

Richard Smith and his Journal 1817-1824

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WHAT did Richard Smith look like on his return to England? He cannot but have been thin, after all he had gone through; his face was shaved, for the operation is put down during the voyage: his hair had been cut in Liverpool. His dress would have a general similarity to that of Ohio Friends of the period, with modifications formed on the example of John Woolman. Being winter, he perhaps wore his "coarse drab coat" made in an "ancient manner"; his hat was white (*i.e.* drab) or the natural colour of the fur. (*The Quaker, a Study in Costume*, page 51.)

1821.

1 mo. 1. [In Manchester] Experienced much derision during the Day.

1 mo. 3. [At Stockport] Ollive Sims⁴⁷ said I must "have my hat dyed black" on account of Radicals wearing white Hats⁴⁸; said "first impressions were often lasting." "Some Friends that had white Hats had them dyed." I told him I would consider on the subject, but wd not promise to have it Dyed. On turning the subject in my Mind, after I left Stockport, Ollive's reasoning was not convincing to me.

[A side note by Toft Chorley says: "At this time the public mind was greatly agitated, and O. S. might justly suppose that this distinctive badge of one party might subject R. S. to abuse from the others."]

R. S. had sometimes, during the following months, to endure derision about his hat from rude people; looking at the question, after the lapse of a century, it seems that he was ill-advised to persist in his own view when it had been explained to him that, in this country, the hat he had worn in America was a political badge.

1 mo. 14. Met with some Derision about my Hat in the Streets of Uttoxeter.

2 mo. 1. Met with much derision about my hat at Uttoxeter, Cambridge & Alton.

1821.

- 4 mo. 20. Experienced a considerable degree of mocking & derision from some Children at Cheadle.
- 4 mo. 24. Reproachfully looked upon by some at Hanchurch.

The peculiarities he had adopted from a sense of duty were very real testimonies to him ; we can but faintly estimate the cost of the trial in appearing before his relatives and acquaintance in his altered dress. (See *The Quaker*, etc., pp. 89 and 90.) No doubt, as time went on, and clothes wore out—perhaps helped by a little quiet advice from friends whose opinion he valued—he dressed like English Friends :

1822.

- 4 mo. 2. Commenced wearing New Hat after a degree of previous exercise.

The entry

- 4 mo. 6. Derided by R. Prince at Dinner, which I was favoured to bear with a good degree of calmness,

probably refers to his opinions rather than to his dress : the text is added : “ I will set a watch on my lips, while the wicked is before me.”

When R. S. returned to Staffordshire, efforts were made to engage him in business :

1821.

- 1 mo. 15. Consulted with my Father on the propriety of accepting Jas. Beech's (p^r wife) proposition for me to undertake J. B.'s business, and he left me at liberty to pursue the Feelings of my own mind or what might be most conducive to my happiness ; but recommended precautionary measures should I engage it, which he did not doubt I should take.
- 2 mo. 2. Shewed to Father a letter which I received in America from E. Beech and shew'd him also a copy of the answer I sent to the same relative to the offer of agency which subject he left entirely with myself. I feel easy *now* to propose the subject to C. H. when I next see him which Father wondered I did not do before.
- 2 mo. 18. Samuel [Botham] ⁴⁹ strongly recommended me to enter into partnership with Brother John in the Malting line. I urged the scruple I had to sell Malt to public-houses ; upon the whole it did not feel easy to me. Yet I feel an increased desire to be near my dear Father, & to be of some service to my brother John, but the way appears rather shut up at present.
- 2 mo. 19. Brother Charles stated the conversation he had had with Father about me continuing at Alton, w^{ch} felt easy to me ;

but in the end, so far as he can be said to have had any definite employment, he became a clerk in the office of his brother-in-law, Charles Heaton, an estate agent at Endon, whose house was his home, though he was constantly away at Alton and elsewhere for days at a time, especially during the few remaining months of his father's life. R. S. was a most conscientious worker, but, we must admit, a very trying employé, owing to his frequent absences during the daytime. When at Endon, he habitually worked through the evening, and far into the night, to redeem lost time : 2 a.m. was quite a usual time to leave off, and the note "worked all night," or "did not go to bed," is not uncommon. He managed to do with little sleep, and often started from the house at a very early hour.

1822.

6 mo. 27. Fetched Nephew from Wetton school, leaving Endon about 3 in the morning. At Meeting at Leek, the fore part of which was dry & barren. Dined at Queens Head ; returned to Endon $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 2. Garden after I returned.

The strenuous life he led gave his friends some concern :

1823.

1 mo. 19. At T. C.'s, who advised me not to wear myself so hard.

The annoyance felt by his brother-in-law at his frequent absences never abated : the conflict of duties and lack of sympathetic understanding was a trial to R. S. to the end of his stay at Endon ; but it cannot be denied that he was at times very provoking :

1821.

4 mo. 23. On mentioning my prospect to Father of attending Yearly Meeting in London this year, he expressed some disapprobation, querying why we should go all over the World to Meeting? What induced me to enter into this way of life ?

8 mo. 2. Omitted going to F.M.M. at Leek this day, on account of C. H. pressing me much to stay to do his business. On weightily considering the subject, I felt easy to stay, & was favoured with great peace & serenity during the day.

9 mo. 25. On account of delay, some remarks made to me at night, which had a tendency to discompose my mind.

1822.

3 mo. 19. This morning while at Hebrew C. H. intimated if I did not go on with his work he must get somebody else.

5 mo. 14. Preparing for intended Journey [to Y. M.] to which C. H. now (as before) expressed disappointment he with others would experience, & spoke of getting some one else. I said little.

6 mo. 9. [On his return] Met with a more free reception than I expected.

1823.

1 mo. 16. Got ready to go to meeting but on urgent remonstrance of . . . and after considering, felt easy to stay at home.

At this time the life of the Society of Friends in Staffordshire was at a low ebb—the Meetings weak and the attendance often very small; “2 men Friends besides myself” —“6 women Friends and myself” —seven, six, five present at Monthly Meeting, are instances.

1821.

6 mo. 14. [Q. M. at Leek] Ann [Jones] had a strong Testimony to bear for the Meeting on its dwindled state.

9 mo. 13. [Q. M. at Newton] A Committee was appointed to visit the Monthly Meetings, which was in a great degree occasioned by the two first answers from Staffords^o.

A Friend of Leek, Samuel Hollinshead⁵⁰, conversed, 11th of Third Month, 1821, “on various subjects relating to Friends, particularly the great change that has taken place during his remembrance in the diminished number of Friends.” To such a weak body, the addition of a keen, well-concerned member was a support. R. S. was at once enlisted in the service of the Society, put on appointments, and sent as representative to Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and, later, to the Yearly Meetings of 1822 and 1823; he also attended the Ackworth General Meetings in 1821 and 1823. When George and Ann Jones,⁵¹ in First Month, 1823, and Thomas and Elizabeth Robson⁵² in Eighth month, held series of public meetings throughout the district, R. S. spared himself no pains in giving notice, arranging for rooms and acting as doorkeeper. One of his first appointments has a historical interest, for it was to “keep order” at the marriage of William Howitt and Mary Botham, at Uttoxeter, on the 16th of Fourth Month, 1821.⁵³ He reported to the Monthly Meeting: “I had nothing to remark contrary to good order, except the parties getting up too soon after the certificate was read.”

It is probable that Meetings for Worship were mostly held in silence, unless visiting Friends were present; we

have no more notes of preachers and texts, but continual mention of depression and lifelessness. Again and again, R. S. records the dullness which oppressed his spirit, often caused by the drowsiness of some present; it is a common remark that he did not feel any Life arise till just at the close, or after he had left the Meeting House; was it in part his own bodily fatigue? He refers two or three times to having spoken in meeting, but was probably silent as a rule.

While his diligence in attending Meetings for Worship was so exemplary—Endon to Leek, four miles; Alton to Uttoxeter, six miles; Alton to Leek, twelve miles—the effort of attending Monthly Meetings at Stafford, and the Quarterly Meetings, when held in Cheshire, was much greater:

1821.

- 7 mo. 5. From Butterson about $\frac{1}{2}$ p 6, arrived at Stafford in a little more than 4 hours, calling on the way at —— T's, Yarlet, where I left tract by R. Phillips on regeneration⁵⁴ and B. Burnett's Sentiments on Religion.⁵⁵ At F. M. M. which was dull . . . left Stafford soon after Dinner, arrived at Uttoxeter in about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours, rode a few miles behind the Gig with S. Botham, drank tea at S. B.'s, after w^{ch} departed for Alton, where I arrived about 9th hour, accomplishing about 34 miles this day.
- 9 mo. 6. Not been in Bed or had any Sleep last night. Departed from Endon this morning early [probably about 3], arrived at Brother Tho^s, Butterson, about 6th hour, when I partook of some coffee which refreshed me; borrowed his poney, with which I proceeded to Stafford, where I arrived at half-past 10. Visited the Infirmary, where I saw Tho^s Mellor,⁵⁶ to whom I gave a Testament. At F. M. M. . . . Hanley Friends request to sit together in a house was considered & minute cont^d. W. H.'s⁵⁷ manner of expression I did not think agreeable or suitable in a M. M. Departed from Stafford a little after 3^d hour, arrived at Uttoxeter at 7, drank tea, and then departed for Alton, where I arrived at 9, much wet.

On the 4th of Ninth Month 1823, T. Chorley puts the side note to a similar account: "Endon to Mo: Meeting at Stafford, returned to Endon, 49 miles." [4.30 a.m. to 9 p.m.]

1822.

- 9 mo. 12. Quarterly Meeting at Middlewich; from Endon 4th hour morning, Middlewich at 9; returned to Endon about 8 ("42 miles. T. C.").

The account of the two days 12th and 13th of Twelfth Month, 1821 is another instance :

- 12 mo. 12. Departed from Alton at 6, got to Leek in 3½ hours. At F. M. M. . . . arrived at Endon between 3 & 4. Engaged in the office till near mid Night. Omitted going to Bed the preceeding night ; Slept about 2 hours by the kitchen Fire.
- 12 mo. 13. Set off for Macclesfield about 5 ; arrived in abt 4½ hours. At F. Q. M. . . . arrived at Endon about 8. On the whole, favoured with a degree of peace this day.

Beginning in Fifth Month, 1821, R. S. devoted much time and energy to the work of the Leek Bible Association, and to the establishment of similar societies at Alton and elsewhere. Whole days were spent in canvassing those " in easy circumstances " for subscriptions, and in visiting cottages to supply Bibles, which were sold on the instalment system of payment. The bare statement of this service, as of much other activity, gives but a feeble idea of the labour involved—of day after day of work done and visits paid to beat up interest. It is clear that his was the driving power that led to success.

The visiting of poor families was another duty faithfully fulfilled, and many calls were paid on invalids. Family affairs were put on his shoulders ; the death of his father, in Eleventh Month, 1821, entailed a great deal of executorship work : he also helped in winding up the estate of an uncle who died soon after his return to England ; and the following entries are curious :

1821.

- 4 mo. 20. At Father's request I went to Farley and assisted to collect brother Thomas's Sheep, previous to taking them away. Set off from Farley about 11th hour and arrived at Majors Barn Land near Cheadle between 2nd & 3rd hour, with all the Sheep & Lambs safe, being 23 of each sort. Returned to Alton about 5th hour.

[This was one of the occasions of derision as he went through the main street with the sheep.]

- 4 mo. 24. Employ'd in assisting to take a Drove of Cattle to my Brother's Residence ; we arrived in 7 hours, passing through Cheadle, Trentham and Hanchurch [to Butterton].

During the winter of 1821-1822, R. S. was consulted by James Dix,⁵⁸ whose affairs required regulating, and whose accounts he, apparently, reduced to order ; many visits to the house and conversations while walking together are recorded. There is one entry showing that he was engaged in advising with T. Chorley about his estate at

Haregate. He constantly mentions arranging the accounts of his brothers, so that one judges he had quite a reputation as an accountant.

There is so little mention of Toft Chorley⁵⁹ in the transcript that one can only conclude that he purposely omitted the references to himself when transcribing; for we cannot doubt T. C.'s great interest in R. S.—the epithets in George Crosfield's draft, "humility, simplicity, meekness," would be derived from T. C., since G. C. had little or no opportunity of personal knowledge. That T. Chorley should take the trouble to copy his Journal—that James Dix should take him into his confidence about his disordered affairs—that Mrs. Beech should urge him again and again to help her husband with his accounts and papers—all show the high opinion entertained of him by those who knew him.

The Journal contains many instances of his scrupulously careful consideration of all his actions :

1821.

- 1 mo. 22. [In the church at his Uncle's funeral] C. H. requested me twice to pull off my Hat which I negatived.
- 3 mo. 22. Dined at the House of the Deceased [Joseph Lay]⁶⁰ where I thought that beautiful simplicity, gravity, plainness & solidity did not prevail which is so peculiar a characteristic of the possessors of the ever blessed Truth.
- 7 mo. 18. In silent waiting this morning felt the swift witness for not looking at the Man's paper which I saw at W^m Stubbs', Bank-End, yesterday.
- [Approval or disapproval ?]
- 8 mo. 20. Altered a figure in a plan (in the date) which afterwards felt uneasy to me.
- 9 mo. 12. Called at Congleton at the widow Garside & her son's, with whom I dined. Widow G. desired me to ask a blessing at Dinner, to wh^{ch} I expressed, I had not liberty.

1822.

- 8 mo. 15. Felt reproof (I trust of Instruction) after having *promised* Potter of Lichfield to send a plan within a specified time—being under circumstances not of my own controul.
- 9 mo. 9. Signed Legacy rec^t for my specific Legacy left me by my late Father, w^{ch} had occasioned me a degree of inward exercise, but terminated in peace.

1823.

- 5 mo. 1. Monthly Meeting at Uttoxeter. Exercised last night & this morning whether it would be right for me to go—which resulted, and my peace seemed to consist, to stay away.

Newspapers are rarely mentioned and the reading of them generally accompanied by the comment that so doing tends to relax the mind for devotion.

The following paragraphs from G. Crosfield's sketch of his life would be from information obtained from T. Chorley :

When unavoidably led into company where too much levity or unbecoming conversation occurred, he was not backward to endeavour to check it, expressing his sentiments plainly, yet with diffidence, to the parties ; &, if treated with ridicule or disdain, he bore it with patience and meekness.

The keen sense he had of the sufferings of the human race, & his desire to alleviate them extended also to the animal creation ; every species of cruelty towards them gave him pain ; he could not easily be induced to travel by a stage-coach, or other public conveyance ; & even refrained from riding on horseback, when he could avoid it.

We can gauge R. S.'s own sense of his position in his family circle, and their attitude towards him by the words entered on the day of his father's funeral, " Compared myself to a speckled bird " (probably a reference to Jer. xii. 9) ; he was among them, but not of them ; his real home and his heart were among Friends, without whose society and sympathy his life would have been lonely indeed.

In Seventh Month, 1821, R. S. walked to and from Ackworth for the General Meeting, being away from home seven days ; and in 1822, to the Yearly Meeting ; the walk up, 150 miles, took seven days, and the return five. He gives a full report of the proceedings at the Meeting and a minute account of the journey up and down—mileage, halts, scenery, soil, crops are jotted down, and he records gratefully the kindness of the Friends at whose houses he stopped on the road. He again walked up to the Yearly Meeting in 1823, but that visit opened up the next and last period of his career.

R. S. did not escape illness ; he had some returns of the fever that attacked him at Zanesville in 1820 ; but he generally threw them off in a few days. Better nourishment, the exercise he took, and the open air life he led kept him in good health as a rule, in spite of exposure to all weathers.

A duty, faithfully performed in England as in Ohio, was the difficult one of private admonition of individuals :

1821.

- 8 mo. 31. Towards the close of opportunity of silent waiting this morning, it was powerfully impressed on my mind to visit Hy. W. having been exercised on this same account (sleeping in meeting) various times before, but no way seemed to open till now : praised be the Lord for his condescension to his waiting dependent children.
- 9 mo. 2. I was favoured to feel divinely strengthened & I thought well rewarded with peace for visiting H. W.
- 10 mo. 11. Had some serious conversation with [a relative who had been intoxicated the preceding day] in which I was favoured with peace ; he took the advice better than I expected.

1822.

- 2 mo. 25. Exercised this morning on account of the unnecessary expensiveness of Dress of the Children of James Dix, which I did not feel easy to let pass without communicating to him (having been exercised therewith before). Wrote a few lines to him on the subject with an injunction to " Let it go no further."
- 2 mo. 28. Ja^s received my intimation respecting his childrens dress kindly.

1823.

- 1 mo. 8. [After Ann Jones's public meeting at Endon] Noticed to — his misbehaviour in the Meeting yesterday.
- 2 mo. 15. I mention'd to — my concern at his being too much in company.

A few miscellaneous extracts, and we must leave R. S.'s Staffordshire experiences :

1821.

- 7 mo. 20. [An instance of the harsh treatment of children at the period] A hard time with little Mary at night ; put her in the cupboard.
- 8 mo. 16. A desire of late has attended my mind that I might have my hands employed, and that while they are engaged in one thing not to lose sight of the *present* by suffering the mind to dwell too much on the *future* or *next* thing that may properly claim my attention.
- [He may have had the habit of dreaming over his work, for simple little tasks are often put down as if they had occupied considerable time ; and the following entry may bear on the same subject.]
- 11 mo. 22. The utility of patient waiting in civil employment was manifested to me by which the mind & body become—the former baptised & the latter fitted for answering the end of their creation.

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10 mo. 23. Two of C. H.'s children Mary & R^d were taken to the steeple-house to have water sprinkled on their faces, on which occasion a considerable company were collected, which I did not feel free to join at dinner, tea, or supper, in which I was favoured with peace.

11 mo. 27. At Leek, received a pert answer from C. Coupland's servant maid for going to the front door ; she said, I should go to the Kitchen : which I did, & after some consideration, gave her a tract of "Advice to Servants," marking with a pencil over and under the words, Avoid pert answers ; with which I felt peace.

12 mo. 3. [Being on appointment with James Dix to advise Friends about their wills, etc.] Set off for Hanley about past 12 where I arrived a little after 2. About 3 J. D. accompanied me to W. Howitt's where we sat about 2½ hours not to much satisfaction by reason of W. H. having so much of his own to offer. I felt peace in saying a few words at the last.

12 mo. 23. Exercised concerning the formation of a First-day School at Endon, the way to which does not seem at present to open with sufficient clearness.

1822.

7 mo. 10. Received a letter from brother John requesting me to go to the Shaw immediately at the desire of J. B. Felt most easy in taking brother Charles's Counsel of waiting till to-morrow, which resulted in peace.

7 mo. 11. [R. S. went to meeting at Leek and reached the Shaw at 4.30] Peaceful serenity felt during J. B. storming against C. H. Commenced arranging J. B.'s income account about 6 ; completed it. Engaged till 11 looking at & assisting in arrangement of Letters, throwing aside some.

7 mo. 12. Preparing Draft Schedule of Deeds & Papers ; assisting J. B. to look over, label & number sundry Letters and papers. Favoured at times as I was inwardly gathered (particularly just before dinner) to feel the good presence of the Most High to be near. Mercifully favoured to feel redeemed from the least desire, love, or coveting after ; may I not say a holy indifference was with me when I accompanied J. B. at night over his grounds ; whilst he extolled the trees, improvements, etc., I was mostly silent.

9 mo. 7. Went with J. Beech into his office & Commenced to assist in the arrangement of his papers in which I continued pretty closely engaged till between 9th & 10th hour with some degree of peace.

9 mo. 8. Engaged at J. B. (Shaw) copying his rental, etc. from loose papers into a book, collected the same & drew up a general statement of his annual income. Continued arrangement of his papers, appointed the 14th inst. to proceed in the same (if convenient) ; left Shaw after tea.

1823.

4 mo. 27. At Leek meeting, prep : where came two persons in veils, at whose coming in my mind was painfully affected.

The following case is interesting :

1821.

6 mo. 7. On my way to Leek, met with William Beardmore⁶¹ who inquired if I was not a Quaker, also when & where Friends meetings were held ; said he had never conversed with one before he saw me.

6 mo. 10. At Leek F. M. where W. Beardmore came for the first time. Returned most of the way with him & endeavoured to keep the mind gathered.

W. B. is often mentioned afterwards, though whether he joined the Society is not recorded : the following may indicate that he was a magistrate :

1822.

12 mo. 31. W. B. hat. On the way to Leek this morning, J. Curbishley mentioned a Justices' meeting that was held at Leek yesterday. W. Beardmore was there, with whom they questioned what was the matter (or to that effect). This communication was accompanied with weight to my mind.

[Apparently W. B. kept his hat on, as a Friend.]

JOHN D. CROSFIELD

To be continued

NOTES BY THE EDITOR

⁴⁷ Ollive Sims (1761-1836) was an Elder of Stockport Meeting, and a chemist and druggist by trade. In 1788, he married Sarah Phipps, of Norwich (d. 1821), and had ten children (see *F.Q.E.*, 1913—"A Quaker Medical Trio named Sims" by Joseph J. Green).

⁴⁸ Radicals began to be generally so called about 1816, and the name figured prominently in the movements in which "Orator" Hunt, Thistlewood and others played the chief parts. A clever poem setting forth the aims of these men, entitled *The White Hat*, was written in 1819 by E. L. Swifte. Henry Hunt (1773-1835), nicknamed "Orator Hunt," was a well-to-do Wiltshire farmer. In 1801 his hot temper embroiled him with the Commandant of the Wilts Yeomanry and brought him six weeks' imprisonment. He came out a hot Radical and spent the rest of his life travelling about the country. In 1819, on the occasion of the Peterloo massacre, he made a speech which cost him three years imprisonment. His hat was a white one and became the badge of his party. J.D.C.

When William and Mary Howitt were visited by Friends on their removal to Esher in 1836, "William inadvertently using the word Radical, the man Friend asked if he thought that word a desirable one for a Friend to use." *Autobiography of Mary Howitt*, 1889.

⁴⁹ Mary Howitt, in her *Autobiography*, 1889, writes of her father, Samuel Botham (1758-1823) : "He was descended from a long line of farmers, who had lived for centuries in primitive simplicity on their property, Apsford, situated in the bleak northern part of Staffordshire, known as the Moorlands . . . The town of Leek, in itself, a primitive

place, might be called the capital of this wild district . . . Strange, brutal crimes occurred from time to time . . . Sordid, penurious habits prevailed."

S. Botham married in 1796, Ann Wood, grand-daughter of William Wood, of Irish coinage fame, and settled at Uttoxeter. The first daughter Anna, married Daniel Harrison, of Yorkshire, in 1823 (see life of Lucy Harrison (1844-1915), entitled *A Lover of Books*), and their second daughter, Mary (1799-1888), married William Howitt (1792-1879).

Richard Smith was a visitor at the Botham home. Mary writes of him in her *Autobiography*: "He was a native of Staffordshire and a convinced Friend, who occasionally attended Uttoxeter meeting; and we girls had little idea of the love of God, thirst for souls, spirit of self-sacrifice and other Christian virtues, which were hidden under his strange, and, to us, forbidding aspect."

⁵⁰ Samuel Hollinshead, of Leek, died in 1822, aged seventy-five.

⁵¹ George Jones (1765-1841) was born at Horsehay, Salop, a son of pious parents, Friends. When twelve he was apprenticed to Joseph Heath, of Coventry, tailor and minister. At the age of eighteen he began to speak as a minister. In 1815, he married Ann Burgess, of Grooby Lodge, co. Leicester (1774-1846), who was also a minister. Their Gospel labours covered the British Isles, and from 1826 to 1830 they were engaged on a religious visit to North America. Sarah M. Grimké has left on record the proceedings of their last evening in Philadelphia, spent at the house of John Paul (*The Friend*, Phila., vol. 86 (1912), p. 203). Sermons preached by George and Ann Jones at Nine Partners, Stanford, and Oblong, State of New York, in 1828, are extant in print, also letters, etc. in D. G. Jones had great belief in the circulation of literature and his "Stockport Tracts" were widely dispersed.

⁵² Thomas Robson, of Liverpool (1768-1852) and Elizabeth (Stephenson) his wife (1771-1843) travelled far and wide in the service of the Gospel.

⁵³ A chapter in Mary Howitt's *Autobiography* is devoted to a sketch of her husband's ancestry. William Howitt was born at Heanor and was educated at Ackworth. W. and M. Howitt left Friends. Their literary labours were very prolific. They died in Rome.

⁵⁴ Richard Phillips (1756-1836) wrote *Hints, chiefly Scriptural, respecting Regeneration*. This was printed, without his name, in 1808, and ran through several editions during the following forty years.

⁵⁵ Bishop Burnet's *Sentiments on Religion* had recently been included in *A Definition of True Religion by Authors of different religious denominations*, printed at Stockport in 1816, taken from Lindley Murray's *Power of Religion on the Mind*, many editions, 1787 to 1845.

⁵⁶ Thomas Mellor may have been of the family of Mellor of Whitehough, near Leek, for which see *John ap John*, by William G. Norris, 1907.

⁵⁷ Probably William Howitt.

⁵⁸ It is stated of James Dix (c. 1757-1840) of Leek, in *The Annual Monitor* for 1841, that he "long filled the important stations of Overseer and Elder, and was exemplary in the diligent attendance of meetings for worship, as well as concerned consistently to maintain our several religious testimonies," which statement is interesting in view of the remarks of Richard Smith.

⁵⁹ Mary Howitt had a good opinion of Toft Chorley, if not of Leek Friends generally, "The Friends of Leek had, all, with one exception, a cold, bleak, moorland character. They were not a well-favoured race,

and were neither good-mannered nor affable. The one exception was Toft Chorley, a gentleman with very little appearance of the Quaker about him. He had a country dwelling on the moorlands, but was always at his town house in Leek on Monthly Meeting days to receive and entertain Friends (*Autobiography*, i. 58).

⁶⁰ The Friends' Registers for Staffordshire record the burial of Joseph Lay, of Leek, in 1821 and of his wife, Sarah (Martin), in 1816, he aged seventy-nine and she sixty-six.

⁶¹ In the Birth Registers appear several children of William and Hannah Beardmore, of Newcastle, Staffs., between 1815 and 1833, those born before 1828 being non-members, the father being described as "earthenware painter."

Distress in Ireland, 1847

"A famine fell upon nearly one half of a great nation. The whole world hastened to contribute money and food. But a few courageous men left their homes in Middlesex and Surrey, and penetrated to the remotest glens and bogs of the west coast of the stricken island, to administer relief with their own hands. To say that they found themselves in the valley of the shadow of death would be but an imperfect image; they were in the charnel house of a nation. Never since the fourteenth century did pestilence, the gaunt handmaid of famine, glean so rich a harvest. In the midst of a scene, which no field of battle ever equalled in danger, in the number of its slain, or the sufferings of the surviving, these brave men moved as calm and undismayed as though they had been in their own homes. The population sank so fast that the living could not bury the dead; half-interred bodies protruded from the gaping graves; often the wife died in the midst of her starving children, whilst the husband lay a festering corpse by her side. Into the midst of these horrors did our heroes penetrate, dragging the dead from the living with their own hands, raising the head of famishing infancy, and pouring nourishment into parched lips, from which shot fever-flames more deadly than a volley of musketry. Here was courage. No music strung the nerves; no smoke obscured the imminent danger; no thunder of artillery deadened the senses. It was cool self-possession and resolute will; calculating risk and heroic resignation. And who were these brave men? To what gallant corps did they belong? Were they of the horse, foot, or artillery force? They were Quakers from Clapham and Kingston! If you would know what heroic actions they performed you must enquire from those who witnessed them. You will not find them recorded in the volumes of reports published by themselves, for Quakers write no bulletins of their victories."—Cobden's *Collected Writings*, i. 494-5, quoted in Morley's *Life of Cobden*, p. 604.

¹ Who were these Friends?