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# THE BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM

BY

WILLIAM C. BRAITHWAITE, B.A., LL.B.

PRESIDENT OF THE WOODBROOKE SETTLEMENT, SELLY OAK,  
NEAR BIRMINGHAM

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

RUFUS M. JONES, M.A., D.LITT.

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, HAVERFORD COLLEGE, U.S.A.

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## EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE

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THE standard *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers*, by William Sewel of Amsterdam, was published in Dutch in 1717, in English in 1722, and in German in 1742. It had been preceded by a much inferior work, Gerard Croese's *Historia Quakeriana*, printed in Latin in 1695, and in German and English in 1696, and was succeeded in 1789-1790 by John Gough's *History*, which in the earlier period is a mere compilation. Sewel's book is a conscientious and well-written piece of work for its day, but necessarily falls far short of present needs. Of shorter histories, *The Rise of the Quakers*, by T. Edmund Harvey (1905), *The Story of Quakerism*, by Elizabeth Braithwaite Emmott (1908), and the article on "Friends, Society of," by A. Neave Brayshaw, in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, may be consulted with advantage.

My friend the late John Wilhelm Rowntree planned a History which should adequately exhibit Quakerism as a great experiment in spiritual religion, and should be abreast of the requirements of modern research, and he was gathering materials for the work during the last year of his life. To us who knew him intimately he seemed admirably qualified for the task, alike by his acuteness of intellect and width of outlook, his clear understanding of the genius of Quakerism, and his brilliance of style; and the lectures on "The Rise of Quakerism in Yorkshire," in his *Essays and Addresses*, give a taste of what he might have accomplished had he lived.

The execution of his plan has fallen to friends who shared his conception of the significance of the Quaker movement in its bearing upon spiritual religion; and Dr. Rufus M. Jones, the editor of the series, has already published two volumes, *Studies in Mystical Religion* and *The Quakers in the American Colonies*.

In writing the present history of the Beginnings of Quakerism, I have endeavoured to make good use of the unique treasury of MS. and printed materials in the Library of the Society of Friends at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, E.C.; and I also owe much to the publications of the Friends' Historical Society, which are continually making fresh portions of this material readily available.



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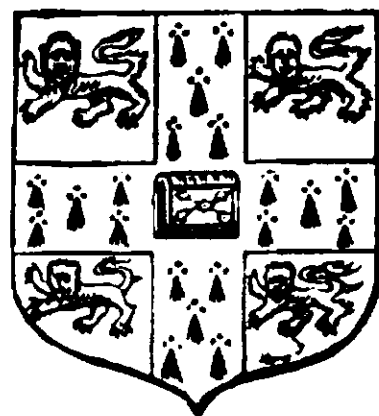
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# THE JOURNAL

## OF THE

# FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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**D.**==The Reference Library of London Yearly Meeting, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

**F.P.T.**=="*The First Publishers of Truth*," published by the Friends' Historical Society, 1907.

**Camb. Jnl.**==*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

**Ell. Jnl.**==*The Journal of George Fox*, edited by Thomas Ellwood, 1694.

### Notices.

Supplement No. 9, "Extracts from State Papers, Second Series, 1658 to 1664," has been sent out to subscribers. It can now be obtained at 4s. 6d. (\$1.15) net. The more than one hundred pages of this Supplement contain striking and curious allusions to early Friends, found in public documents and private letters, and also copies of private correspondence captured by the Government. No. 10 is now in the hands of the printers.

Binding cases for volumes of THE JOURNAL may be obtained from Headley Brothers at 1s. 6d. each.



## Notes and Queries.

FRIENDS IN THE WEST INDIES.  
—I shall be glad of any information regarding Friends in the West Indies about the end of the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries, and more particularly the Bristol Lloyds who traded regularly with Antigua and Montserrat about this period.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Bertram Dobell, Charing Cross Road, London, I have lately seen one of Abraham Lloyd's log-books; he states that John Crosfield was a passenger home from Antigua in 1681.—FRANK L. RAWLINS, Rhyl.

---

LORD MACAULAY'S QUAKER ANCESTRY.—Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian, married Selina Mills, daughter of a member of the Society of Friends, a bookseller in Bristol. She was born in 1767. What was the exact date of her birth?

---

[The Bristol Registers do not contain the name of Selina Mills. There is, however, a record of the birth in 1778 of Hannah, daughter of Thomas and Mary Mills, the father a bookseller—probably a younger sister of Selina.—ED.]

---

CAPTAIN EVERY, QUAKER (viii. 152).—Professor G. Lyon Turner suggests whether the name should be *Avery* instead of *Every*. According to the Episcopal returns of 1669, some "supposed Presbyterians" met at Hursley "att the house of Mrs Dorothy Cromwell wife to Richard Cromwell the late Usurper," and one of the "Heads & Teachrs" was "Mr

Avery, Mrs Cromwell's Chaplaine, who being demanded by w<sup>t</sup> authority he held that unlawfull Assembly Answered that he was Authorized thereto by Jesus Christ, and That his Lady would beare them out in all their meetings" (Turner's *Original Records of Early Nonconformity*, i. 140). Prof. Turner writes, "Is it not quite possible that so erratic a luminary may have blazed out (i.) in the Commonwealth period at Hursley, as a reputed Quaker; (ii.) then got appointed somewhere in Berkshire (*Calamy*, i., 296); then on his ejection (iii.) got the comfortable appointment as Mrs. Cromwell's chaplain in his old haunts at Hursley, 1663-1669, and (iv.) on the Declaration of Indulgence moved to Kingscleare on the urgent invitation of the people there?"

---

[Both names—Avery and Every—appear in Besse's *Sufferings*, but none of those mentioned appears identifiable with this "Captain Every."—ED.]

---

WESTMINSTER FRIENDS' MEETING, 1710.—In 1710, Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach records, on 6th July, "Sunday at noon we attended the Quakers' Meeting at the Gatehouse, Westminster. They have no regular Church, but a mean room, which was crowded. Women preach here as seldom as at Amsterdam. Two old men spoke this time, very slowly and distinctly, so that I could understand all. The hearers all hung the head, as in Holland;



but they used still more singular gestures, and fetched sighs altogether terrible." (See Mayor's *Cambridge in Eighteenth Century*, 1911, p. 366, where this passage is translated from *Merkwürdige Reisen*, published in 1753 by Schelhorn).—WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

---

SCOTCH MEETING RECORDS.—John Rickman, of Edinburgh, writes under date 5th of 5 mo. 1829, to George Richardson of Newcastle (D. Richardson MSS. v. 48), asking for his assistance in tracing a Minute book of Kelso M.M. He says that a Committee of the General Meeting was appointed "to endeavour to discover such parts of the Records of the different Meetings formerly in existence in Scotland, as have been found to be wanting by an enquiry and examination lately made in furtherance of the Yearly Meeting's direction to that effect." . . . "The Committee in the course of their enquiries discovered a Book containing the Records of Kelso Mo. Meeting from the year 1748 till its junction with Edinburgh Mo. Meeting in 1786. In this Book are several References to a '*former Book*' which is not forthcoming, and as the whole of the book we have found is in the handwriting (at least down to 1761) of Charles Ormston, it has occurred to us that he would most probably be the custodian of the '*former Book*.'" G.R. is asked to enquire if Charles Ormston, of Newcastle, supposed to be grandson of the first Charles referred to, has any old books, or can suggest anyone else who may have possession of family papers.

Was this "former Book" ever found?

WILLIAM PENN AND JAMES II.—In a review of *The English Court in Exile: James II. at Saint Germain*, by E. and M. S. Grew, recently published, it is stated, "With the victory of the Williamist forces at the Boyne ended the last serious attempt of the Stuart King to regain his Kingdom, though it is interesting to recall that a subsequent invasion of England from France and Ireland was seriously suggested to James by William Penn, the Quaker." Is there any truth in this statement respecting Penn?

---

[The actual quotation appears to be this:—"The Quaker, William Penn, had assured James that if England were invaded from France and Ireland, his supporters would rally round him" (page 251), which can hardly be described as a "suggestion" to James to invade England. But Penn's relations with the exiled king are not easily understood.—ED.]

---

"CAMB. JNL."—In vol. ii., p. 359, in one of George Fox's testamentary papers, occur the words, "And to W M. & N: M: my great Combe Case my Steel & chaine to knock Letters." What do the last six words denote?

---

THULCHED.—Are there other instances of the use of this word than the following:—"I was after the old sort, as at other times, even hurled from my place, and haled up and down by some, and *thulched* on the breast by others, that I might not speak" (Samuel Fisher, *The Scorned Quakers Second Account*, 1656). What is the origin of this word?



## Editor's Notes.

---

On pp. 5-52 we print a transcript, with notes, of a MS. in the Bodleian Library, relative to the journey in America taken by George Fox in 1671-3. The MS. is described in Madan's *Summary Catalogue*, where it is stated, "The volume is said to be the autograph of Elwood the friend of Milton. . . . It was bought from John Pearson, London Bookseller, on Feb. 15, 1869, for £3 13s. 6d. Now MS. Add. A. 95." We have seen reproductions of several pages, and are not satisfied that the writing is that of Thomas Ellwood. The notes, which follow the text, have been contributed, mainly, by Dr. William I. Hull, professor of history in Swarthmore College, Pa. See *Camb. Journal*, ii. 426.

---

By the kindness of Wilfrid Grace, of Bristol, we are able to commence in this part of THE JOURNAL the printing of a series of Swarthmore MSS. belonging to him and lent to us for this purpose. This series of twenty-eight papers is known as the Thirnbeck MSS., and was presented to the present owner by his aunt, the late Ellen Clare Grace, who received them from her aunt, Mary Thirnbeck, a descendant of Rachel Abraham, daughter of Margaret Fell.

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In July, 1875, the English Government, of which Disraeli was Premier, issued the notorious Fugitive Slave Circular, instructing ships' captains to surrender to their owners all slaves who had sought refuge on English vessels. Robert Spence Watson called a meeting, at a few hours' notice, and in an impassioned speech, declared to the crowded audience that if any captain did act on the Admiralty instructions, he himself would not only indict him under the Kidnapping Act, but would indict the Prime Minister as an accessory.

Said Disraeli to Cowen, who was then one of the Parliamentary representatives for the town [Newcastle-on-Tyne], "Who is this fellow at Newcastle who has been threatening to indict me?"

Said Cowen to Disraeli, "They call him Spence Watson. He is a Quaker, and if he has said that, you may depend upon it that he will do it."

In the following November the obnoxious circular was withdrawn.

—*The Annual Monitor*, for 1912, p. 191.



## The American Journey of George Fox, 1671-3,

*Taken from a MS. in the Bodleian Library.*

1671.

Mō Day

6 13

We sett out from London<sup>1</sup>

[*four lines blank*]

and the thirteenth<sup>2</sup> day of the eighth moneth we landed at Barbadoes<sup>3</sup> in which Iland we had many meetings and lardge both among the white people & black and we mett with som opposition by the priests and papists but the power of the lord and his glorious truth was ouer all which reached most in the Iland wee also ware at seuerall mens & weomens meetings and haue sett up meetings in their pticuler famelies for the masters & dames to admonish their servants both whites & blacks w<sup>ch</sup> is of greate service for that Iland, and I<sup>a</sup> visited the Gouvernor<sup>4</sup> and he was loueing & a litle before I came of the Iland he with seuerall others with him came to Thomas Rowses<sup>5</sup> to visit mee and after wee had continued on that Iland about 3 moneths we left friends in a good sence of the loue of god & leaueing som ffriends in the ministry with them that had good seruice wee sailed

11<sup>th</sup> mō. 8<sup>th</sup> thence for Jamaica. on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the  
from 11<sup>th</sup> mō. and by the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> mō.  
Barbadoes wee found o<sup>r</sup> shipp sprang a leake and o<sup>r</sup>  
carpenter being an actiue man diued in the  
to Jamaica sea and groaped out the hole and stopped it,  
& the day before the roape that stayed o<sup>r</sup>  
maine yard broak in a storme but all is well.  
praised be the lord.

18<sup>th</sup> Welanded at Jamaica on w<sup>ch</sup> land we trauelled  
vp and doune both in the east parts & west

<sup>a</sup> *went to* struck out after I.



in the North and south both among friends & the people of the world and a greate convincement there is by the pouer of the lord w<sup>ch</sup> is ouer all. I was two times with the gouernour<sup>r</sup> to visit him & two times with Major Banister they was loueing to mee in words and after wee had stayed on that land Seauen weekes & one day wee left Solaman Eckles<sup>2</sup> there & took shipin for mariland.

- 1<sup>st</sup> mō 8<sup>th</sup> the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the 1<sup>st</sup> mō we set out from Jamaica & two daies sailed wind ward & the 3<sup>d</sup> day wee being not able to pass against the wind wee turned Leewards & this day are ouer against Aligaters Pond in maneto valie & by reason of contrarie winds wee Beate a whole weake backwards & forwards vpon that coast before wee got out of sight of
- mō 1. 15 Jamaica on the 15<sup>th</sup> day we lost sight of  
18 Jamaica 16<sup>th</sup> day wee passed by the Iland of litle caimauns and common brook and grand caimauns and the Iland of tortuls aligators & crokedils (and chonasses about the bigness of a catt) and wee passed by the
- 21 Iland of Pines neare cuba & ye 21<sup>th</sup> day our maine stay of o<sup>r</sup> greate yard broke &  
27 fell downe. 27<sup>th</sup> of 1<sup>st</sup> mō wee saw the table land on Cuba and after a calme we had contrary winds w<sup>ch</sup> driued us to & froe & being neare the Iland of tortudus about 8 leagues from the Gulfe of floradia wee past a shoule where wee could see the bottom
- mō 2. 2 sands & Rocks w<sup>ch</sup> struck a suden Feare and a mazment on the people & a grate noyse amongst them in the midst of it I prayed to the lord & he Immediately stopt the winds & preserued us praised be the lord
- 10 for euer. 10<sup>th</sup> day of the 2<sup>d</sup> mō wee had a greate storme soe that wee tyed up the Rudder with Bands & let the ship<sup>a</sup> driue as shee could, but to wards night it ceaced
- 11 praised be the lord. on the 11<sup>th</sup> day wee had

<sup>a</sup> goe struck out after ship.



- contrary winds & some times calme wee  
were driuen back to the lattitude of 37.  
14 & by the 14<sup>th</sup> day wee were in the latetude  
of 36, & had blustering weather but praised  
be the lord all things are santified to me  
sea & land & stormes & the seuerall Clymates  
& sorts of weather, knowing the foundation  
of man and the foundation that is of god &  
many trauells & Excercises on the sea wee  
have had but praised be the lord who hath  
carried us through and aboue them all, on  
16 the 16<sup>th</sup> day wee had a greate storme againe  
& greate Raine almost all the day & we  
tyed up the Ruder band & the helime & let  
the shipp driue as she could and all was  
giuen up to the lord whose power orders all  
things to his glorie both on sea & land.  
17 praised be the lord for euer, 17<sup>th</sup> of 2<sup>d</sup> mō  
wee had a greate fogg & mist but when  
it cleared up wee saw land on the Coast  
of Virginia, & the wind & the sea was  
moderate praised be the lord who by his  
Arme & power & faith in it preserued us  
18 through many dangers. y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> day wee  
came in sight of cape Henry on virginia and  
20 19<sup>th</sup> day passed up the bay & 20<sup>th</sup> day cast  
Anchor in potoxon Riuer<sup>r</sup> & the master  
being a New England man of boston went on  
bord another ship belonging to New England  
in that Riuer & when he came againe he was  
mad Drunck & threatned to Cutt doune the  
mast & to doe other Mischiefs yet I had  
power ouer him, but at the best he was a  
bad man & said he mattered noe more for  
throwing 20 men ouer bord then he did a dog,  
And after wee had rode at anchor awhile a  
greate storme arose & a boat was cast upon us  
for shelter in w<sup>ch</sup> was diuers considerable  
persons of that contry & som of their wives  
& the storme was soe greate that it droue  
away their boat in which was the value of  
500<sup>lis</sup> worth of goods as they said & Geo.



Pateson<sup>r</sup> & diuers others of o<sup>r</sup> ship went out  
 in o<sup>r</sup> boats to seeke after their & others  
 boats that was driuen away & the wind laid  
 them vp soe as they could not retorne. And  
 wee knew not how to gett to shore, but after  
 3 daies there came a boat w<sup>th</sup> som friends  
 23<sup>d</sup> that fetcht us to shore & 23<sup>d</sup> day wee came  
 to James Prestons<sup>2</sup> house and from thence  
 went 60 miles to a meeting which lasted 4  
 daies & seuerall Justices of the peace were  
 there & the speaker of y<sup>e</sup> Assemblie and one  
 of the councell and many considerable  
 people of the world a glorious meeting wee  
 had and all generally well satisfyed and  
 from thence wee went by watter in a sloop  
 about 40 miles but soone after wee set out  
 a storme arose and o<sup>r</sup> sloop cast on ground  
 ready to be broken in peeces, wee had but  
 lately come from the meeting where i was  
 very hott & swett & in the storme wett to the  
 skine but wee gott the bote of the sands<sup>a</sup> &  
 all was well blessed bee the lord & by breake  
 of the day we gott to the<sup>b</sup> place where another  
 generall meeting was and many of the world  
 was there and did receiue the truth with  
 gladness & reverance and most of the back-  
 sliders came in & the next day wee passed  
 about 40 miles by watter to another generall  
 meeting and all friends and people receiued  
 the truth with gladness & it was a heauenly  
 meeting (and neare greate choptank Riuer)  
 there was two Justices of peace and seuerall  
 people of account and it was upon me from  
 the lord to send for the Indian Emperors<sup>3</sup>  
 who came with two of his kings & diuers  
 others of theyr companie and stayed all the  
 meeting and the Emperor & kings after  
 meeting came very loueinly & took me by the  
 hand & from thence went to the friends  
 house where i was to lodg that night & I had

<sup>a</sup> *all* struck out after *sands*.

<sup>b</sup> *the* written over *another*, which is struck out.



to very good speaches to them & they heard the word of the lord & did confesse to it & desired to know when there would be more meetings for they would com to them they said they held a councell & had a greate dispute before they came and on

mō      day      the 6<sup>d</sup> day of the 3<sup>d</sup> moneth I with R W.<sup>1</sup> J.  
 3.      6. Burnyeate<sup>2</sup> & G. P. with seuerall other friends set forwards towards New England by land haueing two Indians to be or guides<sup>3</sup> through the woods, wee passed by the head of Wye riuer<sup>4</sup> & through the woods to the head of Chester Riuer<sup>5</sup> lodging in the woods by or fyer y<sup>t</sup> night & the next Day through the woods & wilderness (haueing noe path) to a plantation w<sup>ch</sup> is called the worlds end & wee swam<sup>a</sup> our horsses ouer Sexon bridg<sup>6</sup> riuer & went ouer our sealues in Dangerous cannows and soe through the woods & we came to Dallaway which is now called new Castell a<sup>b</sup> towne of Dutch & Sweads.

9      9<sup>th</sup> day wee passed ouer a greate watter<sup>7</sup> & caried our horsses ouer in a sloape & there hyred new guides with much a doe<sup>8</sup> and soe passed on through the woods and a tedious Journey wee had through the woods & riuers & Creecks & wildernesses where it is not knowne that euer any man Rode before & some tymes wee lay in the woods by or fyers and som tymes in Indians houses or cabens<sup>9</sup> once at an Indian Kings house & he and his queen with the rest of his Attendance was very loueing & receiued me & he layd me a matt for a bed to lye by him & at another Indian towne the king & quene came to me they could speake English & was uery loueing & I spake much to them & his people & wee passed through many Indian townes and they helped us ouer the greate Riuer in theyr cannows & swam ouer or horsses & soe wee

<sup>a</sup> *ouer* struck out after *swam*.

<sup>b</sup> *a* inserted above the line.



passed through the woods & boggs vntill we came to midletowne<sup>1</sup> a place in New Jarsie & was uery glad then when wee got a high way & wee stayed there a while and refreshed our sealues & from thence wee went to a friends house whose name is Richard Hartshorne<sup>2</sup> & he helped us ouer a greate watter in a bote & or horssees wee was almost a whole day in passing it, and then wee came to Graues end on long Iland & there was friends & from thence wee went

17<sup>th</sup> about 40 miles to oyster bay where was a Generall meeting w<sup>ch</sup> held 6 dayes and was lardge where wee mett with som of the hatt spirits<sup>3</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was Judged Downe & condemned and the truth was sett ouer all and this generall meeting began on the 17<sup>th</sup> of 3<sup>d</sup> mō & did not part untill the 23<sup>d</sup> day of the 3<sup>d</sup> mō it was of very greate service & from thence wee went to another meeting & from

23 thence through the woods to fflushing wher was a lardge meeting at John Bounds<sup>4</sup> house and many people of the world was there and was much satisfyed & desired to heare againe and said if I would come to theyr towne I should haue their meeting-house & from

3<sup>d</sup> mō 30 thence wee came to oyster Baye & the 30<sup>th</sup> day wee came to Road Iland<sup>5</sup> it was about 200 miles or passage by watter & friends & others receiued us gladly & I<sup>a</sup> came to Nicholas Eastons<sup>6</sup> house who is Gouverno<sup>r</sup> of that Collonye & there lodged & had two uery good meetings & many Justices with the gouerno<sup>r</sup> & deputy gouerno<sup>r</sup><sup>7</sup> & captaine and all was satisfyed & som of them said they did not think there had been such a man in the world & there was the Generall meeting where friends came out of many other Collonys w<sup>ch</sup> meeting continued daye after daye for many dais and most of the officers with y<sup>e</sup> gouernor & deputy gouernor

<sup>a</sup> wee struck out and I written over.



was there—and the mens & weomens meetings concentering the managing the affairs of the truth was there Established & there wee had a mariag w<sup>ch</sup> I was at for Example sacke & many of the world was there three Justices of peace & both people & friends said they neuer saw such a solme assembly & soe weighty & such order soe it was beyond words and the truth was set ouer all it was at a friends house that had formerly been gouernor<sup>r</sup> it was an Example to all the rest of the Jurisdictions for some out of many places was there,

4<sup>th</sup> mō 30<sup>th</sup>

and I had a trauell upon my spirit concerning the Ranters<sup>2</sup> for they had been Rude at a frinds meeting where I was not at and I apoynted a meeting amongst them & I knew that the lord would giue me power ouer them and he did to his praise & glory blessed be his name for euer and there was a Justice of the peace there that day conuined that had been a Justice 20 years & he was taken with greate admiration & loue to the truth & soe was diuers other people of account and all was quiett and on the 30<sup>th</sup> of the 4<sup>th</sup> moneth wee had a meeting at prouidence, very lardge and diuers sorts & sects of people was there and I had a great trauell concerning the meeting in haueing & preseruing it quiett and bringing the truth ouer them & in them for they were aboue the priests in high notions, & the lord sett his truth & seed aboue all & they went away mightily satisfyed and said that they neuer heard the like before & did much desire another meeting som came on purpose to dispute but all was sylant and the power of the lord was ouer all people came farr & neare to that meeting & it was of greate seruice & to the honour of god & the people wass soe affected that they enqueried after more meetings the meeting was in a greate



barne w<sup>ch</sup> was soe ffull of people y<sup>t</sup> I was  
 Extreemly soaked with sweat but all was  
 well the blessed seed was ouer all. There was  
 5<sup>th</sup> mō a priest that did threaten but his mouth was  
 stopt & there was a woman that was bad and  
 skoffed and she went away and was struct  
 sick and sent for one to look to her who told  
 her of her skoffing & refused to Attend her  
 & mens & weomens meetings are Established  
 in all those collonyes in the order of the  
 gossell & a generall weomens meeting is set  
 up at boston & the pouer of the lord is ouer  
 all & his blessed seed blessed be his name  
 13<sup>th</sup> for euer & the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> mō I had a  
 meeting at a Justices house where friends  
 neuer had a meeting before and allmost all  
 the Countrie came that neuer heard friends  
 before and all was quiett & mightyly taken  
 & ffour Justices & the gouerno<sup>r</sup> & wee went  
 about 40 miles back wards & forwards to  
 it it was at a place called Naragansit and  
 people came from comitticott and it was of  
 very greate seruice blessed be the lord for  
 euer and they were there soe much taken with  
 the truth that as wee ware comeing away  
 a Justice with som others was drawing up a  
 paper Inviteing mee to haue more meetings  
 amongst them & at another place on that  
 Iland they said that if they had money  
 enough they would hyre mee & I replyed  
 then it was tyme for me to goe away for  
 then they would not come to their owne  
 teacher, for that (*viz.* (hyreing of teachers)  
 did & had spoyled them & many for not  
 improueing their owne tallents for wee  
 brought euery one to their owne teacher and  
 after wee had stayed two moneths in Road  
 Iland & thereabouts & had good service there  
 the people very loueing & the Gouvernor,  
 deputy gouerner Captaine & most or all the  
 Justices came to the meetings constantly &  
 was Convinced & are uery loueing ; and soe



- leaueing John Burneyeate & John Cartwrite to visit them againe wee departed thence.
- 5<sup>th</sup> mō 26<sup>th</sup> about y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> mō in a sloop and wee sailed by poynt Judah & by block Iland and at night came to ffishers Iland where wee went on shore to Lodge. but wee were not able to stay for the Muscheatoes soe wee tooke or sloop againe & put of from the shore & Cast anchor & stayed all that night & the next day sayled into the Sound and or sloop was not able to abide the weather soe wee could not pass but retornd in againe to Anchor at fishers Iland all that night haueing much raine and the next day being the
- 5<sup>th</sup> mō. 28<sup>th</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> mō wee sayled<sup>a</sup> but wee ware very much wett haueing an open boat & Raine almost all day & night, wee passed the watters called the horssraces<sup>b</sup> & by Garners Iland & the Gulls Iland & came to shelter Iland<sup>c</sup> where we had a meeting on y<sup>e</sup>
- 28 28<sup>th</sup> daye being the first day of the weeke, & I had a meeting there among the Indians
- 6<sup>th</sup> mō. 1 on the first day of the 6<sup>th</sup> mō<sup>c</sup> and the King and his counsell with about a<sup>d</sup> hundred more Indians with them & they sate about two houres & I spake to them by an Interpretor that was an Indian that could speake English very well. and they apeared very loueing and after the meeting they Confessed & said all was truth and I haue sett up a meeting amongst them once a fortnight & a friend Joseph Siluister<sup>2</sup> is to reade the scripturs to them, and on the next first day of the
- 4 weeke being the 4<sup>th</sup> of the 6<sup>th</sup> mō wee had a very lardge meeting on shelter Iland many came farr to the meeting & many people of the world was there & y<sup>e</sup> priests people & were uery much satisfyed and many of them

<sup>a</sup> *sayled* written over *passed*, which is struck out.

<sup>b</sup> *horssrases* struck out before *horssraces*.

<sup>c</sup> . . .<sup>c</sup> These words inserted above the line.

<sup>d</sup> First written *one* and altered to *a*.



after meeting could not goe away vntill they had seen mee & spake to me after the meeting & I went downe to them & spake with them & they haue a greate loue & desire after the truth blessed be the lord his name spreads. and will be greate among the nations and dreadfull among the heathen

5<sup>th</sup> and wee parted thence on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> mō leaueing a good sauer behind us, and wee sayled by plum Iland & falcon Iland & gott ouer the sound With much adoe wee had a very greate storme and much raine and was uery much wett & the wind turned against us & wee had much adoe to get the land. but blessed be the lord god of heauen & earth and of the sea & watters all was well

7 and wee came to oyster bay on the 7<sup>th</sup> of the 6<sup>th</sup> mō in the morneing & that same day wee had a uery lardge meeting, (& the same day Ja: Lancaster<sup>1</sup> and Christopher Houlder<sup>2</sup> had a meeting at Rye on y<sup>e</sup> Contenant in Wintrops gouerment<sup>3</sup> & Christopher Houlder with som others went to Jamaica<sup>4</sup> and had a meeting there) some other of or companie before parted from us to new England & some wee left at Road Iland & at othe places in the serviss of the truth w<sup>ch</sup> is very greate & in many places where friends neuer had any meetings is now Established meetings) and

17 from Oyster bay we passed to fflushen & 17<sup>th</sup> of 6<sup>th</sup> mō at flushen had a uery lardg meeting seuerall hundreds of the people of the world, some y<sup>t</sup> came neare 30 miles to it a Justice of peace and his famely and many considerable psons was there and a glorious

6<sup>th</sup> mō 17<sup>th</sup> & heauenly meeting it was & the people much satisfyed praised be the lord god, and from thence wee passed by Jamaica to Grauesands about 20 miles & there on the

20 20<sup>th</sup> day had a very pressious meeting & two other presious meetings wee had there som dias after & wee heard of many that



- would haue come from Yorke to y<sup>t</sup> meetings but the weather hindred them. there wee waited awhile for the wind (& parted with Jn<sup>o</sup> Stubbs<sup>r</sup> & John Burnyeate who did trauell seuerall hundreds of miles by land & did vissitt Gouvernor Wintrop & the people of his Jurisdiction and had good service there) and when the wind serued wee tooke sloop w<sup>ch</sup> wee had hyred but had much adoe to gett in our horsses, and wee sayled doune the greate Bay to the new countrie
- 27 Jersie<sup>2</sup> & 27<sup>th</sup> of the 6<sup>th</sup> mō wee landed there at midltoune harbour & went on shore to Richard Hartshornes & on y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> day wee trauelled about 30 miles in the new countrie through the woods & very bad boggs one worss y<sup>n</sup> the rest where wee and our horsses was faine slither a stipe place. & then to lye and panck & breath them sealues, (and this place they call purgatory) and wee came to
- 7<sup>th</sup> mō 1 Shrewsbury<sup>3</sup> & on the first day of the weeke wee had a uery lardge meeting & friends and oth<sup>r</sup> people came farr to this meeting and the blessed presents of the lord was with us, in this place a friend is made Justice of
- 7 mō 2 y<sup>e</sup> peace and y<sup>e</sup> second day wee had a men & weomens meeting w<sup>ch</sup> came out of most parts of the new Country Jarsie w<sup>ch</sup> will be of good service in keepeing the Gospell order & gouernment of Christ Jesus the Increace of it hath noe end and for them to see that all Doe liue in the pure religion and walke as becometh the gospell & there is a monethly & a generall meeting sett up & they are building a meeting place in the midle of them, and at porback neare shrousbury a friend<sup>4</sup> that was with mee went to try a horss & when he got on his back the horss Run & threw him & he fell vpon his head & the people tooke him up dead and carried a good way & laid him on a tree—& I came to him and felt him and saw that he was dead, and



7<sup>th</sup> mō

as I was pittying him & his famely for he was a man of greate Estate & a lardge ffamely and he was one that was to pass through the woods with mee to Maryland that land Journey, soe I tooke him by the haire of his head & his head torned like a cloth it was soe loose, I threw away my stick & gloues and took his head in both my hands and sett my knees against the tree & Raised his head & I did perceave that it was not broken out that way, then I plased my hands under his Chin & behind his head and Raised his head two or three times with all my strength & brought it in & I did perceave his neck began to be stiff and then he began to Rattell and after to breathe and the people was amazed & I bid them haue a good heart & bee of good faith & carry him into the house & soe wee sett him by the fire & being in som measure recouered wee gott him som warme thing to drink & put him to bed & he began to speake but did not know where he had been & soe wee bound up his necke warme with a napkine & the next day took our Journey & he with us through the woods 16 miles to Midletowne in w<sup>ch</sup> Journey wee passed seuerall boggs & swam o<sup>r</sup> horsses ouer y<sup>e</sup> Riuer. & went ouer o<sup>r</sup> sealues on a tree, and at Midletowne wee had a meeting at w<sup>ch</sup> was most of the towne & a glorious meeting we had and the truth was ouerall blessed be the greatelord god for euer and after the meeting wee passed  
9 to midletowne harbour being the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> mō to take our long Journey through the woods to maryland & soe hyred Indians to be o<sup>r</sup> Guids for it was upon me to pass throw the woods on the other side dallaway bay & soe to head the Creecks and Riuers if it  
10 were possable soe <sup>a</sup>y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> of the 7<sup>th</sup> mō<sup>a</sup> wee set forwards & passed through many Indian Townes and declared the day of the lord to

a. . .<sup>a</sup> These words have been crossed through.



- them & when wee had trauelled about 40  
 miles through y<sup>e</sup> bogs & Riuer wee made us  
 11 a fyre at night in the woods & the next day  
 wee traueled 50 miles & came neare the head  
 12 of Dallaway Bay and found an old house  
 & gott us a fire, and the next day wee swam  
 our horsses ouer a great Riuer almost a mile  
 at twise first to an Iland & then to the land the  
 Iland is Called vper dimicock<sup>1</sup> & wee hyred  
 Indians to helpe us ouer in their Cannows  
 & from thence wee passed about 30 miles  
 to a sweeds house and got a litle straw & lay  
 13 there all night & there we hyred another  
 guid & y<sup>e</sup> next day trauelled about 40 miles  
 through the woods & Riuer & made us a  
 fire at night and lay by it in the woods wee  
 was commonly wett in o<sup>r</sup> Journey by day;  
 but dried us by the fire at night, & on the  
 14 14<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> mō wee passed ouer a  
 desperat Riuer of Rocks & broad stones  
 very dangerous to us and our horsses & from  
 thence to Christian Riuer & swam ouer o<sup>r</sup>  
 horsses it was bad & Myre some had like to  
 haue laine bogg'd there we gott ouer o<sup>r</sup> sealues  
 in Cannows & from thence wee came to new  
 Castell called Dallaway or new Amsterdam<sup>2</sup>  
 and being very weary in the streets was  
 Inquering to buy som corne for our horsses  
 & the Gouvernor came into the streete &  
 Invited me to his house to lodg there saying  
 he had a bed for me and I was welcome & I  
 15 went to his house & he offered mee his house  
 for to haue a meeting there & the next day  
 being the first day of the weeke I had a  
 meeting at his house pretty lardge a pressious  
 one it was blessed be the lord & the heads  
 of the toune was there & most of the towne  
 and the gouernor & his wife & the shiriue  
 & the Scoute w<sup>ch</sup> is an Emenant officer  
 amongst them & many were very tender and  
 confessed to the truth & receiued it blessed  
 be the lord. at this place friends neuer had

7<sup>th</sup> mō

- any meeting before nor within a greate way  
 16<sup>th</sup> of it & 16<sup>th</sup> day we trauelled about 50 miles  
 through the woods & boggs & headed  
 boheamy riuer & saxafox riuer & som of the  
 branches of the same Riuers and at night lay  
 in the woods & it rained but wee sheltered  
 under the trees & dryed by the fires & on  
 17 y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> day wee waded through Chester Riuer  
 & this day wee passed through the woods  
 and many bad boggs about 30 miles, & lay  
 18 in the woods at night & y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> Day wee  
 passed through many tedious boggs neare  
 50 miles and came well through the woods  
 to Maryland to Rober Horwoods<sup>r</sup> house at  
 miles Riuer and although wee came in uery  
 weary & dirty yet wee went forth the next  
 19<sup>th</sup> day to y<sup>e</sup> meeting w<sup>ch</sup> was about a mile &  
 after meeting 3 or 4 miles to John Edmond-  
 22 sons<sup>2</sup> & on the 22<sup>d</sup> day being the first day of  
 the weeke The Judges wife was there which  
 was neuer at o<sup>r</sup> meeting before & she was  
 much satisfyed & after the meeting said she  
 would rather heare this man once then the  
 priests a Thousand tymes & shee is conuinced  
 & from thence I passed about 22 miles and  
 26 had a meeting upon the Kentish shore and one  
 of the Burgises was there at it, (when one of  
 o<sup>r</sup> friends went to Invite him to the meeting  
 he replyed that he would goe to heare M<sup>r</sup>  
 ffox as farr as any of them that desired him  
 and a very good meting wee had at Henry  
 27 Wilcocks's<sup>3</sup> house & on y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> day wee passed  
 by watter 20 miles to a meeting at<sup>a</sup>  
 w<sup>ch</sup> was very lardge som hundreds of the  
 people of the world and a Establisling meeting  
 it was 4 Justices of the peace & an Indian  
 Emperor & one of his greate men & an other  
 greate man of another Nation of the Indians  
 who stayed all the meeting & I had a good  
 speach with them before the meeting I spake  
 to them by an Interpreter and they receiued

<sup>a</sup> Blank in MS. Name not given in Camb. *Jnl.*



the truth and was very loueing & the Emper<sup>r</sup> said he did beleive I was a uery honest man<sup>r</sup>, blessed be the lord his truth doth spread, and after the meeting was don. a Judges wife of that side of the Country being there desired to spake with mee hir husband is one of the Assembly & was sick not like to liue & shee desired me to goe visit her husband & it being after the meeting I was hott but gott a horss and went with her & visited him & he was finely raised up & refreshed & soone after came to o<sup>r</sup> meetings, the high shiriue of dallaway & seuerall from thence was also at y<sup>t</sup> meeting & it was a blessed meeting and on the 30<sup>th</sup> day wee

7<sup>th</sup> mō 30 passed about 5 miles by watter & y<sup>a</sup> 14 miles by land to John Edmondsons at trade hauen

8<sup>th</sup> mō : 3 Creek<sup>2</sup> and on the 3<sup>d</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup> moneth wee came to the generall meeting of all maryland and it held 5 dayes that was 3 daies the generall meeting & the other two dais the mens & weomens meeting & many people of the world was there a Judg & his wife & another Judges wife & 8 Justices of peac & many other persons of Quallity it was Judged that there was a Thowsand people, one of the Justices said that he neuer saw soe many people to geather in the Countrie before (& yet it was Rainey weather) 3<sup>a</sup> & friends & people were greatly satisfyed . . . & the blessed peace of the Lord was ouer all & a greate conuincement arose & a greate enquiring after the truth among all sorts of people & the truth is of good report & a glorious powerfull meeting there was . . . friends were much Established & . . . conuincd—blessed be the lord foreuer and when the meeting was don I had some of the choyce of the men & weomen to meete togeather for I had some thing to Informe them concerning the glory of god & the order of the Gospell & the gouernment

of Christ Jesus & concerning the greate meeting.<sup>a</sup>

I went euery day by boate to the meeting about 4 or 5 miles there was neuer seen soe many boats togeather before it was allmost like the Thames, there was an Emenant man whose office is aboue a Justice he was much taken with the truth & was at most of the meetings and many other would haue been there but ther was a generall Court held from w<sup>ch</sup> they could not well be absent but som of them sent a man to mee to know where they might com to heare mee but wee ware parting thence there was neuer such a meeting the people said in maryland a glorious powerfull meeting it was & the blessed power of the lord was ouer all & friends much Established and the world conuinced blessed be the lord foreuer, And from thence wee passed the  
10 10<sup>th</sup> day of the eighth moneth by watter. by crane Iland & by Swan Iland & by Kent Iland and wee had very much raine and foule weather in an open boat and the next day early in the morning wee went on shore to a litle house where wee dryed us by a fire & there was one of the world that knew of or passage said he did Rekon wee had been cast away & did intend to goe Look for us  
8<sup>th</sup> mō in the morneing but blessed be the lord  
11 wee were very well the 11<sup>th</sup> day wee had still fowle weather some times wee Rowed & some tymes wee sayled & did not get aboue 12 miles & at night made us a fire <sup>b</sup>on land<sup>b</sup> & say<sup>c</sup>  
12 [sic] by it & 12<sup>th</sup> day wee sayled againe &  
13 passed ouer the Baye & 13<sup>th</sup> day wee gott to a friends house a Justice of the peace a litle aboue the head of a greate bay & there wee had a meeting that day being the first  
14 day of the weeke & the 14<sup>th</sup> day wee passed

a. . .<sup>a</sup> These words are heavily scored out in the MS.

b. . .<sup>b</sup> The two words were inserted above the line.

<sup>c</sup> Should be *lay*.



by watter about 7 miles to a friends house  
 neare the head of Hattons Iland & had a  
 seruice amongst friends & others & from  
 thence wee passed by watter 3 miles to a  
 meeting at Geo: Wilsons a pressious one  
 it was. it was at the place where the preist  
 did wont to preach a greate tenderness there  
 was among the people. from thence after  
 the meeting wee sayled & Rowed about 10  
 miles to James ffrizbyes<sup>1</sup> a Justice of the  
 16 peace and the next day being the 16<sup>th</sup> day of  
 ye 8<sup>th</sup> mō wee had there a very lardge meeting  
 which was a blessed heauenly powerfull &  
 Thundring one ther was three Justice of the  
 peace the under shiriue & two Captains and  
 many other persons of quallity & some papest  
 and all went away well satisfyed and a greate  
 sence & broakenness was among the people  
 and after the meeting was don wee stayed  
 for the torne of the tide vntill the 11<sup>th</sup>  
 houre at night then tooke boat & passed that  
 night & next daye about 50 miles to a  
 19 friends house & the 19<sup>th</sup> daye wee went to  
 a place called seaueren<sup>2</sup> where wee had a very  
 lardge meeting the meeting place would not  
 hould the people by many the people came  
 generally to it and was much satisfyed for  
 it was a blessed and heauenly meeting, there  
 was 3 Justics of peace & the Speaker of the  
 Assembly<sup>3</sup> & his wife & many Considerable  
 22 people—& 22<sup>th</sup> day wee had a meeting with  
 some that walked disorderly, And the 23 day  
 wee passed by watter 8 miles & the 24<sup>th</sup> day  
 nine miles to the western shore and on the  
 25 25<sup>th</sup> day wee had a pressious & glorious  
 meeting (at William Coles<sup>4</sup>) and it was lardge  
 the speaker of the Assembly and his wife &  
 a Justice of the peace was there & seuerall  
 8<sup>th</sup> mō 26 people of account And the 26<sup>th</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup>  
 moneth wee had a meeting at <sup>a</sup> Birkheads<sup>5</sup>  
 in his Tobacco-house & two of the Assembly

<sup>a</sup> There is a blank here in the MS. for the insertion of the given name.

men was there the speaker is one who is convinced <sup>a</sup>& many other people of account<sup>a</sup> and a blessed heavenly meeting it was praised be the lord this meeting was 6 or 7 miles  
 28 from the former on the 28<sup>th</sup> day wee had a meeting at Peter Sharps<sup>1</sup> on the Clifts very lardge. a pressious & heavenly one it was 3 or 4 Justice of the peace & one out of Virginia w<sup>ch</sup> is convinced who sence hath had meeting at his house & one of the Gouvernors councells wife is Convinced & hir husband is loueing and many people of the world and of account was there & very well satisfyed a greate<sup>b</sup> papist Threatned before he came that he would dispute with G ff but when he came he was Reached & then said G ff was a notable man & would shake the foundations of them that was not Established<sup>2</sup>, and affter meeting wee came about 18 miles to James Prestons at Potoxon and there came to me an Indian Kinge & his brother & I spake to them  
 9<sup>th</sup> mō 4<sup>th</sup> & they vnderstood, & were sencable, And on the 4<sup>th</sup> day of ye 9<sup>th</sup> moneth wee had a lardge meeting at the meeting place in putuxon & many of the world was there of all sorts & a powerfull meeting it was And on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of ye 9<sup>th</sup> mō wee set sayle towards Virginia & by the 6<sup>th</sup> day wee had Rowed & sayled about 80 miles and the wether being stormie wind & Raine wee putt to the shore & with much Adoe things being all wett wee made us a fire in the woods & lay by it all night & the next morening sailed againe & towards the Euening being darke & much Raine coming up with a ship that Came from plimouth<sup>3</sup> I with some others went on bord & lay there that night & others abode in o<sup>r</sup> sloop & in the morning all went into o<sup>r</sup> sloop againe and sayled to Nance-mum<sup>4</sup> & there went on shore to the widdow

<sup>a</sup>. . . <sup>a</sup> These words form an insertion.

<sup>b</sup> The word *greate* inserted.



Wrights<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> place they account 200 miles from Putuxon & at Nancemum wee had a greate meeting, there was Collonall Dews<sup>2</sup> & a Justice & a Captaine & other officers & many of account & they was much taken with the truth.

- 9<sup>th</sup> mō : 12 and the 12<sup>th</sup> daye wee passed ouer the watter called Nancemum & about 4 miles by land to where wee had a pressious meeting & a man & weomens meeting is there settled & from thence wee went 12 miles & boted ouer a Creek called pagans creek to William
- 17 Pardoes<sup>3</sup> house and on the 17<sup>th</sup> day wee had a lardge meeting 2 Justices of the peace & their wives was there & a liftenant Collonalls wife & there was a greate opennes in them to Receiue the truth & y<sup>e</sup> meeting was soe lardge y<sup>t</sup> wee mett without dores the house would not hould all & after the meeting wee went a mile to Tho : Jordans<sup>4</sup> house, there said an Ancient Justice to a friend that G ff was a very ffamous man. Noyse of y<sup>e</sup> truth did sound abroad and is of good report in the hearts of the people, the lord haue
- 18 the glory for euer : 18<sup>th</sup> day wee passed about 8 miles to the western branch where  
<sup>5</sup> a mett us. after their Trauells and wee were refreshed in one anothers
- 19 companie on the 19<sup>th</sup> day wee passed about 30 miles through the woods towards corolina a flashey wett way & at night wee came to a place called somerton a poore house & there wee found a woman that had a sence of god
- 20 & most of us lay by the fire all night for it was uery cold & the next day wee Trauelled all day through the woods and swamps cruell boggs & watery places that wee was wett to the knees & all day nither mett with house nor man at night took up or lodging in the
- 21 woods & made us a fire to drye us. & the next day wee passed on through the woods

\* A blank was here left in the MS.

and ouer many boggs & swamps and at night came to Bonners Creek & lay at his house & the woman of the house lent vs a matt & wee lay on it by the fire side this was the first house wee came to in Corolina & or horssees being weake & almost weary wee left them

22 there y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>th</sup> of 9<sup>th</sup> mō wee passed in a cannow downe the Creeck to Mattocomake Riuer and came to Hugh Smithicks<sup>r</sup> house & people of the world came to see us (for there was noe friends in those parts) & they receiued us gladly & wee went to Nathaniell Batts house (where many came to us) he was formerly Gouvernor of Roanoake<sup>2</sup> & is most Comonly knowne by the name of Captaine Batts. he is a Rude desperate man who haue a greate Command ouer y<sup>t</sup> Countrie Especially ouer the Indians & he spread abroad Relations that he said he heard from an acquaintance of his of som passages of G ff in England

24 w<sup>ch</sup> affected the people and the 24<sup>th</sup> day wee had a meeting among them and they was taken with the truth. blessed be the lord

9<sup>th</sup> mō : 25<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> day wee passed from thence downe the Riuer Marattick<sup>3</sup> & went downe the bay coneoke<sup>4</sup> to a captains house who was loueing & lent vs his boate for wee was much wett in the Cannow with the fflashing of the waues & with that boat wee got to the gouernors<sup>5</sup> house. but the boate being deepe, & the watter shoule wee could not get to the shore with the boat but wee went in the watter & wadded through to the land and the gouernor & his wife receiued us loueingly But there wee mett with a docter that did hould dispute with us w<sup>ch</sup> was of greate service and accation of opening much to the people concerning the light and y<sup>e</sup> spirit he denyed it to bee in euery one I called to an Indian because he denyed it to bee in them I Asked him if he did lye or doe y<sup>t</sup> to another that he would not haue another doe to him



when he did soe was there not some thing  
in him that did tell him he should not  
doe soe & he said there was such a thing  
in him when he did such things y<sup>t</sup> he  
was Ashamed<sup>r</sup> & soe the Docter was  
ashamed in the sight of the Gouvernor &  
people, & he ran himselfe soe farr out in his  
discource that he would not owne the scrip-  
tures & the next day wee passed thence &  
the Gouvernor went on foote with us two  
miles through the woods to sett us in o<sup>r</sup> way  
to o<sup>r</sup> boat in w<sup>ch</sup> wee passed <sup>a</sup>about 30 miles<sup>a</sup>  
26 to one Joseph Scotts<sup>2</sup>. he is one of the Burgis's  
of that countrie where wee had a sound  
& pressious meeting & many people there  
very tender. & much desireth after meetings  
blessed bee the lord, there is also ffrindly  
people at pequeminus Riuer where wee also  
had a meeting & on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of the  
28 9<sup>th</sup> mō wee passed by watter 4 miles to Henry  
Phelps's house<sup>3</sup> where wee had a meeting 29<sup>th</sup>  
29 day I went among the Indians some of them  
Emenant men. one a young kinge they was  
very loueing & receiued what I said to them,  
I shewed them that god did make all things in  
six dayes<sup>4</sup> & made but one man & a woman  
& y<sup>t</sup> god did droune the old world because of  
their wickedness, and soe alonge vntill  
Christ & that he did dye for all & for their  
sins & did enlighten them and if they did doe  
euill he would burne them<sup>5</sup> & if they did doe  
10<sup>th</sup> mō. 1. well they should not be burned & wee went  
doune by watter 5 miles & the watter being  
shoule wee could not get the boate to shore  
but was forced to wade throug it to the  
land. There wee had a blessed<sup>b</sup> meeting &  
largde. Seuerall Indians was there and  
their wives & some of their Kings Councill  
& one that is to be kinge & they was very  
tender & loueing & soe was the people and

a. . .<sup>a</sup> These words form an insertion.

<sup>b</sup> Word *blessed* inserted.

- 10<sup>th</sup> mō after thee meeting I passed 5 or 6 miles by land & watter to Joseph Scotts house where wee had a day of washing of some that
- 2 had spotted them sealues & on the 2<sup>d</sup> daye of y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> mō wee passed by watter about 5 miles & at night laye by the fire on a matt & the next day wee had a gloryous & pressious meeting & pretty lardge for the countrie & after the meeting wee passed 10 miles by watter to the secretarys house in a Rotten boate. uery dangerous & it was much raine & wee very wett. & wee loged at the secretaries & in the morning o<sup>r</sup> boate was sunck. & wee turned out the watter & mended hir and passed away by sea. 24 miles. the sea was troblesome & Rough and the wiues [*sic*] high but the greate pouer of god was seen in preseruing us in that boat soe wee left the boat where we had borrowed her and took our Cannow & came to captaine Batts & there most of us lay that night by the fire and from thence about halfe a mile to Hugh
- 8 Smiths and the 8<sup>th</sup> day wee had a pressious meeting praised be the lord and ther was the Indian priest<sup>r</sup> he satte doune among the people of the world & the people was very tender & desirous after truth. & there came an Indian captaine and was uery loueing<sup>a</sup> & did confess to the truth & with many others wee had good seruice<sup>a</sup> & after the meeting was don I passed about halfe a mile to a sober mans house where I lay that night on a Couch &
- 9 on the 9<sup>th</sup> day wee passed to the place where wee left our horsses & thence passed through the woods towards Virginia in this Countrie they vsually keepe greate dogs about their houses and as wee were comeing in to a Certain house the people being noe friends. y<sup>e</sup> woman bid hir son to keepe up the doggs but the Lad retorned answer to his mother that the doggs did not vse to medle with

<sup>a</sup>. . .<sup>a</sup> These words were inserted.



quakers & when wee came to her house she  
said to us that wee was like to the Children of  
Israell against whom the doggs did not  
moue their tongues & wee trauelled two dayes  
11 through the woods & boggs wett & dirty &  
came to Somerton where wee had a pressious  
meeting for the people of that Country had  
heard of us & had an Expectation & desire to  
see mee & wee had a good meeting among  
them <sup>a</sup>where wee neuer had meeting before<sup>a</sup>  
blessed be the lord & from thence wee  
trauelled about 20 miles in the woods &  
towards the Euening coming to a sober mans  
house to Inquire the way he desired us to  
12 stay with him all night & soe wee did & the  
next day trauelled about 8 miles and came  
among friends at Nancemum & the 15<sup>th</sup> day  
wee had a uery lardge meeting, pressious  
& heauenly dreadfull & Reuerant one praised  
be the lord all was Chained the priest he had  
threatned that he would be there & the Major  
to whom he soe said Replyed to him that  
10 mō G ff would convince him, the power of the  
lord was ouer all & his seed of life stopped  
him, the Major & the high shriue of the  
County & diuers other officers & persons  
of quallity was at the meeting & Reached  
with the truth & thence wee passed 16  
16 miles by watter to the widdow Hortons<sup>1</sup> &  
17<sup>th</sup> day passed 12 miles by watter & two  
by land to a meeting at Crickatroah<sup>2</sup> & had  
a pressious & blessed meeting & there was  
many considerable people much refreshed the  
house was full, many people that neuer heard  
friends before, & wee heard of seuerall others.  
(som Justices & their wiues) that Intended  
to haue been there but being very much  
18 Raine it hindred them y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> day wee passed  
20 miles by watter Rowed against tide and  
wind, in the night went on shore to a house  
at Elizabeth Riuer where it was soe Extreem

<sup>a</sup>. . .<sup>a</sup> An insertion.

could that I could ffeelee noe warmeth by my  
 19 lodging & the next day passed up a branch  
 of Elizabeth Riuer & came to a friends house  
 22 whose name is John Porter<sup>1</sup> & 22<sup>th</sup> day had  
 a pressious meeting & Glorious very liueing  
 & fresh & many of the world was there & it  
 brought the truth aboue all bad walkers &  
 talkers blessed bee the lord 23 day wee passed  
 to a friends house being the farthest in Vir-  
 ginia & there two of us went to the Justices  
 house to vissit him he is very loueing &  
 24 tender to friends & 24<sup>th</sup> day wee passed by  
 watter up Elizabeth Riuer 12 miles to a  
 friends house & on ye 25<sup>th</sup> day 6 miles to  
 Thomas Goods<sup>2</sup> house where wee had service  
 & the                   <sup>a</sup>day wee passed to the  
 meeting about 4 miles & the meeting was  
 prety lardge now this last weeke wee was  
 amonge friends where som bad spirits had  
 entered & wee ware sweeping away that which  
 should not bee & workeing downe the bad  
 & the power of the lord preserued us & gaue  
 us victorie here in this county they said the  
 high shirue had an order to take mee but I  
 mett him by Chance & he tooke me by the  
 hand and was very Ciuell & courtious & from  
 thence passed 6 miles to take in ffrinds &  
 thence to pass for maryland & ye 30<sup>th</sup> day set  
 forth towards maryland & haueing a greate  
 storme & very much wett wee got to land at  
 Willowgbys poynt & lodged there all night  
 being uery wett a Tender Widow woman  
 receiued us uery kindly with teares & the next  
 day sett to see againe but the wett & stormes  
 continuing Towards the Euening wee with  
 much adoe got to the shore & made us fire  
 to lye by in the night to warme & dry vs  
 & there the Wolues Roared about us & the  
 11<sup>th</sup> mō 1 first of ye 11<sup>th</sup> mō wee sailed againe but the  
 wind being against us. after wee had droue  
 to and againe we got to shore at poynt

<sup>a</sup> Blank in MS. ; Camb. *Jnl.* has "28th."



11<sup>mo</sup> 2

comfort & there gott us a fire and lay by it in the woods and it was soe Extreeme could that it froze our watter y<sup>t</sup> wee had got by the fire side and on the 2<sup>d</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> moneth wee saild & came up with a sloop y<sup>t</sup> came from barbadoes on whom I had letters from Judge ffrettwell<sup>1</sup> & the wind being against us wee get to the shore & trauelled by land backwards about 10 miles to seek to buy som provissions & wee lay in the woods all night & the wind blew & it snew & was Extreem could very hard for som to abide it  
 3 but on the 3<sup>d</sup> day the wind became faire soe  
 4 wee set forwards by watter & at night lay at milford hauen & 4<sup>th</sup> day wee passed Ropahamack Riuer where there is much people and friends had a meeting at the Justices house & wee passed potomuck Riuer and had a meeting there & as wee passed thence the watter was very Rough & the sea high & the shoope open & wee were in danger & I was mooued to sitt at the helme most part of the day & night & about the first houre in the night wee came to James prestons in potoxon Riuer & the next day being the first day of the weeke wee went to thee meeting but was uery weary haueing been<sup>a</sup> tost up and downe in or<sup>r</sup> Journey & hard lodging in the woods & on the 7<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> moneth I went to an Indian kings cabben where wee mett with seuerall Indians & they were uery loueing & on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> mō wee went to or<sup>r</sup> Generall meeting, & 12<sup>th</sup> day wee had a pressious meeting at John Garies<sup>2</sup> & the weather is now soe Extreen Could y<sup>t</sup> the people could hardly indure it & soe much snow as hath not been a greate while soe that this weeke wee were kept in <sup>b</sup>it was soe deep<sup>b</sup> and trauelled not saue two miles one on foot & the other on hors-

<sup>a</sup> Originally *beeing*, but altered to *haueing been*.

<sup>b</sup> . . . <sup>b</sup> An insertion.

- 22 back. on y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> of the 11<sup>th</sup> mō wee got to John Maiers house 6 miles where wee mett with ffriends frō New-England y<sup>t</sup> wee before left behind & glad wee were to see each other after o<sup>r</sup> hard trauells they informed us that they left william Edmonson to take ship for Irland & John Veres & Solloman Eckles & Nicho : Alexander<sup>r</sup> for Jamaica & barbadoes & the rest of the Leward Ilands & Jn<sup>o</sup> Stubbs & Jn<sup>o</sup> Baker in the new Countrie Jarsie among friends & 27<sup>th</sup> day wee had a pressious meeting in a Tobacco-house & it was a time of very Could weather & y<sup>n</sup> in the midst of the Could brake out a Gust of hott weather that it was soe hott wee could hardly abide for heate & the next night & day Cold againe & wee passed thence 18 miles to James prestons whose house wee found burning occationed by the Carresness of the maid servant at which house wee had left o<sup>r</sup> boxes & o<sup>r</sup> things my greate Chest & clothes & James Lancasters and all burned doune to the Ground there wee lay by the fire 3 nights being uery could y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> day wee passed 3 miles & the creeke been ffrozen up the next day wee retorned & the next day indeauered to pass at another creek. but y<sup>t</sup> was also
- 12<sup>th</sup> mō 2 frozen vp & the 2<sup>d</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> mō wee had a glorious meeting at potoxon at the meeting place & after it was don passed 18 miles
- 6 and on the 6<sup>th</sup> of the 12<sup>th</sup> mō was the monethly meeting at the Clifts which was a liueing one
- 9 praised be the lord 9<sup>th</sup> of 12<sup>th</sup> mō wee had a Gloryous meeting & the glory of the lord
- 12 shined ouer all & on the 12<sup>th</sup> day wee passed by watter about 70 miles & late in the night wee Run on Ground in a Creek & wee being in an open boat & the weather bitter & cold & frost that som had like to haue lost the use of their hands they was soe frozen & benumbed but in the morning when the tyde floated us wee gott to the land & made us a fire and



warmed or sealues & then came on the watter  
 againe & passed about 10 miles to a friends  
 14 house, on the 14<sup>th</sup> day wee had a very  
 pressious meeting the Justice & his wife  
 was there & when the meeting was don I  
 passed 4 miles by land to a Justices house at  
 15 anemessie<sup>r</sup> & on the 15<sup>th</sup> day the Judge of the  
 county came to mee and was uery loueing  
 and much satisfyed with ffriends order &  
 they did desire that the same might be spoken  
 16 againe there & on the 16<sup>th</sup> day wee had a  
 lardge and pressious meeting at the Justisses  
 the house would not hould the people the  
 Clark of the County & another Justices wife  
 was there & the people much taken with  
 truth & there was one that had been a Justice  
 & an opposer of truth. but all was quiett  
 17 blessed bee the lord, and on the 17<sup>th</sup> day  
 wee passed 8 miles to Captaine Colebournes<sup>2</sup>  
 he had been Justice & on y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> day wee  
 passed about 9 miles & made som stay  
 among friends & the 20<sup>th</sup> day wee had a very  
 pressious & glorious meeting at the same  
 Justices house aforementioned & there was  
 many people of account the late<sup>a</sup> high shirue  
 the Judge & Captaine & the head secretary  
 at whose house the priest vused to preach &  
 they was all much taken with the truth and  
 a lardge meeting it was there was 4 masters  
 of shipps belonging to new England & mar-  
 chants<sup>b</sup> the pouer of the lord was much mane-  
 fested blessed be the lord & the 22<sup>th</sup> day wee  
 passed through the woods & boggs about  
 16 miles & headed anemessy riuer & amoroke  
 riuer & went ouer it in a Cannow & a man  
 got ouer our horssees & wee came to Manocke<sup>3</sup>  
 Riuer to a friendly womans house & 24<sup>th</sup> day  
 had a good meeting in a barne & the lords  
 liueing pressents was with us and among the  
 people blessed be his name foreuer more and

<sup>a</sup> *late* inserted above the line.

<sup>b</sup> *& marchants* inserted above the line.

12<sup>th</sup> mō 24 there was neuer a friends meeting before in  
 those parts of y<sup>e</sup> countrie & the 26<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup>  
 mō wee passed in a bote about 9 miles ouer  
 a greate Riuer called Wicococomico<sup>1</sup> to a  
 ffriends house whos name is James Jones<sup>2</sup>  
 who is a Justice and the 27<sup>th</sup> day had a lardge  
 meeting at his house & it was a glorious  
 meeting praised be the lord & 28<sup>th</sup> day wee  
 passed ouer the watter in a bote & carried  
 or horsse ouer in it & then Rode through the  
 woods & swamps & tedious wattery way about  
 24 miles to a Justices house where we had a  
 pressious meeting & from thence Jn<sup>o</sup> Cart-  
 write went with another friend to accomac  
 in Virginia wher ther is desires after the  
 first month 3 truth & y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> first mō had another  
 glorious & pressious meeting at the same  
 Justices house & there was many people of  
 account & the liueing presents of the lord was  
 amongst us & after the meeting was don, wee  
 passed 4 miles to a friends house & there was  
 a woman at Anemessie which had been many  
 yeares in troble & would some tymes sitt  
 moaping two moneths togeather & hardly  
 spake nor mind any thing I was moued to  
 goe to her & tell her that soluation was com  
 to her house & did spake other words to her  
 & for her & that houre she mended and passed  
 up and doune with us to meetings & is well  
 5 blessed be the lord & the 5<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> first mō wee  
 had another meeting at Anemessie it was a  
 heauenly & liueing one there was two Justices  
 of the peace & their wives & many others.  
 blessed be the lord the truth is ouer all & doth  
 Rule & now wee are Cleare of these parts,  
 the 7<sup>th</sup> day wee passed by watter about 50  
 miles & came to hunger Riuer<sup>3</sup> to a friendly  
 10 womans house. & on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> first  
 mō wee had a meeting where friends neuer  
 had any before & 14<sup>th</sup> of 1<sup>st</sup> mō wee passed  
 40 miles by watter & came to the head of litle  
 choptank riuer to docter Winsmores a Justice



- of the peace who was lately convinced where wee mett with ffriends & wee passed thence 2 miles. he lent me his horss & went on ffoot to Guide me the way through the woods to one <sup>a</sup>Stephens<sup>r</sup> & on the 16<sup>th</sup> day I passed by watter about 4 miles to a meeting which was without doores the house being litle the Judge of that Countrie & the Justice & their wives and many people blessed be the lord who is makeing his name knowne.
- 1 mō. 18 And on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the first moneth wee passed 2 miles to visit a friend & on the same day retorned to William Stephens house where friends mett that had been abroad & John Cartwrite & John Gey<sup>2</sup> are gon towards barbadoes who had a very good sauer in Accomack. & was friendly receiued there by the Ruleing men of that Countrie, and the
- 23 23<sup>d</sup> of the 1<sup>st</sup> mō wee had a gloryous meeting and an Established settled one blessed bee the lord foreuer the Judge of that Countrie & his wife & 3 Justices & the high shiriue & his wife was at it, And the Indiam Emperour & one of their kings & their speaker and all was very loueing & sate all the meeting,
- 24 & 24<sup>th</sup> day wee went 10 miles by watter to the Indian towne where their Emperor dwells I had sent before that he should send for his kings & Councell<sup>3</sup> & an ancient Empress sate in Councell with them, the Emperor Came himselfe in the morneing and had mee to their towne & they came togeather generally <sup>b</sup>& had their head speaker among them.<sup>b</sup> & they sate very sober & graue. beyond many & was very loueing & I had two Justic of the peace & som others with mee that did interprit to them & they were very Antentiuie it was of good service wee had a uery good meeting blessed be the lord for euer.

<sup>a</sup> Blank in MS.

<sup>b</sup>. . . <sup>b</sup> These words form an insertion.

- 25 on the 25<sup>th</sup> day wee Trauelled by land 5 miles  
 & by the Justice of peece was helped ouer a  
 brode Creeke called Fishers Creek he Rowed  
 us ouer in a Canow. then wee came to  
 a dutchmans house a friend & on the 26<sup>th</sup> day  
 27 retorned back & y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> day wee had a blessed  
 meeting & lardge at William Steuens at greate  
 Choptanck where was 4 Justics of the peace  
 & the Judge of the country & a Justice of  
 coreham of another court & the high shirue  
 of the County & his wife & some other con-  
 siderable pson a papist & many other people  
 of account. & blessed be the lord his ffresh  
 power was plentiously among his people &  
 when the meeting was don wee passed 4 miles  
 by watter and one by land to a friends house  
 & on the 28<sup>th</sup> day passed by land 14 miles  
 to Tradehauen Creeck & on y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> day had a  
 very pressious meeting & wee passed thence  
 6 miles & came to miles Riuer<sup>1</sup> & thence to  
 Wie Riuer & had a pressious meeting on the  
 first day of the second mōnth & the Judge  
 of that Countrie & his wife was there & they  
 was uery tender & thereawais the truth is of  
 good sauer blessed bee the lord & on the  
 2<sup>th</sup> mō 3 day 3<sup>d</sup> day of the 2<sup>d</sup> mō wee came back to trade-  
 hauen Riuer & Roanow creek where wee had  
 left our boat & there and there had a glorious  
 meeting very lardge<sup>a</sup> & the glory of the lord  
 did shine to the Edifying the people & praised  
 4 be the lord foreuer & on the 4<sup>th</sup> day wee  
 passed by watter 14 miles & y<sup>n</sup> on foote two  
 miles by land on the Iland of Kent where  
 y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> day wee had a glorious meeting & many  
 more would haue been there but the much  
 8 raine y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>n</sup> fell. hendered & on the 8<sup>th</sup> day  
 wee passed in a bote ouer the bay to the  
 western shore to a friends house where wee  
 mett with som of o<sup>r</sup> frinds y<sup>t</sup> we had parted  
 from before y<sup>t</sup> had been abroad in seruice—  
 and there I sent for Thomas Thurston<sup>2</sup> & had

<sup>a</sup> *very lardge* inserted above the line.



- a meeting with him to bring truth ouer his
- 9 Actions & on the 9<sup>th</sup> day I went about 7 miles to the Spakers of y<sup>e</sup> Assemblys house : who is the Judge of that countrie who had much desired mee before he & his wife is uery
- 10 loueing & on the 10<sup>th</sup> day wee had a uery liueing meeting blessed be the lord for euer, it was in a schoole house & there was seuerall people of account a Judges wife & one of y<sup>e</sup> councells wifes & one of the Assemblie was there & was uery loueing the glouer of the lord & his truth is ouer. and on the 11<sup>th</sup> day wee passed downe the bay to a friends house on y<sup>e</sup> Clifts.
- 2<sup>d</sup> mō and on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of the 2<sup>d</sup> moneth wee had a meeting at potoxon meeting place & from thence ouer a Creeck to a friends house where wee spent a weeke haueing much writeing &
- 27 answering &<sup>a</sup> & on the 27<sup>th</sup> day had a meeting againe & the heauenly presents of the lord was felt amongst us glory to the lord for euer
- 28 the 28<sup>th</sup> day wee pased about 3 miles. & ouer a Creek to looke after a shipp to take<sup>a</sup> our passage for England & on the 29<sup>th</sup> day went to Hoopers Creeck & on the 30<sup>th</sup> day I had a uery good speatch with an Indian that could spake English & their kinge was present
- 3<sup>d</sup> mō. 1 and the first day of the 3<sup>d</sup> mō I went a mile to an Indians Cabbin where the king & his companie was & stayed a while with them &
- 4 retorned & on the 4<sup>th</sup> day wee had a uery pressious meeting & on the 5<sup>th</sup> day passed through the woods about 8 miles & the 6<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> [sic] mō passed 10 miles & at night had a pressious meeting at the house that was peter sharps & on the 8<sup>th</sup> day one of the gouernors Councell came to the house were I was & I had discource with him he was Ciuell but is a greate papist, in Egipt ; Darkness,
- 11 on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> mō wee had a glorious meeting at the Clifts 15<sup>th</sup> day there came to

<sup>a</sup> *shipping* written and then erased.

me a Justice from potomack in virginia a pretty man. who had been under persecution & threatned by the preist & others he & his man came 40 miles on foote & had a greate loue to the truth. & wee passed through the

15 woods about 22 miles and y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> day about 13 miles & the 17<sup>th</sup> day I was at the men & weomens generall meeting of that province about the affaires of the Church of god, & on

18 y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>a</sup> days was the generall meeting & a wonderfull and a glorious meeting it was the mighty presents of the lord ouer all was seen blessed & praised be his name for euer amen and there was bothe Justeses & Assembly men & of the Gouvernors Councell & many other people of account and all reached & went away satisfyed & the life & power of the lord is ouer all blessed be his name for euer & after the meeting wee passed doune by watter & land 50 miles & in the night wee mett with the boate that came for us to fetch us on bord the ship and many ffriends went downe with us in another boat on board the shipp called the society of bristoll and on the

3<sup>d</sup> mō 21 21<sup>th</sup> day wee came on shippbord & many friends stayed with us all that night & y<sup>e</sup>

22 22<sup>th</sup> day wee drew Anchor & sayled but about one mile to poynt patience & there cast Anchor the wind being against us & there

23 came on bord us a docter a man of note & Esteeme. who did atcknowlidg & Confess to the truth & said he had neuer heard G ff before & 23<sup>d</sup> drue Anchor againe & sailed

24 about one mile more & 24<sup>th</sup> drue Anchor againe & sayled about 6 or 7 miles neare Seader Poynt & there cast anchor againe this day came on bord us Richard Couell, who had lost his shipp being taken by the

25 Dutch on the 25<sup>th</sup> day wee drew Anchor & sayled downe the bay & it being the first day of the weeke wee had a uery pressious meeting

<sup>a</sup> & 19 inserted above the line.



on bord the shipp & the wind being against  
 us wee cast Anchor againe in the bay & the  
 26 26<sup>th</sup> day Drew anchor againe and sayled ouer  
 against potomack Riuer & there cast Anchor  
 27 & 27<sup>th</sup> day wee drue Anchor againe & sayled  
 ouer potomack Riuer w<sup>ch</sup> is about 20 miles.  
 & Rode by the poynt called litle wicocomicoe  
 28 and on the 28<sup>th</sup> day wee drue anchor againe  
 & sayled & in the Euening the wether being  
 foule & the wind against us cast Anchor  
 againe neare greate Wicocomaco & on the  
 29 29<sup>th</sup> day wee drue Anchor & sayled & that  
 night Rode<sup>a</sup> in Rapahanack Riuer neare  
 30 peancedanck and on the 30<sup>th</sup> day drue  
 Anchor and sayled & the next morning being  
 31 the 31<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> mō About the 8<sup>th</sup> houre  
 wee left the Capes of Virginia & came into the  
 maine Ocian & there I first<sup>b</sup> espied a ship  
 & sayd yonder is a sayle w<sup>ch</sup> put a question  
 in the sea mens minds what shee should bee  
 but I felt from the lord shee was not an  
 Enemie and should doe us noe hurt soo shee  
 passed by us up towards the bay, and on the  
 4<sup>th</sup> mō 1 first of the 4<sup>th</sup> moneth we had a pressious  
 meeting on bord or shipp with the seamen  
 2 & on the 2<sup>d</sup> day of the 4<sup>th</sup> mō wee had high  
 winds & or boult spirt was loose that wee was  
 forct to torne or shipp to lye on the stayes  
 sometyme to mend it & in the night had much  
 thunder & Raine & high winds y<sup>t</sup> wee took  
 3 in most of the sayles & the 3 day the wind  
 was west & not soe high blessed be the lord.  
 4<sup>th</sup> mo 4<sup>th</sup> And on the 4<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> mō wee Espied  
 another shipp w<sup>ch</sup> put many thoughts into the  
 seamen but I felt the power of the lord ouer  
 all I had seen beefore in a vission two shipp  
 on the west side w<sup>ch</sup> passed by us & did us  
 6 noe hurt & soe they did & the 6<sup>th</sup> day we had  
 7 a fayer wind w<sup>ch</sup> continued also the 7<sup>th</sup> day  
 & now wee are on or voyadge neare 700 miles

First written *Road* and altered to *Rode*.

<sup>b</sup> *I first* inserted above the line.

8 & on the 8<sup>th</sup> day had a blessed meeting to-  
 9 geather w<sup>th</sup> the sea men & on the 9<sup>th</sup> day had  
 a storme & much Raine but a Calme towards  
 12 night on the 12<sup>th</sup> day wee had got on our  
 13 voyadge aboue 1200 miles and on the 13<sup>th</sup>  
 day wee had very tempestious winds w<sup>ch</sup> made  
 the sea like Mountains Roaring like Cannons  
 about the shipp & wee ouer bed set<sup>a</sup> the sea-  
 men said they neuer saw such seas in their  
 liues but the lord preserued us through &  
 ouer all all who Rideth vpon the whings of  
 the winds & who is lord of the heauens &  
 Earth & the sea blessed bee his name  
 whose wounders are seen in the greate deepe  
 this day wee sayled 150 miles the wind was  
 15 for us though A storme 15<sup>th</sup> day wee sayled  
 150 miles. this day wee had a pressious  
 meeting againe with the sea men & the  
 presents of the lord was amongst us blessed  
 be his name for euer.

Wee are now passed out of the sea of America  
 16 & are in the Ocian of Europ & 16<sup>th</sup> day wee  
 sayled 110 miles and are in the latetude of 44:  
 17<sup>th</sup> day wee sayled 125 miles & had a good wind  
 blessed be the lord who steared our cource  
 18<sup>th</sup> day wee had a pressious meeting open  
 to the people & the lord was amongst us  
 blessed & praised be the lord god 19<sup>th</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>  
 & 21<sup>th</sup> the wind & weather continued In-  
 diferant fayre 22<sup>th</sup> day being the first day of  
 the weeke wee had a pressious meeting  
 blessed be the lord god foreuer & by  
 the 24<sup>th</sup> day gat to the lattetude 50 & haue  
 a good wind & 25<sup>th</sup> day being ffoggy wee  
 sounded & Cast out about 100 featham but  
 could find noe bottom 26<sup>th</sup> day wee had a  
 pressious meeting blessed be the lord & at  
 at night sounded and found Ground at 60  
 featham & 27<sup>th</sup> day wee sayled neare 150  
 miles & had a good wind south south west  
 & at night sounded & found it at 35 featham

<sup>a</sup> In another MS. the words are & wee in our beds sett up.



and the wind being high wee took doune our sayles & let her driue steering north fearing y<sup>e</sup> land, & at midnight they did deserue the Iland of Londy then they was greatly glad for all was upon the watch & the 28<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> mō wee cast Anchor about the first houre in the afternone at Kingroad (the harbour of bristoll) & there lay a man of Warr who came on bord to press our men & took 4 & there wee had a very pressious meeting with the sea men & the press masters stayed the meeting & liked it uery well & one of them said he was more refreshed by hearing of us then any other people, And after the meeting was don I spake to him that he would leaue 2 men that they had prest one was lame the other was the Cheeif mate & he said for my words he would & soe wee came off the ship in a boat to land & it was Raine & dirty & wee walked on foote about a mile & a friend got me a horss & brought mee to the towne called sherhampton where wee stayed a while & there got horsses & came that Evening to Bristoll being the 28<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> mō, blessings & praises & thanks bee to the lord for euer & euer amen.

Soe wee was 28 dayes on our voyadge from the Capes of Virginia to Bristoll &<sup>a</sup>

[The cover of this MS. is part of a parchment certificate of the marriage of William Wallis and Ann Amos, Friends, at Bristol in 1673.]

<sup>a</sup> The MS. comes here to an abrupt conclusion. Another MS. adds, *wee were 10 dayes on y<sup>e</sup> shipp in maryland & virginia on the water before wee cleared y<sup>e</sup> capes, soe in all wee were on the water 38 dayes.*

## NOTES.

5. <sup>1</sup> There is a full account of the outward voyage in *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 176-186.
5. <sup>2</sup> *Camb.* and *Ell. Jnls.* give the 3<sup>rd</sup> as the date of landing on Barbados.
5. <sup>3</sup> For Barbados, see *Camb. Jnl.*
5. <sup>4</sup> Col. Christopher Codrington was Lieut. Governor at this time. See *Camb. Jnl.*
5. <sup>5</sup> For Thomas Rous, see *Camb. Jnl.*
6. <sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Lynch was the Governor of Jamaica at this time, having been knighted and having received the appointment in 1670. He was recalled in 1676, but sent out again in 1682. He died on the Island in 1684 [?] (*D.N.B.*). See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1671-1672, 1672, 1672-1673.
6. <sup>2</sup> For Solomon Eccles, see *Camb. Jnl.*
7. <sup>1</sup> *Patuxent* River—the name is written in numerous different ways.
8. <sup>1,2</sup> For George Pattison and James Preston, see *Camb. Jnl.*
8. <sup>3</sup> Each Indian tribe had a *Chief* or *Sachem*, and the Chiefs of the various tribes forming a confederation chose one of their number to be the *Head Chief* of the confederation. “The Head Chief, with two others, has to take care of the National Concerns, to cherish the Friendship with other nations. None can rule or command absolute, he has no Preference, nobody is forced to give him anything, but he is commonly well provided with meat, and the Women assist his Wife in planting, that he may get much corn, because he must be hospitable, and his House open to all. They are generally courteous and conversable. He has the Keeping of the Council Bag with the Belts, etc., and his House is commonly the Council House and therefore large. The chief Duty of a Chief is to preserve Peace as long as possible; he cannot make war without the consent of the Captains . . . Captains are not chosen. A Dream or an enthusiastic Turn for War, with which an old conjuror joins, persuading the man that he would be a lucky Captain, is his call, upon which he acts. After he has been six or seven times in War so lucky as to lose none of his company, or got for each one lost, a Prisoner, he is declared Captain. If the contrary happens he is broke. There are seldom many Captains, yet always some in each Tribe.” (Rev. John Ettwein, Moravian Missionary and Bishop in Pennsylvania, 1754 to 1802; his treatise on the Indians was written in 1788, and published in the *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. i.)
9. <sup>1</sup> That is, Robert Widders. See *Camb. Jnl.*
9. <sup>2</sup> For John Burnyeat, see *Camb. Jnl.*



9. <sup>3</sup> The Indians excelled in the craft of wood and water, and cheerfully placed their talents at the service of the whites, usually for a trifling recompense. In 1661 an Indian agreed to carry a letter from Christina (Newcastle, Delaware) to Manhattan in four or five days, a distance of 120 miles by direct road, and probably about 175 miles by the ordinary paths; he was to receive for this service "a piece of cloth or a pair of socks." (*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, xii. 334.)

The only Indian path in New Jersey of which there is any record was one running from the mouth of the Shrewsbury River in a N.W. direction, crossing the Raritan River a little to the west of Amboy, and thence in a N. direction to Minisink Island in the Delaware River, near the northern boundary of the State. This was probably the chief Indian thoroughfare (W. A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, Newark, N.J., 1846, 2nd edition, 1875, p. 28). The only road opened by the Dutch in New Jersey appears to be that by which intercourse was kept up with the settlements on the Delaware. It ran from Elizabethtown Point, or thereabout, to the Raritan River, near the present site of New Brunswick; the Raritan was forded at low water, and the road ran thence in almost a straight line to the Delaware (above the present site of Trenton). This was called the "upper road"; the "lower road" branched off five or six miles from the Raritan, and reached the Delaware by a more circuitous route at the present site of Burlington. (*Ibid.*, p. 235, *cp.* Danker and Sluyter's *Journal*, 1679.)

9. <sup>4</sup> Wye River forms, in part, the boundary between Talbot and Queen Anne's Counties.
9. <sup>5</sup> Chester River rises on the boundary between Kent Co., Md. and Delaware.
9. <sup>6</sup> That is, *Sassafras* River, which rises on the boundary between Kent Co., Md. and Delaware.
9. <sup>7</sup> That is, *Delaware River*.

"Here is a brave River Fishing and Fowling; the Whales run ashore here sometimes, and for Sturgeon, and all other fish here are abundance, we want Coopers to make Barrels, Tubbs, etc." (Letter from Roger Pedrick, dated, "From Delaware River, the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the 4<sup>th</sup> Month, 1676," in *A Further Account of New Jersey* . . ., 1676, pp. 12-13. Pedrick was a partner on the "plantation" of Robert Wade at Upland, or Chester, Pa.)

"Betwixt that [the Raritan River] and Delewer Bay, which is about sixty miles, all is a rich Champain Countrey, free from stones and indifferent level; store of excellent good timber, and very well watered, having brooks or rivers ordinarily, one or more in every miles travel. The Countrey is full of Deer, Elks, Bear, and other Creatures, as in other parts of the Countrey, where you shall meet with no inhabitant in this journey, but a few Indians, where there is stately Oaks whose broad-branched tops serve for no other use but to keep off the Suns heat from the Wilde Beasts of the Wilderness where is grass as high as a man's middle that serves for no other use except to maintain the Elks and Deer, who never devour a hundredth part of it, then to be burnt every Spring to make way for New. How many poor people in the world would think themselves happy, had

they an Acre or two of land, whilst here is hundreds, nay thousands of Acres, that would invite inhabitants." (Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New York, formerly called New Netherlands*, 1670, p. 12.)

9. <sup>8</sup> John Burnyeat explains this difficulty as follows : " And when we were over, we could not get an Indian for a Guide ; and our Dutchman we had hired, would not go without an Indian ; so we were forced to stay there that day. And the next day he rode about to seek an Indian but could get none to go ; and so late in the Evening there came some over from the other side from the Town, and we hired one : and so began our Journey early next Morning, to travel through that Country, which now is called New Jersey." (*Journal*, pp. 44, 45.)

William Edmondson writes : " We took our Journey [from Middletown, East-New-Jersey] through the Wilderness towards Mary-land, to cross the River at Delaware Falls. We hired an Indian to guide us ; but he took us wrong, and left us in the Woods ; when it was late we alighted, put our Horses to Grass, and kindled a Fire by a little Brook, convenient for Water to drink ; so lay down till Morning, but were at a great Loss concerning the Way, being all Strangers in the Wilderness : Richard Hartshorn advised to go to Rarington [Raritan] River, about Ten Miles back, as was supposed, to find out a small landing Place from New York, from whence there was a small Path, that led to Delaware Falls, so we rode back, and in some time found the landing Place, and little Path, then the Two Friends committed us to the Lords Guidance, and went back." (*Journal*, pp. 92, 93.)

9. <sup>9</sup> The Indian huts were called *Wigwams* (pronounced *Wee-kwams*, and so spelled by Zeisberger, *Wikwam* in his grammar and *Wiquoam* in his dictionary of the Delaware or Lenape language). " Their Houses are Mats or Barks of Trees, set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a man ; they lie on Reeds or Grass." (William Penn's Letter, Philadelphia, August 16th, 1683, printed in Richard Blome's *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America*, London, 1687, p. 98. Sometimes the huts would be made of young trees bent down towards a common center, the branches interlaced and fastened together, as a framework, and covered with bark so closely laid on as to be very warm and rain-proof. (F. D. Pastorius, 1685, in *Memoirs Hist. Soc. Pa.*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 96 ; Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical Description of the Province of West-New-Jersey in America*, London, 1698.) Roger Williams in his *Key*, 1643, p. 40, wrote of their sleeping quarters :

" God gives them sleep on Ground, on Straw,  
on Sedgie Mats or Boord ;  
When English Softest Beds of Downe,  
sometimes no sleep afford."

"The guest would be given a seat on a mat in the middle of the wigwam, and would be invited to help himself, out of the earthen pot, which in the beginning never knew the potter's wheel, and in its later existence was totally unacquainted with the cleansing properties of soap and water. Meat and fish and vegetables were all alike cooked in the same vessel, without salt or other seasoning than hunger. . . . Some squaws, of course, were more skilful

than others, and knew how to prepare Indian corn in a dozen different ways ; but the Indian's ordinary breakfast and dinner was maize powdered in a mortar till it was crushed into a soft mass, and then boiled. This was his *ach-poan*, softened by the Indians of Southern New Jersey into *as-poan*, whence the Dutch *sapaen* or *suppaen*, the Swedish *Sappan*, and the Virginia *corn-pone*" (William Nelson, *The Indians of New Jersey*, Paterson, N.J., 1894, pp. 29, 30.) *Cp.* Burnyeat's *Journal*, p. 45.

10. <sup>1</sup> Between 1664 and 1672, many "industrious reputable farmers, the English inhabitants from the west end of Long-Island," came to East New Jersey and settled Middletown ; Shrewsbury was settled by families from New England. The Dutch had preceded these English settlers, and many Scotch soon followed them. (Smith, *New Jersey*, 1765, p. 62.)

"There are 7 Towns settled in this Province . . . most of these Towns having about 100 families ; and the least 40. The Country is very healthful, etc. In Middletown, where I live, in six years and upwards there have died but one Woman about 80 years old, one Man about 60, a Boy about five years old, and one little Infant or two ; there are in this Town, in twenty five Families about 95 children most of them under 12 years of age, and all lusty children." (Richard Hartshorne's letter, dated "New Jersie, Midleton, 12 of the 9th Month, 1675.") By 1682, Middletown had about 100 families, several thousand acres in the town, and many thousands in the adjoining plantations. John Bowne, Richard Hartshorne, and Nicholas Davis were the largest planters. (Smith, *New Jersey*, p. 158.)

10. <sup>2</sup> Richard Hartshorne was "a considerable settler" who arrived at Middletown in 1669. It was not until the year of G. F.'s visit that the governor and council of East New Jersey were instructed to purchase all lands from the Indians and to reimburse themselves from the settlers. Meanwhile Richard Hartshorne had met with some difficulty, as he relates in the following account : "The Indians came to my house and laid their hands on the post and frame of the house and said that house was theirs, they never had any thing for it, and told me if I would not buy the land, I must be gone. But I minded it not, thinking it was Davis's land, and they wanted to get something of me ; they at last told me they would kill my cattle, and burn my hay, if I would not buy the land nor be gone ; then I went to the Patentees . . . ; they told me it was never bought nor had the Indians any thing for it. Nicolls [the first English governor of New Netherlands] desired of them and the Indians also, only to have leave to set a trading house, and at that time they did not intend any one should have the land, but keep it for the use of the country, always giving leave for any man to trade with goods and otherwise ; but I told them I would not live on those terms, and not only so, but it was dangerous, for the Indians threatened to kill my cattle ; they told me no man had power to buy, but the patentees, and they would buy it ; thus it continued some months. I considered the thing as well as I then was capable, and went to Gravesend [Long Island] and bought William Goulder [one of the patentees] out, and when I came back the Indians were at me and I did [buy them out also.']. (Quoted in Smith, *New Jersey*, p. 63, n.)



In a letter written by Richard Hartshorne, dated "New Jersie, Midleton, 12 of the 9<sup>th</sup> month, 1675," he says: "Thou desirest to know how I live, through the goodness of the Lord I live very well, keeping between 30 and 40 head of Cows, and 7 or 8 Horses or Mares to ride upon," etc. (*A Further Account of New Jersey, in an Abstract of Letters Lately Writ from thence, By several Inhabitants there Resident*: Printed in the year 1676, pp. 1-3.) Richard Hartshorne's brother Hugh was one of the twelve proprietors—including William Penn—of the Province of East New Jersey in 1682. Richard H. came from London in September, 1669. He was a Quaker of good reputation, public character, and of a benevolent disposition, in those early times. (Proud, *Pa.*, i. 138.)

October 27th, 1677, Richard Hartshorne obtained a lease of three acres, with the privilege of the exclusive range of Sandy Hook for the benefit of his cattle, in consideration of his intention to establish a fishery at that point, the lords proprietary reserving the right to erect what fortifications there they might think proper. (*East Jersey Records*, vol. ii., lib. i., pt. 2nd, p. 91.)

Appointed, 1676, by William Penn and the three other proprietors of West-New-Jersey, to serve as one of three commissioners to govern that colony; the letter containing the appointment and instructions is published, partly, in Proud's *Pa.*, vol. i., part ii. pp. 138, 139.

William Edmondson held a meeting at Richard Hartshorne's in 1675, and was accompanied by him a day's journey on the way to Maryland. (*Journal*, pp. 92, 93.)

10. <sup>3</sup> The term "hatt spirits" denotes those Friends who separated from the main body on various points of procedure, especially on the question of wearing the hat during public prayer. See Camb. *Jnl.*

10. <sup>4</sup> The Dutch persecution of the Quakers on Long Island in 1656, and again in 1662, 1663 and 1664, caused a number of them to purchase lands in East Jersey in 1665; among these purchasers were John Bound (or Bowne), and they settled Middletown and Shrewsbury, N.J.

John Bowne represented Middletown and Shrewsbury in the first Assembly held in New Jersey. from the 26th to the 30th of May, 1668. For more respecting him, see Camb. *Jnl.*; also Parsons, *The Quaker Cross*, 1911.

10. <sup>5</sup> In 1636 Roger Williams and some of his followers, being banished from Mass., settled at a place which he named Providence, "in a sense of God's merciful Providence to them in their distress."

In 1638 Sir Henry Vane, the Younger, William Coddington and other "Antinomians" of Mass., bought from the Indians the island called Aquetneck (or Aquidneck), the name of which was changed in 1664 to Rhode Island.

In 1663, the two settlements were finally united under the name of The Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. "The Island of Rhode Island, which is about fourteen or fifteen miles long, and about four or five miles broad (though of unequal breadth), is deservedly esteemed the Paradise of New-England, for the fruitfulness of the soil, and the temperateness of the climate; that though it be not above sixty-five miles south of Boston, is a coat warmer in winter, and being surrounded by the

ocean is not so much affected in summer with the hot land breezes, as the towns on the continent." (Neale, *History of New England*, p. 595.)

When the Friends first arrived in Mass. in 1656, the New England Commissioners appealed to Rhode Island to banish the heretics; but the R.I. Assembly refused to comply with this demand, and in a letter to the Agent of R.I. in England, instructed him as follows: "Plead our cause [with Cromwell and his Council] in such sort as that we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders in point of civility are not corrupted and violated." (Staples, 1843, p. 122.)

Rhode Island was inhabited by the powerful Narragansett Indians, who were so numerous, says Roger Williams, that a traveller would meet with a dozen Indian towns in twenty miles; their warriors were estimated to be 5,000. They were annihilated, as a people, in King Philip's War, which commenced about three years after Fox's visit.

10. <sup>6</sup> Nicholas Easton was President of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations from 1650 to 1652, and Governor of the same from 1672 to 1674. At the foundation of the Colony, in 1638, he had been one of the three "Assistants" chosen to assist the presiding "Judge"; in 1640 and from 1642 to 1651 he held the same relation to the "Governor"; in 1653 he had served as "Assistant" for Newport; in 1654, as President of the General Assembly. See Camb. *Jnl.*

10. <sup>7</sup> Easton's deputy was John Cranston. See Camb. *Jnl.*

11. <sup>1</sup> That is, William Coddington. See Camb. *Jnl.*

Book for recording marriages contains the following memorandum written on the inside of the cover: "Friends two books bought at Boston cost 20 shillings, the biggest for births and Deaths, and the lesser book for marriages only, so ordered at the mans meeting of frends at the House of William Coddington in the towne of New Port in Road Island in the yeare 1672, the 22<sup>th</sup> day of 8-m 1672." On the first page of this book is recorded the death, in 1647, of Mary Coddington, the wife of William, with the statement that she "was buried in the burying place of Friends that was given to Friends by William Coddington, her husband" (*Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Phila.*, i. 56). A later record reads: "William Coddington Dyed being Govenour of this Colony, and he was one of the first Planters and Purchastors of this Island of the Natives and he was buried on the 6 day of y<sup>e</sup> 9 mo. 1678." (*Ibid.*, p. 58.)

The Coddington Burial Ground is in Farewell St., near Marlborough, a short distance beyond the old Friends' Meeting House, on the opposite side of the street. Just inside the gate is a plain stone with the inscription: "Erected by the citizens of the town of Newport, in memory of William Coddington, that illustrious man who purchased the island from the Narragansett Indians in 1639." (*Ibid.*, pp. 60, 76.)

The first Friends' Meeting House in Rhode Island was erected in Newport in 1700. This was forty-two years after their first settlement in Rhode Island, and during this period they met in private houses, one of them being the home of Governor Coddington, where the Yearly Meeting was held until his death

in 1678. (John Callender, *Historical Discourse on . . . Rhode Island*, 1739, p. 238.) In 1651, Coddington went to England and procured from the Council of State a commission appointing him Governor of Rhode Island for life; but this commission was repealed the next year through the exertions of Roger Williams.

11. <sup>2</sup> See Camb. *Jnl.* "There are many indications in Friends' journals and in other contemporary documents, that Ranters abounded in many parts of the Colonies during the seventeenth century." (R. M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, p. 113.)
13. <sup>1,2</sup> This should be *Nathaniel*, and not *Joseph* Sylvester. He married Griselda (or Grissel) Brinley, dau. of Thomas and Anne (Wase) Brinley; her father was Auditor-General of Charles I. and Charles II. Cp. Thomas C. Cornell's *Adam and Anne Mott: Their Ancestors and Their Descendants*.  
 Thomas Brocksupp, of Little Normanton, 5th Mo. (July) 8, 1664, writes in letter to John Bowne: "And dear John Bowne, as the Lord gives thee opportunity, my dear love to Nathaniel Sylvester of Shelter Island, whose tender love and fatherly care of my wife [Joane B. ?] when she was with him, the Lord God of my life render into his bosom an hundred fold." (*Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Phila.*, ii. 56). In 1659, Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, exiled from Mass., sought and found refuge in this the shelter of N. S.'s island home.  
 "And so after a long and tedious Voyage, wherein we pass'd through many Storms and Tempests, we arrived at Shelter-Island, where we were received very kindly by one Nathaniel Silvester, a Captain in the Country on the main Land; for this Island was his own: And he had a great many Indians lived on it, and they were Friendly and Sober, and made Serviceable to Friends for Guides, etc., when we travelled into the Countries." (John Taylor's *Journal*, 1710, p. 5., Account of his Journey in 1659.)  
 See Camb. *Jnl.*
14. <sup>1,2</sup> For James Lancaster and Christopher Holder, see Camb. *Jnl.*
14. <sup>3</sup> For John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, see Camb. *Jnl.*
14. <sup>4</sup> Jamaica is a town on Long Island.
15. <sup>1,2</sup> For John Stubbs and New Jersey, see Camb. *Jnl.*
15. <sup>3</sup> By 1682, Shrewsbury was a township, comprising several thousand acres, with large plantations contiguous to it. The number of inhabitants was computed to be about 400. Lewis Morris, of Barbados, had iron works here, employing sixty or seventy negroes, besides white servants and dependants. (Smith, *New Jersey*, p. 158; Whitehead, *East Jersey*, p. 122; George Scot, *The Model of New Jersey*.)  
 The Shrewsbury Meeting was regularly settled in 1670, and is said by Proud (i. 161, n.) to have been the first in New Jersey.
15. <sup>4</sup> That is, John Jay, for whom see Camb. *Jnl.*
17. <sup>1</sup> This island is usually called Matinicum, and is the upper island between Burlington, N.J., and Bristol, Pa. It was settled by Robert Stacy, who gave it to the town of Burlington; and in 1682 it was confirmed by a proprietary law for the use of a free school forever. (Smith, *New Jersey*, p. 69, n.)



In Ell. *Jnl.*, bicent. ed., the name has been incorrectly altered to Tinicum.

17. <sup>2</sup> In 1651, Governor Stuyvesant of New Netherland built Fort Casimir on the site of the present Newcastle, and the small Dutch town which grew up near it was called New Amstel, in honour of its mother-city, Amsterdam, and its river Amstel. In 1664, when the English conquered the Dutch in America, the place was rechristened Newcastle, and incorporated by the Government at New York in 1672.
18. <sup>1</sup> For Robert *Harwood*, see *Camb. Jnl.*
18. <sup>2</sup> For John Edmondson, see *Camb. Jnl.* From August to November, 1678, he was a member from Baltimore Co., Md., of the House of Delegates (*Md. Archives*, vi. 4, 7); he served on committees of the same (*ibid.* vi. 11, 50, 123, 130, 131, 133, 141, 147, 174), and was voted 8,394 lbs. of tobacco by the same (*ibid.* vi. 90). He was a member of the House in April and May, 1682 (*ibid.* vi. 276, 278, 317). In September, 1666, Edmondson and John Pitts petitioned the Lieutenant General of Md. for licence "to trade and trafficque w<sup>th</sup> any Indian w<sup>thin</sup> the Province for Beauer and Roanoke or other Commodities to the uallue of two hundred weight of Beauer or other Skinns and Two Thowsand Armes length of Roanoke." The licence was granted "provided they be accompable for the tenth part of all Beauer soe by them traded for, to the Lieutenant Generall for the time being." (*Md. Archives*, iii. 555, 556.)
18. <sup>3</sup> For Henry Wilcox, see *Camb. Jnl.*
19. <sup>1</sup> "They cultivate among themselves a most scrupulous honesty, are unwavering in keeping promises, insult no one, are hospitable to strangers, and faithful even to death to their friends." (Pastorius, ca. 1685 : *Memoirs Hist. Soc. Pa.*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 96.)  
 "In former times they were quite truthful, although oaths were not customary among them. But it was not so in later times, after they had more intercourse with Christians." (Acrelius, 1759, p. 53.)  
 The mysteries of life and death, and the Indians' vague belief in a future life, gave rise to their active belief in a supernatural power referred to under the name *Manito* (pronounced mah-née-to), or the *Wonder-worker*. This power was both good and evil, and resided in every animate or inanimate object. (Heckewelder, ca. 1800; Brinton, 219.) "They have a modest religious persuasion, not to disturb any man, either themselves, English, Dutch, or any in their conscience, and worship." (Roger Williams, *Key*, p. 113.)
19. <sup>2</sup> Tred Avon Creek, a tributary of the Choptank River, Talbot Co., Md.
19. <sup>3</sup> See note <sup>a</sup> on next page. The transcriber has been able to reconstruct the following sentences. Where the "points" occur the original writing cannot be read.
21. <sup>1</sup> Justice Frisby was one of six men to whom William Penn wrote from London in 1681, advising them that their plantations were within his Province, and cautioning them to pay no more taxes to Lord Baltimore. (*Md. Archives*, v. 285, 375, 393.) See also *Camb. Jnl.*

21. <sup>2</sup> Severn was at or near Annapolis, the capital of Maryland.
21. <sup>3</sup> Thomas Notley was, at this time, the Speaker of the Lower House of the Maryland Assembly.
21. <sup>4</sup> For William Coale, see *Camb. Jnl.*
21. <sup>5</sup> See *Camb. Jnl.* In Jan., 1664, a Commission was granted by the Council of Md. "to Christopher and Abraham Birkeheadd for trade w<sup>th</sup> the Indians." (*Md. Archives*, iii. 489.)
22. <sup>1</sup> For Peter Sharpe see *Camb. Jnl.* In February 1669/70 he was appointed a "Gent. Commissioner of the Peace for the county of Calvert." (*Md. Archives*, v. 62, see i. 359, 362.)
22. <sup>2</sup> This is one of several somewhat laudatory references to George Fox, which appear in the *Camb. Jnl.*, but which were omitted from the *Ell. Jnl.* (see pp. 10, 19, 23; *Camb. Jnl.* i. xl.)
22. <sup>3</sup> It is not clear whether this was Plymouth in New England or Plymouth in Old England.
22. <sup>4</sup> This is Nansemond River and County, Carolina, not Virginia, as the early Friends were accustomed to call it.
23. <sup>1,2</sup> For Widow Wright and Col. Dews, see *Camb. Jnl.*
23. <sup>3</sup> William Yarrow in *Camb.* and *Ell. Jnls.*
23. <sup>4</sup> For Thomas Jordan, see *Camb. Jnl.*
23. <sup>5</sup> *Camb. Jnl.* has "where wee mett with ffriends."
24. <sup>1</sup> For Hugh Smith, see *Camb. Jnl.*
24. <sup>2</sup> The colony of Albemarle, now a part of North Carolina, was often called Roanoke by early writers. For Captain Batts, see *Camb. Jnl.*
24. <sup>3</sup> The name Maritick River was applied in Fox's time to Roanoke River and Albemarle Sound. (W. L. Saunders, Prefatory Notes to the North Carolina Colonial Record, vol. i.) In the bi-cent. ed. of *Ell. Jnl.*, *Roanoke* takes the place of *Maritick*.
24. <sup>4</sup> Cone-oak Bay is the modern Edenton Bay, N.C.
24. <sup>5</sup> Perhaps, Peter Carteret, one of the "lost Governors of Albemarle."
25. <sup>1</sup> Ockanickon was an Indian sachem who died about 1680 at Burlington, N.J., and was buried, at his own request, in the Friends' Burial Ground at that place. He is reported to have admonished his nephew in the following words: "I would have you love what is good, and keep good company; refuse what is evil and by all means avoid bad company. . . . I would have you cleanse your ears and take all foulness out, that you may hear both good and evil, and then join with the good and refuse the evil; and also cleanse your eyes, that you may see good and evil, and when you see evil, do not join with it, but join to that which is good." Thomas Budd, one of the proprietors of New Jersey, who was present, remarked that there was a great God that created all things, and gave man an understanding of what was good and bad; and the Indian replied: "It is very true, it is so; there are two ways, a broad and a straight way; . . . the worst and the greatest number go in the broad, the best and fewest in the straight path." (Smith, *New Jersey*, pp. 148-150.)

25. <sup>2</sup> For Joseph Scott, see *Camb. Jnl.*
25. <sup>3</sup> For Henry *Phillips*, see *Camb. Jnl.*
25. <sup>4</sup> In 1679, an Indian, named Jasper or Tantaqué, residing near Hackensack, N. J., and about eighty years of age at that time, described the Creation in the following way: He first drew a circle a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. "This," he said, "is a tortoise, lying in the water around it," and he moved his hand around the figure, continuing, "This is or was all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry." He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, "The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was then alone, and would have remained alone; but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced." Another aged Indian, named Hans, living near Bergen, N. J., on being told of Tantaqué's account, replied: "That is true, but *Kickeron* made the tortoise, and the tortoise had a power and a nature to produce all things, such as earth, trees, and the like, which God [*Kickeron*?] wished through it to produce, or have produced." (Jasper Danker and Peter Sluyter's *Journal of a Voyage to New York* . . . in 1674-80; translated from the Dutch, and published in *Memoirs of the Long Island Hist. Soc.*, Vol. i., pp. 150, 151, 267, 268.)
25. <sup>5</sup> Burning as a future punishment for sin was several times mentioned by Fox, when addressing Indians, see *Camb. Jnl.*, ii. 236, 445.
26. <sup>1</sup> *Ell. Jnl.* adds "whom they call a Pauwaw."  
 "The *Powaws* are a sort of persons who are supposed to have the power of foretelling future events, or recovering the sick, at least often times, and of charming, enchanting or poisoning persons to death by their magic divinations. Their spirit, in its various operations, seems to be a satanical imitation of the spirit of prophecy with which the church in the early ages was favoured. Some of these diviners are endowed with the spirit in infancy; others in adult age. It seems not to depend on their own will, nor to be acquired by any endeavours of the person who is the subject of it, although it is supposed to be given to children sometimes in consequence of some means the parents use with them for that purpose; one of which is to make the child swallow a small living frog, after having performed some superstitious rites and ceremonies upon it. They are not under the influence of this spirit always alike,—but it comes upon them at times. Those who are endowed with it, are accounted singularly favored." (Rev. David Brainerd, missionary to the Delaware Indians in New Jersey and Pa., *Memoirs*, 1749.) Roger Williams admitted reluctantly that the powaws "doe most certainly (by the helpe of the Divell) worke great Cures, though most certaine it is that the greatest part of their Priests doe merely abuse them and get their Money, in the times of their sicknesse, and to my knowledge long for sick times." (*Key*, p. 158.)



27. <sup>1</sup> *Norton in Camb. Jnl.*
27. <sup>2</sup> This may be Currituck Creek; Currituck County and Court House are in the modern North Carolina.
28. <sup>1</sup> John Porter, pioneer colonist and Friend, is first mentioned in the records of Norfolk Co., Va., Dec. 16th, 1647, when an order was entered allowing him 100 pounds of tobacco for killing a wolf; March 16th, 1648, a similar order appears. Jan. 17, 1652, he was granted a certificate for 200 acres of land for having brought four persons into the colony; March 29, 1655, he was appointed a justice of the County Court; August 15, 1655, he was married to Mary Savill; Jan. 13, 1661, a governor's patent granted him 300 acres of land. In 1663, he represented Lower Norfolk County in the Virginia House of Burgesses, and was reported to that body by John Hill, the High Sheriff of Norfolk Co., as being "loving to the Quakers, well affected towards them, an attendant at their meetings, and so far an Anabaptist as to be against the baptizing of children." Accordingly, on September 12, 1663, he was tried before the House, and confessed that he was loving to Friends, but challenged his accusers to establish the truth of their accusations. The oath of supremacy was then administered to him, and on his refusal to subscribe to it, he was expelled the same day from the House. Two months later, November 17, 1663, he was fined 200 pounds of tobacco for attending a Quaker Meeting, 50 pounds of tobacco for not attending public worship, and 350 pounds of tobacco for setting out tobacco plants on Sunday. August 16, 1671, he was appointed road surveyor for the Eastern Branch Section of Norfolk Co.,; April 17, 1672, he was appointed one of the Justices of the Quorum of Norfolk Co., and served until August 17, 1675, soon after which he died. His will was recorded February 15, 1676. From the fact that he was at the time of his death a commissioner of the Association of Nansemond River Fort, it has been argued that he was not a member of the Society of Friends, although "loving towards them." (J. W. H. Porter's Extracts from the Court Records of Norfolk Co., quoted in S. B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 23, 24, note.) See *Camb. Jnl.*
28. <sup>2</sup> For Thomas Goade, see *Camb. Jnl.*
29. <sup>1</sup> For Judge Frettwell, see *Camb. Jnl.*
29. <sup>2</sup> For John Gary, see *Camb. Jnl.*
30. <sup>1</sup> For Nicholas Alexander, see *Camb. Jnl.*
31. <sup>1</sup> Annamessicks, four miles from Manokin, in Somerset Co. (*Md. Archives*, iii. 452.)
31. <sup>2</sup> For William Colebourne, see *Camb. Jnl.*
31. <sup>3</sup> Manokin, Somerset Co., Md.
32. <sup>1</sup> Wicomico River, on Eastern Shore, in Wicomico Co.
32. <sup>2</sup> An Ordinance for the erecting of several [12] Ports within the Province of Maryland, April 20th, 1669:—"in Somerset County afore Iames Iones his plantation shall be the Sole and only Seaports Havens Stations Creeks and places for the Loading and

unloading and depositing of all and all manner of Goods Wares and Merchandises out of or into all and all Manner of Ships Barks Boats or other Vessels whatsoever repairing into or going out of this Province of Maryland" (*Md. Archives*, v. 47). February 9, 1669, James Jones was appointed one of the "Gent Commissioners for the peace in the County of Somerset" (*Ibid.* v. 61).

See also *Camb. Jnl.*

32. <sup>3</sup> That is, *Honga* River.
33. <sup>1</sup> William Stephens, of Little Choptank, is frequently mentioned in *Maryland Archives*. In 1676, he presented a bill to the Assembly "for the Security and defense of this Province" (ii. 481). In the same year he was appointed one of a committee of six "to Regulate publick Acco<sup>ts</sup>" (ii. 496). Also in 1676, Stephens and others brought an impeachment against Major Thomas Truman for his dealings with the Susquehannah Indians (ii. 485).
33. <sup>2</sup> That is, John *Jay*.
33. <sup>3</sup> "The Council of each tribe was composed of the Sachem and the other Chiefs, either experienced warriors or aged and respected heads of families, elected by the tribe. The Council was legislature and court combined, having a strict and most decorous procedure" (Nelson, p. 93).
34. <sup>1</sup> St. Michael's River, Talbot Co., Md.
34. <sup>2</sup> For Thomas Thurston, see *Camb. Jnl.*  
At a council held at the City of St. Marys the 5th day of May, Anno Dom. 1686. . . Produced and read the foll :  
Letter from Tho : Thurston to Mr. Clement Hill (viz.) :—

April 12th 1686.

Loving Friend Clement Hill,

If thou please to remember when I saw thee last that wee had some discourse concerning our Court house that now is not standing convenient for the whole County [Baltimore Co.], but rather out of the way ; it is the request and desire of the greatest part of the County that the Councill will be pleased to take it into Consideration, and grant us an order of Councill to appoint a place where it may be sett for the conveniency of the whole County which wee doe judge will be on the south side of the Runn called Winters Runn convenient for every man that have business there which would be greate satisfaction to the Inhabitants, and encouragement to Travellers and strangers, humbly desiring that the Councill be pleased to grant us our request.

First, That there is much land in breadth and length still to take up, which is a great hinderance to the Prop<sup>ty</sup>.

Secondly, There is many have taken land up and are doubtfull of seateing it for fear of the heathen.

Thirdly, It would be a meanes to drive back the heathen further into the woods.

Fourthly, It will be neere the middle of the County.

Fifthly, The continuance of causes puts men to more charge then the debt because that in the winter, people can not come for the frost, and here every man may come winter and summer.

Sixthly, It will be neere the path that goes from Potomack to the Susquehannah Rivers, and that will encourage Strangers, and enlarge our County.

This in the behalf of the people in Potapsco, Back River, Middle River, Gunpowder River, and the south side of Bush River doe request an order of Councill with what speed it may be and there in you will oblige the oppressed and promote Lord Propry right.

THOMAS THURSTON.

These for my loving Friend  
Clement Hill liveing in Clements Bay  
one of his Lo<sup>ps</sup> Councill with care.  
(*Md. Archives*, v. 473.)

## Meeting Records.

AT THE MEETING HOUSE, NEATH, S. WALES.

Pembrokeshire Monthly Meeting	1700-1842	3 vols.
Monmouthshire do.	1703-1836	9 vols.
Carmarthenshire do.	1724-1744	} 1 vol.
Do. do.	1748-1750	
Do. do.	1762, 1768	
Do. do.	1762-1764	
Carmarthen and Cardigan Monthly Meeting	1764-1768	} 1 vol.
Swansea Monthly Meeting	1748-1787	
Carmarthen and Glamorgan Monthly Meeting	1787-1793	} 1 vol.
Do. do.	1793-1831	
South Division of Wales Monthly Meeting	1831 to date.	3 vols.

We deplore the lack of a prophetic ministry in our meetings for worship, but we cannot get it from members without convictions. Whatever else a prophet is, he is, as John G. Wooley once said, "one who believes something, who believes it hard, who believes it all the time."  
—EDWARD G. RHOADS, at a Conference in Philadelphia, in Tenth Month, 1909.



## Thirnbeck Manuscripts.

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### I.

#### MARGARET FELL TO FRIENDS, 1654.

This epistle is printed in Margaret Fell's works, 1710, pp. 56-59, with certain omissions relating to local and temporary circumstances. The letter is referred to in Maria Webb's *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 1865, p. 84, where some of the above-mentioned omitted passages are given. See also Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 135.

It is an earnest appeal to Friends, based upon a common brotherhood in Christ, to contribute towards the expenses of "those y<sup>t</sup> haue bine sent forth into y<sup>e</sup> ministry, & for them y<sup>t</sup> haue suffered Imprisonm<sup>t</sup> & for bookes & seu<sup>r</sup>all other things, y<sup>t</sup> haue bine needfull."

This letter is certainly not in the handwriting of M. Fell, if the facsimile given in *Fells* represents her hand. It occupies about three-quarters of a folio page, and is in a neat, clear hand. The endorsement reads, "to ffrinds Consarning a Colecshon from M. ff 1654." These words, with variation in spelling, are repeated elsewhere on the back of the sheet.

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### II.

#### JOHN LILBURNE<sup>1</sup> TO MARGARET FELL, 1657.

The writer is in trouble in consequence of that which he considers the unjust treatment meted out to him by

<sup>1</sup> John Lilburne (1614?-1657) was a son of Richard Lilburne, of Thickley, Co. Durham; he was born at Greenwich. "His life is a mirror in which the turbulent condition of the times may be seen. He championed the rights of the people in opposition to government, and was fined, whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned. He served some years as a soldier, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-general" (*F.P.T.* 144n). From an imprisonment in the Channel Islands, Lilburne was transferred to Dover Castle, in October, 1655. Here, principally under the influence of Luke Howard, he embraced the tenets of Quakerism, and here he wrote several letters, one of which is subscribed, "From my innocent, and every-way causeless captivity in *Dover-castle* (the place of my souls delightful and contentful abode, where I have really and substantially found that which my soul many yeers hath sought diligently after, and with unsatisfied longingness, thirsted to enjoy, this present first day of the week, being the 4th of the 3d [? should be 10th] moneth, 1655." He died at Eltham, 29 vi. 1657, and was buried in London.

See his *Resurrection of John Lilburne, Now a Prisoner in Dover-Castle*,

Anthony Pearson, of Co. Durham, relative to some land in that county, and he is glad that the case is claiming the attention of Margaret Fell. He begs of her to promote an early settlement by persuading Pearson to meet him in London. Other Friends are taking up the matter on his behalf.

dearely beloued freind margret ffell,

The savour of that precious oyntment that the ffather in the cleare manifestation of his loue, bounty & goodwill to thy soule, hath richly & plentifully annoynted the withall, giues asweet fragrent, & precious smell in the nostrills of all those that in the light haue truly giuen vp there names to the Lord of light & life; amongst whome numbring my selfe as one of the meanest & vnworthiest of them, but yit hath through rich mercy attained to acleare vnderstanding, to reed & feale thy stature & growth, in my serious pvseall & transcribing ouer of those savory and sperituall lines of thine, that haue gone through my hands.

And thy clearely Judged by me preciousnes & clearenes of vnderstanding, hath in noe small measer filled me with desires at this present tyme to acquent the:

That when my very faithfull & dearely beloued freind Henry Clarke,<sup>2</sup> at the Sugerlofe neare horsepherie ally, one the bankesid in Southworke, acquainted me that by our freind Thomas Rawlinson,<sup>3</sup> he had sent some papers downe to the, about the present deference betwixt Anthony pson<sup>3</sup> & my selfe, that J truly avver he hath wilfully & vnrightiously begot betwixt him selfe & me; J was not alittell glad at his soe doing, & when yisterday he acquainted me that by our freind Steuen Hubberstie,<sup>3</sup> he vnderstood that thou thy selfe, hadst vpon the receipt of the forsaid [paps] sent for Anthony Pearson to thy howse to conferr with him about them, And as J vnderstand by Humphey No[rton's]<sup>3</sup> information to

etc., 1656, and second and enlarged edition in same year; *F.P.T.*; Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*; *D.N.B.*; Robson MSS. in *D.*; and much other literature.

<sup>2</sup> For Henry Clarke, see Camb. *Jnl.* We here learn his exact address, at the Sugar Loaf, near Horseferry Alley, Bankside, Southwark.

<sup>3</sup> For these Friends, see Camb. *Jnl.*

him, found Anthony at least to put glosses vpon his said dealling with me, & in shew to lay [*paper torn*] vpon me for indeavoring to disposes Haselridgs<sup>4</sup> tennants vpon my lands, that he hath without anyth [*paper torn*] pretence of law or Justice [?] me of. At the hearing of which & seriously meditating in the meas[er of light] injoyed by me, J was pressed in my sperit with strong desires by my owne hand writing to acquent the :

1. ffirst, that my forsaid deare & faithfull freind Henry Clarke haueing bene much conversent about 4 yeares agoe, at the sessions of old baly in London, when J was there tried for my life, & hearing from my owne mouth there, & alsoe reeding in print, much of my plea, or pleas for my life, came thereby to acleare vnderstanding of the reall danger of my very life, by that laite most wicked & sinfull conuaance procured by Anthony psons wilfull, wicked, headstrong & plainly treacherous to me will, without my authoritie, priuity, or consent, to convey my lands that his master haselridge hath robd me of by meere force & violence, backe to my wife & children, as things that he hath areall true & vnquestionably legall right in: Therefor laitely as J vnderstand write to Anthony pson something a sharp reproofe, for his said [?] vnrightious dealling with me: which Anthony Answered with an avoued in words (say J now lying abominably wicked & false) Justification of himselfe, the reeding of w<sup>ch</sup> seriously compelled me in an extraordinary manner to waite vpon my deuine counsellor & leader, the measer of light dwelling in me, for a Just & cleare direction what to doe in the case; by w<sup>ch</sup> J was in y<sup>e</sup>

2. Second place, clearely directed to draw vp against Anthony Pearson, a sollemne Appeale to the strong measur of god dwelling in G ffox, W Dusbery,<sup>3</sup> R Hubberthorne,<sup>3</sup> E Burrow,<sup>3</sup> H Clarke, J Bolton,<sup>3</sup> A Stoddart,<sup>3</sup> & G Roberts,<sup>3</sup> or any three of them, as it is contaned in the said Appeale: Which said Appeale after J had fairely ingrossed it (as it were) J in plainenes

<sup>4</sup> Sir Arthur Haselrig (d. 1661), second baronet, lived in Co. Durham, on confiscated lands which he purchased from the Government. At the Restoration he was tried and imprisoned. He died in the Tower. See *Extracts from State Papers*; *Camb. Jnl.*; *D.N.B.*



at Douer reed to my three deare & precious freinds John Stubbs,<sup>3</sup> Luke Howard,<sup>3</sup> & John Higgins<sup>5</sup> his servant, & soe haistened towards London with it : And neare there vnto in the

3. Third place, J plainely reed it to Henry Clarke twice ouer, against the rightiousnes, Justice and truth of which J found him not abell to maike one objection against it, after which he tooke it to carry to Edward Burrow, who with Amos Stoddart that day comming to me where then J was, J reed it to them alsoe, before whose deſtur came in John Bolton, amongst which foure it was concluded, that John, Henry, & Amos should write to Anthony pson, to desire him to come spedily vp to London, that soe he & J might speeke face to face about it, w<sup>ch</sup> J vnderstand they haue done.

4. ffourthly, vpon the 14: of this present month J write aletter to my old & now dearely beloued freinds and neighbours Roger Harper<sup>6</sup> & Marten Richmond,<sup>3</sup> & inclosed to them atranscript of my said appeale, for them seriously to pvse & then communicate to Anthony pson, that soe he might be thoroughly fitted to the vtmost that he can, befor he depart out of the county of Durham, to maike the best defence for himselfe that posably he can, befor our said freinds against my said complaining appeale against him.

5. ffiftly, vpon the last 7<sup>th</sup> day our freind John Slee<sup>3</sup> of Cumberland, comming downe to my presen lodging at Wolladge (about 7 myles from London) there, the next day to declare truth, he & J had much talke of the busines betwixt Anthony & my selfe, & he was exceeding free to heare me at large about it ; vnto whome J reed atranscript of my said Appeale, the staite of my case mentioned in it, & my 9 letters to Anthony pson,

<sup>5</sup> John Higgins (c. 1633-1667) is here as elsewhere connected with the county of Kent, but in what way he was "servant" to Luke Howard, of Dover, is not evident. He travelled much in Holland (Camb. *Jnl.* ; C. Fell Smith, *Steven Crisp*). He signed the Fox-Fell marriage certificate at Bristol in 1669. For letters written by him see *Collectitia* ; Smith, *Cata.* ; *Steven Crisp* ; MSS. in D. He died at Hertford, and was buried at Dover.

<sup>6</sup> Roger Harper lived, probably, in Co. Durham. He signed, with others, an epistle sent out from Scalehouse, 24 iv. 1658.

& 5 of his to me : which maid Anthonys wicked & vnrightious dealling with me appeare soe plaine to John Slee, that he sufficiently declared to me his detestation of it, & promised me that as he went shortly to his outward home (if the Lord will) to call at thy howse, & plainely acquent the with it ; by whome as J remember J desired to send the atranscript of the said Appeale, but he Judged it needlesse the case to him being soe plaine : But now since J spooke as aforsaid with Henry Clarke, J haue bene much pressed in my sperit thus to write to the, & in it to inclose atranscript of my letter or complaint sent to London, the last yeare to 8 : of our freinds against Anthony psons forsaid wicked dealling with me, & J haue earnestly intreated him at his comming to London to find out John Slee, & from me deliuer him this letter, to bring to thee as alsoe atranscript of my saide Appeale, & the said staite of my case, & transcripts of 7 of my first letters to Anthony pson, my 8 & 9<sup>th</sup> to him thou haueing alredy by the, as J Judge, all which as thy fredome and laysur serues the, J earnestly intreate & beseech the, seriously to pvse, & when thou haist soe done, that thou wilt in a few lins acquent Anthony spedily with the substance heareof, & prese him to haisten vp to London: where J doe expect my said freinds, to whome J haue appealed, will indeliberation, truth, & Justice, & without the least respect of psons, heare vs both face to face to the full, & to the very bottome of the busines, & as they are sharp reprocuers of sin in men of the world, soe much more sharply to reprocue it in one of vs two, in whome after a full & plaine hearing of vs face to face they really & truly about the premises find guilt & wickednes in. J can not at the p<sup>r</sup>sent send the, the copys of his wicked, foolish, false, ridiculous & contradicting letters to me, though J intend the Lord assisting now with all the speed J can, to copy them out & send them at least vnto some of those that in this case are now like to be his & my Judges.

Soe freely leueing the to thy owne fredome, as the rich measur of god dwelling in the, shall direct the, further to doe in the p<sup>r</sup>mises what thou Judgeth to be Just & rightious, & of reall service to the truth, earnestly desiring a few lins from the, to be wrote by the as spedily as well thou canst to henry Clarke in Answere heare too,

with my dearest salutation in the fountaine of loue & life p<sup>r</sup>esented vnto the J rest

Thy deare & faithfull freind according to the measur of grace receiued & revealed in, & vnto,

JOHN LILBURNE.

ffrom my p<sup>r</sup>esent lodging at John Cocks at Wolladge (in Kent) neare London this 27 : of the 3<sup>d</sup> month, 1657.

Postcript, I beseech the if my deare freind George ffox come neare the, p<sup>r</sup>esent my dearest salutation to him, & reed this [?] to him, by which J truly let him knowe that Arther Haselridge about 5 or 6 yeares agoe, haueing by meere force & violence without the least shaddow of any Just pretence of law, robd me of my lands : Jn the yeare 1655 sent, or sued to me to treat with him to taikethem againe, w<sup>ch</sup> J refused to doe, vnlesse J might haue them restored to me as athing he had vnjustly robd me of, or with violence taiken from me, & sent my said answeare (sufficiently as J Judge contaned in the said staite of my case) to Anthony p<sup>r</sup>son, to deliuer to him (to the vtmost of my memory) & to know of him (his laite master) if vpon those tearms he would giue them me againe in actuall and quiet posession, which are the only tearms, J expect them from him if euer he surrender them of himselfe to me, notwithstanding Anthony p<sup>r</sup>son hath actually & wilfully as J Judge as an instrument<sup>7</sup> treacherously betrayed to his vtmost my very life in to his mercillesse mercy, & my other bloody enimys, & alsoe set my wife,<sup>8</sup> my ffather [?] to his vtmost power togeather by the eares with me in such atormenting contest as J neuer with any of my adversaries went through in all my life tyme. J intreat the preserue my page from being lost.

JOHN LILBURNE.

This is an autograph letter. It occupies slightly over one page of a folio sheet, finely and clearly written. The sheet is weak in the folds, and a small portion of the fore-edge is worn away. It is addressed by the writer,

<sup>7</sup> Pearson's defence would probably be that he acted as Haselrig's agent in this matter.

<sup>8</sup> Lilburne married Elizabeth Dewell and had several young children (*D.N.B.*). His family lodged near him while he was in Dover Castle.



“ffor my dearely beloued freind Margret ffell, in Lankishere this with care and speed dd,” and more fully directed in another hand (with folds to suit this latter address), “This into the handes of his derely beloued freind Margeret the wife of Judge: ffell at his howse at Swart more nere ouston [Ulverston] dd with speed and faile not—Lanckeshire.” George Fox endorsed the letter, “j liborn to mff douer presen 1656 read over.”

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### III.

#### JOHN ROUS TO MARGARET FELL, 1664.

A spirit of filial affection and reverence is evident throughout these letters, and also an earnest desire on the part of John Rous to be helpful to his mother-in-law, whose faithfulness to conviction he warmly applauds and whose example he desires her children may follow.

The circumstances of the imprisonment of George Fox and Margaret Fell in Lancaster Castle, and the sentence of premunire passed upon the latter by Judge Turner at the close of Sixth Month (Aug.), 1664, are detailed in the *Camb. Jnl.* M. Fell was doubtless in Lancaster Castle at the receipt of this letter.—The Conventicle Act came into force on the 1st of Fifth Month (July), 1664, a month prior to the date of this letter. “For a third offence against this Act elaborate provisions for transportation were devised” (*F.P.T.* 357; *Camb. Jnl.*)—The details of the Hertford case may be read in Besse’s *Sufferings* (i. 249), and Webb’s *Fells* (p. 228).

The second letter illustrates in a most enlightening manner some of the difficulties into which the persecuting legislation of the day brought Friends. On the one hand is evident their desire to stand firm to their convictions and to take the consequences, even to transportation, and on the other hand there were many considerations to be weighed—personal and family ties, and various responsibilities towards others. There was need of much wisdom to direct, and of advice from trusted friends and counsellors.

Mile End,<sup>9</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup>  $\frac{6^{th}}{m}$  64.

Dear Mother

Jn the vnalterable & vnchangable truth, w<sup>ch</sup> is more precious then all changable things is my dear & entire love to thee, to whom my love is beyond what here J can expresse, who art honourable in the truth, & to be honoured by all y<sup>t</sup> live in the truth, who hast not accounted any thing to dear to thee to be parted with for the Lord & for his truths sake, but hath stood to the hazard & lose of all rather then in the least to submit or come vnder any thing y<sup>t</sup> is contrary to the Lord or his blessed truth manifested in thy heart, Oh how happy are we thy children who have such a mother, who with such boldnes in the power & spirit of the Lord stands vp ag<sup>st</sup> the powers of Darknes, & spirituall wickednes in high places, my desires are y<sup>t</sup> as through thy faithfulness in the losse of all, thou hast obtained an everlasting honour & renowne soe we thy children in our severall places may be found faithfull in all triales y<sup>t</sup> we meet with for the truths sake, may adde comfort to thy afflictions & may be noe cause of greife or sorrow, for w<sup>ch</sup> cause we desire the helpe of thy prayers w<sup>ch</sup> we know are heard & accepted by him who is mighty to save all those y<sup>t</sup> trust in him ;

Dear Mother by a letter from my sister Sarah w<sup>ch</sup> yesterday we rec<sup>d</sup>, we vnderstand what hard & vniust dealings thou hast mett with in thy triall at the assizes, but w<sup>t</sup> can be expected from those who have not y<sup>e</sup> fear of God before their eyes, nor have any regard to Just or Righteous Judgment, but set vp iniquity & make a prey of them y<sup>t</sup> depart from it, but these afflictions are to be gone through & the measure w<sup>ch</sup> is be hinde is to be filled vp for the bodies sake w<sup>ch</sup> is the church, whose portion it now is in many places to suffer, but though the enimie come like a flood, yet the spirit of the Lord lifts a standard & we know y<sup>t</sup> that though the sea doe roar & the billows thereof are lifted vp even as if it would overthrow all before it, yet its appointed bounds it shall not passe, but the Lord by his power will restraine it :

<sup>9</sup> Several letters written about this time by members of the Rous family or visitors are addressed from " Mile End," or " Mile End Green." See Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 214, 222. This was presumably the home of John Rous before taking up his residence at Kingston-on-Thames.

As concerning passages much J might write more then time will now permit, but J shall give thee as breife & plaine an acc<sup>t</sup> as J can, last fifth day 7 freinds were brought from Hertford to London to be transported according to y<sup>e</sup> sentence passed on them by Judge Bridgeman,<sup>10</sup> the Jailour some daies before came vp to London, & met with a master of a ship who was bound to Barbados & Jemaica, w<sup>th</sup> whom the Jalour agreed covertly (not letting the M<sup>r</sup> know vpon w<sup>t</sup> acc<sup>t</sup> they went) to carry 4 of them to Barbados & 3 to Jemaica, & was to put them aboard last fifth day, but w<sup>n</sup> the M<sup>r</sup> heard vpon what acc<sup>t</sup> they went, he was very sorry, & said he would not carry them if he could any way avoide it, & the cheife owner said y<sup>t</sup> he would set the ship on fire before it should carry them, the Jalour next day after he came to towne put them into A boat & carried them to the ships side, but the M<sup>r</sup> had ordered the seamen y<sup>t</sup> if such came, except they were willing to goe, they should not take them aboard, & told y<sup>e</sup> Jalour y<sup>t</sup> his agreement was to have them sent aboard y<sup>e</sup> day before, w<sup>ch</sup> he not doing, he had other wise disposed of his ship, & now would not carry them if he might have 100 pounds a man, soe the Jalour was forced to carry them backe, & that day went to Judge Bridgman to tell him what y<sup>e</sup> m<sup>r</sup> said, who advised him to arest y<sup>e</sup> M<sup>r</sup> for his bargaine, but on last 7<sup>th</sup> day y<sup>e</sup> King & his Counsell sat about it & Judge Bridgman was with them, to consider what to doe with y<sup>e</sup> M<sup>r</sup>, & in the afternoon two messengers were sent for the M<sup>r</sup> to white-hall where he was brought before one of y<sup>e</sup> Kings secretaries, who committed him close prisoner to the Gatehouse not to be bailed, for refusing to carry them, J hear y<sup>e</sup> M<sup>r</sup> of the ship was very bold & answered very vndantedly, there is none of the ship masters y<sup>t</sup> are going to Barbados, y<sup>t</sup> I hear of, but are resolved they will not carry freinds except they are willing to goe; the sessions was last weeke at the Old Baily, but nothing was done with freinds, though J hear there was 17 in prison vpon y<sup>e</sup> 3 acc<sup>t</sup>, but they adiourned till tomorrow, w<sup>ch</sup> its thought was done of out of pollicy, for there was many freinds w<sup>ch</sup> had been in twice, & they thought to have a great

<sup>10</sup> Sir Orlando Bridgeman (1606?-1674) presided at the trial of the Regicides, 1660; Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, 1667-72. (*D.N.B.*)



many in this weeke vpon the third acct, soe last first day in the morning they tooke from the bull & mouth as J hear 199 men & women freinds w<sup>ch</sup> they committed to Newgate & bridewell, in the afternoon they tooke from Mile End 12 men, amongst whom was Gerrard<sup>11</sup> on his first acct & 6 women among whom was Anne Gould<sup>12</sup> on her second acct from y<sup>e</sup> peeple meeting they tooke about three score as J heard & from wheelers street meeting a great many, soe that there is now a great many freinds both men & women in vpon the third acct, but what they will doe with them is not yet knowne, but their actions doe manifest as if they intended to prosecute their law to the highest if the Lord doe not restraine them, we were yesterday to see freinds in Newgate, who are mightily thronged but were generally well, except one lad who was in a very high feaver & much vnsensible, that it is thought there is much danger of his life, J was last first day to see George Whitehead (not having seen him in a pretty while) & he was well & his dear love is remembred to thee & G ff: J had a letter lately from T Salthouse from Plimouth who was well & at liberty, & writ y<sup>t</sup> things were very quiet & well in those parts, only y<sup>e</sup> Mayor of a towne called Smithick neer falmouth in Cornewall, wished he might rot & perish if he did not make freinds conforme to this new act, w<sup>ch</sup> he intended to doe on a first day, but on the 7<sup>th</sup> day before at night going to bed well was found dead in the morning, which strick some dread vpon the Justices & caused their Moderation towards freinds; J hear there is 3 or 4 freinds dead at Bristoll, one being a woman with child of her first child, & another a maide who being very sick was carried out of the prison, but being dead freinds carried her to the prison intending to carry her from them to y<sup>e</sup> ground,

<sup>11</sup> For Gerard Roberts, see Camb. *Jnl.*

<sup>12</sup> Anne Gould (Gold), of London, was among the early Ministers in the Metropolis, c. 1655 (*Crouch*, p. 16; *Latey*, p. 10). She travelled in Ireland, where Julian Westwood and she went "on foot in Winter time, wading Rivers and Dirty Miry Ways; so that Ann Gould, being a tender Woman, was much spent, and staid at Clough; the enemy perswading her that God had forsaken her and that she was there to be destroyed, so that she fell into Despair" (Edmondson, *Journal*, 1715, p. 18). She was also in East Anglia (*F.P.T.* 97). The London Registers record the death of an Ann Gould, of Pauls, Shadwell, 16 x. 1699, at about ninety years of age. See Besse, *Suff.*, i. 482, 484.

& in the prison she bled two hours, one hour out of one nostrell & another hour out of the other, this was mentioned in a letter from Dennis Hollister to A : Parker w<sup>ch</sup> a freind y<sup>t</sup> read it told me of but J did not read the letter my selfe.

the love of divers freind is remembred to G ff and thee, we are all well & our very dear love is remembred to thee & to dear G ff & our dear sisters Sarah, Susanna & Rachell, J doe not question but thou wilt let G ff know how things are, whom J honour in my heart, & Dear Mother if in any thing we may be servicable to thee, in speaking to any body, or if at any time thou may have occasion for mony J desire thou would not spare to command any thing y<sup>t</sup> we are able to doe, for J looke vpon it as mine & our duty to be as much assistant to thee in this time of thy suffering as may be, & in soe doing to bear part of thy burden with thee.

J have something in my minde concerning which J desire thy advice, w<sup>ch</sup> J intend to write on y<sup>e</sup> other side, which J desire if thou cannot read, thou would reserve it till Sarah be with thee or some one whom thou art willing shall read it to thee, & J desire to know whether thou can read it thy selfe<sup>13</sup>; And soe in dear & fervent love J rest

Thy Obedient & truly loving son,

JOHN ROUS.

I was with sister ffell last night but hear nothing of my brother ffell.

Dear Mother

They proceeding here very high in prosecuting the new act, w<sup>ch</sup> ends in banishment, w<sup>ch</sup> its like if the Lord doe not restraine them they will bring freinds to, which J doe not know how soon may be my portion from them, having been once in present already, my desire is to know thy minde, whether in case J should be sentenced & come to be transported thou would be willing, my wife (being as she is) should goe along with me, J am not vnsencible,

<sup>13</sup> We have for some time held the opinion, and expressed it, that Margaret Fell suffered from deficient eyesight (*Camb. Jnl.*, i. 408). Above seems to confirm our opinion, but we must wait till M. Fell's reply comes to light before the matter can be definitely settled.

of the sicknes & illnes she hath allready gone through at sea,<sup>14</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> hath been very hard to her to goe through, yet J beleive the first time she was with child, if it had pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord she had missed the fall of y<sup>e</sup> horse, she might have done very well, & in all probality might have gone out her time, & now dear Mother considering how hard it wilbe to vs to part, & for me to goe to sea & leave her to follow with a young child, if it please God it live,<sup>15</sup> & to want me who was soe great a helpe to her when she was sick, wilbe a thing that wilbe very hard to her, & if she goes to meetings in the meane time she wilbe in dang<sup>r</sup> of being banished soe well as J, w<sup>ch</sup> considerations with others & som[e] in conveniencies w<sup>ch</sup> may attend her not going with me, put me to a stand, y<sup>t</sup> J doe not know what to thinke, whether it may be bett[er] for her if I should be sent away to run the hazard of the seas & goe with me, or to settle not to goe with me, but stay behinde, & run all the hazards & inconveniencies w<sup>ch</sup> may attend her soe doing; Dear Mother J am given vp freely in my selfe to bear my testimony amongst other freinds ag<sup>st</sup> this vniust law, & before J am imprisoned on the third acc<sup>t</sup> J would settle all as one y<sup>t</sup> is ready to be transported that if J doe goe J may goe with clearnes, or if J stay it may be w<sup>th</sup> the same, & soe desire that thou would seriously consider this, & let me know what thou thinkes may be best for me to doe, that soe J may know how to order things; My wife hath been asking me whether J could not shun going to meetings where freinds are taken, till such time as she might be vp & in a condition to goe with me, w<sup>ch</sup> J doe not know at present J could with freedome doe, & that would bring me vnder y<sup>e</sup> Judgment of freinds w<sup>ch</sup> J would willingly avoide; this is the substance of what J have at present to write in relation to thys matter, thy answer to which J desire as soon as opportunity will permit; J am care full to avoide

<sup>14</sup> As mentioned in Camb. *Jnl.* (ii. 421), there is a statement in Fox's *Spirit of Envy* (1663, p. 10),—"As for M.F. . . . there was her Son in law and her daughter passing to beyond Seas"—which might refer to John and Margaret Rous; this mention of M. Rous's "sicknes & illnes at sea" tends to confirm this inference.

<sup>15</sup> A daughter, Lydia, was born 5 i. 1664/5, and died the following year.



being imprisoned againe as yet, my father having sent for divers things for his plantation w<sup>ch</sup> he cannot be without, w<sup>ch</sup> J intend to ship by a ship y<sup>t</sup> may goe away the latter end of this Month, & till those things are sent away, J am not willing to goe to prison, because the want of y<sup>m</sup> wilbe a great preiudice to him, & he depends vpon my sending them, ffarewell,

Thy dear son,

JOHN ROUS.

[Direction] ffor Marg<sup>t</sup> ffell  
this

The letters are in the handwriting of John Rous. The first occupies two full folio pages, and the second, one full page. The sheet is endorsed "ffor Marg<sup>t</sup> ffell this." On the outer margin of page 2 there are a few strokes made by George Fox, but that which they were intended to indicate is not apparent.

*To be continued.*

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## Obituary.

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William Gregory Norris, J.P., of Coalbrookdale and Weston-super-Mare, died on the eighth of Twelfth Month, aged eighty-two years. W. G. Norris took a deep interest in historical subjects and was a member of the F.H.S. from the commencement. He bore the entire cost of issuing Journal Supplement No. 6, "John ap John, and Early Records of Friends in Wales," 1907.

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Friends, what is right is always safe ; but our human minds are so constituted that if we let them dwell first on the dangers of an undertaking, they are less able to judge whether it is right or not.—ANNA RHOADS LADD, at a Conference in Philadelphia, Tenth Month, 1909.

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In the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society* for 1908, there is an illustrated article on "Admiral Penn, William Penn, and their Descendants in the Co. Cork."

## The Cambridge Edition of "The Journal of George Fox."

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As many of our readers will find it necessary to consult this work in their Quaker studies, it is proposed to insert in these columns, from time to time, notes, in the form of addenda or corrigenda, which have reached the Editor.

1.—A slip has been printed for insertion containing brief explanations of the three following signs, [ ], { }, ( ), used in the text of *The Journal*. Present owners of the volumes should apply for these slips to the University Press, Cambridge, Eng., Headley Brothers, London, or the John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

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2.—Vol. I., p. 265, l. 15, cross out the <sup>1</sup>, as there is not any note at the end of the volume corresponding with this figure.

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3.—Elizabeth Trelawney. In response to the request for "further information bearing on the persons referred to in *The Journal*," Lord Courtney of Penwith has favoured the Editor with a printed copy of a letter by Elizabeth Trelawney, which is addressed, "To my hono<sup>ble</sup> Deare Grandmother the Lady Mohun att Hall." The letter commences :—

" My Hono<sup>ble</sup> Lady

" and Dearest Grandmother ; allmighty God fill y<sup>r</sup> La<sup>pp</sup> w<sup>th</sup> true comfort and consolation and revive y<sup>u</sup> according to y<sup>e</sup> time y<sup>t</sup> hee hath afflicted y<sup>u</sup>, and for y<sup>e</sup> yeares in w<sup>ch</sup> you haue suffered adversity," and closes :—

" Ah madam, I dare not put my suffrings in y<sup>e</sup> ballance w<sup>th</sup> your La<sup>pps</sup>, yett may truely say, y<sup>t</sup> full of sorrow haue binne y<sup>e</sup> dayes of my pilgrimage. . . . I have left Trelawne for a while to try what change may doe for y<sup>e</sup> recov<sup>'ry</sup> of my health & I praise god I find it very advantageous. I begge y<sup>r</sup> La<sup>pps</sup> parden for my tediousnes & this coarse paper and p<sup>re</sup>sent y<sup>r</sup> La<sup>pp</sup> my humble duty beseeching y<sup>r</sup> La<sup>pp</sup> to vouchsafe y<sup>r</sup> Blessing unto

" y<sup>r</sup> La<sup>pps</sup> most dutyfull

" ELIZABETH TRELAWNY."

When sending a copy of this letter for the " Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall,"<sup>1</sup> Lord Courtney, then the Right Hon. Leonard H. Courtney, M.P., wrote, " Searching at the British Museum many years ago for another purpose, I lighted upon a collection of papers (Add. MSS. 11,314, fol. 15), containing letters, etc., of the Mohun family of Boconnoc. . . . It will be seen that the letter is without a date, but from its position in the MSS. it may be inferred that it was written before 1645. It was certainly addressed to her step-grandmother, the third wife of

<sup>1</sup> No. xlv., published in 1898 ; see vol. xiii., pp. 272, 273.

Sir Reginald Mohun, and as it was addressed to her at Hall, we may perhaps safely infer that it was written after she had become a widow in 1639.”

The incident regarding Elizabeth Trelawney given by George Fox (see *Camb. Jnl.*, i. 204) forms the subject of an etching by Robert Spence, the owner of the original MS. of *The Journal*.

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4.—Vol. II., p. 506, col. 2, l. 30, read “i. 45, 405.”

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5.—Vol. II., p. 426, l. 19 from foot, read *Jnl. F.H.S. ix.*

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6.—Vol. I., p. 452, l. 16, for Conget read Couget (Cowgate).

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7.—Vol. I., p. 445.—Wray of Lincolnshire. There was a Joane Wray, of Fulbeck, Lincs., widow, at whose house John Whitehead attended a Meeting “to consider wisely of the poor, fatherless, and widows, and to supply their wants,” for doing which and “not pretending nor intending public worship,” those present were fined £72 13s. 2d. ! (Chalk, *Life of Whitehead*, p. 263 ; Besse, *Suff. i.* 356)—THOMAS DAVIDSON, Fritchley, Derby.

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8.—Vol. I., p. 424.—Isabel Hacker, the regicide’s widow, was the daughter of Isabel Dand, a Mansfield woman, who married Gabriel Brunts. Isabel Hacker’s nephew, Samuel Brunts, was a great benefactor to Mansfield. Samuel Brunts was not a Friend ; he died in 1711, and last year the Trustees of his bequests placed a memorial window to his memory in East Bridgeford Church, Notts, where he was buried.—EMILY MANNERS, Mansfield.

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9.—Vol. II., p. 373.—W. C. Braithwaite (*Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 148) states that William Simpson (or Simpson) “according to a vagrancy pass, came from Sunbree, in the county of Lancaster, probably Sunbreak, near Swarthmore,” and he refers to *Camb. Jnl.*, ii. 67, for mention of a “William Simson, of Sunbrecke.” He considers it probable that the sign referred to in Fox’s address to the followers of Lampitt, of Ulverston, 1652 (*Camb. Jnl.*, i. 89), was the action of Simpson, whose home was in the same district.

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10.—Vol. I., p. 415.—Priest Tatham. In *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, by Benjamin Nightingale, M.A., of Preston, published a few weeks ago, there are several references to Richard Tatham, who was probably the “Priest Tatham” of *The Journal*. In 1654 the Cromwellian Commissioners “settled” him as preacher at Heversham, and in 1657 he received the living of Kirkby Lonsdale, both in Westmorland.

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It is stated by the Cambridge University Press that *The Journal* has had a larger initial sale than was expected by the Publishers.



## “The Oldest Yearly Meeting in the World.”

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Speaking at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of New England Yearly Meeting, celebrated at Moses Brown School, Providence, R.I., 24 vi. 1911, Augustine Jones states: “It is notable as the only yearly meeting on the [American] continent, with the exception of Baltimore, which George Fox attended, and the oldest in the world.” A note to the printed report of the proceedings (a most informing pamphlet of over eighty pages) contains the words, “Since these remarks were made a note from England has been shown to me, mentioning a general meeting in London in 1661, the date of our origin, which is meant to suggest, I suppose, the beginning of their meeting to be of even date with ours.” After reference to the title page of the *London Book of Discipline*, 1883, and earlier editions, the author adds, “It would seem that finally, in 1672, the yearly meeting, by a special resolve or minute, established the annual meetings to be at London, hence its name, constitution, and historic existence ever after,” and closes with the words, “The matter is now not important, except in the verification of history.”

The subject may well be discussed in the verification of history.

The statement which appears on the title page of the *Book of Discipline*, 1883, regarding London Yearly Meeting “from its first institution in 1672,” is incorrect, and it has disappeared from the later edition of 1906. In the last named edition, vol. ii., p. 1, the minute made in 1672, “It is concluded . . . that . . . there be a General Meeting of Friends held at London once a year,” is modified by a statement of George Fox, “From thence [Skipton, 1660] the Yearly Meeting was removed to London the next year, where it hath been kept ever since, as being looked upon a more convenient place.” This would imply the holding of a Y.M. in 1661, but, as yet, no record of this has been discovered.

But we cannot accept the statement somewhat doubtfully admitted by the writer in the Anniversary proceedings that the beginning of the Y.M. of English Friends (the *place* of the Meeting is unimportant in this connection) was “of even date with ours,” for it is quite certain that General Yearly Meetings were held in England in 1660, at Skipton, “of men Friends out of many counties,” and earlier, in 1658, at John Crook’s in Bedfordshire, “a General Yearly Meeting for the whole nation” (see *The Journal of George Fox*, bi-cent. ed., i. 418, 469, and Camb. ed., i. 266, 355 and esp. 462). It is probable, as stated by R. M. Jones in his paper (see page 12 of pamphlet) that the General Meeting held in New England in 1661 “was in all respects like the general meetings which had already been held in England”; and (page 13) “that this first general meeting in the new world followed the old world model.” It is *not* probable that George Rofe, an English Friend, would have “appointed a general meeting for all Friends in those parts,” if such gatherings had not previously been held in his own country.

## Friends in Current Literature.

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*The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan, 8½ by 5½, pp. 603, 12s.). In the third volume of the Rowntree series—which is, however, the second in order of issue, Dr. Rufus M. Jones, assisted by Dr. Isaac Sharpless and Amelia Mott Gummere, has produced a valuable addition to Quaker historical literature. His subject is divided into five sections, dealing respectively with New England, New York, the Southern Colonies, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. With the persecutions undergone by Friends in New England, culminating in the execution at Boston of William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, William Leddra, and Mary Dyer, readers of the *THE JOURNAL* will be familiar. Penn's "Holy Experiment" again is more or less known to all. The extent to which Friends participated in the government of the five geographical areas mentioned above, with the exception of Pennsylvania—and even there it is associated chiefly with William Penn—is not a matter of such common knowledge. The impression left on the mind of the reader after perusal of the book is that "The Quakers as makers of America" is no mere phrase, but the embodiment of a great historical truth. Especially interesting is the story of Quaker government in Rhode Island, under the Eastons, Coddington, Clarke, Bull, the Wantons, Hopkins, and others, perpetually confronted as they were with the difficulty of steering a clear course between adherence to their peace principles on the one hand, and their responsibility for the safety of the colony on the other. Here, as elsewhere, the discharge of civil duties did not prevent participation in the work of the religious body to which they were so loyally attached. Accustomed to the thought of "plainness of apparel" and "Quaker grey," one can scarcely imagine a Minister of the Society such as John Wanton, "a powerful and eloquent preacher" devoting "much of his time to religious service," appearing in "a bright scarlet cloak lined with blue." We read again of John Kinsey as Speaker of the Pennsylvanian Assembly, being at the same time Clerk of the Yearly Meeting. He became subsequently the Chief Justice of the Province, "and held the three offices combining leadership in Church and State." John Archdale, a Proprietor and sometime Governor of the Carolinas, whose memory of late years has been rescued from obscurity, is not left out in the narrative, a man who "possessed, in an extraordinary measure, the genius for putting his finger on cardinal issues, and for penetrating through the husks of controversy to the inner core of righteousness."

Apart from politics and statecraft of the best type, such allied subjects as treatment of Indians and negroes are fully dealt with, and there is a valuable chapter on "The Keith Controversy." We heartily commend the book to our readers.

ISAAC SHARP.

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That Friends in Australasia are prominent in opposition to the warlike measures of the Commonwealth and New Zealand is evident even from current comic papers. The coloured cartoon of the issue for October 21st, of *The Comic Australian* (147, King Street, Sydney) represents

the bombardment with paper and ink of a certain writer by a posse of men dressed in Quaker costume, and is entitled, " Billy and the Quakers. A recent ' Case for Labor ' article by Hon. W. M. Hughes, defending the National Defence Scheme, aroused the spirit of retaliation in the Peace Party. Billy : ' Help ! Help ! Save me from the Friends.' "

In *The English Illustrated Magazine* for November there is an article on the Burial Ground at Sennen, Land's End, Cornwall, and a copy of the inscription over the tomb of Philippa, wife of John Ellis, d. 1677. See *Camb. Jnl.* i. 447.

The Pennsylvania Society of New York (249 West Thirteenth Street) has, through its energetic secretary, Hon. Barr Ferree, published a full *Report on William Penn Memorial in London* (9½ by 6½, pp. 110, with twenty-seven illustrations). The memorial tablet in the church of All-hallows Barking by the Tower, London, was unveiled on the 13th of last July. Sections in this book deal with the Exhibition and Tea at Devonshire House, which formed parts of the day's proceedings.

Marshall N. Fox has sent home a printed report of *A Conference of the Educational Workers of Syria and Palestine*, held at Beyrout, May 3-5 (Beirut : Printed at the American Press, where copies may be obtained at one franc each, post free, pp. 54). Thirteen Societies having agents in these countries were represented. Foreign Protestant Societies operating in Syria number thirty-five. Henry T. Hodgkin and Marshall N. Fox contributed papers.

George T. J. Miles and William Richardson have been working for some time on *A History of Withernsea, with Notices of other Parishes in South Holderness in the East Riding of the County of York* (Hull : Brown, 8½ by 5½, pp. 286, 5s. net). Appendix VI. deals with " Quakers in Holderness," and gives valuable extracts from " Records of things done in Holderness Monthlie Meeting since the year 1669." There is a view of the Renish Farmhouse in which the first Monthly Meeting was held. On page 171 there are records of the baptism of several adult members of the Quaker family of Storr, of Hilston.

*Unemployment : A Social Study*, by B. Seebohm Rowntree and Bruno Lasker, has recently been published by Macmillan & Co. (9 by 6, pp. 317, 5s.). The book " gives an account of a detailed investigation of unemployment in York, together with suggestions for remedying the evils which it disclosed."

Robert Bird, of Glasgow, has presented to the Reference Library a copy of his recent work, *John, the Companion of Jesus* (London : Nelson, 8½ by 6½, pp. 376, 5s.). " The story is told in realistic pictures, giving form and colour as with a brush ; and to deepen the historic impression I have glanced at the world and the men of his time," writes the author in his Preface. There are ten full-page coloured illustrations and many woodcuts in the text. The short sections into which the book



is divided will facilitate its being read aloud to the children, or being read by them.

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In connection with the centenary of the birth of John Bright (he was born on the 16th November, 1811), Headley Brothers have published a pamphlet of sixty pages, prepared by Cecil Wedmore, entitled, *Sayings of John Bright* (8½ by 5, 6d.).

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Another book from the pen of Rufus M. Jones is to hand, *Stories of Hebrew Heroes* (London : Headley, 7½ by 5½, pp. 160, 2s. 6d. net) Children will be delighted with these unconventional recitals of deeds of old. The Author writes, " I have always believed that the cultivation of imagination by means of stories which *suggested* noble traits of life, and which exhibited heroic persons facing the issues of life, has a large influence . . . and that the cultivation of the imagination through the right type of story-material is one of the most important stages in moral education." Among the chapter headings are :—The Story of a Garden, The Story of a Great Boat, How a Boy Cheated his Brother, How a Boy Killed a Giant, How a Beautiful Girl Became a Queen and Saved her People. There are six coloured illustrations.

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*Mayfair* for December 7th contains a cartoon of the Right Hon. Lord Emmott, P.C., the new Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Alfred Emmott was the son of Thomas Emmott, of Oldham ; he was born a Friend and was educated at Friends' schools at Kendal and Tottenham. He was Mayor of Oldham in 1891, and has sat in Parliament for his native town from 1899 till his recent elevation to the peerage. For five years Alfred Emmott was Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons. The accompanying account ends thus : " Lord Emmott is another eminent example of the phenomenal success that has attended so many members of that numerically insignificant sect," but Lord Emmott is no longer an actual member of the Society.

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A German edition of Georgina K. Lewis's *Elizabeth Fry* has been prepared and published by F. Siegmund-Schultze, of the Friedenskirche in Potsdam. Copies may be obtained from Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, London, at 3s. 6d. net.

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The sermon, preached by Percy Dearmer, D.D., Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, London, some months ago, entitled " Do we need a Quaker Movement ? " has been reprinted with other addresses in *Sermons on Social Subjects* (London : Robert Scott, 7½ by 5, pp. 90, 2s. net). Dr. Dearmer writes :

" There is no time here even to summarise its history . . . let it suffice to notice that, decline or no decline, the Friends continued to be the salt of the earth during the eighteenth century, and are still to-day at the heart of all that is best, most strenuous, most serviceable, most Christian in the life of the nation."

A Quaker Movement within the Establishment would lead to the non-use of oaths, insistence on peace, freedom in interpretation of

Scripture, business on Christian methods, and, above all, to the belief in the indwelling Spirit of God in every man.

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King John's Farm (or simply King's Farm), Chorley Wood, Herts, in the great parlour of which William Penn and Gulielma Maria Springett were married in 1672, has recently been purchased, repaired and enlarged by the Hon. Arthur Capell. A description of this house, with several views, including one of the room in which Penn was married, appears in *Country Life* for October.

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Urie House, Stonehaven, N.B., the seat of Sir Alexander Baird, Bart., occupies the site of the old mansion of the same name so historically interesting in connection with the Quaker family of Barclay. Urie, or Ury, was purchased by Col. David Barclay in 1648, and was rebuilt by him. At his death in 1686 the property came into the possession of his son, Robert Barclay, the Apologist. On the death of the last Barclay of Urie, Capt. Robert Barclay-Allardice, in 1854, the estate passed into the Baird family. The burial place of the Barclays still stands and has been added to as a place of sepulture for the Baird family. Views of the present mansion may be seen in *The Scottish Field*, for October.

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In Henry W. Clark's *History of English Nonconformity from Wiclif to the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. i., there is a good, discriminating account of the rise of Quakerism (London: Chapman & Hall, 9 by 5½, pp. 439, 15s. net).

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Malcolm and Leila Sparkes (Long Gable, Gerrards Cross, Bucks) have brought out a useful little book for sale at Jordans Meeting House, entitled *Penn and Jordans*. There are twelve illustrations. Price 3d.

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The *Glasgow News*, of December 12th, contains the following:—

"On Saturday afternoon last a small company might have been seen assembling near the foot of that usually almost deserted thoroughfare—Kelvin Street, Partick. It transpired they were representatives of that small and little-known body of Christians known as 'Quakers,' who prefer to be known as 'The Religious Society of Friends.' It was not, however, their intention to try to proclaim their tenets to the denizens of Partick, but only to affix an iron tablet to the gate of a little plot of ground on the west side of the street. On this tablet is inscribed the words—'Society of Friends' Burial Ground. Gifted by John Purdon, 1711. Last used 11. xii. 1857.' By this it will be seen that it is exactly 200 years since this small plot of land was acquired by the Society as a burying-place for their dead, and that they so used it for the space of 146 years, doing so for the last time exactly fifty-four years ago on Monday, the 11th inst. Originally the piece of land was somewhat larger, but, a few years ago, the Partick Commissioners, wishing to widen Kelvin Street, approached the Society of Friends, and an arrangement was come to whereby the Commissioners took over the care of the ground, simply recognising the overlordship of the Society by a small annual quit rent. The high wall next the street was then taken down and the ground reverently cleared. A low retaining wall, with iron railing and gate, was then erected, and a flight of four steps led up to the now raised

surface. A footpath was made the entire length of the interior, and the remainder planted with trees, shrubs, etc., making a little oasis in that otherwise dreary neighbourhood."

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Prebendary Hancock, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Dunster, has presented to D. a copy of his recent work, *Wifela's Combe, A History of the Parish of Wiveliscombe* (Taunton: Wessex Press, 9 by 5½, pp. 296). On page 44 we read, "That interesting denomination, the Quakers, whose sincerity and devotion all impartial persons cannot but admire, were in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries very numerous at Wiveliscombe." Among items of Personal History appears an account of Dr. Thomas Pole (1753-1829), taken from a Supplement to THE JOURNAL; there are also three illustrations reproduced from the same publication.

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It is interesting to note the statement in a review of the life of Dr. Alexander McLaren, which appeared in *The Manchester Guardian* of November 27th, that "of his devotional reading he seldom or never spoke, but the books he always took with him when he went from home included Augustine's 'Confessions' and Fox's 'Journal.'"

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Sir George Newman's *Annual Report for 1910 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education*, dated September, 1911, is a valuable document of 258 pages, followed by fifty pages of Appendices (London: Wyman, 1s. 3d.). It deals with such live subjects as Medical Inspection and Treatment, Dental Disease, Education of Feeble-minded, Open-air Education, Teaching of Hygiene. Another Friend is also one of the Medical Officers of the Board of Education, Ralph H. Crowley, M.D.

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*Blackwood's Magazine* for October contains an article on "The England of George Fox's Journal," by Lydia Miller Mackay. Of Fox, the writer remarks:—

"He said some uncommonly nasty things about the ecclesiastical ancestors of most of us—such exceedingly unpleasant things, in fact, that we cannot be altogether surprised that in the hot times of the Commonwealth and Restoration he had a way of ending his arguments amid a shower of stones or at the open door of a jail. A perfectly calm and quite immovable man, standing up and telling his heated opponents in the plainest and most unmistakable terms exactly what he thought of them, must quite conceivably have been difficult to put up with. . . . He never lost his temper—he left that to his opponents; and he had the most exasperating way of getting the best of an argument. . . . He has inimitably racy powers of description, so that his *Journal* makes delightfully picturesque reading.' . . . It is like a little rusty gate which opens right into the heart of the seventeenth century, so that when we go in by it, hey presto! we find ourselves pilgrims with the old Quaker in the strangest kind of England."

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The thirtieth Annual Report of the Ackworth Old Scholars' Association (Sec.: Malcolm Sparkes, Long Gable, Gerrards Cross, Bucks., 8½ by 5½, pp. 149), has appeared. It is full of interest for those for whom

How much more evident is this when the new Cambridge edition is taken into account



it is specially intended, and will also prove good reading to others. Records of the past and information for the present are intermingled. There are portraits of Thomas Pumphrey (d. 1911), John Broadhead (d. 1911), Frank A. Bunting (d. 1910), Mary Dearman Burt (d. 1911), Henrietta King (d. 1910), Herbert Linney (d. 1911), and E. Booth Woodhead (d. 1911), and of other Friends still among the living. The membership of the Association is 2,505; a list of the names is given.

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Headley Brothers have printed for Francis R. Pryor, of Hatfield, Herts, a beautiful quarto volume entitled *Memoirs of Samuel Hoare, by His Daughter Sarah and His Widow Hannah; also Some Letters from London during the Gordon Riots* (11½ by 9½, pp. xiii. + 68, £1 1s.). Samuel Hoare (1751-1825) was a banker of Lombard Street, and lived in Paradise Row, Stoke Newington, and later at Hampstead. In Sarah Hoare's delightful account of her father occurs the following (page 10):—

“ My father also had a curious adventure with thieves, which strongly marks his habitual attention to truth. He was on the road between London and [Stoke] Newington in a stage-coach one night, and having some suspicion that it might be attacked by highwaymen, concealed his watch. The coach was stopped, and a pistol presented. The passengers gave up what they had about them, and he gave his money, and being asked for his watch, felt for it in his fob, and said, ‘ I have none.’ But, before the men went away, recollected where the watch was hidden, but not his motive for concealing it; and said, without reflection, ‘ Yes, I have a watch!’ and gave it up to the thief, advising him at the same time not to expose himself to detection by taking it. He hesitated for a moment, and then went off with it.

“ This story was made in conversation ridiculous enough, and attributed to scruple in having told a lie to a highwayman. No desire of preserving the watch would have prompted him to say what was false, but folly only would, on such an occasion, have recanted what was thus spoken inadvertently. I know not whether he was most distinguished by love of truth, or freedom from scruple.”<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Pryor's volume is illustrated with some beautiful plates of persons mentioned in the Memoirs. His Explanatory Pedigree introduces the well-known Quaker names of Gurnell, Bland, Gurney, Birkbeck, Allen, Kett, etc. See “ Friends' Quarterly Examiner,” 1911, p. 583.

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Richard Mott Jones, LL.D., headmaster of the William Penn Charter School, Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, has sent over a copy of a new publication, *Catalogue of the Graduates of the William Penn Charter School from its Reorganization in 1875 to 1911*, following a volume issued in the Spring of last year, and containing nearly one thousand names. There is also An Appreciation of William Penn, and brief notes of the fifteen Overseers named in the Charter of 1711 (the third)—Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, Anthony Morris, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, Jonathan Dickinson, Nathan Stanbury, Thomas Masters, Nicholas Waln, Caleb Pusey, Rowland Ellis and James Logan.

<sup>2</sup> This anecdote reminds us of a somewhat similar story related of Dr. Robert Pope, of Staines, see *THE JOURNAL*, v. 200.

*The Friends' Year Book for 1912* can now be obtained from Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, E.C., for 1s. 2d., post free. The new issue, the fourth, has several new features; in addition to the large amount of information respecting a great variety of work conducted by Friends, here brought up to date, there appear for the first time several valuable reviews of the activities of Friends during 1911 along the lines of Home and Foreign Missions, Education, etc. E. Harold Marsh has supplied charts representing Our Increasing Membership and Our Changing Membership, and Ernest E. Taylor occupies four pages with Notes on Recent Literature. Pages 131-153 should be consulted by Friends arranging for lectures during the winter. There is a Calendar of Friendly events.

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An address on John Bright, delivered at Rochdale on November 16th, by Augustine Birrell, M.P., has been published by T. Fisher Unwin, Adelphi Terrace, London, for sixpence net.

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Headley Brothers have published for May Sunderland McLaughlin a collection of her poems, entitled *Verse Thoughts* (7½ by 4½, pp. 55, 1s. net). The author will be remembered by her previous book containing delightful "Parables from Fairyland."

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Part I. of *Newmarket Notes* (*Prestatyn Hundred, Flintshire*) is to hand, compiled by Thomas Allen Glenn, of Meliden, Prestatyn, North Wales. The same author has in the press two volumes on "Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania," which are said to give much new information regarding those Friends who removed to Pennsylvania.

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*The Everlasting Mercy* is a striking poem, by John Masefield (London: Sidgwick, 7½ by 5, pp. 91, 3s. 6d. net). It is the story of a man who says of himself:

"I lived in disbelief of heaven;  
I drunk, I fought, I poached, I whored,  
I did despite unto the Lord.  
I cursed, 'would make a man look pale,  
And nineteen times I went to gaol,"

but who was converted through the medium of a Quakeress, Miss Bourne, of whom we read:—

"There used to be a custom then,  
Miss Bourne, the Friend, went round at ten  
To all the pubs in all the place,  
To bring the drunkards' souls to grace;  
She come to us near closing time,  
When we were at some smutty rhyme.

\* \* \* \*

She up to me with black eyes wide,  
She looked as though her spirit cried;  
She took my tumbler from the bar,  
Beside where all the matches are;  
And poured it out upon the floor dust.  
'Saul Kane,' she said, 'when next you drink,

Do me the gentleness to think  
 That every drop of drink accursed  
 Makes Christ within you die of thirst ;  
 That every dirty word you say  
 Is one more flint upon His way ;  
 Another thorn upon His head,  
 Another mock by where He tread,  
 Another nail, another cross ;  
 All that you are is that Christ's loss.' "

The dedication of the book is " To my wife," who, I believe, is a Friend.

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The Biddle Press of Philadelphia has brought out a second edition, revised and enlarged, of *Old Quaker Meeting Houses*, by John Russell Hayes, Librarian of Swarthmore College, Pa. (8½ by 6¼, pp. 240, \$1.00 net). The book now contains 166 illustrations. It is beautifully printed on grey paper.

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In *The English Historical Review*, for July, 1911, there is an article by Champlin Burrage (an American gentleman, who spent some time in D. several years ago) on " Anna Trapnel's Prophecies," which contains a review of a large book of verse, lettered on the back " Quaker Poems," once offered to the Reference Library by the then owner, and since acquired by the Bodleian Library. This book should have borne the title " *Anti-Quaker Poems*," as the author writes against early Friends. Mr. Burrage ascribes the book to Anna Trapnel, a " prophetess " of the middle seventeenth century, not a Friend, though so described on a scarce print of her, published in 1823,—" Hannah Trapnel, a Quaker and Pretended Prophetess." Some of Anna Trapnel's writings are noted in Smith's " Catalogue of Friends' Books."

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*A Quaker Royal Descent* sets out the descent of our Friend, Henry Stanley Newman, of Leominster, through many generations, from Edward III. Compiled by Josiah Newman, F.R.Hist.Soc. Quakerism entered this ancestral record in the person of Dorothy Onslow, afterwards Somerford, who died at Somerford Hall, 15 Oct. 1681. See *THE JOURNAL*, vol. vi.

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The ninety-ninth number of *The Annual Monitor* has appeared, full, as usual, of instructive records of well-spent lives. There are thirty-two memoirs and sixteen portraits. The Editor, Francis A. Knight, informs us that this is to be the last issued under his care. (London : Headley, 5¼ by 3¼, pp. 213, 1s. 6d. net.)

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The report of the Conference of Young Friends held at Swanwick, Derbyshire, from August 28th to September 4th, 1911, may be obtained from Headley Brothers, 140, Bishopsgate, London, for 1s. net. It contains two hundred pages of valuable and thought-stirring articles, as, for instance, " The Person and Place of Jesus Christ," by Wm. C. Braithwaite ; " The Ethical Application of the Quaker Message," by B. Seebohm Rowntree ; and " The History of the Society of Friends," by A. N. Brayshaw.



## FRIENDS IN CURRENT LITERATURE. 77

By the kindness of the author, a valuable addition has been made to the rich store of Quaker family biography on the shelves of the Devonshire House Reference Library—*Records of the Gibbins Family; also a few Reminiscences of Emma J. Gibbins, and Letters and Papers Relating to the Bevington Family*, edited by Emma Gibbins, of Edgbaston, and printed for private circulation by Cornish Brothers, Ltd., of Birmingham. This is a beautiful volume in quarto, of 343 pages, printed at the Oxford University Press, and contains many illustrations. Two genealogical charts introduce several allied families, among them, Palmer, Brueton, Tunstall, Lovell, Bowly, Aggs, Tregelles, Cadbury, Gillett, Storrs, Biddle, Shewell. There is a good index.

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James N. Richardson, of Bessbrook, Ireland, has given us some chatty *Reminiscences of "Friends" in Ulster*, in a book of one hundred pages, printed by John Bellows, of Gloucester, 1911. There are thirty-seven short accounts in this beautifully printed little volume, referring principally to members of the families of Barcroft, Bell, Bewley, Clibborn, Green, Haughton, Malcomson, Richardson, Wakefield. Price 2s., post free.

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Another volume of the Rowntree series has been published—*The Beginnings of Quakerism*, by William Charles Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B. (London, etc.: Macmillan, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 562, and maps, 12s. net). This remarkable volume is the result of many hours of patient research among ancient literature—a history based upon original materials, but presented in modern literary form. The Author acknowledges his indebtedness to the publications of the Friends' Historical Society.

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Of a very different character is another book on Friends—a second edition of *The Quakers, A Study Historical and Critical*, by Frederick Storrs Turner (London: George Allen, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. 448, eight illustrations, 6s.). Contrary to the advice of several Friends, the Author has reprinted his first edition of 1889, with some corrections and additions, rather than re-written the book in the increased light thrown upon the subject by more than twenty years of study and research. Thus the outward form is curious—e.g., "this nineteenth century" (p. 73), and the index is rendered useless by its having been re-printed without alteration of figures to suit altered pages! There are four mistakes in the short preface to the second edition. Joseph J. Green, whose "assistance and advice" is acknowledged, wishes it to be understood that he did not see any proof-sheets; he thinks that the author must have misunderstood him regarding the note on p. 97, which note is, of course, quite incorrect. Inaccuracies are evident in various places:—p. 2 Fox was born "1625," p. 26 gives "1624," his "suit of leather is not quite historical," p. 3, he states, himself, "he was made to get Lethern Breeches & Dubblet" (*Jnl. F.H.S.* vii. 78); Gervase Bennett was not a judge, p. 56; Bevan Braithwaite did not go to Iona, when travelling in America (p. 414)! The "latest statistics"

(p. 422) are taken from the Minutes of Y.M. 1900! Many Friends will object to the statement in a new chapter that "those who now bear the name and carry on the worship and work of the Society do not profess to enjoy the inward Light, the Christ within, the seed of God in the heart" (p. 412).

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While in attendance at Baltimore Y.M. of Orthodox Friends last Autumn, I met Jacob Baker, a Minister with certificate from Ohio Y.M.—an alert, hale, old Friend of eighty-four years of age. Jacob Baker, whose home is in Adrian, Michigan, has recently caused to be printed an autobiography, *Incidents of My Life and Life Work of Eighty-Four Years* (Richmond, Ind. : Nicholson, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 232, \$1.50). There is no lack of definiteness about this book. Of his conversion, he states, "June 1, 1863, at the age of thirty-six years and twenty-one days, at 9.30 a.m., I was born again" (p. 29), and of conversion he writes, "I most emphatically declare that such a radical change is absolutely necessary over and above the best religious training the home, school, or church can give" (*ibid.*). It is in such a book as this that the great revivals of religion in Middle and Western America in the latter half of the nineteenth century must be studied.

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Sections 2 and 3 of *Family Chronicles*, prepared by Lilian Clarke, The Old Market, Wisbech, have made their appearance (9 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 103 pp., 5s. 6d. each). Section 2 deals with the Chapmans of Whitby, and their descendants, taken from the Chapman MSS. "compiled, 1786, by William Chapman [aet. 73], formerly of Whitby, lately of Barnes, and now of Newcastle-on-Tyne, partly from his own knowledge, and from information of his Grandfather, and from ancient records." These MSS. include notices of the families of Temple, Linskill, Baynes, Moreland, Wardell, and Walton. Section 3 follows the descent of Ingram Chapman, and introduces Bensons, Clemeshas, Clarkes, Bleckly Smiths. Each Section is fully supplied with genealogical charts.

NORMAN PENNEY.

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## Divine Guidance.

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The following account was related by Thomas Wagstaffe, of Stockwell:<sup>1</sup>

My Father<sup>2</sup> one day going to Baugust [Baughurst] Monthly Meeting (he at that time living at Overton in Hampshire) intended staying all

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wagstaffe (1724-1802), watchmaker. See *Piety Promoted*.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wagstaffe's parents were Thomas and Sarah (née French). See THE JOURNAL. viii. 94.

night, and accordingly informed my Mother that she need not expect him home till next day.

About noon, a man came to their house and enquired for my Father in the name of Cousin Wagstaffe ; on which the shop maid went and call'd her Mistress, who coming interrogated him who he was ; he said his name was John Stansbury, that he came from Philadelphia, and had a sister married to Rob<sup>t</sup> Jordan, with many other particulars that left her no reason to doubt he was the person he said, she having heard of his unsteady conduct.

After having invited him in to take some refreshment, he discovered some solicitude, often looking through the window, which induced my Mother to enquire the cause of ; he said he had a companion without ; she said, " It rains hard, ask him in," which he did, and they both took their seats by the fire and conversed in a foreign language. Their looks on the children, who were running about the room, excited fear in my Mother, as she said she could describe it in no other terms than by saying " their looks were devilish." The washerwomen who had been employed in the day were so terrified, that they would not leave their mistress with these strangers.

Very unexpectedly about nine in the evening the shop maid came in and informed her mistress that her master was come home ; My Mother went into the shop to meet him, and enquired the cause of his unexpected return ; he going to the back of the shop told her, he had felt such an impression upon his mind of some danger attending his family, that if he had had wings he should have flown home.

My Mother then informed him of the two men who were then in the hall, upon which my Father went in and with a stern countenance inquired, " Which of you is J<sup>no</sup> Stansbury ? take thyself and companion away, I have no lodging for you, and do thou come to me alone tomorrow morning " ; which he did, and was reprehended by my Father for his unsteady conduct, having for some time demonstrated it. They went away to a public house in the town where was a travelling tinker, who had formerly been a soldier in Spain and understood the Spanish language, in which they conversed ; he afterwards reported that my Mother and the children had like to have been murdered, had it not been for my Father's return. Sometime after the tinker coming to my Father's shop, my Mother said to him, " Thomas, I hear thou hast said that I and my family had like to have been murdered, what reason hadst thou for it ? " He replied, " Ah ! Mistress, its true, for one night when I was at the Fighting Cocks, two men came in late in the evening, and talked together in the Spanish language, not knowing that I understood it, they cursed my master for coming home saying what a fine booty they should have had ; their plot was to have murdered you and the children in the night and to have stripped the house."

My Father's return happily prevented the execution of their design, and is an instance of Providential protection and preservation worthy of commemoration.

From a MS. book in the possession of Lucy Candler, of Tunbridge Wells, 1911.



The following Relation was received from Isaac Pickerell,<sup>1</sup> an antient friend of Reading in Berkshire, when Thomas Wagstaffe<sup>2</sup> with Rebecca Smith<sup>3</sup> and Lucy Bradley,<sup>4</sup> were on a visit at his house in 1749. At the time of the following occurrence he lived in London in the Borough.

I was informed, said he, of an antient woman friend living in Long Lane who had let in some discouragement apprehensions that as she was then but little known, her connections being mostly removed, friends would not permit her body to be interred in their burial ground, which, when I heard of, I with a friend or two went and paid her a visit. On coming to her habitation and enquiring for her, a little girl ran in and said, "Grandmother here is some of your friends asking for you," on which she rose up and met us at the door, and taking us by the hand said, "And is it some of my dear friends come to see me! The Lord preserve them and me to the end."

Having sat down with her and conversed about the subject of her uneasiness, we informed her that she might rest quite satisfied about it, for there would be no objection to it, and we further added that if she needed any assistance for her support she should have every accommodation in our power to procure her, which tended to revive her and she cheerfully said, "Now friends I'll tell you how I was first convinced. I was a young lass at that time, and lived in Dorsetshire, when George Fox first came into that country, and he having appointed a meeting to which the people generally flock'd, I went among the rest, and in my going along the road this query arose in my mind: 'What is that which I feel that condemneth me when I do evil and justifieth me when I do well; what is it?' In this state I went to the meeting which was a large gathering. George Fox rose with these words, 'Who art thou that quieriest in thy mind what is that which I feel that condemneth me when I do evil and justifieth me when I do well, what is it? I will tell thee. Lo! he that formeth the mountains and created the winds and declareth unto man what is his thoughts that maketh the morning darkness and treadeth upon high places of the Earth. The Lord the God of Hosts is his name. It is He by his Spirit that condemneth for evil and justifieth thee when thou doest well. Keep under its dictates and it will be thy preserver to the end.'"

To which she added, "It was the truth, the very truth, and I have never departed from it."

From a MS. book in the possession of Lucy Candler, of Tunbridge Wells, 1911.

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Pickerell (c. 1677-1756), of Reading, removed from London in 1723. See Testimony in D.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wagstaffe, watchmaker, born at Banbury, 1724, died at Chipping Norton, 1802. See *Piety Promoted*.

<sup>3</sup> Rebecca Smith (c. 1714-1768), of Nailsworth, Glos. See Testimony in D.

<sup>4</sup> Lucy Bradley, afterwards Ecroyd (c. 1735-1776), of Bromyard in Herefordshire, and later of Edge-End, Lancs. See *Piety Promoted*.



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