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## VOLUME 1, 1903-1904.

CONTAINS :

The Handwriting of George Fox. *Illustrated.*  
Our Recording Clerks :  
    (1.) Ellis Hookes.      (2.) Richard Richardson.  
The Case of William Gibson, 1723. *Illustrated.*  
The Quaker Family of Owen.  
Cotemporary Account of Illness and Death of George Fox.  
Early Records of Friends in the South of Scotland.  
Edmund Peckover's Travels in North America.

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## VOLUME 2, 1905.

CONTAINS :

Deborah Logan and her Contributions to History.  
Joseph Williams's Recollections of the Irish Rebellion.  
William Penn's Introduction of Thomas Ellwood.  
Meetings in Yorkshire, 1668.  
Letters in Cypher from Francis Howgill to George Fox.  
The Settlement of London Yearly Meeting.  
Joseph Rule, the Quaker in White.  
Edmund Peckover, Ex-Soldier and Quaker. *Illustrated.*  
"William Miller at the King's Gardens."

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## VOLUME 3, 1906.

CONTAINS :

Words of Sympathy for New England Sufferers.  
David Lloyd. *Illustrated.*  
King's Briefs, the Forerunners of Mutual Insurance  
    Societies.  
Memoirs of the Life of Barbara Hoyland.  
"Esquire Marsh."  
Irish Quaker Records.

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## VOLUME 4, 1907.

CONTAINS :

Our Bibliographers—John Whiting.  
Presentations in Episcopal Visitations, 1662-1679.  
Episodes in the Life of May Drummond.  
The Quaker Allusions in "The Diary of Samuel Pepys."  
    *Illustrated.*  
Personal Recollections of American Ministers, 1828-1852.  
Early Meetings in Nottinghamshire.



THE JOURNAL  
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FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Contents.	PAGE
Notes and Queries :—	
Author of Quotation—Edward Higginson—Ludgater Family of Essex and Sussex - - - - -	146
Extracts relating to Friends from the “Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe.” By <i>Elsie M. Smith</i> - - - - -	147
John Bright and the Carpet - - - - -	170
Friends in Current Literature. By the Editor - - - - -	170
Index to Volume viii. - - - - -	171

*The Journal of George Fox edited from the MSS. by Norman Penney, F.S.A., with an Introduction by T. Edmund Harvey, M.A., M.P., is announced by the Cambridge University Press for publication early in November. (In two volumes, price 21s., bound in grey buckram, gilt top, with two photogravure portraits and plates. Vol. I., pp. 512 ; Vol. II. pp. 538.)*

Now for the first time, 220 years after the death of Fox, his *Journal* is printed *verbatim et literatim* from the original MSS. Abundant notes, from the pen of the Editor, are to be found at the close of each volume ; these are the result of an immense amount of research into many obscure and hitherto unpublished sources. The great work of preparing this new edition has occupied Norman Penney for nearly four years ; members of the Friends' Historical Society will be glad to learn that he is now enjoying a tour in America.

Headley Brothers have been appointed agents by the Cambridge University Press with a view to circulation amongst Friends ; the book is being handled in America by John C. Winston Co., 1010 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

## Notes and Queries.

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AUTHOR OF QUOTATION.—A correspondent in *The Friend* (Phila.), states that the words, once frequently heard in Meeting, “fruitful in the field of offering and joyful in the house of prayer,” are to be found in a sermon preached by J. J. Gurney, and are presumably his own words. They occur in a sermon he preached in the North Meeting-house, Phila., Second Month 18, 1838. See *Sermons and Prayers*, by Joseph John Gurney, Phila., 1838, p. 23.

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EDWARD HIGGINSON (vii., 144).—By the kindness of Gertrude E. Clarke, of Chatteris, we have been able to examine several documents relating to this Friend. He received more than twelve certificates from his Monthly Meeting to travel as a Minister in various parts of England, 1751-70. One of these is as follows:—

To Friends of the Second Days Morning Meeting in London.

Dear Friends

Our Friend Edward Higginson have laid before us his Concern of Mind, To pay you a Religious Visitt, also Requested of us a Certificate for that Purpose.—Therefore these are to Acquaint you, that he is in good Unity with us both as a Minister & Elder, his life and Conversation being Consistent therewith, and also that we Concurr with him in his Concern to pay you this visitt—Heartily desiring it may Tend to your Edification and Advantage, and that he may return with the Reward of Peace in his own Bosom.

With the Salutation of dear Love We remain your Friends and Brethren, Signd in and at our Monthly Meeting held at Huntingdon the 5<sup>th</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> Month 1769.

Anna Maria Gray  
Eliza : Wright  
Ann Bleckly  
Sarah Poulter  
Susanna Pettit  
Esther Bleckly  
Elizabeth Gray  
Ann Woolstone  
Mary Wright  
Ellington Wright  
John Read  
W<sup>m</sup> Ayscough  
Abraham Prior  
John Prior  
Joseph Waller  
W<sup>m</sup> Wright  
Henry Gray  
Fra<sup>s</sup> (?) Ellington  
James Poulter  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Abbott  
Edward Luff  
Samuel Poulter  
W<sup>m</sup> Wright, Jun<sup>r</sup>  
Will<sup>m</sup> Pryor  
Will<sup>m</sup> Clay  
Henry Bass

---

LUDGATER FAMILY, OF ESSEX AND SUSSEX.—Alfred Ludgater, of Braintree, Essex, has recently written a *Brief History of the Ludgater Family, from 1641 to the Present Time*. This is, at present, in manuscript in possession of the Author, who would be glad to receive further information respecting the family of Ludgater

## Extracts relating to Friends from the "Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe."

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John Thurloe (1616-1668) was secretary to the Council of State, 1652, and Member of Parliament for Ely, 1654 and 1656, and for Cambridge University, 1659. He had charge of the intelligence and postal departments and was made member of the Council (*D.N.B.*)

His Collection of State Papers is the chief authority for the history of the Commonwealth. "They contain a very great variety of authentic memorials of the English history from the death of King Charles I. to the restoration of his son, King Charles II., with some few papers between the year 1638 and the commencement of that period." They were first published in 1742, in seven folio volumes, edited with biography and index by Thomas Birch (1705-1766, ex-Friend). The Collection is dedicated to Philip, Lord Hardwicke, the Lord Chancellor, and was subscribed for by some six hundred persons and institutions.

The principal part consists of a series of papers discovered in the reign of William III. "in a false ceiling in the garrets belonging to Secretary Thurloe's Chambers, No. xiii., near the chapel in Lincoln's Inn." The discoverer, a clergyman, sold them to Lord Somers, then Lord Chancellor, who had them bound in sixty-seven volumes folio. They then passed to Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, and were purchased at his death by Fletcher Gyles, bookseller. Richard Rawlinson purchased them from Gyles in 1752, and left them to the Bodleian library at his death, 1755. The MSS. in the Bodleian are catalogued as Rawlinson MSS. A. vols. 1 to 73, and they contain a considerable number of unpublished papers.

The remainder of the MSS. printed in the seven volumes consists of various papers communicated to the Editor by Lord Hardwicke, Lord Shelburne and others; references to the original MSS. are given in the margin. Most of these MSS. are now in the British Museum (Addit. MSS. 4157, 4158).

ELSIE M. SMITH.

## LEICESTERSHIRE.

To the Protector.

Wee having this opportunity, judged it our duty to give your highnes this account : there hath of late beene in our countrey a great concourse of those people called quakers, 200 at least, in Swannington.<sup>1</sup> They had quarters taken up from the adjacent townes : they came from London, Bristoll, Cambridge, and Yorke. Those from London and Cambridge sayd they expected 2000. They have a printer<sup>2</sup> with them, and sixe are constantly writing : they are very insolent, disturbing ministers in time of exercise on the Lord's-day ; and they have lett droppe words of ill favour amongst the people frequently, as that if the people will have their priests, they must shortly maintaine them with clubs ; and that the people should see a change, and something to doe betwixt this and the spring. These things doe much amuse the people ; some saying they would not be soe daring, if they had not good backers ; others saying they believe the parliament will take order about them, if your highnes will give leave. By this meanes profane persons are confirmed in their atheisme ; cavaliers encouraged and heightend in their expectations ; godly people discontented, that the government should be soe much a sleep as to suffer such in their insolency, which is falsely called a liberty, for as they manage it, it is not only disturbing but destructive to the civill and christian libertyes of others. These things looke with an ill face in the account of all, and not without much reflection uppon the government ; and generally they strike at those ministers, who are most paynfull, and stand firmest in the consciences of the people. To this wee may adde, that some horse-coursers of late have bought up many good horses, and tell their friends privately, that they know where to have 3l. and 5l. profitt in a horse without carrying them into a fayre ; and a servant to a Papish within a mile told some, that hee beleevd the army would have worke betwixt this and the spring. Wee shall add noe more,

<sup>1</sup> This General Meeting at Swannington is mentioned briefly by George Fox in his *Journal*.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Giles Calvert, see next letter.

but pray that the Lord would give your highnes understanding of the times to know what England hath to doe · that hee who dwelt in the bush be your rereward, which is the duty of

Your highnes most humble servants,	
Dalby in Leicestershire,	WILLIAM SHEFFIELD,
Jan. 9, 1654	THOMAS COCKRAM.
	Vol. iii., p. 94.

To the Protector.

We receaved your highnes letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of this instant January, which hath much refreshed our spiritts, and in pursuance of our duty wee further give your highnes to understand, that imediately uppon the newes of armes being seized at Burton uppon Trent, the quakers, who were at Swannington, sent to those at Ashby de la Zouch, at eight of the clock in the night, to breake up presently, and be gone. And they went away from Ashby (which borders more uppon Burton) that very night (though it was darke and rayny) at eleven of the clocke, and those at Swannington dispersed themselves very early the next morning. They say they had summons to rendevouz from one Foxe, who gave them intimation, that there should be betweene one and two thousand. And though under pretence of peacablenes, they had not soe much as a cane or a staffe in their hands, yet some of them were accidentally seene to have pistolls at their sides under their cloakes and in their pocketts. The printer who was with them was Giles Calvert of London, who stay'd with them eight or nine dayes, and is now gone up to London with two or three queere of paper written to be putt into print.<sup>3</sup> One Muggleston of Swannington,<sup>4</sup> whose howse was the onlie place of their entertainment, did say, that Cockram should smart for his hard speeches concerning them ; and for Sheffield, they sayd, they should have him in the lowse-howse ere it were long. Wee take the boldnes further to acquaint your highnes, that there are many honest men (formerly

<sup>3</sup> Several tracts, written by Fox, were printed by Calvert in 1654.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Muggleston is mentioned by Besse (*Suff.* i. 333) ; see THE JOURNAL, vi. 74.



souldiers) that are very cordiall to publique interest, and to your highnes, who are very willing (if your highnes judge meet) to be put into a posture, that they might be the better capable of serving your highnes and their countrey. Wee hope the lord will worke out much good out of these shakings and confusions, and that this last engine of Sathan shall prove a lye. In order to which wee humbly begg of the Lord, to keepe your highnes person and heart, that you may be further instrumentall for the good of these poore nations, which is the duty of,

Your highnes

Ibstock, January 21,            most humble servants,  
1654.                                WILLIAM SHEFFIELD,  
   THOMAS COCKRAM.

Vol. iii. p. 116.

### BRISTOL.

The Information of GEORGE COWLITHAY, of the City of Bristol, ironmonger, taken Jan: 22, 1654[5].

Who informeth upon his oath, that in the month of September last this informant had some discourse in Bristol with one mr. Coppinger, an Irishman, formerly a school-fellow of his, who came thither purposely for his passage into Ireland, and told this informant, that he had lived in Rome and Italy these eight or nine years, and taken upon him the order of a frier of the Franciscan company; and he told this informant, that he had been at London lately for some months, and whilst he was there, he had been at all the churches and meetings, publick and private, that he could hear of, and that none came so near him as the quakers; and being at a meeting of the quakers, there he met with two of his acquaintance in Rome, that were now become chief speakers among the quakers, and he himself had spoken in London among the quakers above thirty times, and was well approved of among them; the which two aforementioned persons are two of the same Franciscan order and company. And this informant farther saith, that the said mr. Coppinger asked him, what kind of opinions in religion there were in Bristol? and this informant told him, there were several opinions and judgments; and not naming any of



the opinions of the said quakers, the said Coppinger asked him, whether there had been any of the quakers in Bristol ? and this informant then answered him no. Whereupon the said mr. Coppinger told him. this informant, two or three times, that if he did love his religion and his soul, he should not hear them. Whereupon this informant told him, he thought none of them would come to Bristol ; who presently replied, that if this informant would give him five pounds, he would make it five hundred pounds, if some quakers did not come to Bristol within three weeks or a month then following ; and on the morrow following the said mr. Coppinger departed from this city to Ireland, his native place ; and about 18 days after, there came to this city two persons that did bear the name of quakers.<sup>5</sup>

Vol. iii., p. 117.

#### REPORTS OF FOREIGN AMBASSADORS.

BORDEAUX, French Ambassador in England, to Cardinal Mazarin.

. . . Here is a new sect on foot, whom they call quakers. Their number is considerable throughout the provinces. They do pretend here, that it is for the advantage of the present state, that there are so many divisions in their religion, to the end that no one body should grow very considerable ; and also the discourse of the lord protector doth hint, that he never fought against monarchy, but rather for liberty of conscience. . . .

February 4, 1655 [N.S.]

Vol. iii., p. 123.

NIEUPOORT, the Dutch Ambassador in England to the States General.

London, May 12, 1656 [N.S.]

. . . They write over hither out of Ireland, that the quakers do encrease there very much ; and that by their means some mutiny hath happened in the regiment of col. Phaire ; but that the same was presently pacified, and the authors sent for up.

Vol. iv., p. 757.

<sup>5</sup> " The first ministering friend who travelled to this city [Bristol] was John Audland . . . in the year 1654, on the 12th day of the 5th month of that year. And about the beginning of the 7th mo. following, he, with John Camm accompanying him, returned hither again " (*F.P.T.*). The latter visit appears to be the one referred to.



## HAMPSHIRE.

To Secretary Thurloe.

. . . Coll. Norton<sup>6</sup> and mr. Love were with us att the bench, and all things seeme to goe on very cheerefully ; but Foxe and two more eminent northerne quakers have been in Sussex, and are now in this county, doing much worke for the devill, and delude many simple soules, and att the same time there are base bookes against the lord protector disperst among the churches, but rejected by all sober men. I have some thoughts to lay Foxe and his companions by the heeles, if I see a good opportunity. . . .

Your most affectionate friend  
and humble servant,

Winchester, the 10th of January, 1655.     W. GOFFE.<sup>7</sup>  
Vol. iv., p. 408.

To Secretary Thurloe.

Hursly, the 29th Decemb. 57.

. . . Sir, I find the Quakers interpose here in theyr design ; for one of them was saying not long since, that ere long we should have our bellies full of blood : the fellow is a factious busey-body man ; he lives in Southampton : and there is one captain Every,<sup>8</sup> an eminent man amongst them, that hath arms enough to arm a company. This Every is one of the excise, and a great Quaker. Now if his highness please, that these arms may be taken from him, it will arme one of our militia-compagny in that towne ; and it will be a great strengthening to this place, for the town is very considerable, and there is but one company of the army there, which indeed is very diligent in their worke. . . .

Your honor's humble servant,

JO. DUNCH.<sup>9</sup>  
Vol. vi., p. 710.

<sup>6</sup> Col. Richard Norton, Governor of Portsmouth, and Councillor of State, a man of great influence in the West of England. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*

<sup>7</sup> William Goffe, Major-General for Berkshire, Sussex, and Hampshire.

<sup>8</sup> Captain Every is not known to us.

<sup>9</sup> John Dunch was a Hants commissioner for ejecting scandalous ministers (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1658-9).



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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
GEORGE FOX

EDITED FROM THE MSS

BY

NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

T. EDMUND HARVEY, M.A.

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR WEST LEEDS



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## EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE

THIS edition of *The Journal of George Fox* differs from all its predecessors in that it is printed, *verbatim et literatim*, from the original manuscripts, whilst the first edition, which has been followed in all subsequent ones, was much edited and altered, though based upon the same manuscripts.

Permission to print the manuscripts was readily granted by the owner, Robert Spence, of London and North Shields, and students of history are under great obligation to him for making possible the publication of this Quaker classic in its original form.

The manuscripts were transcribed for the press by J. Guthlac Birch, of London. The printers' proofs have been checked by me with the originals and a few textual notes have been added. It is hoped, therefore, that an accurate representation is now before the reader.

The notes to be found at the close of each volume are the result of a considerable amount of research into many obscure and hitherto unpublished sources. I am greatly indebted to William Charles Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B., of Banbury, Joseph J. Green, of Hastings, William I. Hull, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, and others in various parts of the British Islands and the United States, for valuable help. I should heartily welcome further information bearing on the persons referred to in *The Journal*.



## EXTRACT FROM THE EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The various documents reduced to print in the following pages originally formed part of the collection of manuscript accumulated and preserved at Swarthmoor Hall, in Furness, North Lancashire, the home of the Fell family and also of George Fox after his marriage with Margaret Fell.

From the beginning of her connection with the Quaker movement, Margaret Fell carried on an extensive correspondence with the travelling ministers and others who needed advice or who desired to inform her of the progress of their work, and, fortunately for the historian, large numbers of these letters and of other documents were carefully laid by in the muniment room at the Hall. At the death of Margaret Fox (formerly Fell), these Swarthmoor Papers were safeguarded by the youngest daughter, Rachel, and her husband, Daniel Abraham, who resided at Swarthmoor, and, later, they came into the possession of John Abraham, their only surviving child.

At the sale of the Swarthmoor estate in 1759, the Papers were dispersed among various members of the family; portions of the collection are still in the possession of John Abraham's descendants, while, from time to time, the major part has found its way by gift and purchase into the Friends' Reference Library at Devonshire House, London.

We are concerned with one portion only of these Papers—that which includes the recital of George Fox's labours and travels. Of this, we read "the Journal and the documents which accompanied it passed from his [John Abraham's] widow, Sarah Abraham, to Dodgshon Foster, the son of her eldest brother, and from him, at his death in 1782, to his son, Robert Foster, of Hebblethwaite (afterwards of Newcastle-upon-Tyne), descending in 1827 to his son, James Foster. After the death of James Foster in 1861, the 'Swarthmore MSS.,' as they were then called,



### *Extract from the Editor's Introduction*

were given by Rachel Foster, his widow, to his nephew, Robert Spence, of North Shields, from whom they descended in 1890 to his son [Charles James Spence, of North Shields], ("A Brief Account of the Manuscript Journal of George Fox," by Charles J. Spence, in *The Essayist and Friends' Review*, First Month, 1893). On the death of C. J. Spence in 1905, the MSS. came into possession of his son, Robert Spence, artist, of London and North Shields, who placed them on loan at Devonshire House in 1906 and by whose permission they have been transcribed and printed.

In order to preserve them carefully, the manuscripts containing *The Journal*, and the various illustrative documents inserted here and there among them, were entrusted by Robert Spence, the elder, to the care of Thomas W. Waters, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, who had each leaf separately inlaid (*i.e.* framed in paper), and the whole bound in two volumes in red russia, richly gilt tooled. The paper used bears date 1878....These volumes are now known as Spence MSS. i. and ii. There are indications that the papers were bound in one volume at an earlier period—fragments of rough millboard covers are still in existence, and tradition ascribes the attachment of a pair of clasps (*Jnl. F. H. S.* viii. 50). The general condition of the MSS. is excellent and betokens great care on the part of the various owners.

Each volume, as now bound, contains 230 leaves, the MSS. measuring about twelve inches by seven and a half. The narrative portion (which can be traced through the two printed volumes by means of footnotes, see i. 4, 9, etc.) occupies 270 leaves, most of which are paged consecutively to 411, the remainder being additions in the same handwriting, unnumbered, and often with devotional endings (see i. 138. 1; ii. 8. 1).

In his testamentary dispositions George Fox makes mention of "y<sup>e</sup> great Journall of my Life, Sufferings, Travills, and Imprisonments" (ii. 347), doubtless in reference to the preceding dictated narrative, and he appoints certain Friends to attend to the printing of the same. In the minutes of the Morning Meeting (the body of Friends appointed to examine MSS. and approve or disapprove of the printing of the same), soon after Fox's death, we



### *Extract from the Editor's Introduction*

learn that the work of transcription for the press was undertaken by Thomas Ellwood. . . . . There were many delays, however; the transcription took a longer time to finish than was anticipated and before the "copy" was committed to the printer, it was carefully read and re-read in order, as Ellwood writes, "That nothing may be omitted fit to be inserted, nor any thing inserted fit to be left out" (Barclay, *Letters*, p. 213; see *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1902), so that, as William Penn put it, "It might not sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears." One object of the present work is to present *The Journal* as first written, not as smoothed and modified by Ellwood and the editorial committees. "The native greatness of Fox asserts itself convincingly through all the ruggedness of the Great Journal and if there are touches of self-importance and extravagant mystical language, we feel that they too, under the conditions of the age, are a natural part, such as we should expect to find, of his commanding personality" (W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*).

*The Journal* thus edited, appeared in 1694 (see thereon ii. 109. 4, 349. 2).

Subsequent editions were brought out in England in 1709, 1765, 1827, 1836, 1852 and 1891 (with reprints in 1901 and 1902) and in America in 1800, 1808, 1831 and 1833 (see Appendix to reprint of 1901), but the original manuscripts do not appear to have been consulted in the preparation of any of these later editions.

Considerable care has been exercised in the collation of the manuscript *Journal* with the Ell. edd., and an attempt has been made to distinguish the matter omitted from the latter, and therefore printed for the first time, by enclosing it within brackets.

It must be borne in mind by those who use this edition of *The Journal of George Fox* that it is the reproduction in print of a certain collection of MSS. and is not based upon editions of *The Journal* previously printed, and especially that the text of this edition covers the period of Fox's life from 1650 to 1675 only.



[*The examination of George ffox att ye Sessions att Lancaster before Judge ffell & Coll. West & other Justices: 1652*<sup>1</sup>.

*Cor: West:* Are you scholar and soe irrationall as to say That wee were talkeinge and after he said that hee was equall with god; sett some face upon what you have sayd; were you a partie to ye discourse, and can you remember one parte and forgett annother; hath not this Mr Smith shewed greate zeale, and sayd hee wished it were in his power to have disposed of George ffox.

*W:* If hee had had power hee said that hee would have made him to have forsaken his profession, and to have denyed that he had the spirit of god and if hee had had George ffox in his power hee would have taken away his life.

*Smithe:* I deny that I sayd that I would have taken away his life; But hee was callinge of mee Divele and Child of Perdition, and I asked him howe I became a divele: and he said that he was the Judge of the World. And I said if it were in my power I would have made him recall that word.

*Cor: West:* Did hee {say}: I George ffox am ye Judge of the Worlde.

*Rowland Penney to Smithe:* Thou said to mee, little didst thou thinke thou should have seene mee in y<sup>t</sup> minde; when thou and I was in Scotland.

...*Lawson:* Hee said if hee had had him in his power hee would have taken away his life.

*Judge ffell:* First yee say that he was equall with god, and then yee say hee lett fall theise wordes that he was equall with God.

*Judg ffell:* To ye second Question That God taught deceipt.

*Robert Withers:* Hee spoke against all Teachers, but God himselfe that teacheth purely and perfectly.

*Smithe:* Wee were speakeinge of ye Bible and I affirmed it to be ye word of God and hee asked how I could witnes it, and I answered by itselfe and hee said that was without, and I said it was within, because Gods spirit wittnessed with myne.



## PAGE NOTE

- 57 2 The order of events may be set out as follows:—  
*Examination* at Holker Hall, 1663, before Rawlinson, Preston Middleton, and others—committed to the next Sessions (pp. 39—41).  
*Sessions* at Lancaster, 1663, before Fleming, Spencer, West, and Rawlinson—committed to the Assizes (pp. 42—56).  
*First Assizes*, 14. i. (Mar.), 1663/4, before Judge Twisden—committed to the next Assizes (pp. 56—63).  
*Second Assizes*, 29. vi. (Aug.), 1664, before Judge Turner—committed to next Assizes (pp. 72—83).  
*Third Assizes*, 16. i. (Mar.), 1664/5, before Judge Twisden—*praemunired* (pp. 84—89).  
*Removal to Scarborough Castle*, April, 1665 (pp. 92—94).  
*Release*, 1st September, 1666 (p. 102).
- 60 1 This Indictment in Latin and English is written in a bold hand on one side only of each of the nine leaves containing it. The leaves are much worn at the bottom right hand corners and are much discoloured. On the verso of the second sheet Fox has written the words forming the heading as printed. The last sheet is endorsed by Lower "A Copy of G. ff's Indictment att Lancaster 16 of y<sup>e</sup> mo<sup>th</sup> caled March 1663, these are {y<sup>e</sup>} first tryalls of G: ff at Lancaster 1663 to be engrossed in order as they are now placed."
- 60 2 That is, "Gardianum Ecclesiae" = the "Churchwarden" of Lancaster. The ms. is not clear, but it should probably have been transcribed "ecclie."
- 61 1 Thomas Carus, Justice, is mentioned, with others of the Carus (Carehous) family, in the *Annals of the Parish of Halton*, 1900. He was one of the lessees in 1651, etc. of the manors of Hornby and Tatham, "then lately belonging to the Lord Morley, and sequestered for his delinquency" (ms. in D. by William Hewitson, of Bury, 1910).  
*Trans. Cumb. and Westm. A. and A. Soc.* 1909, 1910.
- 61 2 See 39. 1.
- 61 3 Nathaniel West, of Levens Hall ( —1670/71). He is described in a letter from Sir Daniel Fleming in 1666 as "Popish recusant" and requested to give an account of all arms in his possession, and to engage to hold them for the King's service. In his reply two days later, from Nether Levens, he states that he is not so well furnished with arms as he was against Sir George Booth, when he lived at Borwick (Hist. mss. Com. *Fleming mss.*).  
*Trans. Cumb. and Westm. A. and A. Soc.* 1910.
- 61 4 Matthew Richardson's name appears with those of other Justices among the Fleming mss., anno 1672. He was, perhaps, the same as Matthew Richardson, brother of Margaret Fell, mentioned in the will of George Fell (1670), printed *Jnl. F. H. S.* viii. and mentioned also in *Fells*, 1865, pp. 256—258.
- 62 1 Ell. edd. give a long address to Justice Fleming from the many prisoners in Lancaster Castle, also a few words subscribed by Fox only.
- 63 1 During this time Fox wrote two short epistles, one a warning to all professors and the other to Friends "to keep out of that Spirit, that wrought in John Perrot and his Company" (Ell. edd.).
- 63 2, 3 The "very wicked booke" was *Antichrist's Strongest Hold overturned: or, The Foundation of the Religion of the People called Quakers, Bared and Razed, in a Debate had with some of them in the Castle at*



# THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX

EDITED FROM THE MSS BY  
NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A.



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## FORM OF ORDER

To M. HEADLEY BROTHERS, .....

140, BISHOPSGATE, .....

LONDON, E.C. ....

*Please send me ..... cop..... of the above work at  
the price of 21s. net, for which I enclose .....*

*Name*.....

*Address*.....

*Date*.....



DORSET.

To Secretary Thurloe.

The inclosed, with many others, were going to the quakers to be dispersed by them to their friends in the west of England, but intercepted, and now in the custody of sir John Copleston, who at present is with me ; but by the next he intends to send you two apiece of the rest. . . .

Yours in all affection,  
Shaftesbury, Feb. 12. 1655. JOHN DISBROWE.<sup>10</sup>  
Vol. iv., p. 531.

IRELAND.

To Secretary Thurloe.

February 6. 55.

. . . Our most considerable enemy nowe in our view are the quakers, whoe begin to growe in some reputation in the county of Corke, their meetinges being attended frequently by col. Phaier,<sup>11</sup> major Wallis,<sup>12</sup> and most of the chief officers thereabouts. Some of our souldiers have bin perverted by them, and amongst the rest his highness's cornet to his owne troop<sup>13</sup> is a professed quaker, and hathe writte to me in their stile. Major Hodden,<sup>14</sup> the governor of Kinsale, is, I feare, goeing that way ; he keepes one of them to preach to the souldiers. I thinke their principles and practises are not verry consistent with civil government, much less with the discipline of an army. Some thinke them to have noe designe, but I am not of that opinion. Their counterfeited simplicitie renders them to me the more dangerous. I wish they bee not too much slighted in Englande. Sir H. Vane, and such like, whoe are as rotten in their

<sup>10</sup> For Major-General Desborough see *Camb. Jnl.*

<sup>11</sup> Lieut.-Col. Robert Phayre (1619 ?-1682), regicide. He is said to have become a Muggletonian (*D.N.B.*).

<sup>12</sup> Major Peter Wallis is several times mentioned in the State Papers (see *Cal.* 1653-4, 1655, 1659-60).

<sup>13</sup> Edward Cook, of Bandon, " a man of great parts, a Cornet of Horse in Oliver Cromwell's own troop, and Receiver to the Lord Cork " (Rutty, *Hist. of Friends in Ireland*, 1751, p. 95). His wife was Lucretia Cook.

<sup>14</sup> For Major Richard Hodden, see *THE JOURNAL*, vii. 101-103.



principles, cane make good use of such delusions as these, 5th monarchy, and the like, to carry on their designs. . . .

Your truely affectionate freind  
and humble servant,

H. CROMWELL.<sup>15</sup>

Vol. iv., p. 508.

To Henry Cromwell, Major General of the Army in  
Ireland.

I Thanke your lordship for yours of the 6th instant ; that was the first, that mentioned any thinge of the quakers in Ireland. They are a people, who are much growen heere in numbers. Some of them, I thinke, put on that garbe out of designe, and others of them are certeinly deluded. The gentleman your lordship mentions [? Sir H. Vane] had many meetinges with them concerning their oppinions ; but wheither he were taken with their principles, or they with his, I knowe not. I trust I shall never embrace either. . . .

Your lordship's most humble  
and faithfull servant

Feb. 12, 1655.

JO. THURLOE.

Vol. iv., p. 530.

To Secretary Thurloe.

. . . There hath bin some late disorder committed at Kinsale betwixt the inhabitants and the souldiers. Uppon the Lord's day was sevensnight, the people being assembled together in the publique place, a quaker<sup>16</sup> at the end of the exercise stode up, and spoke after their revileing manner. The people, as usually they doe uppon such occasions, hasted in a confused manner out of the church. At the doore they were mett with by a guard of a file of musquetteers with a serjeant with light matches ; whoe forcibly made the people to goe backe, the serjeant commanding them to fier ; and there was one of the souldiers did fier in the pann. Whereuppon some of the

<sup>15</sup> For Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy, see *THE JOURNAL*, vii. 102.

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps, John Perrot. He was in the south of Ireland at this time. See *THE JOURNAL*, vii. 20-24.



inhabitants for there owne safety, as is pretended, and as did afterward appeare by there carriage to the souldiers, tooke away there armes ; and not using any violence to them, carried there armes to the civill magistrate of that place ; whoe uppon demand immediately restored them to the officer of the company. This business is now under examination ; and I believe uppon further inquiry, the gouvernour major Hodden, whoe is a man of atheistical principles, will bee founde to have misbehaved himself herein. I'le assure you, sir, it was a verry great mercy there was noe blood spilt in this businesse. . . . If you heare any thing of another kind concerning that miscarriage at Kinsale, uppon the hinting of it to me, I shall endeavour to give you a more full and perticuler relation of it. It's saide the governor harboured this quaker in his house ; and strongly presumed, that he designingly laied the souldiers nere the church, to put ane affront uppon the people, in case they had molested the quaker, there haveinge not for these three years past bin any garde kept in the towne till now. I have bin too tædious in my relation, but this is only to prevent misrepresentations, which I believe you have enough of, and will probably have more uppon capt. Kingdon's and dr. Carterett's comeing to London, whoe sett forward this weeke. A good lady and nere freind of yours writes, that you in England give too much encouragement to the anabaptists ; but I hope it is not at Whitehall. I here anabaptists, quakers and all sorts goe in great herds to your overthwart neighbour. I pittie him, and pray for hime. I would have all injoy like liberty both in spirituall and civill concernes, soe farre as is consisting with the safety of the whole. . . .

Your verry affectionate freind  
and servante,

Aprill 2d, 1656.

H. CROMWELL.

Vol. iv., p. 672.

To H. Cromwell Major General of the Army in Ireland.

By your lordships of the 2d instant I see the disturbance there hath beene at Kinsale about a quaker, whereof I have not heard any thinge say'd, but what hath beene



represented in your lordship's. And therefore I will say  
nothings upon that subject more. . . .

Your lordship's most humble

and faithfull servant,

Whitehall, April 15, 1656.

JO. THURLOE.

Vol. iv., p. 698.

### WORCESTERSHIRE.

To Secretary Thurloe.

These are onely to give you the names of the quakers,  
who were imprisoned at Evesham, and released, whose  
fines you say my lord is willing to remitt. I cannot under-  
stand as yet either their faults or their fines. Their names  
are Tho. Cartwright,<sup>17</sup> Humphrey Smith,<sup>18</sup> James Wall,<sup>17</sup>  
John Clement,<sup>17</sup> John Knight,<sup>17</sup> Richard Walker,<sup>17</sup> Joshua  
Fransam,<sup>17</sup> William Walker,<sup>17</sup> and Richard Bennett<sup>17</sup> : and  
this is all the trouble at present from

Your affectionate friend

and servant,

Worcester,

March 14, 1655.

JA. BERRY.<sup>19</sup>

Vol. iv., p. 613.

### LANCASHIRE.

To Secretary Thurloe.

Wee met att Preston for this county upon tewsdays  
last. . . . Wee are much troubled with them, that  
are called quakers ; they troble the markets, and get  
into private houses up and down in every towne, and  
drawe people after them. I have and shall take what  
course I can, but I could wish to have some further power  
or direction from you in that case. . . .

Your fathfull servant,

Dec. the 21, 1655.

CHA. WORSLEY.<sup>20</sup>

Vol. iv., p. 333.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Cartwright, James Wall, Joshua Frensham, William Walker, all Friends of Evesham, had been soldiers in the service of the Commonwealth, and most of them had fought at the battle of Worcester. John Knight, Richard Bennett, John Clements and Richard Walker were also Evesham Friends. See Brown's *Evesham Friends*, 1885, pp. 57, 58, 64, 71, 74, 77, 94 ; Besse's *Suff.* under Worcester.

<sup>18</sup> For Humphry Smith see Camb. *Jnl.*

<sup>19</sup> James Berry was Cromwell's Major-General for the counties of Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and for North Wales. See *F.P.T.* ; *D.N.B.*

<sup>20</sup> Charles Worsley (1622-1656) was Major-General for Lancashire, Cheshire and Staffordshire (*D.N.B.*)



To the Protector.

. . . The quakers abound much in these countryes, to the great disturbance of the best people. I have done and shall what I can; but crave your highness further orders and instructions, how to deal with them. Noe more, but that I am

Your highnesse's faithfull servant,  
December 24, 1655.

CHA. WORSLEY.

Vol. iv., p. 341.

# SUFFOLK.

To Secretary Thurloe.

. . . Our fifthe monarchy party there [Cambridge] have many of them turned Anabaptists, and submitted to the ordinance. As they say, Mr. Brewer and most of his church but the last weeke, Mr. Pooly and divers of other churches before, and some of them synce, have renounced that and all other ordinances, and are turned Seekers, and feared by sober people will soon profess to be Quakers; concerning which party of men theise parts are greatly molested, and have considerable meetings, yet not soe feared by myselfe as by some ministers, who stick not to say, they will be soone ripe to cutt throats. Truly I think their principles would permitt them, if they durst. This goale is soe full, that the towne is every day full of them, that come to visite the prisoners, and make great disturbance. It's earnestly desired by the magistrates of the place, that they might be sett at liberty, as judging it would conduce to more publique peace. Please pardon this interruption to your more weighty affayres, and be assured, I shall improve all opportunities, wherin I may render myselfe

Your honour's truly humble servant,  
Bury Edm. July 5th, 56.

HE. HAYNES.<sup>21</sup>

Vol. v., p. 187.

# SCOTLAND.<sup>22</sup>

To the Protector.

I have latelie received divers letters from many officers heere in Scotland, concerning the quakers, which

<sup>21</sup> Hezekiah Haynes was Major-General for the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridge. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*

<sup>22</sup> For Quakers in the army in Scotland see *Camb. Jnl.* i. 446.



they are afraid will encrease much among these forces in Scotland, unless your highnesse please to take some course in it. I thought it my duty to acquaint your highnesse therewith, and to send inclosed a letter I received from col. Daniell,<sup>23</sup> who doth nott know of the officer commanding his company at Invernesse his being turned quaker, as lieut. col. Man writes in his letters, which I have alsoe sent to your highnesse. And truly I know noe colonel nor officer of the field in Scotland favours them but col. Ashfield<sup>24</sup>; and in major generall Berrie's regiment, that come lately into Scotland, there being three officers quakers, and where they are (as I am informed) the greatest part of their troops are quakers. Truly I thinke they will prove a very dangerous people, should they increase in your army, and be neither fitt to command nor obey, but ready to make a distraction in the army, and a mutiny uppon every slight occasion. I desire (if your highnesse please) I may receive your order, how I shall carry myself to prevent this growing evill, which truly I doubt will bee very dangerous if itt be nott timely prevented. . . .

Dalkeith,

21<sup>o</sup> March 165<sup>6</sup>.

Your highnesse's

most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.<sup>25</sup>

Vol. vi., p. 136.

#### To General Monck.

You will understand by this inclosed from mr. John Row, principall of the ould towne collidge, mr. Seaton minister, and mr. Gourdon, of some disturbance they have had by one John Hall<sup>26</sup> a quaker, and ownd by the cornett,<sup>27</sup> whoe I acquainted your honor formerlie was of that judgment: before I had notice hereof, the said Hall was gone as the cornett tould me, to Invernes. I have

<sup>23</sup> For Col. William Daniell see *Camb. Jnl.* The "officer commanding" was probably Capt. Davenport mentioned in Fox's *Journal* (see *Camb. Jnl.*).

<sup>24</sup> For Col. Richard Ashfield, Governor of Glasgow, see *Camb. Jnl.*

<sup>25</sup> George Monck, first Duke of Albemarle (1608-1670). See *Camb. Jnl.*

<sup>26</sup> John Hall (1637-1719) was an innkeeper of Skipton. See *Camb. Jnl.* for references to his Scotch journey.

<sup>27</sup> Probably the Cornet Ward mentioned later.

given lieut. coll. Mann notice thereof, that he maye not be allowed to breed anie disturbance there, which may be of bad consequence att this tyme. Itt is said, he intends to come this waye back againe, and therefore desyres to knowe your honor's pleasure and commands therein, and remaines,

Right honorable  
your lordshipps' most humble servant,

Aberdeen, March 26, 1657. MI. RICHARDSON.<sup>28</sup>

I fear, my lord, these people's principles will not allow them to fight, if we stand in need, tho' it does to receive paye.

Inclosed in the preceding.

Copy of a letter from John Row, &c., to major Richardson, governor of Aberdeen.

Sir,

Not doubting, but you have already had some information of some miscarriages here in the old town of Aberdeen, since this troop, over which for the present is set cornet Ward, did quarter here, of which we deliver to you a more full account under our hands subscribing. Know therefore, sir, that upon this instant March the 15th day, being the Lord's-day, one who says in his chartels, which he hath disseminat here, that by Ishmael's brood he is called a quaker, but his name in the flesh is John Hall, did publickly, in audience of all the people, contradict the minister, and called him a deceiver of the people, because he taught that the saints in this life are not altogether freed from committing of some sin, though the quaker taught, that all the people of God are, even here, absolutely perfect; and to make this out, did wrest and pervert the scriptures, making them to contradict other scriptures. He did call the college before many (to whom he was venting his corrupt jesuitical doctrine) a cage of unclean birds.<sup>29</sup> On that same day one William Proctor, Englishman, being but reasoning with the above-said quaker, cornet Ward came upon them, and threatned mr. Proctor with the guard house; and owning the quaker,

<sup>28</sup> Major Richardson, Governor of Aberdeen.

<sup>29</sup> The expression, "cage of unclean birds," was used by other Friends; see *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 480.



took him along with him to his quarters. On the morrow instant the 16th day, the minister mr. John Seaton, and Alexander Gordon student, repairing to the cornet's quarters, desired him, being the immediate officer in the place, to take notice of and redress the wrong done. He the said cornet answered, that for the man as a soldier he owned him not, as being none of that troop, but he owned him in the thing, which he had done; and averred, that he knew not how soon he would do the like himself; which if he did, he purposed not to make use of any carnal sword, (pointing at the guard of his sword) but was resolved for that thing to lay down his tabernacle of clay. He the said cornet kept John Hall with him in his quarter, while he was here, who now is gone abroad to make proselytes, but he hath disseminated many papers, containing many gross abominable things, requiring an answer to them in writ; which he is ordered to be delivered to the cornet Ward. The cornet also himself (which John Hall had publickly averred) said, that all the ministers of the gospel (not one excepted) were upholders of the kingdom of Satan and of darkness; and that upon this account, because they taught not absolute perfection here even in this world. Intreats your honor to take notice of those miscarriages very unusual here in these fields, and redress the wrong, which shall be made out, (as shall be required) by several witnesses, or at the least obviate the like miscarriages in time coming; for we are informed, that the quaker is to return hither again; whereof your honor shall be advertised (notice being given of your desire to us in that) by,

Sir, your honour's servants in the Lord,  
This is a true copy  
of the principal  
Mi. Richardson.

MR. JOHN ROWE.  
MR. JOHN SEATON.  
ALEXANDER GORDON.

College, Old Aberdeen, March 24 165<sup>6</sup>.

Vol. vi., pp. 145, 146.

To Secretary Thurloe,

. . . I formerly acquainted your honour of some disturbance procured by a quaker at the old towne of Aberdeen, where, at his returne from Envernes, I sent

for him before myself and the officers ; and upon examination of himself and cornett Ward, finds that he was sent to him by capt. Freeman of coll. Fairfax regiment, but to what end he would not declare ; but not giving account of anye emploiment, it is evident, his busines is to gather prosselites. He saith he is a minister of the gospell ; but his tenents are dangerous, maintaining perfection in this life. Trulie, my lord, such men as these continued, are dangerous in the armie ; for I think it not there principall to fight, nor to owne authoritie longer then it may serve their own ends, as does somethinge appear by the cornett refuseinge to be uncovered in the court, when he was called to make answer unto such questions, as was put to him to signifie his knowledge of the said quaker ; soe that the martiall was ordered to take of his capp, and alsoe the quaker, whose name is John Hall, liveinge at Giglesworth in Craven, where there is manie papists.

He was turn'd out of this towne with a guard, and is not to return. . . .

Your lordshipp's most humble servant,  
 April 2. 1657. M. RICHARDSON.  
 (Vol. vi., p. 162.)

#### To General Monck.

. . . This other inclosed I also receaved by the handes of my captain-lieutenant<sup>30</sup> (who is turned one of this sottish stupid generation of quakers). And 'tis true, two quakers, that I turned out of St Johnston,<sup>31</sup> that they might not discompose or distract the spirits of the garrison. Your lordship may view there spirits, that the levelling principle lyes at the bottome ; for they mention that factious temper of the army about the tyme the levellers appeared at the first, whose disciples they are. And beleive it, my lorde, there designe is to draw soldiers from obedience : and in regard my captain-lieutenant is turned of this sorte, and I beleive will flye as heigh in these notions as any, nether valueinge the scriptures, ministracy,

<sup>30</sup> This was Captain Davenport (see note 23).

<sup>31</sup> Now named Perth. Fox states in his *Journal* that *four* Friends were banished—Alexander Parker, James Lancaster, Robert Widders and himself.



magistracy, nor any thing els, that answereth not his humours, and beinge in St Johnston at present, I desire your lordship's order, that he may not returne to my company at Invernesse till his heighnesse pleasure be knowne concerninge him ; for all his designe is to seduce my company ; and to that ende came publiquely to the mayn garde in Invernesse, and invited my men to goe here a vagabond fellow of their secte. And I beseeche you, my lorde, if his heighnesse pleasure bee, that he stay not in the army, that your lordship will give mee an order to major-lieutenant Henry Moore to be my captain-lieutenant, who is an honest conscientious man, and free from these whimsies ; and I hope I shall give your lordship a good accompte of the forces heere, and indeavour to prevente these blasphemous herritickes from corrupting the soldyery, whereof your lordship would take special notice, that the discipline of the army be not inverted, for they beginne to curse beyond bell, booke and candle, where there stupid sencelesse wayes are detected and opposed. I leave it to your lordship's wisdom, and remayne

	Your lordship's most humble servant,
St. Johnston	WILLIAM DANIELL.
Aprill 3d. 1657.	Vol. vi., p. 167.

To General Monck.

Concerning the Quakers, there is but few of them in major-general Berrie's regiment, and they are now very silent. Major-general Berrie's owne cornett is a perfect Quaker, and had latelie my letter to your lordship, to give him libertie to goe for England. There went two of the souldiers with him, which belong to that troope, whoe hancker after that judgment ; but the captain-lieutenant says they are not of them. I beleeve they obtayned passes from your lordship for their going for England. Captain Hutton's<sup>32</sup> lieutenant is a Quaker, and his cornett I examined, whoe told mee, that hee was not one, but yett he must and will owne those good people, as hee calls them. I have written to capt. Hutton, that if there bee any private souldiers in his troope of that judgement, that

<sup>32</sup> Capt. Robert Hutton, of Col. Berry's regiment, is mentioned in the *State Papers* (*Cal.* 1659-60, p. 78).

hee either dismiss them, or give them their discharges, or else send them to your lordship. Captain Crook's troope of that regiment is very free, and soe is major Grove's of that judgment, as I am informed. I have written to lieutenant-colonel Mann to discharge any of the private souldiers of that judgment, either in the troope in Invernes, or in colonel Fitch his regiment. Colonel Hacker's<sup>33</sup> regiment is very free of any such persons. They onelie had one cornett of that judgement, and hee was discharged, before the regiment came for Scotland. The Quaker Hall is now for certayne gone southward. Hee went once before, and returned, but hee is now gone for altogether. I shall not bee wanting to observe your lordship's directions; and as any of them is found, I shall discharge them the armie; and if I find any officers of that judgment, or inclined thereto, I shall give your lordship notice of them. As for my owne regiment, I shall take care to keep it free.

I remaine, My lord,

Your very humble servant,

Aberdeen, 29 April 1657.

THO. MORGAN.<sup>34</sup>

Vol. vi. p. 241.

To Secretary Thurloe.

Leith, Dec. 28, 1657.

. . . You may please to take notice, that there hath lately beene two male Quakers at Loughmabor, and there came into the garrison among the souldiers, but was suddainly repulsed by the governor. Thence they went to Donstasness-castle, and for other parts; but after they had marched a daye's journey, they returned back to Loughmabor, and there declared in the town, that the spirit within them bid them goe back, and that they had a message to deliver to the garrison. They stayed severall dayes in the town, but whether they were admitted into the garrison or not, I have not heard; only so much I had from my lieutenant, they still send new ones almost every week into these parts, and hence they spread

<sup>33</sup> For Francis Hacker (*d.* 1660), of Withcote Hall, Rutland, see *Camb. Jnl.*

<sup>34</sup> Sir Thomas Morgan was Governor of Gloucester in 1645, and Major-General in Scotland in 1651-7.



North and West. The two women are now gon West, and some others North. They spare no pains, and voluntarily goe into those places, where they may meet with most want of outward things ; which makes them the more admired, if not adored, at their returne by their disciples. They say, that they know they shall overspread the face of the earth : and when any oppose their way, they seem to prophecy, and tell them, they may oppose the truth for a time, but they know, they shall be of the same mind within 3 yeres to come. And since the putting of som of them out of the army they sometimes upbraided the officers, and told them, that they deny the truth, fearing the loss of their places ; otherwise they knew and could defend, that many of them are convinced by the light that is within them. Our women Quakers in this towne have learned this lesson well of late, and often repeatt it to their husbands. They have hired a chamber in this towne to meet in, and have another at Edinburgh ; soe that they meete dayly. They have got a small parcell of Scotts into their crew, I thinke about a dusine ; and they have great hopes of gaining a lady in Edinburgh, and boast of many converts in the West. . . .

Your honour's cordiall servant

TIMOTHIE LANGLEY.<sup>35</sup>

Vol. vi., p. 708.

#### To Secretary Thurloe.

I have nothing att present to trouble you withall, butt with the inclosed letters, and some bookes, by which you may see what labour and pains those Quakers take to get proselytes. Pearson<sup>36</sup> is one, that was formerly sir Arthur Heslerigg's man. Alexander Parker<sup>37</sup> is at Leith ; I have given orders to the officer commanding there to secure him, and likewise on George Fox. There is one letter from mr. Turner, that lives at Newcastle. I thought this hardly worth the troubling you withall ;

<sup>35</sup> This name appears several times among State Papers (*Cal.* 1651, 1659-60).

<sup>36</sup> Anthony Pearson, ex-Justice of co. Durham (c. 1628-1665). For further particulars see *Camb. Jnl.*

<sup>37</sup> Alexander Parker (1628-1688/9). His visit to Scotland is mentioned in Fox's *Journal*.

butt being I intercepted the letter, I thought fitt alsoe to order an officer to looke upon the Books: there were so many of them, that the carriage of them betweene this and Newcastle came to 14s. If you please to acquaint his highnes with itt, that there may be some course taken to prevent the printing of these papers, I thinke it may doe well. . . .

Your affectionate humble servant

Dalkeith, 18 Feb. 1657. GEORGE MONCK.  
Vol. vi., p. 811.

Mr. TIMOTHY LANGLEY to Secretary Thurloe.

Leith, June the 22<sup>d</sup>, 1658.

. . . For present all that I descerne is, that the Quakers are altogether retrograde, though now som of them pretend mericles. . . . Vol. vii. p. 194.

To Secretary Thurloe.

Leith, Sept. the 19<sup>th</sup>, 1658.

Since my last, here is litle of importance to present you with, only the Quakers, that formerly seem to be becalmed for a season, are now congregated againe, and seeme to take fresh resolutions as to there converting, or rather overturning all things. They cry out soe loude in their preachings, that they astonish the heereers, and spend themselves extreemly. Sarah Knowles,<sup>38</sup> wife to captain Knowles of this regiment, is gone one her foott as it ware one pilgrimage to one Margritt Fell, who lives about Lancheshire, who, they say, is judg Fell's wife; and that she is one that is past the cloud, and hath liberty to were satins, and silver and gold lase, and is a great galant.<sup>39</sup> This day Mr. William Welch<sup>40</sup> tould mee, that his wife, Sarah Welch, who is one of the cheefe of them,

<sup>38</sup> Four days after the date of this letter, William Dewsbury writes from the same place to Margaret Fell, "This I lay before y<sup>e</sup> that Car be taken to send Sarra Knowls w<sup>th</sup> a man and a horse as soon as way is maid ffor her Retturn to her ffamally; the truth is under Sufferin vntill Shee bee in her ffamally againe." (D. Swarthmore MSS. iv. 146.)

<sup>39</sup> A curious and interesting reference to Margaret Fell. It is known that she was accustomed to wear bright-coloured clothing (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 294, 331).

<sup>40</sup> William Welch and his wife are mentioned in Fox's *Journal*. They are probably the same William and Sarah Welch, who were living in London and in Holland at a later date. See Camb. *Jnl*.



tould him, that she had received a letter from some freind in London, which did intimate, that they had beene with my lord protector, and that hee had promised to doe nothing but just things, soe that now they were resolved to sitt quietly for present. &c. . . .

Your Honour's devoted servant,

TIMO. LANGLEY.

Vol. vii., p. 403.

Captain LANGLEY to Secretary Thurloe.

Leith, Nov. 23. 1658.

Here hath been little of importance, which together with my want of health kept me from writing to your lordship some posts by-past, all things being at present, like the season of the year, frozen and dead in outward appearance : only the Quakers make a great bustle here, still prating out their idle stories, Yorkshire and those parts adding daily new fewel to there fier, here being lately come two new ones thence, to declare they have many vain disputes with the free-willers so called. But all I can observe from them, that is new, is, that they do not like this protector soe well as the last, but will give noe reason for it.

The Scotts continue as malignant as ever, hoping for redemption, as they call it. The present good and happy settlement of the present government nothing moves them to alter from their dark principles. The leopard cannot change his spots. The Anabaptists, in deep silence, still seem to take no notice of the weal or woe of the present times. Their words nor actions leave no tract for present as formerly, which makes me think they are out of design at present. Yet some of them still sadly complain, that they have been outwitted ; so that at present in these parts it seems to be falling water with both them and the Quakers, their designs and all their other endeavours being altogether fruitless, and I hope will so continue. Those that formerly halted between two opinions, not baptizing their children, making ready to, but did not outwardly join with the Anabaptists as to their discipline, are now come in to Mr Collings, who was some 14 days past ordained pastor of a new-gathered church here, by six ministers that came from Newcastle

and thereabouts, of which Mr Haman<sup>41</sup> was chief ; since which time most of their grown children are baptized by Mr Collings. This church encreaseth something, but the others nothing. . . . Vol. vii. p. 527.

LEEDS.

To the Protector.

In obedience to your highness's order and command, we have called before us sundry of the inhabitants of this town (whole informations and examinations we have herein inclosed). It is very evident to us, that a very considerable number of journeymen and apprentices here did conspire and intended by strong hand to drive the sub-commissioners of excise, and their agents, forth of this town ; but it doth not appear to us, that they had any further design, or that they corresponded with the Popish or malignant party, or any of those people commonly called Quakers, though we have used our utmost diligence to search into the bottom of this business, in regard the intended combustion here should have been on the same day the insurrection was to have been at London (to wit, the 26th of May last). And we do further humbly certify your highness, that we are credibly informed, that certain Quakers hold their weekly meetings in and about this town by several hundreds at a time, to the great offence of the well-affected inhabitants there, which may occasion the disturbance of the peace ; and that one John Hall (one of their speakers, a scholar and traveller in foreign parts, whom we look upon as a very dangerous person) is lately fled southwards.

My Lord,

We are your Highness's obedient  
servants,

THOMAS HARRISON.	OWEN CAMBRIDGE.
GEO. BYARD.	JO. STANHOPE.
WILL. ADAMS.	FRAN. ALLANSON, ald.
JOSHUA HORTON.	JOHN THORESBY.
MARTIN ILES.	

Leeds, the 7th of July,  
1658.

Vol. vii., p. 242.

<sup>41</sup> That is, Samuel Hammond, of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne (d. 1666). For a *précis* of his life see Smith's *Adverse Catalogue*, p. 214.



## JAMAICA.

To Secretary Thurloe.

. . . There are some people lately come hither, called Quakers, who have brought letters of credit, and do disperse books amongst us. Now my education and judgment prompting me to an owning of all, that pretend any way to godliness and righteousness (whereof these people have a very great appearance;) and the prints telling me, that the heads of their people are contriving against the government, and accounted conspirators against his highness (so the book calls them), hath put me to some stand how to carry myself towards them, and humbly to seek your honour's directions, that my carriage in being tender to them, who are people of an unblameable life, and to whose acting I am a stranger, may not procure blame from him in whose service I am; being desirous to steer my course to the interest I serve, and to appear very heartily and clearly his highness's faithful subject, and

Your most humble servant,

Jamaica, the 28th Feb. 1657.

EDW. D'OYLEY.<sup>42</sup>

Vol. vi., p. 834.

## FRANCE.

To Secretary Thurloe.

. . . From Smirna I have advice of the 27. February, that thear was theare arrived six Quakers,<sup>43</sup> 3 men and 3 women, who pretended to goe to convert the grand signior; but the consill at Smirna hindered them; so they are gone to Venice, pretending to convert the Jewes. . . .

Your honnor's most faithful servant,

JO. OLDWORTH.

Marseille, 9 Aprill, 1658 [N.S.]

[Consul at Marseilles].

Vol. vii., p. 32.

<sup>42</sup> Edward D'Oyley (1617-1675) was commander-in-chief in Jamaica, 1655-6 and 1657-61 (*D.N.B.*; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658-9).

<sup>43</sup> According to W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 420, the three men were John Perrot, John Love (Luffe), and John Buckley, and the three women were Mary Fisher, Mary Prince and Beatrice Beckly.

# PORTUGAL.

To Secretary Thurloe.

. . . There is an English shipp come in here from Newfoundland. The master hath beene on board of us. There is not, they say, one person in the shipp, officer or marriner, but are all Quakers. I feare they will meete with affronts from these people, and I heare they have beene in danger alreadye for not puttinge off their hatts to the Portugeses, when they have saluted them in the streetes. . . .

Yours very humble servant,

Sept. 16, 1656. Aboard the  
Nasebye, in the bay of Wyers,  
in the river of Lisbone.

Vol. v., p. 422.

# TURKEY.

Sir Thomas Bendyshe ambassador at Constantinople,  
to the protector.

Nor are all our troubles from without us ; some are, as I may say, from amongst us, and from within us, occasioned by a generation of people crept in unawares, called Quakers, three<sup>45</sup> whereof not long since arrived here from Zant, by way of the Morea, whom I suffered with tendernes, so long as their comportment was offencelesse ; but when, at length, becoming scandalous to our nation and religion, (which upon this occasion was censured and scoffed at, by Papist, Jew, and others of a strange faith) and insufferable also by reason of their disturbances of our divine exercises, and severall notorious contempts of mee and my authority, I friendly warned them to returne, which the two women did quietly ; but John Buckly refuseing, I was constrained to shipe him hence upon the Lewis.

Your Highness's faithfull servant, and most  
 Pera di Constantinople, obedient subject,  
 July 24<sup>th</sup> 1658. **THO. BENDISHE.**

THO. BENDISHE.

*Intelligence.*

Vol. vii., p. 287.

<sup>44</sup> Probably Edward Montagu (1625-1672), first Earl of Sandwich (D.N.B.).

<sup>45</sup> These three were, probably, John Buckley, Mary Fisher and Beatrice Beckly. See W. C. Braithwaite, *op. cit.*



## John Bright and the Carpet.

---

Before the Laboucheres lived in Old Palace Yard, various interesting people had owned the house, and a certain lady who was at one time *Châtelaine* there, had very high political aspirations, and a desire to be exclusive. Her husband, on the contrary, a Member of Parliament, was most democratic in his tendencies, so there was often a great mixture in their entertainments. One night at dinner, John Bright was sitting near his hostess, and she was rather annoyed at having him among her smart guests, and thought to give him a direct snub, so she said during a pause in the conversation: "Mr. Bright, this rug, I understand, was made by you, and I am very dissatisfied with it. I have only had it a short time, and it is very shabby, and badly made." "Is it?" said Mr. Bright, getting up deliberately from the table and taking a silver candelabrum, which he put down upon the floor, and getting on his knees, closely examined the carpet. "You are quite right," he said, blithely getting up, "it is a bad carpet, and I will order my firm to send you another in its place;" and then he calmly resumed his political conversation and the dinner went on.

From *I Myself*, by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, second edition, 1910.

---

A short life of Sir David Dale (1829-1906) has been written by Howard Pease, the author of various sketches of life in Northumberland, (London: Murray, 7½ by 5, pp. 97, 3s. 6d. net, with portrait). Sir David, first Baronet, was of Scotch descent, but born in India, and resident most of his life in Darlington, co. Durham. His mother, Ann Eliza Dale, joined Friends in 1841 and soon became a Minister (see *The Diaries of Edward Pease*, 1907). Her son also became a Friend. David Dale was well known for many years as an iron-master and head of numerous business concerns. He had the confidence of both masters and men, and often adjudicated between them.

"He was, as we have seen, originally a Quaker, and no doubt in the quiet of a Quaker meeting there would be much that was congenial to his soul; but later developments, the Pietism and politics which seem to have invaded the former quietude of the Society, were uncongenial, and he resigned his membership shortly after his second marriage" to the eldest daughter of the late Sir Frederick Milbank, of Yorkshire (p. 56).

But doubtless there were connections outside the Society as well as circumstances within, which caused Sir David to leave Friends. The writer is hardly fair in making the Society alone responsible for the defection.

Following the memoir is an Appreciation by Sir Edward Grey, spoken in 1910.

# Index.

Aberdeen, 159, 160, 163.  
Aberdeen Y.M., 40-46, 53-80, 113-122.  
Abraham, Daniel, 2n, 87.  
Abraham, Emma C., 5.  
Abraham, Rachel, 3n, 87.  
Achorthies, 54, 73.  
Ackworth, 34.  
Adams, William, 167.  
Affleck, Thomas, 118.  
Albans M.M., 108.  
Aldam, Thomas, 131.  
Allanson, Francis, 167.  
Allartoun, 58n, 118n.  
Allen, M. A. M., *Sketches*, 34.  
Allen, William, 33.  
America, 11, 34.  
amusements, 69, 78.  
Anabaptists, 155, 157, 166.  
Anderdon, John, 17, n.  
Anquhorthies see Achorthies.  
Ansley, John, 89.  
Appleby, 142.  
apprenticeship, 118, n.  
Arbuthnot, Helen, *aft.* Burnet, 55n.  
Archdale, John, 5.  
Areskine, Thomas, 83.  
Armenia, 34.  
Armistead, Sarah, *aft.* Birkbeck, 9.  
Ashby, Richard, 64.  
Ashby de la Zouch, 149.  
Ashfield, Colonel, 158, n.  
Ashwell, 111.  
Atkinson family, 47.  
Atkinson, James, 47.  
Atkinson, J. C., *Moorland Parish*, 95.  
Atkinson, Captain Robert, 142.  
Atkinson, Thomas, 46.  
Atkinson, Thomas, 47.  
Audland, John, 93, 151n.  
Ayton School, 139.  
  
Bache family, 51.  
Bache, H., *Few Words*, 38, 51.  
Backhouse, Mrs. Edmund, 9.  
Bailliestown, 46.  
Bainbridge, 35.  
Balby, 131.  
Baldock, 111.  
Banbury, 94.  
Bandon, 153n.  
bankers, 6, 12.  
Banks, Sir Joseph, 123-127.  
Bannerman, Mary, 113, 119.  
baptisms, 8, 31, 117.  
Baptists, 93, 130, 135.  
Barclay, Abram Rawlinson, 15.  
Barclay, Captain David, 40, 42n, 45, 53, 57, 66n, 119.  
Barclay, George, 116.  
Barclay, John, 56.

Barclay, Robert, 40-42, 44, 45, 53, 56, 60, 63, 66, 72, 80, 113, 115, 116, 118.  
Barclay, Robert, Jun., 72.  
Barclay, R., *Inner Light*, 103.  
Barlbrough Hall, 89.  
Barley, 109.  
Barrow family, 134.  
Barrow, Robert, 66-68.  
Barrow, Walter, 34.  
Bartlett, Benjamin, 86.  
Bartlett, John, 54.  
Barton, Oxon, 93.  
Bateman family, 39.  
Bateman, Miles, 29.  
Bath, 82, 133.  
Batley, 81.  
*Battledoor*, 14.  
Baxter, Richard, 106.  
Beaconsfield, 129.  
Bean, James, 122.  
Beaton, William, 18n.  
Beck, Elizabeth, 87.  
Beck, William, 87.  
Beckly, Beatrice, 168n, 169n.  
*Beckside, The*, 139.  
Bedfordshire Q.M., 108.  
Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire Q.M., 108.  
Beeston, 6.  
Belfast, 47.  
Bellers, John, 33.  
Bendish (Bendick), 111.  
Bendishe, Sir Thomas, 169.  
Bennett, Richard, 156, n.  
Berry, Maj.-Gen. 156, n, 158, 162, n.  
Bettie, Robert, 113, 114.  
Bevan, J. Gurney, 13, 14.  
Bewdley, 51.  
Bewley, George, 77.  
bibliographers, 9.  
Biddle, Esther, 43.  
Bingley, 6.  
Birch, Thomas, 147.  
Birkbeck family, 9-15.  
Birkbeck, Morris, 9-15.  
Birkett, Miles, 87.  
*Birmingham Institutions*, 34.  
Birnie, Isobel, 40.  
Birstall, 81n.  
Bishops Stortford, 7n.  
Black, Gilbert, 54.  
Blackborough, James, 99.  
Blackhall, Elizabeth, 61.  
Bland family, 39.  
Blandford, 11.  
Blawith, 3.  
Bleckley family, 39.  
Boarshurst, 8.  
Boate, Gershon, 76, 77.  
Bolland (Bowland), 30.  
*Bolton, History of*, 99.  
Bolton by Bowland, 30.  
Bond, Elizabeth P., 90.  
Bond, Thomas, 31.  
Bonet-Maury, G., *Quakers*, 33.

Booth, Sir George, 141.  
Bordeaux, Ambassador, 151.  
botany, 123.  
Bourman (? Bowerman), Henry, 51.  
Bowett, Elizabeth, 7.  
Bradford, 6.  
Bradford, Devon, 17n.  
Bradford, Hannah, *aft.* Birkbeck, 10.  
Brain, Elizabeth, 72.  
Brain, James, 113.  
Brain, John, 72.  
Braithwaite, Anna, 90.  
Braithwaite, Sarah, *aft.* Birkbeck, 12.  
Brandwood, James, 99.  
Brewer, — 157.  
Bridgwater, 17n.  
Briggs, Robert, 87.  
Brighouse, 83.  
Bright, John, 30, 170.  
Bristol, 6, 25n, 32, 98, 99, 101, 102, 134, 148, 150, 151, n.  
Brougham, Lord, 12.  
Brown, E. V., *Medical Aspects*, 138.  
Brown, James, 118, n.  
Brown, Mary, *aft.* Fell, 2n.  
Brown, Sir Richard, 107.  
Browne, John, 89.  
Browne, William, 135.  
Broxbourne, 111.  
Bruce, Robert, 41, 45.  
Brunthill, 61.  
Brux, 118, n.  
Buck, Mary, *aft.* Gulson, 6.  
Buckingham M.M., 108.  
Buckinghamshire Q.M., 108.  
Buckinghamshire and Northants Q.M., 108.  
Buckley, John, 168n, 169, n.  
Bugg, Francis, 13, 89.  
Bull and Mouth, 65, 82n, 107.  
Bunhill Fields, 8.  
Buntingford, 111.  
Burford, Mary, 19.  
Burgess family, 99.  
burials, 8, 71, 75, 95.  
Burnet, Robert (Leys), 55-61.  
Burnett, Robert (Lethenty), 45, 53-55n, 66, 73, 75.  
Burrough, Edward, 141.  
Burton-on-Trent, 149.  
Bury St. Edmunds, 157.  
Buxton, T. Fowell, 6.  
Byard, George, 167.  
  
Cadbury family, 134.  
Cadbury, Elsie M., 34.  
Callowhill family, 32, 99, 134-136.  
Calvert, Giles, 148, n, 149.  
Cambridge, 39, 147, 148, 157.  
Cambridge, Owen, 167.  
Camm, John, 29, 93, 151n.  
Cape, Anne, 19.



Carlisle, 85.  
 Carlyle, John, 76.  
 Carteret, Dr., 155.  
 Cartwright, Thomas, 156, n.  
 Caskieben, 43.  
 Cater, Samuel, 109.  
 Caton, Mary, 5.  
 Caton, William, 2n.  
 Charles I., 147.  
 Charles II., 147.  
 Charter of Release, 18n.  
 Cheshunt, 111.  
 Chinese literature, 140.  
 Chipping, 30.  
 Chipping Norton, 94.  
 Christmas, 44, 54.  
 church rates, 86, 95.  
 churches, speaking in, 141, 148.  
 Clarke, L., *Family Chronicles*, 39.  
 Clarke, William, 19.  
 Clayton, Abraham, 87.  
 Clement, John, 156n.  
 Clements, Ann, 39.  
 Clemesha family, 39.  
 Clio, Joseph, 86.  
 clocks and watches, 35.  
 Coalbrookdale, 6.  
 Cock, Margaret, 47.  
 Cockermouth, 10.  
 Cockram, Thomas, 149, 150.  
 Coffin, Rhoda M., 88, 128.  
 Cole, Stephen, 51.  
 Colesworthy family, 8.  
 collections, 67, 74, 113.  
 Collings, —, 166, 167.  
 Collingwood, Thomas, 51.  
 Constantinople, 137, 169.  
 Cook, Captain, 123.  
 Cook, Edward, 153, n.  
 Cook, Lucretia, 153n.  
 Cooke, Edward, 2n, 4, 5.  
 Cooke, Elizabeth, 5.  
 Cooke, Hannah, 2n.  
 Cooke, Joseph, 51.  
 Cookworthy, William, 123, 124n.  
 Cooper, Alice, 87.  
 Cooper, Sarah, 87.  
 Cooper, T. P., *Clockmakers*, 35.  
 Copleston, Sir John, 153.  
 Coppinger, —, 150, 151.  
 Cork, 72, 87, 153.  
 Corstorphene, John, 70, n.  
 Cottered, 111.  
 Coulton, Thomas, 4, 5.  
 Coventry, 6, 7.  
 Cowell, Jane, 87.  
 Cowell, John, 87.  
 Cowie, Isobel, 72.  
 Cowie, John, 40, 45, 46, 53, 59.  
 Cowlithay, George, 150.  
 Cox, John, 43.  
 Coysgarne, Sampson, 99.  
 Coysgarne, Sarah, 99.  
 Craigivar, 118.  
 Craigmyle, 55n.  
 Craven, Yorks, 161.  
 Crisp, Steven, 8.  
 Cromwell, Henry, 20, 154, 155.  
 Crook, Captain, 163.  
 Crook, John, 13n, 89.  
 Crosfield, A. J. and G., *William Wilson*, 138.

Cruickshank, Gaven, 121, 122.  
 Cruickshank, George, 122.  
 Crundall, Eleanor, 51.  
 Cumberland, 76, 77.  
 Cumming, George, 54.  
 Cumming, William, 54, 66.  
 Cutter, Thomas, 120.  
 Dalby, 149.  
 Dale, Sir David, 170.  
 Dalkeith, 158, 165.  
 Dalton, 4, 5.  
 Danby Dale, 95.  
 Daniell, Colonel, 158, n, 162.  
 Davenport, Captain, 158, n, 161, n.  
 Day family, 47, 109.  
 Day, Hannah, 47, 109.  
 Day, John, 47, 109.  
 Day, Samuel, 7n.  
 Day, Susanna, 7n.  
 Declaration of Indulgence, 89.  
 Dell, William, 115.  
 Desborough, Maj.-Gen., 17n, 153, n.  
 Devizes, 82n.  
 Devonshire House, 12, 50, 142.  
 Dewsbury, William, 165n.  
 Dewsbury, W., writings, 8, 28, 107.  
 Dickson, Elizabeth, 113, 118, 119.  
 Divett family, 82n.  
 divorce, 36.  
 Don Side, 40.  
 Doncaster, 6.  
 Donstasness Castle, 163.  
 Dorry, Anne, 51.  
 Dorsetshire, 11, 88, 153.  
 D'Oyley, Edward, 168, n.  
 Dragleybeck, 3.  
 dress, 38, 67-69, 77-79, 114, 120, 165, n.  
 drink, 69, 79, 115, 120.  
 Dublin, 7, 20, 22, 24, 70.  
 Dunch, John, 152, n.  
 Dunmow, 110.  
 Durborow, John, 48.  
 Dyer, Priest, 17, 19.  
 Dymond, C. W., *Perspective*, 35.  
 Dymond, Jonathan, 35.  
 Eburne, William, 7.  
 Edinburgh, 41n, 42n, 50, 60, 70, n, 80, 83, 115n, 118n, 123, 164.  
 Edmondson, William, 70.  
 education, 16, 71n, 107, n, 136.  
 Edwards, Tobias, 6.  
 Edwards, T., *Gangræna*, 104.  
 Eliot, John, 13.  
 Eliot, John, 88.  
 Ellington, Ann, *aft.* Rudd, 83.  
 Ellis, James, 6.  
 Ellis, Mary, 6.  
 Ellithorne, James, 4.  
 Ellwood, Thomas, 130.  
 Elmslie, John, 119, 120, 122.  
 Elworthy family, 8.  
 Ely, 89, 147.  
 emigration, 11, 32, 86, 94, 100.  
 Erskine, Thomas, 120.

*Essex Anthology*, 142.  
 Every, Captain, 152.  
 Evesham, 156.  
 Ewald, A. C., *Paper and Parchment*, 6.  
 ex-Friends, 8, 11, 120, 170.  
 Exeter, 8,  
 Fairbank, Mrs., 10.  
 Fairfax, Colonel, 161.  
 Falconer family, 41n, 66n.  
 Falconer, David, 40, 41, n, 66n, 73.  
 Falls, The, Pa., 138.  
 Falmouth, 9.  
 Falsit, Margaret, 43.  
 Farindale, Ochiltre, 40.  
 Farnley Wood Plot, 142.  
 fasts, 66.  
 Fawcett, Richard, 142.  
 Fell family, 2-5.  
 Fell, Charles, 2, n.  
 Fell, Dr., 10.  
 Fell, George, 2, n.  
 Fell, Hannah, 2, n.  
 Fell, John, 87.  
 Fell, Judge, 165.  
 Fell, Margaret, 28, 136, 165, n.  
 Fell, Mary, 87.  
 Fell, Rachel, 136.  
 Fell, Sarah, 87.  
 Fell, William, 64.  
 Fellows, Sir Charles, 6.  
 Fellows, Eliza, *form.* Hart, 6.  
 Ferguson, William, 54.  
 Ferindale see Farindale.  
 fiction, 34, 88.  
 Field, John, 82n.  
 Fifth Monarchy Men, 154, 157.  
 Filton, 99.  
 Fisher, Margaret, 87.  
 Fisher, Mary, 168, n, 169, n.  
 Fitch, Colonel, 163.  
 Fleming, Daniel, 142.  
 Fleming MSS., 5n.  
 Forbes, Alexander 54, 56, 118.  
 Forbes, Barbara, 40, 41, 45, 113.  
 Forbes, George, 66, 75, 113, 116, 118.  
 Forbes, James, 66, 75.  
 Forbes, John, 54, 55, 66, 113, 116.  
 Forbes, Katherine, 119.  
 Forbes, Roderick, 116, 118n.  
 Forbes, Samuel, 118.  
 Forbes, Timothy, 72.  
 Forbes, Sir William, 118.  
 Fothergill family, 33.  
 Fothergill, Dr. John, 86, 123n, 125-127.  
 Fox Brothers, 19n.  
 Fox, Mrs. Charles, 9.  
 Fox, George, 8, 13n, 29, 33, 64, 81n, 90, 103, 115, 134, 136, 141, 149, 152, 161n, 164.  
 Fox, G., writings, 8, 50, 130, 149n.  
 Fox, Joseph H., 88.  
 Fox, Margaret, 2-4, 87, 107, 133.  
 Fox, Robert Were, 38.  
 France, 11, 34, 168.

- Freeman, Captain, 161.  
 Freewillers, 166.  
 French, Joseph, 94.  
 French, Sarah, *aft.* Wagstaffe, 94.  
 Frensham, Joshua, 156, n.  
 Friary, The, 16, n, 18n.  
*Friends Ancient and Modern*, 139.  
 Friends, Ancient Estimate of, 25-27, 147-169.  
 Friends, Modern Estimate of, 33, 36, 39, 139.  
 Fry, Elizabeth, 33, 37, 52.  
 Fry, Elizabeth, *aft.* Marchant, 82n.  
 Fry, Samuel, 82n.  
 Fulcher, Sarah, 7n.  
 Fuller, Abraham, 70.  
 Fullerton, John, 45.  
 Furness, 4.  
  
 Gaddesden, 111.  
 Galloway, Alexander, 72, 73, 75, 113.  
 Galloway, Andrew, 40, 44, 45, 53, 54, 56, 66.  
 Galloway, Isabel, 113.  
 Gardiner, Hannah, 47.  
 Garnett, John, 87.  
 Garton, Josiah, 135.  
 Garton, William, 32, 135.  
 Gates, Richard, 32, 135.  
 Gawith, John, 87.  
 Gawith, Margaret, 87.  
 Gelly, Alexander, 66, 72, 73, 75, 113.  
 Gelly, Jean, 40, 54.  
 Gelly, William, 41, 42.  
 Genoa, 98.  
 George III., 11.  
 Gerard, Isobel, 77, 113.  
 Gerard, Robert, 53, 54, 56, 66, 72, 73, 75, 113.  
 Germany, 25.  
 Gibbins family, 134.  
 Gibson, Alice, 87.  
 Giggleswick, 161.  
 Glasgow, 66n, 70, 71, n, 77n, 115, n, 158n.  
 Glastonbury, 18n.  
 Glennie, John, 43, 54, 66, 75, 80, 113, 114, 116, 117.  
 Glennie, William, 54, 75, 113.  
 Gloucester, 163n.  
 Gloucestershire, 46, 99.  
 Godlee, Arthur, 34.  
 Godmanchester, 39.  
 Goffe, Maj.-Gen., 152, n.  
 Goodaire, Thomas, 29.  
 Goodale, Elspeth, 40.  
 Gordon, Alexander, 158, 160.  
 Gordon, Robert, 53, 56, 66, 72, 73, 75, 113, 116.  
 Gould, Anne, 51.  
 Gould, William, 51.  
 Gouldney family, 82n, 129, 130.  
 Graves, Isabella, *form.* Fell, 2n.  
 Graves, James, 2n.  
 Gray, George, 43, 54, 56, 57.  
 Gray, James, 54, 116, 120.  
 Greaves, Sackville, 3-5.  
 Greaves, Thomas, 3, n, 5.  
 Green family, 81-87, 110.  
 Green, Joseph, 81-87.  
  
 Greenhow, Mary, *form.* Robinson, 76.  
 Greenock, William, 77.  
 Gregory, Jonathan, 99.  
 Grellet, Stephen, 33, 39.  
 Grove, Major, 163.  
 Grubb, E., *Personality*, 37.  
 Guildford, 10, 11, 14.  
 Gulson family, 6, 7.  
 Gulson, William, 6.  
 Gurnell, Mary, *aft.* Green, 86.  
 Gurney family, 39.  
 Gurney, Martha, *aft.* Birkbeck, 12.  
 Gyles, Fletcher, 147.  
  
 Hacker, Colonel, 163, n.  
 Hadstock, 110.  
 Halifax, 81.  
 Halkerton, 41n.  
 Hall, Edward, 86.  
 Hall, Elizabeth, 77, 113.  
 Hall, John, 66, 70, 72, 73.  
 Hall, John, 158-161, 163, 167.  
 Hall, Sarah, *aft.* Birkbeck, 10.  
 Halliday, James, 58, n, 118n.  
 Hamilton, 50, 71n, 77n, 80n, 115n.  
 Hamilton, Alexander, 42.  
 Hamilton, Daniel, 54, n, 73, 116.  
 Hamilton, Robert, 77, n.  
 Hammond, Samuel, 167, n.  
 Hampshire, 152.  
 Hanbury, Charlotte, 33.  
 Hardwick, Lord, 147.  
 Harford family, 82n.  
 Harford, Charles, 99, 134, 136.  
 Harper, Alexander, 41, 45, 53, 54.  
 Harper, Isabel, 40, 41.  
 Harris, Elizabeth, 51.  
 Harris, J. T., *Currency*, 38.  
 Harrison, Elizabeth, 51.  
 Harrison, Elizabeth, 87.  
 Harrison, James, 87.  
 Harrison, Jonathan, 77.  
 Harrison, Thomas, 77.  
 Harrison, Thomas, 167.  
 Hart family, 6.  
 Hart, Francis, 6, 7.  
 Hart, Sarah, *form.* Gulson, 6.  
 Hartas, William, 95, 96.  
 Harvey see Hervey.  
 Harvey, W. F., *Midnight House*, 39.  
 Haselrig, Sir Arthur, 164.  
 hat honour, 96.  
 Hathornthwaite, Sarah, 87.  
 Hawke, Grace, 109.  
 Hawkins family, 99.  
 Hawkshead, 138.  
 Hawkswell, 2n, 3.  
 Haydock, John, 43.  
 Hayes, J. R., *Brandywine*, 35.  
 Hayllar, Benjamin, 135.  
 Haynes, Hezekiah, 157.  
 Heath, Joseph, 7, n.  
 Henton, John, 135.  
 Hertford, 71n, 83, 84, 111.  
 Hertfordshire, 111.  
 Hertfordshire Q.M., 108.  
 Hervey, Robert, 121, n.  
  
 Heywood, Oliver, 81n.  
*Hicks, Elias*, 90.  
 Hicks, Thomas, 80n, 114.  
 Hicksite, 140.  
 Higgins, John, 102.  
 Hill, Robert, 81n.  
 Hillsborough, 71n.  
 Hilton, George, 5.  
 Hiron, Maud, *aft.* Tydmars, 93.  
 Hiron, William, 93.  
 Hitchin, 6, 111.  
 Hivegill, 77.  
 Hodden, Major, 153, n, 155.  
 Hodder, river, 30.  
 Hoddesdon, 111.  
 Hodgkin, T., *Trial*, 90, 141.  
 Hodgkinson, Thomas, 3, 5.  
 Hogsty End M.M., 108.  
 Holland, 25, 42, 151, 165n.  
 Hollister, Dennis, 135, 136.  
 Holme, George, 87.  
 Hooton, Elizabeth, 3n.  
 Hornoul, William, 77.  
 Horsham, 32, 134.  
 Horsley, Cornelius, 35.  
 Horton, Joshua, 167.  
 Howard, E. F., writings, 34, 88, 99, 142.  
 Howard, Luke, 135.  
 Howgill, Francis, 17n, 103, 142.  
 Hoyland, Charles, 15.  
*Hubberthorne, Richard*, 139.  
 Huddersfield, 6.  
 Huish, Eliza, *aft.* Hart, 6.  
 Humphrey, John, 135.  
 Humphrey, Thomas, 135.  
 Hunt, Samuel, 77.  
 Hunter, John, 113.  
 Huntingdonshire, 39.  
 Hursley, 152.  
 Hutton, Captain, 162, n.  
 Hutton, Gilbert, 64.  
 Hythe, 103.  
  
 Ibstock, 150.  
 Ilchester, 16-19.  
 Iles, Martin, 167.  
 Illinois, 11.  
 Independents, 104.  
 India, 34.  
 Indians, 88.  
 Ingoldsby, Henry, 20, 21.  
 Ingrave, J. H., *Haunted Homes*, 9.  
 insanity, 88.  
 Inverness, 121, 158, 160, 162, 163.  
 Inverury, 119, 121.  
 Ireland, 6, 20, 34, 42, 47, 69, 71n, 76, 80n, 87, 150, 151, 153-156.  
 Italy, 150.  
  
 Jackson, Ralph, 48.  
 Jackson, William, 31.  
 Jaffray, Alexander, 41, 42, 73, 113, 116, 118.  
 Jaffray, Andrew, 40, 53, 56, 57, 60, 66, 70-73, 75, 80, 113, 115, 116, 118, 120.  
 Jaffray, Christian, 120.  
 Jahan, Peter, 135.  
 Jamaica, 58n, 86, 168.  
 James II., 63.  
 Japan, 34.



- Jekyll, Sir Joseph, 147.  
 Jenkins, T. Atkinson, 139.  
 Johnston, Andrew, 121.  
 Johnston, Elizabeth, 40, 41, 45.  
 Johnston, George, 54.  
 Jones, Ann, 90.  
 Jones, Rebecca, 33.  
 Jones, R. M., writings, 35, 37.  
*Jordans*, 138.  
 judgments, 19.  
  
 Kaber Rigg Plot, 142.  
 Keillo, Isabel, 41.  
 Keith, George, 40, 42, 44, 45.  
 Keith, Robert, 113, 118.  
 Kelsey, John, 137n.  
 Kelson, 115.  
 Kendal, 9, 142.  
 Kent, 2n.  
 Kett family, 39.  
 Kidson, Henry, 5.  
 Kingdon, Captain, 155.  
 Kingswells, 41, 42, 66n, 70n.  
 Kinmuck, 40, 61, 71n, 73, 74, 76, 80, 114-116, 118, 119, 122.  
 Kinnaber, 40, 42.  
 Kinneil, 54n.  
 Kinsale, 153-155.  
 Kirby, Margaret, 87.  
 Kirkcounhill, 42n.  
 Knight, John, 156, n.  
 Knowles, Captain, 165.  
 Knowles, Sarah, 165, n.  
  
 Laing, Margaret, 113.  
 Lamb, Charles, 6.  
 Lancashire, 43, 100, 156, 165.  
 Lancaster, 10.  
 Lancaster, James, 161n.  
 Lang, John, 54.  
 Langley, 111.  
 Langley, Timothy, 164-166.  
 Latimer, Janet, 76.  
 Lavoy, Henry, 17, 18n.  
 Leeds, 167.  
 Lees in Bowland, 31.  
 Leicester, 6.  
 Leicestershire, 148.  
 Leigh, Ann, *aft.* Gulson, 6.  
 Leigh, Thomas, 81, n.  
 Leighton M.M., 108.  
 Leith, 163-166.  
 Lesk, John, 53, 54, 113.  
 Lethenty, 40, 53-55, 71n.  
 Letterfrack, 6.  
 Levellers, 161.  
 Leys, 55n, 57, 61.  
 Ligertwood, Margaret, 113.  
*Lightfoot, Hannah*, 36.  
 Lilley, 111.  
 Lillington, Thomas, 135.  
 Limerick, 20, 21, 23.  
 Linlithgow, 115n.  
 Lisbon, 169.  
 literature, 12, 33-39, 53, 54, 65, 75, 88-90, 138-142, 148, 149, 153, 164, 165, 168.  
 Littleboy, A. L., *Jordans*, 138.  
 Littleport, 109.  
 Liversedge, 81.  
 Livingstone, Patrick, 45, 64, 66, 71.  
 Lloyd family, 134.  
  
 Lloyd, Edward, 99.  
 Lloyd, Hannah, *form.* Hart, 6.  
 Lloyd, James, 6.  
 Lloyd, John Henry, 34.  
 Lloyd, Robert, 6.  
 Lloyd, Sarah, *form.* Hart, 6.  
 Local Histories, 50.  
 Logan, Deborah, 102.  
 London, 148, 150.  
 Long Island, 89, 90.  
 Long Stratton, 39.  
 Longworth, Roger, 100.  
 Loughmabor, 163.  
 Love, —, 152.  
 Love, John, 98.  
 Love (Luffe), John, 168n.  
 Lovel, Hannah, *aft.* Perrin, 18n.  
 Lower, Mary, 87, 133, 136.  
 Lower, Richard, 27n.  
 Lower, Thomas, 27, n, 87, 132n, 133, 136.  
 Lownds, Joseph, 94.  
 Ludwharn, 118.  
 Lundy, William, 113.  
 Luton and Leighton M.M., 108.  
 Luttrell, N., *Diary*, 5.  
 Lye, Thomas, 18n.  
  
 Mackenzie, D., *Morocco*, 33.  
*Macmillan, Alexander*, 33.  
 Mann, Lieut. Col., 158, 159, 163.  
 Marana, John P., 50, 98.  
 Marchant family, 82, n, 86, 87.  
 Marketstreet, 111.  
 marriage, 32, 41, 46-48, 56-62, 69, 74, 80, 89, 116-118n, 134.  
 Marseilles, 168.  
 Marsh, Edward, 52.  
 Marsh Grange, 4.  
 Marshall, Charles, 8.  
 Martindale, Edward, 98.  
 Masson, Prof., 34.  
 Mather, William, 13n.  
 Maud family, 8.  
 Mazarin, Cardinal, 151.  
 Meade, Sarah, 3n.  
 Meade, William, 3n, 13n.  
 meeting houses, 64.  
 meetings for business, 67, 69, 114, 120.  
 meetings for worship, 98.  
 Melvin, William, 116.  
 Menzies, John, 54.  
 Merser, Thomas, 40, 41, 43-45, 53, 56, 57, 66, 73.  
 Messer, John, 117.  
 Middletown, Pa., 138.  
 Mill, Thomas, 43, 45.  
 Mill of Collichill, 43.  
 Miller, Margaret, 50.  
 Miller, William, 80n, 115n.  
 Mills, Henry, 135.  
 Milne, Thomas, 40.  
 Milton, 94.  
 Mockett, John, 81.  
*Modern Language Notes*, 139.  
 Molleson, Gilbert, 41n, 64, 65.  
 Molleson, James, 54.  
 Molleson, Jean, 40.  
 Molleson, Margaret, *aft.* Falconar, 41n.  
  
 Monck, General, 158, 161, 162, 165.  
 Monmouth, Duke of, 16n.  
 Monro, Daniel, 64, 65.  
 Montagu, Edward, 169, n.  
 Montrose, 42, 44, 55, 56, 58, 71n, 73-75, 80, 114.  
 Moon, Paul, 134.  
 Moore, Maj.-Lieut., 162.  
 Moorhouse, 3.  
 Morea, 169.  
 Morgan, Maj.-Gen., 163, n.  
 Morocco, 33.  
 Morris, Richard, 9, 14.  
 Morris, Sarah, *aft.* Birkbeck, 9.  
 Mortimer, Jean, 55n.  
 Muchalls, 45, 55n.  
 Muggleston, Edward, 149, n.  
 Muire, Alexander, 53.  
  
 Nanson family, 39.  
 Nantucket, 11.  
 Nantwich, 141.  
 Nayler, James, 25n, 29.  
 Neale, Matthew, 7.  
 Neale, S., *Journal*, 121n.  
*Neave, Joseph James*, 141.  
 Neper, John, 113.  
 Neper, William, 44, 57, 59, 75, 113.  
 Ness, John, 77.  
 New Albion, 11.  
 New Jersey, 47, 129.  
 New Place, 43.  
 New York, 89.  
*New York Year Book*, 89.  
 Newby, Edward, 48.  
 Newby, Hannah, 47, 48.  
 Newby, Mark, 47.  
 Newcastle, 5, 164-167n.  
 Newfoundland, 169.  
 Newgate, 18n, 37, 107.  
 Newport, Essex, 109.  
 Newton in Bowland, 30, 31.  
 Nicholas, William, 135.  
 Nieupoort, Ambassador, 151.  
 Norfolk, 94.  
 North Carolina, 11.  
*North, Sir Dudley*, 137.  
 Northam, Robert, 19.  
 Northampton, 29.  
 Northamptonshire Q.M., 108.  
 Northboll, Joshua, 76, 77.  
 Northchurch, 111.  
 Northumberland, 77, 118n, 170.  
 Norton, Colonel, 152, n.  
 Norwich, 12, 89.  
 Nott, Roger, 19.  
 Nottingham, 6, 77, 131n.  
  
 oaths, 5, 18n, 55n, 121.  
 Ogden, John, 35, 50.  
 Ogmotherly, 3, 4.  
 Old Meldrum, 119, 121n.  
 Oldham, 36.  
 Oldworth, Jo, 168.  
 Ord, Ann, 76.  
 Ormston, Charles, 115n.  
 Ostell, Jonathan, 77.  
 Owen, John, 106.  
 Owen, Richard, 135.  
 Oxford, 94.  
 Oxfordshire, 6, 93.  
  
 Palmer, David, 77.  
 Papist, 148.

- Pardshaw, 103.  
 Paris, 27, 98.  
 Parker family, 31.  
 Parker, Alexander, 30-32, 161n, 164, n.  
 Parkinson family, 123-127.  
 Parkinson, Sydney, 123-127.  
 Parnell, James, 90, 142.  
 Parsons, John, 47.  
 Parsons, Thomas, 135.  
 Paterson, Alexander, 64, 65.  
 peace, 33.  
 Pearson, Anthony, 164, n.  
 Pease, H., *Sir D. Dale*, 170.  
 Pease, Sir Joseph, 96n.  
 Pemberton family, 100.  
 Pemberton, J., *Life*, 121n.  
 Pendle Hill, 30.  
 Penington, Mary, 141.  
 Penn, Gulielma Maria, *aft.* Fell, 2n.  
 Penn, Gulielma Maria, *form.* Springett, 32.  
 Penn, Thomas, 86, 136.  
 Penn, William, 2n, 13n, 32, 33, 80, 92, 99, 130, 133-136, 142.  
 Penney, N., *Mary Penington*, 141.  
 Pennsylvania, 32, 86.  
 Pennystone family, 110.  
 Perrin, Matthew, 17, 18n.  
 Perrot, John, 20-24, 137n, 154, n, 168n.  
 Perth, 161n, 162.  
 Phayre, Col., 151, 153.  
 Philadelphia, 47, 66n, 90, 94, 109.  
 Pindar, Samuel, 77.  
 Pirie, John, 64, 65.  
 places of worship, other, attended, 120, 121.  
 plain language, 69, 79.  
 Pleadwell, Edward, 48.  
 plotting, 142.  
 Plumstead, Clement, 48.  
 Plymouth, 8.  
 Poole, Edward, 19.  
 Pooley, Mr., 157.  
 poor, 19, 67, 74, 99, 119, 120.  
 Pope, Elizabeth, 99.  
 Pope, Michael, 99.  
 Porter, James, 54, 61.  
 Porter, John, 119.  
 Portsmouth, 152n.  
 Portugal, 169.  
 Potter, Hannah, *form.* Cooke, *aft.* Fell, 2n.  
 Poulter, Henry J., 39.  
 Presbyterians, 71, 72, 75, 104.  
 Preston, 156.  
 Preston Patrick, 103.  
 Prince, Mary, 168n.  
 prisons, 128.  
 Proctor, William, 159.  
 Pryor, John, 32, 135.  
 Puddimore, 18n.  
  
*Quaker Biographies*, 33.  
*Quaker Girl*, 36.  
*Quaker Post Bag*, 36, 130.  
*Quakers et l'Arbitrage*, 33.  
 Quare, Daniel, 66n.  
*Query to all Preachers*, 8.  
  
 Rabley Heath, 111.  
 Radholme Laund, 31.  
  
 Rait, David, 43, 45.  
 Ratcliff, 72.  
 Rathbone, Mary, 119.  
 Rawlinson, Richard, 147.  
 Rawson, M. S., *Life of Jesus*, 140.  
 records, 67, 69, 101-108.  
 Redbourn, 111.  
 Reid, John, 50.  
 Reid, William, 116, 119.  
 Reynolds, Rebekah, *form.* Gulson, 6.  
 Reynolds, Richard, 6, 7.  
 Richardson, John, 77.  
 Richardson, Major, 159-161.  
 Richardson, Matthew, 4, n.  
 Richardson, Samuel, 3.  
 Richardson, Thomas, 5.  
 Richardson, Thomas, 91.  
 Robertson, John, 66, 71n, 75, 113, 115n.  
 Robinson, Margery, *form.* Lower, 133.  
 Robinson, Patrick, 73.  
 Robinson, Thomas, 43.  
 Robson, Isaac, 6.  
 Robson, Sarah, 6.  
 Rodes, Sir John, 7, 130.  
 Roman Catholics, 139.  
 Rome, 150.  
 Ross family, 39.  
 Rous, John, 3n, 136.  
 Rous, Margaret, 136.  
 Row, John, 86.  
 Row, John, 158-160.  
 Royston, 111.  
 Rudd, Samuel, 83.  
 Rugeley, 9, 14.  
  
 Sacombe, 111.  
 Saddleworth, 8.  
 Saffron Walden, 86, 109.  
 St. Albans, 84, 111.  
 St. Johnston see Perth.  
 Salthouse, Alice, 87.  
 Salthouse, Robert, 87.  
 Salthouse, Thomas, 18n.  
 Salthouse, William, 87.  
 Sanderson, Mary, *aft.* Fox, 37.  
 Sandon, 111.  
 Sandwich, Earl of, 169n.  
 Satterthwaite family, 138.  
 Satterthwaite, Agnes, 87.  
 Satterthwaite, William, 87.  
 Sawbridgeworth (Sabridge-worth), 111.  
 Sawley, 30.  
 Scales family, 39.  
 Scandrett, John, 99.  
 Scarborough and Whitby M.M., 102.  
 Scathwaite, 3.  
 Scotland, 9, 50, 157, 158.  
*Scott, Job*, 142.  
 Scott, John, 113, 116.  
 Scott, Robert, 113, 114, 116.  
 Seaman, Jemima, *aft.* Hicks, 90.  
 seamen, 42, 43.  
 Seaton, Alexander, 71, n.  
 Seaton, John, 158, 160.  
 Seebohm, Benjamin and Esther, 6.  
 Seekers, 36, 157.  
 Selborne, Lord, 147.  
*Sermon upon Aaron's Rod*, 7.  
  
 Settle, 9, 10, 30.  
 Seymour, John, 7.  
 Shaftesbury, 153.  
 Shaftner End, 109.  
 Sharp, Elizabeth, 87.  
 Shaw, John, 135.  
 Shaw, Sarah, *aft.* Shrigley, 8.  
 Shawtonhill, 77n.  
 Sheephall (Shiphall), 111.  
 Sheffield, William, 149, 150.  
 Sheldon, Archbishop, 89.  
 Sherwood, G. F. T., 6.  
 Shrigley family, 8.  
 Shrigley, Henry, 8.  
 Sicklemore, James, 20.  
 Silberrad, U. L., *Rideout*, 88.  
 silence in worship, 43.  
 Simm, see Syme.  
 Simmer, James, 54.  
 Simpson, Daniel, 113.  
 Simpson, Isabel, 87.  
 Skene family, 40, 41, 43, 45, 53, 54, 56, 113.  
 Skipton, 158n.  
 slavery, 11, 62.  
 Sleside, 111.  
 Sloane, Sir Hans, 27, n.  
 Smith, C. F., *Anthology*, 142.  
 Smith, Francis, 6, 7.  
 Smith, Henry E., 6.  
 Smith, Humphry, 156, n.  
 Smith, John, 113.  
 Smith, Jonathan, 99.  
 Smith, Joseph, 9, 13n, 15.  
 Smith, Joshua, 81, n.  
 Smith, Julia, 40.  
 Smith, Ruth, *form.* Gulson, 6.  
 Smith, Sarah J., 88, 128.  
 Smith, Thomas, 131.  
 Smith, William, 113, 116, 117.  
*Smith of Cantley*, 6.  
 Smyrna, 168.  
 Snashall, Thomas, 32, 135.  
 Snead, Richard, 98, 99, 102, 134, 136.  
 soldiers converted, 153, 157ff.  
 Somers, Lord John, 147.  
 Somerville, Alexander, 42, 43, 56.  
 Somerville, Jean, 40.  
 Somerville, John, 75, 113, 116, 118.  
 Southampton, 152.  
 Southworth, Robert, 135.  
 Sowerby, 81, n.  
 Spark, Alexander, 72.  
 Spark, William, 113.  
 Speakman, Randall, 48.  
 Speed, Thomas, 136.  
 Spitalfields, 81.  
 Spring, Elspeth, 44.  
 Spring, George, 54, 113.  
 Spring, James, 117.  
 Springall family, 39.  
 Springett, Gulielma Maria, *aft.* Penn, 32, 141.  
 Springett, Sir William, 141.  
 Springhall, 42n.  
 Staintondale, 102.  
 Stamper, Francis, 8.  
 Stanhope, John, 167.  
 Stansted, 7n, 110.  
 Stepney, 32.  
 Steven, William, 44.  
 Stevenage, 111.  
 Stockport, 3.



- Stonehaven, 73, 80, 114, 115.  
 Story, Christopher, 77.  
 Story, Thomas, 29, 81-86.  
 Stot, William, 43, 54.  
 Strettell, Amos, 70.  
 Sturge, Joseph, 33, 34.  
 Suffolk, 157.  
 Sunderland, 58n.  
 Sussex, 32, 152.  
 Swan, George, 115n.  
 Swannington, 148, n, 149.  
 Swanton, William, 19.  
 Swarthmore, 2, 87.  
 Swinton, John, 42, 44, 53.  
 Sykes, James, 43.  
 Syme, Alexander, 117.  
 Syme, John, 54, 66, 113.  
 Symonds, Samuel, 7.  
  
 Taick, 57.  
 Tallack, W., *Friends*, 103.  
 Taunton, 18n.  
 Taylor, John, 76.  
 Taylor, William, 66, 72, 75, 113.  
 Telly (Tully), Samuel, 32, 135.  
 Temple, George, 113, 114, 116, 117.  
 Terry, E. H. S., *Poems*, 39.  
 thee and thou see plain language.  
 Thomas, John, 99.  
 Thompson, H. S., *Alpine Plants*, 140.  
 Thompson, Thomas, 13, 15.  
 Thoresby, John, 167.  
 Thurloe, J., *State Papers*, 147-169.  
 Tillykerrie, 43, 61.  
 tithes, 117.  
 tobacco, 69, 79.  
 Toft MSS., 131.  
 Tomkins, John, 7, 130, 132.  
 Tomlinson, Elizabeth, 5.  
 Tomlinson, Richard, 5.  
 Townsend, L. W., *Browne*, 37.  
 Townson, Rachel, 87.  
 Tows, Timothy, 77.  
 Trebah, 9.  
 Tregose, Jasper, 71, 72.  
 Tring, 111.  
 Troup, George, 113, 116.  
 Tubb family, 82, 86, 87.  
 Tully see Telly.  
 Turkey, 169.  
*Turkish Spy*, 25, 50, 98.  
 Turner, —, 164.  
 Turner, G. L., *Records*, 89.  
 Tydmarsch, Giles, 93.  
  
 Tydmarsch, Maud, *form*.  
 Hiron, 94.  
 Tyso, John, 46.  
  
 Ulverston, 3-5, 10.  
 Upperside M.M., 108.  
 Upperside and Leighton M.M., 108.  
 Urquhart, James, 43, 54, 66.  
 Ury, 40, 45, 73, 74, 76, 80, 114, 115.  
  
 Vane, Sir Henry, 153, 154.  
 Vaux family, 89.  
 Venice, 168.  
 Vickris - Dickinson family, 82n.  
 visions, 91.  
  
 Wager, Prudence, *aft.* Parker, 32.  
 Wagstaffe family, 94.  
 Waldenfield, Samuel, 131.  
 Walkden, P., *Diary*, 31.  
 Walker, George, 142.  
 Walker, Richard, 156, n.  
 Walker, Thomas, 87.  
 Walker, William, 156, n.  
 Wall, James, 156, n.  
 Wallace, David, 72, 73, 75, 113, 114, 116.  
 Waller, Edmond, 129-133.  
 Wallis family, 39.  
 Wallis, Major, 153, n.  
 Wain, Nicholas, 33, 48.  
 Wanborough, 11.  
 Wapping, 72.  
 Ward, Cornet, 158-161.  
 Ward, Mrs. E. M., 37.  
 Wardell, Robert, 58, n.  
 Ware, 111.  
 Warwick, 6.  
 Waters, G—, 17.  
 Watson, Robert, 114.  
 Watson, Robert Spence, 33.  
 Wear, Euphan, 115n.  
 Webb, Helen, 36.  
 Welch, Sarah, 165, n.  
 Welch, William, 165, n.  
 Wellingborough, 83.  
 Welwyn (Welling), 111.  
 Wendon, 109.  
 Wensleydale, 35, 50.  
 Wesley, John, 82n.  
 West Indies, 2n.  
 Wharton, Robert, 142.  
 Whate, Lady, 6.  
 Wheeler, Daniel, 33.  
 Wheeler, Mary, *form*.  
 Gulson, 6.  
  
 Wheeler, Rudd, 6, 7.  
 Whitby, Elizabeth, 76.  
 White, Elizabeth, 51.  
 White, John, 113.  
 White, William, 34.  
 Whitefield, George, 82n.  
 Whitehead, Thomas, 84.  
 Whitewater, Ind., 88.  
 Whiting, John, 9, 15, 16n.  
 Whiting, J., writings, 30-32.  
 Widders, Robert, 29, 161n.  
 Widford, 111.  
 Wigginton, 6.  
 Wilbur, H. W., *Hicks*, 90.  
 Wilkin, Joan, 99.  
 Wilkinson, Captain Robert, 21.  
 Wilkinson and Story Controversy, 102.  
 William III., 147.  
 Williamson, Jean, 40, 72.  
 Williamson, Joseph, 120.  
 wills, 2, 6, 50, 99.  
 Wilson, Deborah, *aft.* Birbeck, 9.  
 Wilson, Jonathan, 31.  
 Wilson, Robert, 8.  
*Wilson, William*, 138.  
 Winchelsea, Lord, 137.  
 Winchester, 152.  
 Winchester, Isaac, 117.  
 Windsor, 83.  
 Winter, John, 19.  
 Wisbech, 91, 92.  
 Wishart, Thomas, 54.  
 women's meetings, 80.  
 Wood, Henry, 100.  
 Wood, Hugh, 80n.  
 Worcester, 8, 141, 156.  
 Worcestershire, 156.  
 Worminghurst, 32, 134.  
 Worsley, Maj.-Gen., 156, n, 157.  
 Wray, 10.  
 Wright, Edward, 89.  
 Wright, Thomas, 32, 135.  
 Wyatt, Joseph, 83.  
 Wycombe, 5.  
  
 Yeamans, Isabel, 3, 136.  
 Yeamans, William, 3, n.  
*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 68.  
 Yeovil, 18n.  
 York, 8, 12, 35, 148.  
 York Castle, 81n.  
 Yorkshire, 9, 30, 76, 77, 81n, 166.  
  
 Zante, 169.

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## Contents.

---

	PAGE.
Notes and Queries .. .. .	2, 50, 98, 146
A Query to all the Preachers in Christendom.	
<i>George Fox</i>	8
Our Bibliographers : II. Morris Birkbeck. .. ..	
<i>Isaac Sharp, B.A.</i>	9
A School in Ilchester Jail, 1662 .. .. .	16
Needy Friends in the West of England .. .. .	19
John Perrot to Henry Cromwell, 1656 .. .. .	20
A Turkish View of Quakerism, 1659 .. .. .	25
Dr. Thomas Lower to Sir Hans Sloane, 1703 .. .. .	27
William Dewsbury to Margaret Fell, 1655 .. .. .	28
Thomas Story's Dedication .. .. .	29
Alexander Parker .. .. . <i>Dilworth Abbatt</i>	30
William Penn's Declaration of Intention of Marriage	32
Friends in Current Literature.	
<i>Norman Penney, F.S.A.</i>	33, 88, 138, 170
Gleanings from the Records of the Yearly Meeting	
of Aberdeen, 1672-1786. <i>William F. Miller</i>	40, 53, 113
Thwarted Marriage Proposals.	
<i>Oliver Hough and Joseph J. Green</i>	47, 109
Editor's Notes .. .. .	48, 52
Obituary .. .. .	52
Joseph Green, 1690-1740. <i>Joseph J. Green</i>	81
An Early Certificate of Removal, 1688 .. .. .	87
A Vision seen in Wisbech Jail, 1663.	
<i>Thomas Richardson</i>	91
Ancient Simplicity .. .. .	93
Friends in Danby Dale, Yorks. .. .. .	95
Extracts from Presidential Address.	
<i>A. Neave Brayshaw, B.A., LL.B.</i>	101
Meeting Records—Bucks, etc. .. .. .	108



	PAGE
Early Meetings in Hertfordshire .. .. .	111
Preaching Based on Experience, not Hope ..	112
Sydney Parkinson and his Drawings. <i>William F. Miller</i>	123
The Overcoming Power of Love .. .. .	128
Notes on the Life of Edmond Waller. <i>Evelyn Roberts</i>	129
Minutes Concerning the Marriages of William Penn and George Fox. <i>A. N. Brayshaw, B.A., LL.B.</i>	134
“The Adventures of John the Quaker ” .. ..	137
Officers for the year 1911-12 .. .. .	143
Balance Sheet for the year 1910 .. .. .	144
Extracts relating to Friends from the Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe <i>Elsie M. Smith</i>	147
John Bright and the Carpet .. .. .	170
Index .. .. .	171

---

Illustrations.

---

	PAGE
Thomas Story's Desk .. .. .	85



## VOLUME 5, 1908.

### CONTAINS :

The Westmorland and Swaledale Seekers in 1651.  
Friends in Mansfield and District. *Illustrated.*  
A Glimpse of Ancient Friends in Dorset.  
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