 84, 86, 87, 113, 215
 Alexander, Dykes, 71
 Alexander, Dykes, 103, 110
 Alexander, Elizabeth, *aft.* Rickman, 119
 Alexander, John, 150, 152, 154
 Alexander, Lucy, *aft.* Maw, 134, 148
 Alexander, Mary, 95, 98, 115, 123
 Alexander, Samuel, 20, 26, 38, 56, 59, 75, 85, 96, 106, 148, 211
 Alexander, William, 69, 71, 96, 157, 176
 Allen, Anna, *form.* Impey, 148
 Allen, Job, 48, 148
 Allen, John, 112, 117
 Allen, Joseph, 146, 148
 Allen, Margaret, *form.* Stafford, 46, 48, 148
 Allen, Mary, *aft.* Hanbury, 177
 Allen, William (Ware), 112, 117
 Allen, William, F.R.S., iv., 48, 90, 94, 98, 131, 132, 139, 141, 148, 151, 160-162, 164, 169, 175-179, 187, 194, 195, 207
 Allis, Elizabeth, *aft.* Lowe, 7
 Alsop, Christine, *form.* Majorier, 24
 Alsop, Robert, 24
 America, 30, 41, 47, 67, 78, 79, 87, 127, 147, 164, 167, 173, 191, 198
 America, visitors from, 1, 7, 8, 21, 24, 27, 30, 35, 37, 49, 56, 58, 67, 97, 163, 166, 173, 174, 179, 191, 193, 202, 204, 205
 America, visitors to, 7, 8, 9, 10, 23, 25, 30, 37, 47, 58, 66, 89, 111, 134, 147, 155, 163, 166, 171, 173, 177, 179, 188, 190, 192, 193, 197
 Appeals, 4-6, 9, 19, 33, 39, 84, 85, 91, 95, 100, 104, 107, 117, 137, 146, 151, 154, 157, 161, 165, 173, 194, 198, 203
 Arnitt, Francis, 149
 Ashby, Ann, 126, 128, 155
 Ashby, Elizabeth, 175
 Ashby, Elizabeth, *form.* Stevens, 62, 68
 Ashby, Thomas, 68
 Babington, Dr. Wm., 97, 205
 Backhouse family, 46, 97
 Backhouse, Hannah C., *form.* Gurney, 67, 118, 186, 188
 Backhouse, James, 178
 Backhouse, Jane, *form.* Gurney, 188
 Backhouse, John, 180
 Backhouse, Jonathan, 188
 Backhouse, Katherine, *form.* Capper, 179, 180
 Bailey, Simon, 10
 Baker, James, 102, 104, 110
 Baker, Richard, 5, 9, 40
 Barclay family, 97, 215
 Barclay, Abram R., 157
 Barclay, Christiana, *aft.* Gurney, 118
 Barclay, John, 154, 156, 160
 Barclay, Lydia A., 134
 Barclay, Margaret, *form.* Hodgson, 215
 Barclay, Rachel, *form.* Gurney, 215
 Barclay, Robert (Bury Hill), 211, 215
 Barclay, Robert and Ann, 156
 Barker, Elizabeth, 150, 152, 177
 Barlow, Elizabeth, *aft.* Hoyland, 10, 166
 Barnard, of New York, 67
 Barnard, of Yorks, 37, 87
 Barnard, Elizabeth, *aft.* Rickman, 188
 Barnard, Hannah, *form.* Gaylard, 98
 Barnard, Hannah, *form.* Jenkins, 23, 56, 58, 61ff., 68, 67, 69ff., 82, 99, 114
 Barnard, Rachel, *aft.* Fowler, 50
 Barnard, Robert, 83, 84, 87, 98, 137
 Baron, of Cornwall, 98
 Barrett, Elizabeth, *aft.* Pole, 24
 Bateman, John, 96, 99, 104
 Batger, Elizabeth, *form.* Reed, 144
 Batger, John, 141, 144
 Beaconite Controversy, 88, 98, 167, 188
 Beale, Benjamin, 110
 Beale, Elizabeth, 104, 110
 Beccles M.M., 33, 45
 Beck, Sarah, *form.* Sims, 1, 2, 7, 17
 Beck, Thomas, 7
 Bedford, Peter, 140, 148
 Bell, Catherine, *aft.* Gurney, 167
 Bell, Jacob, 104, 110
 Bell, Jacob, 111
 Bell, John, 107, 111
 Bellamy, of Suffolk, 24
 Bellamy, Adey, 9, 16, 19, 24, 92, 213, 214
 Bellamy, Anna, *aft.* Savory, 25
 Benson, Dorothy, *form.* Braithwaite, 181

- Benson, Robert (Kendal), 179, 181
 Benson, Robert (Liverpool), 67
 Benson, Sarah, 59, 62, 67
 Benwell, Hannah, *aft.* Frank, 101
 Bevan family, 73
 Bevan, Elizabeth, *aft.* Pim, 134
 Bevan, Hannah, *form.* Gurney and Springall, 25
 Bevan, Joseph G., 17, 25, 40, 54, 59, 61, 65, 71, 75, 86, 95, 96, 104, 105, 113, 114, 117, 122, 125, 126, 130, 139, 141, 146
 Bevan, Mary, *form.* Plumsted, 14, 23, 25, 90, 92, 117
 Bevan, Paul, 134
 Bevan, Timothy, 25
 Bevans, Ann, 118
 Bevans, John, 84, 96, 98, 113, 117, 118, 121, 123
 Bevans, Tabitha, *form.* Forster, 114, 118, 140
 Bevington, Elizabeth, *form.* Portsmouth, 21, 26
 Bevington, Hannah, *form.* Freeth, 48
 Bevington, Martha, *aft.* Gibbins, 55
 Bevington, Samuel, 26
 Bevington, Timothy, 43, 48, 84, 88
 Bewley, John, 69, 71, 77
 Bigg, Susanna, *form.* Horne, 110, 185
 Bigg, Thomas, 111
 Birkbeck, family, 25, 57, 90, 97, 98
 Birkbeck, Hannah, *form.* Plumsted, 90
 Birkbeck, Jane, *aft.* Forster, 9
 Birkbeck, Joseph, 57
 Birkbeck, Mary, *form.* Dilworth, 94, 98
 Birkbeck, Morris, 19, 25, 85
 Birkbeck, Sarah, *aft.* Fox, 19, 25
 Birkbeck, Wilson, 86, 90, 123, 131
 Blakes, James, 47
 Blakes, Phebe, *form.* Marshall, 40, 47
 Bleckley, of Isle of Ely, 201
 Bleckley, William, 32, 38, 99
 Bludwick, Elizabeth, *form.* Jolley, 68, 115, 117, 119, 123
 Bludwick, John, 62, 68, 113, 119
Book of Extracts, 43, 48, 50, 54, 61, 81, 171, 202, 203, 206, 207, 217
 Bottomley, John, 170
 Bowden, of Cornwall, 98
 Bowden, Mary, *form.* Baron, 95, 98
 Bowden, Sarah, 92, 97
 Bowen, Jonathan H., 156, 158, 176
 Bowen, Simon Maw, 158
 Bowly, Samuel, 89
 Bowly, Sarah, *form.* Crotch, 85, 89, 126
 Bowman, Hannah, *form.* Wilkinson, 144
 Bowman, Richard, 141, 144
 Bradford, Hannah, *aft.* Birkbeck, 25
 Brady, of Thorne, 157
 Brady, Elizabeth, *aft.* Copeland, 157
 Brady, Hannah, *form.* Smith, 193
 Brady, Henry, 191, 193
 Bragg, of Whitehaven, 127
 Bragg, Hadwen, 89, 126, 127
 Bragg, Henry, 96, 99, 126
 Bragg, Isaac, 215, 217
 Bragg, Margaret, *form.* Wilson, 84, 89, 127
 Bragg, Margaret, *form.* Wilson, 215, 217
 Braithwaite, Anna, *form.* Lloyd, 24, 146, 147, 171, 175, 198
 Braithwaite, Deborah, *form.* Wilson, 22, 68, 181, 188
 Braithwaite, Deborah, *aft.* Crewdson, 134
 Braithwaite, Dorothy, *aft.* Benson, 181
 Braithwaite, George, 20, 26, 29, 68, 102, 181, 188
 Braithwaite, Isaac, 147
 Brandwood, James, 184
 Bray, of London, 67
 Brighthouse M.M., 95, 96, 196
 Bristol and Somerset Q.M., 61, 115, 194
 Broadhead, John, 157
 Brown, Elizabeth, *aft.* Wheeler, 47
 Brown, Joseph, 54, 84, 88
 Brown, Richard, 85, 89
 Brown, Thomas, 194, 198
 Brun, Marie, *aft.* Majolier, 24
 Buckingham Q.M., 17
 Bull, Isabella, *aft.* Harris, 210
 Burgess, of Leicester, 181
 Burgess, Ann, *aft.* Jones, 99, 126, 181
 Burgess, John, 167
 burials, 35, 88, 123
 burial of non-members, 122, 124, 203
 Bush, of Wandsworth, 212, 216
 business life, 53, 93, 115, 116, 125, 162
 Buxton, Anna, *aft.* Forster, 147
 Buxton, Hannah, *form.* Gurney, 181
 Buxton, T. F., 179, 181
 Byrd, Ann, *form.* Hitchcock, 14, 23, 81, 110, 123, 126
 Byrd, Rebecca, *form.* Young, 87, 81, 98, 113, 118, 140
 Byrd, William (Devon), 23, 81, 110
 Byrd, William (Dorset), 37, 79, 81, 83, 93, 96, 102, 103, 105, 118, 122, 124, 140
 Cadbury, Elizabeth, *form.* Head, 201
 Cadbury, Joel and Sarah, 201
 Cadbury, Richard Tapper, 201
 Cambs and Hunts Q.M., 54, 151, 154, 198, 206
 Candler, Ann, *aft.* Perry, 7
 Candler, Laurence, 49
 Candler, William, 121, 123
 capital punishment, 155, 156, 181
 Capper family, 118
 Capper, Ann, *form.* Fry, 105, 110, 177, 180
 Capper, Jasper, 110, 118, 127, 177, 180
 Capper, John, 211, 216
 Capper, Katherine, *aft.* Backhouse, 179
 Capper, Mary, 113, 118
 Capper, Samuel, 175, 177
 Carrington, Thomas, 166
 Carroll, Anna, *form.* Lowe, 143
 Carroll, Edward, 139, 143, 198
 Cash, Martha, *aft.* Thorp, 48
 Cash, Newman, 196
 Cash, Samuel, vii.
 Cash, Thomas, 99
 Casson, Mordecai, 163, 166
 Chamberlain, Jane, *aft.* Williams, 23
 Channel Islands, 24, 47, 86, 89, 123
 Chapman, Jane, *aft.* Gurney, 97
 Cheshire and Staffs Q.M., 60
 Chester, Patience, 68, 84
 Chester, Richard, 62, 68, 213
 children, membership of, 3, 4, 199
 Chorley, Alice, 114, 118, 160
 Chorley, John, 118
 Chorley, Margaret, *aft.* Crossfield, 182, 205
 Christy, Rebecca, 143, 150
 Christy, Thomas, 140, 148, 151
 Circular Yearly Meetings, 56
 Clark, Joseph, 85, 89, 103, 107
 Clark, Thomas, 79, 81, 169
 Clayton, Lydia, *form.* Tuke and Manley, 172
 Clerkenwell School, 184, 144
 Clibborn, of Southampton, vii., 67
 Clibborn, J. Barclay, 26
 Cloud, Joseph, 80, 82, 84
 Coar, Thomas, 111
 Cockin, Ann, *aft.* Smith, 179, 180
 Cockin, Deborah, 156, 158
 Cockin, Ellen, *form.* Abraham, i., 139, 141, 168, 201
 Cockin, Ellen, *aft.* Miller, i., 168, 198, 201
 Cockin, Hannah, *aft.* Thorp, 201
 Cockin, John, 185, 190, 194
 Coggeshall M.M., 152
 Coggeshall, Caleb, 67

- Coggeshall, Elizabeth, *form.*
Hosier, 58, 61, 67, 69,
70, 139, 147
- Coles, Mary, *aft.* Huntley, 27
- Colley, Thomas, and Jane,
2, 5, 8, 9, 26, 29, 31, 36,
107, 113, 115
- Collins, Lydia, *aft.* Wilbur,
205
- Collins, Rebecca, *aft.* Grellet,
138
- Coltman, Elizabeth, *aft.*
Heyrick, 181
- Compton, Mary, *form.* Towns-
end, 72, 75
- Compton, Thomas, 71, 72,
76
- Coning, of Yorks, 192
- Coning, Ann, 190, 192
- Conran, John, 85, 89, 104,
109
- Conran, Louisa, *form.* Strang-
man, 89
- convincements i., 8, 39, 47,
66, 88, 110, 118, 124,
140, 148, 153, 166, 172,
177, 181, 182, 184, 192,
196, 204, 209, 210
- Cook, Charity, 61, 63, 67,
215
- Cook, John, 156, 158
- Cook, Mary, *form.* Burgess,
156, 158
- Cook, Obed, ii.
- Cooper, Mary, *form.* Bleckley,
198, 201
- Cooper, Sarah, *aft.* Hull, 133
- Cooper, Thomas (Yorks), 201
co-operation with outsiders,
147, 162, 164, 206
- Copeland, Elizabeth, *form.*
Brady, 154, 157
- Copeland, Thomas, 157
- Corbyn family, 90
- Corbyn, John, 213
- Corbyn, Sarah, *aft.* Phillips,
39
- Corbyn, Thomas, 39
- Corder, Susanna, iv., 179,
180, 184
- Cornwall, 151, 153, 172, 176
- Corporation and Test Acts,
186, 188
- Crowdson, Cicely, *form.*
Dilworth, 131, 184, 167
- Crowdson, Elizabeth, *form.*
Jowitt, 167
- Crowdson, Isaac, 164, 167,
169, 173, 174, 175, 185,
188
- Crowdson, Mary, *aft.* Water-
house, 167
- Crowdson, Rachel, *aft.*
Jowitt, 208
- Crowdson, Thomas, 134, 167
- Crowdson, William D., 130,
134, 146, 150, 154, 159,
167, 179
- Cromwell, of N.Y., 152
- Cropper, James, 179, 181,
183, 187
- Crosfield, George, 182, 204,
205
- Crosfield, John Dymond, 172
- Crosfield, Margaret, *form.*
Chorley, 180, 182, 205
- Crotch, Sarah, *aft.* Bowly, 89
- Crotch, William, 14, 22, 28,
32, 61, 62, 65, 93
- Crouch, John, 151, 152, 154,
155, 198, 203, 206
- Crowley, Ann, 83, 87, 103,
115, 140, 171
- Crowley, Thomas, Sr. and Jr.,
107, 111
- Croydon School, 134, 191
- Cumberland and Northum-
berland Q.M., 30, 122,
150
- Currie, Dr. James, 97, 205
- Dale, Jane, *aft.* Sanders, 97
- Darby, of Coalbrookdale, 37,
87, 90, 216
- Darby, Ann, *aft.* Dickinson,
201
- Darby, Deborah, *form.*
Barnard, ii., 30, 31, 37,
55, 62, 83, 87, 113, 117,
137, 201, 211, 212, 214,
216
- Darby, Mary, *aft.* Rathbone,
216
- Darby, Rebecca, *form.* Smith,
216
- Darby, Sarah, 216
- Davidson, Thomas, 195, 197
- Davis, Mary, *aft.* Merry-
weather, 38
- Davis, Thomas, 208, 209
- Dearman, John, 46
- Dearman, Nathan, 40, 46
- Debell, Anna, *aft.* Fox, 88
- Dell, Elizabeth, 17, 19, 25
- Dell, Joseph, 25
- Denmark, 143
- Dent, of Lincs, 119
- Dent, David, 13, 22, 205
- Devonshire Q.M., 206
- Dickinson, of Yorks, 201
- Dickinson, Barnard, 198,
201
- Dillwyn, of Great Britain, 73
- Dillwyn, George, 2, 4, 5, 8,
15, 16, 21, 40, 59, 61, 62,
73, 79, 211, 218
- Dillwyn, John, 73
- Dillwyn, Sarah, *form.* Hill,
211, 216
- Dillwyn, Sarah, *form.* Smith,
73
- Dillwyn, Sarah, *form.* Weston,
73
- Dillwyn, Susanna, *aft.* Emlen,
73
- Dillwyn, William, 71, 73
- Dilworth, of Lancaster, 98,
134
- Dixon, John, 173
- Doeg, David, 155, 157
- Doncaster, Jane, *form.*
Rowntree, 123, 124, 146
- Doncaster, Daniel, 124
- Donwideoy, John and Jane,
143
- Dorset Q.M., 62, 85, 96
- Dorset and Hants. Q.M., 96,
122. *See* Hampshire Q.M.
- dress, 52, 100, 151, 204, 212,
214, 215, 218
- Drewry, Barbara, 38
- drink, 81, 108, 212, 215
- Dudley, Elizabeth, ii., 140,
144, 175, 187
- Dudley, Hannah, *form.* Jesup,
v
- Dudley, Mary, *form.* Stokes,
55, 56, 144, 211
- Dudley, Robert, v., 56
- Dumes (Toone), John, 4, 9
- Dunkirk, 5, 9, 18, 19
- Dunn, Elizabeth, *aft.* Yeard-
ley, 209
- Durham Q.M., 86, 96, 183
- Dymond, Ann, 121, 123
- Dymond, Jonathan, 209
- Dymond, Robert, 209
- Eaton, Robert, 81
- Ecroyd, Alice, *aft.* Rigge, 26
- Ecroyd, Martha, *aft.* Smith,
22
- Edinburgh and Glasgow
Two-months Meeting,
140, 197
- education, v., 130, 132-135,
156, 167, 170, 174, 179,
180, 187, 209, 213
- Eldership, i., 15, 42, 103, 108,
139, 171, 174, 178
- Elgar, Joseph, 43, 48
- Eliot, John, 3rd, i, 6, 16, 65,
107
- Eliot, John, 4th, 141
- Emlen, James, 67
- Emlen, Samuel, 29-31, 35-37,
40
- Emlen, Samuel, Jr., 73
- employment agency, 164, 166,
171
- English, of Yorks, 48
- Essex Q.M., 104
- Evens, Benjamin, 37
- Evill, Susannah, *aft.* Naish,
118
- Exton, Mercy, 140
- Fairbank, Sarah, *aft.* Hack,
118
- Fairbank, William, 5, 9, 111,
118
- Fallows, *see* Follows
family-sittings, 37, 81, 108,
170
- Farley, Hester, *aft.* Rutter, 8
- Farmer, Mary, *aft.* Lloyd,
24, 166
- Farrer, William, 212, 213,
216
- Fawcett, James, 91, 94, 95,
96 (97), 98, 205
- Fawcett, Martha, *aft.* Ha-
worth, 152
- Fell, John, 107, 111
- Field, Hannah, *form.* Crom-
well, 150, 152, 155, 177
- Field, John, 37
- Field, William, 152
- finance, ii, 17, 36, 45, 54, 79,
104, 151, 152, 162, 174,
214
- Finch, Henry, 77
- Finch, v. Batger, 144
- Flanner, William, 190, 192
- Fletcher, John, 36, 50
- Follows, George, 46
- Follows (Follows), Ruth, 23,
40, 46, 114
- foreign missions, xv., 170,
186, 187, 192, 194, 196,
199, 203, 208

- Forster family, 73
 Forster, Anna, *form.* Buxton, 147
 Forster, Deborah, *form.* Marshall, 209
 Forster, Jane, *form.* Birkbeck, 9, 73, 111, 118
 Forster, Josiah, 1st, 9, 73, 118
 Forster, Josiah, 2nd, 209
 Forster, Josiah, 3rd, 73, 141, 144, 151, 160, 163, 169, 171, 173, 175, 179, 183, 185, 186, 187, 190, 194, 198
 Forster, Mary, *aft.* Fairbank, 9, 111
 Forster, Rachel, *form.* Wilson, 144
 Forster, Tabitha, *aft.* Bevans, 118
 Forster, William, Sr., 71, 73, 144, 147
 Forster, William, Jr., 73, 113, 144, 146, 147
 Forster, William E., 147
 Fossick, Ann, *form.* Lucas, 157
 Fossick, Samuel, Sr. and Jr., 154, 157
 Fossick, Sarah, *form.* Marris-hall, 157
 Fossick, Sarah, *aft.* Southall, 72, 157
 Foster, of Lancaster, 216
 Foster, of Worcester, 133
 Foster, Joseph, 130, 133
 Foster, Robert?, 213, 216
 Foster, Sarah, *form.* Lloyd, 133
 Foster, Thomas, 71, 72, 76, 133, 141
 Fothergill, of Warrington, 38
 Fothergill, Ann, 213, 217
 Fothergill, John, M.D., 99, 217
 Fothergill, Samuel, 38
 Fowler, Rachel, *form.* Barnard, 50, 87, 185, 201, 203
 Fowler, Robert, 50, 85, 171
 Fox, of Cornwall, 81, 88
 Fox, of London, 117
 Fox, Charlotte, *form.* Fox, 178
 Fox, Elizabeth, *form.* Tre-gelles, 175, 177, 191
 Fox, Francis, of Plymouth, 26, 116
 Fox, Hannah, *form.* Forster, 208, 209
 Fox, Maria, *form.* Middleton, 36, 178
 Fox, Mary, *form.* Sanderson, ii., 23, 152, 175, 177, 180, 190
 Fox, Richard, 209
 Fox, Robert Were, 177
 Fox, Samuel, 36, 176, 177, 209
 Fox, Sarah, *form.* Birkbeck, 25, 116
 Fox, Sarah, *form.* Smith, 81
 Fox, Sylvanus, 167, 177, 178, 190
 Fox, Tabitha, 84, 88
 Fox, Thomas, 79, 81, 177
 Fox, William, 157
 France, 2, 24, 38, 51, 54, 59, 81, 84, 150, 151, 152, 171, 182, 206. *See* Dunkirk
 Frank, Arnee, 100, 101, 146
 Frank, Hannah, *form.* Benwell, 101
 Frankland, Thomas, 185, 188, 190, 207
 Frazer, Caroline, 78, 81
 Freeth, of Coventry, 48
 Fry, of Bristol, 127
 Fry, of London, v., 110
 Fry, Ann, *aft.* Till-Adams, 127
 Fry, Elizabeth, *form.* Gurney, 24, 39, 47, 66, 76, 77, 81, 99, 100, 121, 147, 150, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 195, 207, 218
 Fry, Elizabeth, 178
 Fry, Joseph, 77, 125, 176, 177, 218
 Fuller, Dr. (U.S.A.), 127
 Fuller, M. H., *aft.* Sewell, 127
 Funston, of Whitechapel, 23
 Funston, Deborah, *aft.* Cockin, i.
 Funston, Hannah, *aft.* Thomas, 154, 157
 Funston, Mary, *aft.* Sanderson, i., 23, 157
 Fyfield, Mary, *aft.* Weston, 25
 Garratt, Joseph, i, 7
 Gaylard, of Bristol, 98
 Gaylard, Hannah, *aft.* Barnard, 87, 98
 Gaylard, Susanna, *aft.* Hadwen, 98
 George III., 31, 38, 67, 79, 81
 George IV., 194-197
 Germany, 49, 51, 54, 59, 84, 151, 152, 182, 192, 206, 209
 Gibbins, Joseph, 51, 55, 78
 Gibbins, Martha, *form.* Bevington, 55
 Gibbons, Abraham, 67
 Gibson, Elizabeth, *form.* Hoyle and Robinson, 14, 18, 21, 23, 38
 Gibson, George, 23
 Gillett, Mary, 123, 124
 Glaisyer, John, 207, 209
 Gloucester, Duchess of, 195, 197
 Gloucester and Wilts Q.M., 96, 115, 116
 Goodier, Martha, *aft.* Thorp, 48
 Goundry, William, 146, 148, 151
 Gower, Edmund, 154, 156, 160
 Gower, Mary, *form.* Cockin, 154, 156, 160
 Gracechurch St. M.M., 161
 Grant, Hannah, 51
 Gray, Henry (banker), 22
 Greenwood, Ann, 20, 26, 243
 Gregory Ann, *form.* Byrd, 104, 110
 Gregory, Robert, 110
 Grellet, Rachel, 138
 Grellet, Rebecca, *form.* Collins, 138
 Grellet, Stephen, 37, 38, 47, 66, 81, 127, 137, 138, 139, 141, 143, 152, 161, 162, 165, 202
 Gripper, of Herts, 184
 Gripper, Elizabeth, *form.* Adams, 184
 Gripper, John, 184
 Grover, of Brighton, 12
 Grover, Isabel, *form.* Wetherald, 12
 Grover, William, 11, 12, 56, 62, 84, 85, 96, 102, 104, 114, 117, 142, 164, 173
 Grubb, of Clonmel, 25, 66
 Grubb, Edward, 144
 Grubb, John (England), 68, 80, 102, 103, 144, 176
 Grubb, John (miller), d. 1784, 26
 Grubb, Robert, 2, 8, 25
 Grubb, Sarah, *form.* Lynes, 66, 102, 105, 106, 140, 144, 160, 176, 183, 191, 198, 202, 208
 Grubb, Sarah, *form.* Pim, 20, 26, 66, 144
 Grubb, Sarah, *form.* Tuke, 16, 17, 25
 Guildford M.M., 5
 Gulson, Mary, *aft.* Wheeler, 88
 Gulson, Rebecca, *aft.* Reynolds, 22
 Gundry, William, 131, 134, 147
 Gurney, Catherine, *form.* Bell, 77, 167
 Gurney, Daniel Henry, 176
 Gurney, Edmund, 11, 15, 18, 20, 21, 24
 Gurney, Elizabeth, *aft.* Fry, 49, 77, 97
 Gurney, Elizabeth, *form.* Sheppard, 167
 Gurney, Hannah, *aft.* Buxton, 181
 Gurney, Hannah, *aft.* Springall and Bevan, 25
 Gurney, Hannah C., *aft.* Backhouse, 188
 Gurney, Jane, *form.* Chapman, 97
 Gurney, John (Earlham), 23, 77, 167
 Gurney, John (Norwich), 215
 Gurney, Joseph (Keswick), 118
 Gurney, Joseph (The Grove), 92, 96, 97, 141, 146, 177, 188
 Gurney, J. J., 97, 134, 142, 145, 154, 164, 165, 175, 176, 178, 179, 194, 200, 205
 Gurney, Priscilla, 118
 Gurney, Priscilla H., 113, 118, 123, 155
 Gurney, Rachel (Grove), 123
 Gurney, Rachel, *aft.* Barclay, 215
 Gurney, Samuel, 152, 155, 164, 167, 179, 183, 194, 201
 Hack, James, 118
 Hack, Priscilla, *aft.* Tuke, 189

- Hack, Sarah, *form.* Fairbank, 114, 118
 Hadwen, Isaac, 3rd, 98
 Hadwen, Susanna, *form.* Gaiyard, 94, 98
 Haggar, Hannah, *aft.* West, 133
 Haggar, Mary, *form.* Knight, 85, 89
 Hall, Alice, *form.* Featherstone, 66
 Hall, John (Cumb), 58, 66
 Hall, Sarah, *aft.* Birkbeck, 25
 Hallock, Sarah, *aft.* Hull, 133
 Hammer, Isaac, 179, 182
 Hampshire Q.M., 19, 60, 85, 96. *See* Dorset and Hants Q.M.
 Hanbury, of Herts, 177
 Hanbury, Cornelius, 175, 177
 Hanbury, Elizabeth, *form.* Sanderson, 23, 152, 177
 Hanbury, Mary, *form.* Allen, 177
 Hancock, Hannah, *form.* Strangman, 181
 Hancock, Dr. Thomas, 179, 181
 Hargreaves, Lydia, *aft.* Neild, 135
 Hargreaves, Rachel, *form.* Holbem, 135
 Hargreaves, William, 131, 185, 157, 169, 173
 Harris, Anthony, 210
 Harris, Edward, 188
 Harris, Isabella, *form.* Bull, 208, 210
 Harrison, of Kendal, 56
 Harrison, George, 55, 56, 65, 75, 79, 107, 108 (132), 144
 Harrison, John, 6, 9
 Harrison, Sarah, *form.* Richards, 26, 30, 87, 55, 211
 Harrison, Thomas (Phila.), 37
 Havens, Ann, *aft.* Kendall, 99
 Hawarth, of Lancs, 47
 Hawarth, James, 150, 152, 173, 174
 Hawarth (Howarth), Martha, 41, 47
 Hawarth, Martha, *form.* Fawcett, 152
 Hawkes, Ann, *form.* Oxley, 104, 110
 Hawkes, Thomas, 110
 Hawley, of Oakham, 13, 22
 Hayward, Elizabeth, *aft.* Forster, 73
 Head, Ann, *aft.* Warder, 216
 Head, Elizabeth, *aft.* Cadbury, 201
 Heaford (Harford), Ann, 208, 210
 Healy, Christopher, 178, 202, 204
 Hemmings, of Ipswich, 8
 Herefordshire Q.M., 96
 Heyrick, Elizabeth, *form.* Coltman, 179, 181
 Higman, Mary, *aft.* Nafel, 89
 Hill, of Maryland, 216
 Hipsley, of Chew, 189
 Hipsley, John, 187, 189, 207
 Hipsley, Mabel, *form.* Tuke, 189
 Hird, of Yorkshire, 26
 Hitchcock, of Devon, 23, 81
 Hoare, Grizell, *aft.* Birkbeck, and Allen, 90
 Hoare, Samuel, 118, 214
 Hodgkin, John, 141, 144
 Hodgson, Margaret, *aft.* Barclay, 215
 Hodgson, William, 134
 Holbem, Rachel, *aft.* Hargreaves, 135
 Holland, 79, 84, 182
 Holmes, George, 185, 188
 Holmes, John, 96, 99
 Hopkins, Joseph, 176, 178
 Horne, of London, 110, 111
 Horne, Martha, 102, 110
 Horne, Susanna, *aft.* Bigg, 106, 109, 110, 111, 126, 141
 Horne, Susanna, *aft.* Kemp, 205
 Horsfall, Joseph, 194, 196
 Horslydown M.M., 4, 9
 Hosier, of R. I., 67
 Howard, Luke, 94, 98, 107, 111, 141, 144, 151, 164, 171, 200
 Howard, Robert, 107, 111
 Howarth, *see* Hawarth
 Hoyland, of Sheffield, 174
 Hoyland, Elizabeth, *form.* Barlow, 5, 10, 19, 29, 35, 84, 85, 113, 163, 166
 Hoyland, Elizabeth, *aft.* Tuke, 25
 Hoyland, John, 10, 163, 166
 Hoyland, Joseph, 48
 Hoyland, Margaret, *form.* English, 47, 48
 Hoyle, of Lancs, 23
 Hubbert, John, 151, 152
 Huitson, Mary, *aft.* Dearman, 46
 Hull, Henry, 129, 131, 133
 Hull, John, 96, 99
 Hull, Sarah, *form.* Cooper, 133
 Hull, Sarah, *form.* Hallock, 133
 Humphreys, Sarah, *aft.* Shipley, 123
 Hunt, Ann, 194, 195
 Hunt, Martha, *form.* Ruckman, 166
 Hunt, Nathan, 163-166
 Hunt, Prudence, *form.* Thornbrough, 166
 Hunt, Octavius, 195
 Hunt, William, 166
 Huntley, Joseph, 61, 68
 Huntley, Thomas, 27, 68
 Hustler, of Bradford, 26, 118, 184
 Hustler, Christiana, *form.* Hird, 20, 26, 92, 118
 Hustler, John, 183, 184
 Hustler, Sarah, 114, 118, 192
 Hutchinson, John, 117
 Hutchinson, Jonathan, 113, 117, 175, 179, 190
 Ianson, of Co. Durham, 90
 Ianson, John, 85, 90
 illuminations, 2, 5, 8
 Impey, Anna, *aft.* Allen, 148
 Indians, 41, 47, 104, 125, 155, 157
 Ingram, Ann, 19
 Ireland, v., 8, 12, 23, 25, 42, 66, 69, 134, 143, 175, 210
 Ireland, documents from, 17, 31, 53, 61, 124, 155
 Ireland, religious state of, 60, 71, 80, 117
 Ireland, visitors from and to, ii., 6, 26, 27, 37, 38, 53, 70, 82, 83, 88, 89, 91, 96, 110, 118, 134, 146, 176, 187, 212
 Ireland, *see* New Lights
 Islington Rd. School (130), 132, 134, 139, 146, 171
 Jackson, William, 94, 97
 Jacob, of Waterford, 48, 124
 Jacob, Richard, 122, 124
 Jalland, of Lincs, 191, 193
 James, of Cornwall, 196
 James, Priscilla, *aft.* Manley, 172
 James, Sarah, *aft.* Rundell, 196
 Jefferys, Mary, *aft.* Powell, 87, 90, 124
 Jenkins family, 70, 72
 Jenkins, James, v., 11, 35, 64, 69, 74, 100
 Jepson, William, 4, 9
 Jesup, Hannah, *aft.* Dudley, v
 Johnson, Benjamin, 211, 216
 Jolley, of Cheshire, 119
 Jones, of Herefordshire, 47
 Jones, Ann, *form.* Burgess, 99, 179, 181, 202
 Jones, George, 96, 99, 179, 181
 Jones, Rebecca, 47, 82
 Jones, Richard, 123
 Jordan, Joseph and Patience, 82
 Jordan, Pharaby, *form.* Knox, 82
 Jordan, Richard, 80, 82
 Jowitt, of Leeds, 208
 Jowitt, Elizabeth, *aft.* Crewdson, 167
 Jowitt, Rachel, *form.* Crewdson, 208
 Jowitt, Robert, 206-208
 Jowitt, Sophia, *aft.* Pease, 177
 Kemp, Caleb R., 205
 Kemp, Grover, 203, 205
 Kemp, Susanna, *form.* Horne, 205
 Kendall, John, 96, 99, 105, 113
 Kent Q.M., 4, 19, 96, 155
 Kersey, Jesse, 92-95, 97
 Kilham, Alexander, 170
 Kilham, Hannah, *form.* Spurr, ix. 165, 169, 170, 171, 175, 185, 208
 Kincey, John, 146, 148
 Kincey, Mary, *form.* Smith, 148
 King, Ann, *aft.* Abbott, 2, 7, 119
 Kingston, etc., M.M., 20

- Kirkham, John, 49, 105, 110, 113
 Knight, of Essex, 89
 Knight, Henry, 78, 81
 Knight, Joseph, 190, 192
 Knox, Pharaby, *aft.* Jordan, 82
- Lamb, Elizabeth, *aft.* Jenkins, v.
 Lamley, John and Sarah, 62, 68
 Lancashire Q.M., 43
 Lancaster, Joseph, 131, 132, 135
 Leatham, Elizabeth, *aft.* Howard, 111
 Lecky, John, 46, 48
 Lecky, Robert, 48
 Leicester and Rutland Q.M., 5, 22
 Lettsom, John C., 97, 99
 Lincoln Q.M., 33, 45, 85, 96
 Lindley, Hannah, 67
 Lindley, Jacob, 67
 Linskill, Mary, *aft.* Dearman, 46
 Lister, John, 84, 88, 104
 literature, 42, 48, 79, 98, 110, 112, 124, 126, 127, 156, 162, 166, 180, 192
 Liversidge, of Suffolk, 193
 Lloyd, Anna, *aft.* Braithwaite, 147
 Lloyd, Charles (Bingley), 24, 147, 164, 166
 Lloyd, John, 213
 Lloyd, Mary, *form.* Farmer, 14, 19, 24, 40, 147, 166
 Lloyd, Rachel, *form.* Braithwaite, 188
 Lloyd, Sampson, 133
 Lloyd, Samuel, 185, 188
 Lloyd, Sarah, *aft.* Foster, 133
 London and Middlesex Q.M., 3, 4, 61, 107, 125, 130, 132, 150, 151, 161, 164, 166, 173, 183, 203
 Lonsdale, Earl of, 64
 Lovell, Edith, 38
 Lovell, Edith, *aft.* Frank, 101
 Lowe, of Worcester, 7
 Lowe, Anna, *aft.* Carroll, 143
 Lowe, Richard, 1, 7, 20, 40
 Lucas, Ann, *aft.* Fossick, 157
 Lucas, Samuel, 200
 Lucas, William, 56
 Lynes, Sarah, *aft.* Grubb, 58, 64, 66, 78, 84, 85, 144
- McDermott, John, 194, 197
 Madin, Philip and Mary, 8, 29, 36
 Mahmadee (169), 170
 Majolier, Christine, *aft.* Alsop, 24
 Majolier, Louis, 16, 17, 24
 Manley, Lydia, *form.* Tuke, *aft.* Clayton, 172
 Manley, Priscilla, *form.* James, 172
 Manley, William, 171, 172
 Manley, William, Jr., 172
 Manser, William, 107
 Mark, Ruth, *aft.* Robinson, 68
 marriage, 6, 94, 132, 135
- marriage of first-cousins, 207, 209
 Marriage, Joseph, 179
 Marriot, John, 13, 22
 Marrishall, Sarah, *aft.* Fossick, 157
 Marsh, Elizabeth, *aft.* Allen (112), 117
 Marshall, of Yorks, 47
 Marshall, Deborah, *aft.* Forster, 209
 Marsillac, Jean de, 2, 8
 Marten, William, 83, 87
 Mason, of N.W. Yorks, 210
 Masters, William, 208, 210
 Matthews, William (Bath), 27, 77, 100, 109
 Maud, Esther, *aft.* Tuke, 25
 Maw, Lucy, *form.* Alexander, ii., 131, 134, 148, 187
 Maw, Simon, 148
 Maw, Thomas, 134, 146, 148
 meetings, public, 93
 meetings on week-day, ii., 62
 meeting houses, borrowed or lent, 59, 61, 63, 65
 meeting houses, new, 11, 17, 20, 31, 33, 36, 45, 46, 54, 63, 211, 214
 meetings for business, 15, 43, 45, 60, 93, 94, 105, 140, 142, 160, 169, 183
 Melhuish, Thomas, 84, 88
 Mennell family, 46
 Merryweather, John, 32, 38, 91
 Messer, Elizabeth, *form.* Wilson, 22, 72
 Messer, Josiah, 71, 72, 213
 Metford, Joseph, 88, 117, 119
 Metford, Mary, *aft.* Clark, 81
 Middleton, Benjamin (Wellingboro), 29, 36, 178
 Middleton, Maria, *aft.* Fox, 36, 178
 Middleton, Tabitha, *form.* Hoyland, 29, 36, 152, 178
 Miffin, Warner, 67
 Militia, 113, 116
 Miller, Ann, *form.* Tweedie and Reid, 81, 165
 Miller, Ellen, *form.* Cockin, i., 201
 Miller, George, ii., 77, 78, 81, 165
 Miller, Jane, *form.* Woodhead, 168
 Miller, William, i., 165, 168, 201
 Miller, William F., ii., iv.
 Minden, 59, 173, 209
 Ministers, acknowledgement of, 125, 176
 ministry, 34, 52, 76, 103, 119, 121, 129, 131, 171. *See* tones
 Moline, Sparks, 71, 73, 75, 96, 107
 Montgomery, James, 89
 Moode, Elizabeth, *aft.* Emlen, 37
 Moor, John, 5, 91
 Moore, Joseph, 47
 Morgan, Nathaniel, 137, 188
 Morris, Ann, *aft.* Bush, 216
 Mott, Sarah, *aft.* Emlen, 37
- Moxham, Lydia, *aft.* Sturge, 111
 Mullet, Jane, *aft.* Melhuish, 88
- Naftel, Mary, *form.* Higman, 47, 85, 89, 102, 104, 108, 123, 131, 139, 141, 160
 Naftel, Nicholas, 41, 47, 89, 102, 104, 131, 163
 Naish, Francis, 118
 Naish, Susannah, *form.* Evill, 113, 118
 Naudin, of Cornwall, 153
 Neale, Samuel, 37
 Neatby, Joseph, 152
 Neild, Lydia, *form.* Hargreaves, 135
 Neild, Ralph, 135
 New Lights, 7, 56, 69, 71, 82, 119
 Nicholson, Mary, *aft.* Wigham, 192
 Norfolk and Norwich Q.M., 3, 33, 60, 62
 Norway, 143, 207
- Offley, Daniel, 47
 Oldenburg, Duchess of, 141, 144
 Opie, Amelia, *form.* Alderson, 179, 181
 Osborn, Charles, 202-204
 Oxley, Anne, *aft.* Hawkes, 110
- Palmer, Charles, 161
 Palmer, Launcelot, 161
 Parker, of N. Lances, 38
 Parker, Charles, 30, 88, 117, 131, 132, 150, 164
 Payne, Richard, 152
 peace and war, 125, 127, 136, 137, 140, 213, 215
 Peace Society, 175, 190
 Pease family, 97
 Pease, Edward, 126, 127, 177, 184
 Pease, Elizabeth, *aft.* Hustler, 184
 Pease, John, 175, 177, 198, 207
 Pease, Rachel, *form.* Whitwell, 127
 Pease, Sophia, *form.* Jowitt, 177
 Peckover, of Wisbech, 193
 Peckover, Elizabeth, *aft.* Shewell, 193
 Pemberton, John, 99
 Pennell, Fidelity, *aft.* Wheeler, 88
 Perry, of Mile End, 7
 Perry, Daniel, 2, 8
 Perry, John, ii., 1, 7, 20
 Phillips, John, 131, 134, 217
 Phillips, Richard, 35, 39, 71, 75, 90, 104, 112, 130-132, 183
 Phillips, Sarah, *form.* Corbyn, 39, 86, 90
 Pim, Abigail, 131, 134
 Pim, Elizabeth, 84, 88
 Pim, Elizabeth, *form.* Bevan, 134
 Pim, Elizabeth, *aft.* Clibborn, 26

- Pim, John, 131, 184
Pim, Jonathan, 176
Pim, Sarah, 134
Pius VI., Pope, 35
plain language, 165
plainness in house, 52, 63, 92, 93, 124, 215
Plumsted, Hannah, 86, 90
Plumsted, Mary, *aft.* Bevan, 23, 90
Plumsted, Robert, 90
Pole, Dr. Thomas, 15, 24, 30
Pollard, Joseph, 194, 196
poor, 79, 152, 159
Pope, Dr. Robert, 209
Pope, Margaret, 207, 209
Portsmouth, of Hants, 26
Powell, Mary, *form.* Stevens, 123, 124
Powell, Mary, *form.* Jefferys, 87, 90, 124
Powell, William, 90, 124
Poynder, John, 17, 25
Price, Anna, *form.* Tregelles, 31, 33, 35, 36, 88, 106, 108, 130, 150, 155, 174, 191, 215
Price, Peter, 38
prisoners on ship-board, 140, 143
Proctor, Rachel, *aft.* Hutchinson, 117
prophecies, 23, 33, 35, 49, 58
Proud, Mary, *form.* Jones, 40, 47, 95, 98, 115, 139, 175
Proud, Rachel, 47
Proud, William, 47
Pryor, John, 67
Pryor, Mary, *form.* Bray, 58, 67, 83, 123, 140
Pumphrey, of Worcester, 178
Pumphrey, Isabel, *form.* Unthank, 178
Pumphrey, Rachel, *form.* Richardson, 178
Pumphrey, Thomas, 176, 178
Pymont, 49, 54, 59, 79, 95, 106, 173, 209
- Quarterly Meetings, list of, 197
Queries, revision of, 4, 14, 20, 21, 202
- Ransom, Ann, 94, 97
Ransom, John, 97
Ransome, Mary, *form.* Webb, 135
Ransome, Robert, 132, 135
Ratcliff M.M., 151
Rathbone, Elizabeth, 59, 67
Rathbone, Joseph, 216
Rathbone, Mary, *form.* Darby, 216
Rathbone, William, 4, 9
Rawes, William, Sr. and Jr., 14, 17, 23, 74, 119
Reckitt, William, 37
Reed, Elizabeth, *aft.* Batger, 144
Reed, Thomas, 144
registers of births, etc., 42, 43
"rejoicing nights," *see* illuminations
Reynolds, Richard and Rebecca, 13, 22, 56, 118, 212
- Richards, of Pa, 37
Richardson, Eleanor, *form.* Watson, 196
Richardson, George, 194, 196, 206
Richardson, Margaret, *form.* Robson, 190, 192
Richardson, Rachel, *aft.* Pumphrey, 178
Richardson, Thomas, 151, 158, 200
Richardson, William, 192
Rickman, Elizabeth, *aft.* Alexander, 119
Rickman, Elizabeth, *form.* Barnard, 188
Rickman, John, 185, 188, 199
Rickman, Mary, 144
Rickman, Nathaniel, 144
Rickman, William, 116, 119, 155, 163
Rigge, Alice, *form.* Ecroyd, 20, 26,
Rigge, Isaac, 26
Rimington, Elizabeth, 64
Robinson, Elihu, 39, 63, 68
Robinson, Elizabeth, *form.* Hoyle, *aft.* Gibson, 23, 31, 38
Robinson, Joshua, 23
Robinson, Mary (Cumb), 84, 88
Robson family, 46, 192
Robson, Elizabeth, *form.* Stephenson, 173, 174, 190, 193
Robson, Thomas, 193
Roper, John, 33, 89
Rotch, William, 5, 9
Routh, Martha, *form.* Winter, 5, 10, 14, 20, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 40-42, 46, 47, 59, 68, 100, 109, 123, 212
Routh, Richard, 10
Row, Joseph, 1, 7
Row, Sarah, 7, 59, 84
Row, Susanna, 5, 7, 33, 218
Rowntree of Riseborough, 124
Rowntree, Elizabeth, 152
Rowntree, John, 196
Rowntree, Joseph, 177, 200, 201
Rowntree, Sarah, *form.* Stephenson, 201
Ruckman, Martha, *aft.* Hunt, 166
Rudd, of Hertford, 119
Rudd, Sarah, 115, 119
Rundell, Samuel, 196
Rundell, Sarah, *form.* James, 194, 196
Russia, 144, 177
Rutter, Thomas, i., 2, 8, 14, 15
Rutty, J., *Rise*, 126, 127
- Saffron Walden School, 134
Sandanee (169), 170
Sanders, of Whitby, 97
Sanders, George, 92, 96, 97, 104, 113, 117
Sanderson, Anna, *form.* Trueman, 78, 83, 126, 189
- Sanderson, Elizabeth, *aft.* Hanbury, 152, 177
Sanderson, John, i., 22, 28, 78, 83, 84, 123, 126, 146, 152, 157, 177
Sanderson, John, Jr., 150, 152, 206
Sanderson, Joseph, 154
Sanderson, Margaret, *form.* Shillitoe, 14, 23, 177
Sanderson, Mary, *form.* Funston, i., 23, 157
Sanderson, Mary, *aft.* Fox, 152, 166, 177
Sanderson, Thomas, 13, 22
Sands, David, 51, 53, 54, 56, 59, 61, 62, 83, 85, 87, 216
Savery, William, 52-54, 56, 57, 211, 212, 214, 216
Savory, of London, 25, 209
Savory, Martha, *aft.* Yeardley, 175, 209
Scales, Lydia (Priscilla), 208, 209
Scantlebury, Thomas, 5, 10
Scattergood, of N.J., 49
Scattergood, Thomas, 23, 49, 50, 53, 58, 212, 214, 215
Scofield, Ann, *aft.* Taylor, 204
Scotland, ii., 26, 83, 99, 105, 116, 126, 140, 143, 165, 188, 192, 204
Scotland Half-year's Meeting, 85, 194
Scott, Job, 30, 31, 33, 34, 85, 87
Scott, M.M., *aft.* Tuke, 87
Scripture-quoting, 121
Scripture-reading, 78, 81, 94, 95, 104, 114, 163, 207
Sears, Huldah, 163, 166
Seeböhm, Benjamin, 190, 192
Seeböhm, Esther, *form.* Wheeler, 192
Separations, 71, 147, 167, 185, 186, 190, 193, 200
sermons, 33-35, 49, 51, 115, 121, 129, 140, 160, 164, 183, 191, 202
servants, domestic, 62, 93-95, 165
Sewell, of Yarmouth, 127
Sewell, H. M., *form.* Fuller, 127
Sewell, Joseph S., 127
Sewell, William, 125, 127
Shackleton, Abraham, Junr., 69, 71, 77
Shackleton, Elizabeth, 37
Shackleton, Richard, 11, 12, 15, 21, 31
Sharples, Isaac, i.
Shaw, Joseph (Yorks), v.
Sheppard, Elizabeth, *aft.* Gurney, 167
Shewell, of London, 193
Shewell, Elizabeth, *form.* Peckover, 193
Shewell, John T., 191, 198, 203
Shillitoe, Margaret, *aft.* Sanderson, 23, 177
Shillitoe, Thomas, i., 23, 61, 68, 84, 86, 87, 92, 115, 125, 151, 162, 163, 173, 179, 196, 197

- Shiple, of Staffs and Wilts, 123
 Shiple, John, 122, 123, 139, 169
 Shiple, Sarah, *form.* Humphreys, 123
 Sidcot School, 115, 116, 118, 122, 132, 171, 191
 Simkin, Benjamin, 71, 72, 84, 129
 Simkin, Edward, 115
 Simonds, William, 2, 7
 Sims, of Canterbury, 7
 Singleton, William, 165, 167
 slavery, 18, 42, 95, 105, 165, 169, 181
 Smith, of Burlington, N.J., 73
 Smith, Ann, *form.* Cockin, 179, 180
 Smith, Frederick, 41, 47, 61, 71, 94, 111, 112, 140
 Smith, Hannah, *aft.* Brady, 193
 Smith, Henry and Mary, 139, 143
 Smith, Henry H., 180
 Smith, John (Clerkenwell), 148
 Smith, Joseph (banker), 51, 55, 212, 214
 Smith, Martha, *form.* Ecroyd, 13, 19, 22, 102, 104, 143, 176, 208
 Smith, Mary, *aft.* Kinsey, 148
 Smith, Rachel, *form.* Wilson, 22
 Smith, Richard (Staffs), 171, 172
 Smith, Samuel, 15, 16, 18, 21, 24
 Smith, Sarah, *aft.* Fox, 81
 Smith, Thomas (banker), 22, 81
 Smith, William (Yorks), 13, 22, 143, 163, 208
 Smith, Wright and Gray, 22
 smoking, *see* tobacco
 Southall, Samuel, 71, 72, 76, 114, 157, 214
 Southall, Sarah, *form.* Fossick, 72, 157
 Southwark M.M., 107, 157
 Spalding M.M., 33
 Sparkes, Thomas, 85, 89
 Sparrow, Joshua, 38
 Spavold, Samuel, 13, 23
 Speakman, Phebe, 67, 87
 Speakman, Thomas, 43, 48
 Spriggs, Martha, *aft.* Bellamy, 24
 Springall, Hannah, *form.* Gurney, *aft.* Bevan, 25
 Springall, Sarah, *aft.* Bleckley, 38
 Spurr, Hannah, *aft.* Kilham, 170
 Stacey, of Hants, 66
 Stacey, George, Sr., 22, 58, 59, 65, 66, 67, 85, 96, 103, 141
 Stacey, George, Junr., 66, 179
 Stacey, Mary, *form.* Wilson, 22, 59, 62, 66, 67, 123, 126, 131, 171
 Stephenson, Elizabeth, *aft.* Robson, 193
 Stephenson, Hannah, *form.* Masterman, 91, 201
 Stephenson, Isaac, 193
 Stephenson, Isaac, 2nd, 91, 127, 154, 169, 171, 190, 201
 Stephenson, Sarah, *aft.* Rowntree, 201
 Stephenson, Sarah, 23, 84, 87, 90
 Sterry, Ann, 211
 Sterry, Henry, 56
 Sterry, Mary, 55, 56, 92, 112, 215
 Stevens, of Staines, 124
 Stevens, Elizabeth, *aft.* Ashby, 68
 Stickney, William, 201
 Stockton M.M., 85
 Stokes, of Bristol, 56
 Storer, John, 4, 9
 Storrs, Joseph, 96, 99, 104
 Story, John, 14, 15, 23, 29-32
 Story, T., *Journal*, 70, 72
 Stott, Samuel, 30, 37
 Strangman, Hannah, *aft.* Hancock, 181
 Strangman, Louisa, *aft.* Conran, 89
 Sturge, of Glos, 111
 Sturge, Thomas (107)-109, 111, 169
 Sturges, Rebecca, 183, 184
 Suffolk Q.M., 33, 126, 132
 Summerland, Ann, 1, 5, 7
 Summerland, John, 7
 Surrey Q.M., 4, 5, 20, 60
 Sutton, of Scotby, 205
 Sutton, Lydia, 203, 205
 Swett, Mary, 67
 Talbot, John, 67
 Talbot, Sarah, 58, 67
 Talwin, of Royston, 193
 Taylor, Ann, *form.* Schofield, 204
 Taylor, Isaac, 96, 99
 Taylor, John, 122
 Taylor, Jonathan, 202, 204
 Taylor, Sarah (Manchester), 24
 Thirsk M.M., 167
 Thistlethwaite, of Richmond, Yorks, 26
 Thistlethwaite, Jeremiah, 210
 Thistlethwaite, Margaret, *form.* Mason, 208, 210
 Thomas, Benjamin, 154, 157
 Thomas, Hannah, *form.* Funston, 154, 157
 Thomas, Job, 114, 118
 Thomas, John, 84, 88
 Thompson, John (Cumb), 213, 217
 Thompson, Jonah, 101
 Thornburgh, Prudence, *aft.* Hunt, 166
 Thornton, James, 1, 7
 Thorp, Hannah, *form.* Cockin, i.
 Thorp, John, 41, 47, 113
 Thorp, Joseph, 201
 Till family, 127
 Till-Adams, Ann, *form.* Fry, 126, 127, 140
 Till-Adams, Dr. John, 127
 Tilney, Susanna, 161, 162
 tithes, etc., 16, 41, 42, 52, 56, 84, 115
 tobacco, 38, 88
 Tolerton, Mary, 89
 Tomlinson, William, 92, 96, 98
 tones and manner in preaching, 8, 26, 37, 77, 92, 93, 122
 Toone, John and Ann, 9
 Townsend, John, 5, 9, 72, 213
 Townsend, Mary, 116, 119
 Tract Association, 140, 156
 trading, *see* business life
 Tregelles, of Falmouth, 7, 48, 119, 177
 Tregelles, Sarah, 41, 48
 Trickett, Katherine, *form.* Dent, 117, 119
 Trickett, Robert, 119
 Tuckett, Philip D., 13, 22
 Tuke, Ann, *aft.* Alexander, 1, 7, 41, 46, 71
 Tuke, Elizabeth, *form.* Hoyalnd, 25
 Tuke, Esther, *form.* Maud, 7, 15, 18, 19, 21, 24, 29, 35
 Tuke, Henry, 77, 83, 84, 87, 96, 104, 117, 125, 126, 131, 189
 Tuke, Lydia, *aft.* Manley and Clayton, 172
 Tuke, Priscilla, *form.* Hack, 189
 Tuke, Samuel, 187, 189, 199, 202
 Tuke, Sarah, *aft.* Grubb, 8, 167
 Tuke, William, 7, 19, 24, 26, 83, 87, 89, 96, 104, 113, 167, 189
 Tuke, William, Jr., 165, 167
 Tweedie, Ann, *form.* Naudin, 151, 153
 Tweedie, William, 151, 153
 Unitarian, 70, 76, 141
 Unthank, Isabel, *aft.* Pumphrey, 178
 Ussher, Elizabeth, *form.* Paul, 103, 110, 212
 Wagstaff, Thomas, 213, 216
 Wainfleet M.M., 33, 45
 Wales, 44, 53, 56, 118, 196
 Walker, Elizabeth H., *form.* Hoyalnd, 173, 174
 Walker, Hannah, 154, 156
 Walker, Thomas (N.Y.), 174
 Walton, J. and M., *see* Whalley
 Warder, Ann, *form.* Head, 211, 216
 Warwickshire, etc. Q.M., 3, 94, 96
 Waterhouse, of Dronfield, 7
 Waterhouse, Henry and Mary, 167
 Watson, Eleanor, *aft.* Richardson, 196
 Watson, Joseph (Pa.), 127
 Watson, Mary, *form.* Fothergill, 32, 38, 55, 95, 211
 Watson, Robert, 38

- Webb, Mary, Jr., *aft.* Ransome, 135
 Were family, 81
 West, Elizabeth, 1, 7
 West, Hannah, *form.* Haggard, 133, 212
 West, Mary, 1, 7
 West, Special, 129, 133, 212
 West, William, 196
 Westminster M.M., 155
 Westmorland Q.M., 42, 122
 Weston, Lewis, 73
 Weston, Mary, *form.* Fyfield, 17, 25, 78, 83, 112
 Weston, Mary, Jr., 25
 Weston, Owen, 25, 78, 83, 112
 Wetherald, of Yorks, 178
 Wetherald, Isabel, *aft.* Grover, 12
 Wetherald, Isabel, *form.* Thistlethwaite, 184
 Wetherald, John, 184
 Wetherald, James, 176, 178
 Whalley (Walton), J. and M., 201
 Wheeler, of Hitchin, 47, 88, 139
 Wheeler, Daniel, 175, 177
 Wheeler, Elizabeth, *form.* Brown, 47
 Wheeler, Elizabeth, *form.* Tuke, 47, 84, 85, 89, 104, 139, 143
 Wheeler, Esther, *aft.* Seebohm (139), 143, 192
 Wheeler, Joshua, 41, 47, 56, 84, 88, 89
 Wheeler, Rudd, 47, 84, 88, 114
 Whitaker, Robert, ii.
 White, Benjamin, 126, 127
 Whiting, Judith, *aft.* Bellamy, 24
 Whitwell, Rachel, *aft.* Pease, 127
 Wigg, Patience, *aft.* Bush, 216
 Wigham, Anthony, 190, 192
 Wigham, Elizabeth, *form.* Donwideoy, 81, 139, 143, 192
 Wigham, Hannah, *aft.* Hall, 66
 Wigham, Hannah, *form.* Thistlethwaite, 20, 26, 43
 Wigham, John, Senr., 41, 42, 47, 143, 192, 215
 Wigham, Mary, *form.* Nicholson, 192
 Wigham, Rachel, 38
 Wigton School, 171, 191
 Wilbur, John, ii., 135, 203, 205, 208
 Wilbur, Lydia, *form.* Collins, 205
 Wilkinson, Hannah, *aft.* Bowman, 144
 Wilkinson, John, 84, 88, 92, 93, 96, 112, 121, 125, 129, 137, 139, 141, 142, 146
 Wilkinson, Thomas, 13, 22, 47, 64
 Williams, Charles (Phila.), 47
 Williams, John, 151, 153
 Williams, Joseph, 14, 15, 17, 20, 23, 69, 70
 Williams, Philippa, *form.* Naudin, 151, 153
 Wilson, Esther, *aft.* Wilkinson, 88
 Wilson, Isaac and Rachel, 26, 67, 68, 72, 89, 90, 127
 Wilson, John (Kendal), 22
 Wilson, Margaret, *aft.* Bragg, 89
 Wilson, Mary, *aft.* Stacey, 66
 Wilson, Rachel, *aft.* Forster, 144
 Wilson, Rachel, *aft.* Smith, 55
 Wilson, Sarah, *aft.* Abbott, 86, 88, 90, 119
 Winter, Martha, *aft.* Routh, 10
 Withers, Ann, 155, 157
 Withers, Thomas, 157
 Withy, George, 163, 166, 173
 women, co-operation of, 34, 60, 96, 126
 Wood, Joseph, 169, 170
 Woodhead, Jane, *aft.* Miller, 168
 Woods, of London, 27
 Woods, Joseph, 27, 62, 97, 100
 Woods, Margaret, *form.* Hoare, 27
 Wormall, Henry, 56
 Wright, James, 56
 Wright, John (banker), 22
 Yeardeley, Elizabeth, *form.* Dunn, 209
 Yeardeley, John, 206, 209
 Yeardeley, Martha, *form.* Savory, 206, 209
 Yearly Meeting: Visits to Men's and Women's Meetings, 5, 20, 36, 46, 59, 61, 62, 79, 84, 106, 113, 118, 122, 126, 131, 140, 141, 147, 178, 203, 207, 211, 213, 215
 addressed by letter, 94, 98, 154, 186
 clerkship, 16, 30, 37, 106, 111
 conduct of, 45, 52, 80
 constitution, 213, 214, 217
 Epistle, 55, 64, 98, 108, 117, 123, 146, 167, 200, 210
 Women's Y.M., 11, 24, 26, 27, 33, 36, 62, 86, 123, 133, 140
 fixed time, and length, 3, 8, 45
 journeys to attend, 57, 134, 137, 210, 213, 217
 York Castle, prisoners in, 26, 52, 54, 56, 81, 88
 York Retreat, 157, 167
 York School (girls), 51, 193
 Yorkshire Q.M., 17, 19, 91, 95, 100, 126, 155, 157, 165, 167, 194, 196, 198
 Young, of Salop, 37
 Young, Rebecca, *aft.* Byrd, 30, 31, 37, 81, 211, 212
 Youth instructed, 92, 93, 95, 98, 105, 106, 110, 176