

proceedings of various committees, marriage registers, certificates, testimonies and epistles, certificates of removals, account-books, maps, and similar documents preserved in Meeting Archives.

1, 1A, 3A-5	Cork Three Weeks and Six Weeks Meeting	1675-1756
6	" " " " " (Women)	1763-1784
7-12	Munster Province Meetings	1694-1798
13	Charleville Men's Meeting	1698-1720
14	Bandon " "	1677-1700
15, 16	Quarterly Meetings	1798-1865
17	Yearly Meetings	1798-1839
19-21	Provincial School Committee Proceedings	1796-1855
22	Historical Narrative of Ministers' Visits	1708-1871
23, 24	Account of Sufferings, Munster Province	1750-1863
29	Provincial Register of Families	1655-1868
37	Record of Friends Travelling in Ireland	1664-1765
46	Provincial Female Bounty Fund	1775-1833
53-56	Cork Monthly Meeting	1807-1885
57, 57½, 58	" " " (Rough)	1826-1874
59	Cork Preparative Meeting	1839-1872
60	" " " (Rough)	1855-1872
65	Sundry Proceedings, Bandon Meeting	1680-1714
68	Letter from Prince William, afterwards King William IV., to Friends in Cork	1787

Isabel Yeamans

ALL fresh information coming to light about the Fells of Swarthmoor Hall is sure of a welcome, for that remarkable family of noble Quaker women, Margaret Fell and her seven daughters, always remained the ideal example of a seventeenth century Puritan household of means and education, birth and good breeding. Their industrial and economic activity at home was quite as remarkable as their evangelical campaigning at large.

While recently examining the records of Munster Province, at Cork, I came upon facts which throw a sidelight on a point in the life of one of the seven, which so far as I know has never figured in their history.

Isabel, the third daughter of Judge Thomas and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmoor Hall, near Ulverston, in 1664 married William Yeamans, or Yeoman, a merchant of Bristol.¹ He was then aged twenty-five, while his wife was about twenty-three. About the time of the marriage Margaret Fell, who had then been six years a widow, was committed to Lancaster Gaol for permitting meetings to be held in her house, and for refusing to discontinue them. With only one short visit home at the end of nineteen months, she was kept at Lancaster in a damp, noisome cell for four years. It is possible, therefore, that the first visit she was able to pay Isabel in her new home at Bristol was in the late summer of 1669, when an important epoch in her life occurred. George Fox arrived from Ireland (whither he had gone on his release from Lancaster Gaol) and his marriage to Margaret Fell, the friend and co-worker of many years, was accomplished. In his own words :

I had seen for a considerable time before that I should take M.F. to be my wife. And when I first mentioned it to her she felt the answer of life from God thereunto. But I had not received a command from the Lord for the accomplishment of it then. . . . Being at Bristol and finding her there, it opened in me from the Lord that the thing should be accomplished.

By his wish she sent for her children and her sons-in-law, and asked them if they had anything against it. All asserted that their mother had performed her husband's will to them, and they would not lose by her second marriage. They desired George "to speak no more of it." "I told them," he says, "I was plain and would have all things plainly, for I sought not any outward advantage to myself." In the Men's Meeting, when permission was given to proceed, Isabel Yeamans said "I have long desired to see it accomplished, and now rejoice in its accomplishing." The marriage took place from Isabel's house, and the certificate was signed by six of the seven daughters and three sons-in-law, who were all present. The absent daughter was Bridget Draper.

¹ Son of Robert and Ann Yeamans. The father, Royalist sheriff of Bristol, was hanged by the Parliamentary party in 1643, in front of his own house, for being implicated in a movement for delivering the city to Prince Rupert. *Camb. Jnl.* i. 464.

The tie that already subsisted between the family at Swarthmoor and the man who had been coming and going in their household since 1652 (six years before Judge Fell's death) was a very strong one. The daughters invariably speak of him in letters as "dear and honoured father," and Isabel, at least, was still more closely associated with him in travel. She seems to have possessed a gift in the ministry, and to have visited Meetings in England to some extent, although the care of a delicate husband and children in her short married life cannot have left her much opportunity for public service. At any rate, in May, 1670, she is named in the Information of a gentleman of Whitby, taken upon oath before Sir Thomas Gower, Bart., a Justice of the Peace in the North Riding of Yorkshire, as having been present at a conventicle or meeting at Whitby, held in "a house bought and erected by the quakers."²

She is mentioned by Besse as one of "those women of excellent endowments, adorned with all the Virtues of that sex, very serviceable to the church in the office of the ministry, for which they were peculiarly gifted and esteemed by their Brethren as Fellow-helpers in the work of the Gospel of Christ," who "at the hazard of their Estates, Liberties and Lives continued preaching in meetings in London in the faithful discharge of their duties,"³ in the stormy years of persecution before 1686.

William Yeamans died ten years after his marriage, leaving three delicate children, a fourth, the oldest, having died in infancy. One, Margaret, died in the same year as her father. Another, Rachel, survived him only a couple of years. The only child to attain manhood was William, born in 1669, who was early sent away to the care of his aunts at Swarthmoor. Here, in the bracing moorland air, his constitutional delicacy disappeared for a time. He, however, only attained the age of twenty-seven. In the account-book of Swarthmoor Hall, "little Will Yeamans'" childhood can be traced between the years 1674 and 1678. A primer was bought for him in 1674, when he was five, and, soon after, Richard Gowth, the schoolmaster, was engaged to come and teach him. This

² *Extracts from State Papers*, 1913, p. 304.

³ *Sufferings*, i. 484.

arrangement did not last long, for six months later we find his careful Aunt Sarah paying "Jane Marshall for little Will Yeamans dinner when he went to Penington School, 16 dayes, 2^s." Articles of clothing and adornment (shoe-buckles and silver buttons exchanged for silk ones) are entered on his account, also medicines. The little sister Rachel seems to have died at Swarthmoor, and was buried 24 June, 1676, according to a note of money given to the poor at her funeral, viz. : £2 7s. 3d.⁴

The child's mother was perhaps in Bristol then, although she afterwards lived near London, and at Stockton-on-Tees. In 1677 she went with George Fox to Holland; she had been a widow for three years. Penn and Barclay were also of the party, and the former has detailed his extensive journey in his *Account of Travels* (1694).⁵ Isabel remained at Amsterdam until George Fox finished his visit to Frederickstadt and Hamburg, going to meet him in Friesland on his return. Her part was evidently one of companionship and care of her stepfather, and throughout the three months abroad, all seemed to go well.

Then follows the second short romance of Isabel's life, an episode which brings into strong relief her own tender and affectionate, yet self-reliant nature, as seen against the very prosaic and calculating self-interest of an elderly Friend of the opposite sex.

In Bristol she had known one Francis Rogers, some time of Cork, where he had married, in 1660, Elizabeth Erbury, daughter of a widow of the same name. In two or three years the wife died, leaving a daughter, born in Cork, 24 vi. 1662.⁶ In 1666 he married Jane Dring, of London, and settled at Bristol, where five children were born to them before 1674. The fourth, a

⁴ There is a curious entry in the Swarthmoor Account Book, three weeks before, of 9^d paid for a pint of brandy "for cousin Rachell Yeamans when she was not well." The use of "cousin" for niece or other relationship is not uncommon.

⁵ Croese says she went to visit the Princess Palatine with Penn, but we prefer to follow Penn's own narrative as the more truthful. Croese confuses her with George Keith's wife, Elizabeth, who was the only other woman of the party from England.

⁶ This daughter, Elizabeth, m. 5 June (4th mo.), 1682, Joseph Pike, had fourteen children, and d. 16 September, 1733. Three of her daughters married Beales.

daughter, born 5th July (5th mo.), 1671, was named Isabel (?) after his friend Mrs. Yeamans, who, when his second wife, Jane, died in 1679, had been five years a widow. The friendship was apparently renewed, with (on his side) the interest cautiously tempered with anxiety as to the state in which the widow's husband had left his financial affairs. After due consideration, and the lapse of two or three years, these were not found to be sufficiently promising, and the worthy Friend Rogers desired to draw back from the advances already made. With the very strict supervision exercised at the time by the Society over marriage contracts, this could not be done without the concurrence of the Meeting at Cork, of which Francis Rogers was now a prominent member, a trustee of the Meeting House property, and appointed to oversee the schoolmaster who was employed to teach a small school on the premises.

The following documents will now speak for themselves :

MINUTES OF CORK SIX WEEKS MEETING.

27 vii. 1684. Francis Rogers having proposed that he have something relating to Marriage to offer w^{ch} he thinks not convenient should be debated at Large in the Meeting, Its assented to that the following friends in behalfe of this Meeting may goe aside wth him to heare and determine the Matter w^{ch} is assented to to be as Effectuall as if the same had been spoaken in the whole Mens Meeting, viz. :—

George Deeble	Thomas Devonsher
George Harrison	Thomas Alley
John Haman	Samuel Tauernor
John Fennell	Richard Berry
George Baker	Thomas Weily
Phillip Popplestone	W ^m Edwards
Tho Wright	Samuel Abbott
Thomas Champion	Daniel Sauery
Jasp ^r Tregoes	George Griffiths
Rich ^d Brocklesby	W ^m Pegg

in all twenty psons.

According to the above request of Francis Rogers Friends Met in the vpper roome of the Meeting house the same day & the Matter w^{ch} Francis Rogers Laid Before vs, related to Certaine Obleiging letters & passages w^{ch} happened in time past betweene himselfe and Isabell Yeamons tending to Marriage, &c., wherein he Mençons in Severall letters to her that nothing should put a Stop to him except her husbands Debts, w^{ch} was Desired to be advised of wth Councell, & the opinion was there was Danger, after w^{ch} he could not wth any satisfaction. pceed further, but declined his former Course of Writeing to her vpon

that Subject only, he thought fitt in regard he could not get ouer that feare of her husbands Debts to desire her to Cleare him of what was past & leaue him to his liberty w^{ch} hitherto she haue refused to doe. Wherevpon he haueing in consideraçon to Marry wth another, have desired vs the foregoing psons to Judge Whether he be cleare from the sayd Isabell or not, and haueing had before vs the state of the case and Seuerall letters or Copies of Letters w^{ch} past betweene them vpon that acc^t, Wee finde in one of her letters Dated 17 1^{mo} 168½ in ansuare to his of the 2^d of the same Month (wherein he mannested his great dissatisfaction desireing her answare to it), the following words viz. :—

“ Thou desires me to consider well of it and giue thee my answare w^{ch} is as ffollowes, my loue & respect and hon^r is such vnto thee & for thee, that what Euer I Suffer for want of the Enjoym^t of [thy company *erased*] thee, Ile bring no reflection vpon thee, nor blame thee, neither will I put thee vpon anything that thee art not freely willing to doe, whatsoeuer I suffer in my selfe.” In w^{ch} wordes the Major p^t of vs cannot perceiue but vpon the consideraçon of the whole matter in all its Circumstances since the matter hath so long depended and she hath not Cleard him, that he is Cleare from her, and accordingly a letter is to be written to the sayd Isabell, to be directed to W^m Mead to giue intimation hereof ; the sayd letter to be signed by as many of vs the Meeting aforesayd as agreed therevnto who are as ffolloweth :

Thomas Campion	John Fennell
Jasper Tregoes	Rich ^d Brocklesby
John Haman	Thomas Alley
Samuel Tauernor	Thomas Devonsher
George Baker	Richard Berry
William Edwards	Phillip Popplestone
George Deeble	

It appears, therefore, that seven persons present did not take this view of Francis Rogers' withdrawal “ *without honour* ” from the engagements he had made, and this is scarcely surprising in view of Isabel's letter.

I have not ascertained if the lady he had in view, Katherine Dowlen, of Youghal (with whom, about a month later, he “ passed the meeting,” and was married to her 8 January, 1685) was wealthy or not. He himself undoubtedly had means, and was not infrequently called upon to advance money for the use of the Meeting until subscriptions came in at the next meeting. By his third wife he had five children, several of whom died young. He removed to Bristol from Cork and there died.

Isabel Yeamans married, secondly, in 1689, Abraham Morrice, of Lincoln, a widower ; they both died in 1704.

CHARLOTTE FELL SMITH.