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### Announcements

THIS year the Society hopes to publish a Tercentenary Supplement to the *Journal* on the evening of 13th August at Lancaster, the occasion of Frederick B. Tolles' presidential address to the Society on *The Atlantic Community of Friends*. The Supplement will include the text of the address. It will be on sale at Lancaster after the address has been delivered, and will be posted to members in the normal way. A third number (the usual Autumn issue) will follow in due course at the end of the year. The expedient of producing a special issue available at the Tercentenary commemoration has been adopted to accommodate Friends, not members of this Society, who may wish to have the presidential address in print immediately after its delivery without waiting for its appearance in a later *Journal*.

Supplement no. 23 to this *Journal*, issued jointly with the American Friends Historical Association: *Slavery and "the Woman Question"* is an edition of the diary of Lucretia Mott on her visit to Britain for the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840. Lucretia Mott was a "bonny fighter" and her diary describes the scenes she saw, the people she met, and her struggles to gain admission of women as delegates to the Convention on equal footing with men. The Supplement is edited by Frederick B. Tolles, and should be in members' hands before this appears in print. Additional copies are available at the published price, 7s. 6d.

We hope as many members as are able to go to the Tercentenary commemoration in the North-West during August, will go with their memories refreshed on the story of Friends' early growth, so that they may themselves be ready to appreciate the, perhaps unfamiliar, scenes of the early labours of George Fox and the others, and also fit themselves to interest in our history and development the many Friends who are expected from across the seas.

\* \* \* \*

We print in this number an article by Mr. W. R. Powell on Quakerism in Wiltshire. The substance of his account was circulated among contributors to the Victoria History of the County of Wilts, and it provides the skeleton on which any historian of Wiltshire must put the flesh. The facts which Mr. Powell has produced trace clearly the decline of the Wiltshire meetings, and the confused succession of monthly meetings is directly the result of the frequent changes in the structure of the meetings for business made by Friends in an attempt to provide for the welfare of a declining membership widely scattered through the county.

In the seventeenth century, Friends' main strength in Wiltshire was concentrated in the high agricultural and clothing districts north of Salisbury Plain—in the Kennet valley and in villages and market towns stretched along the Bath roads through Chippenham and Devizes. When, about 1680, the Wilkinson-Story controversy split Friends in the county, Quakerism in Wiltshire was dealt a blow from which it never recovered. In neighbouring counties, and in centres of population like Reading and Bristol, Friends were able to ride the storm and, where differences were not fully composed (as at Reading), the Friends adhering to the accepted discipline of London Yearly Meeting were strong enough to build their own meetings and continue growth. In Wiltshire, with its wide rural areas, Friends did not recover from the weakening effect of their divisions, and the decay which hit many country meetings in the eighteenth century can be seen in operation in Wiltshire very soon after the dawn of toleration.

### RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Edward H. Milligan of Southampton is preparing a transcript of the minutes of Second-day's Morning Meeting of Ministers in London, 1673-1700.

## The Society of Friends in Wiltshire<sup>1</sup>

FOR the work of George Fox in Wiltshire see *Wilts Notes & Queries*, ii, 125-9, and *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. N. Penney (Cambridge Edn.). The subsequent history of the Quakers in the county can be traced from the MS. records of the various quarterly and monthly meetings, from the *Friends' Book of Meetings* published annually since 1789 and the *List of Members of the Quarterly Meeting of Bristol and Somerset*, published annually since 1874. For the MS. records see *Jnl. of Friends' Hist. Soc.*, iv, 24. The records are now at Friends House, Euston Road, London.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Quakers' story is of a decline which was gradual until 1750 and thereafter very rapid. The Methodists and Moravians largely supplanted them. An interesting example of the change over from Quakerism to Methodism is to be found in Thomas R. Jones' *The Departed Worthy* (1857). This book tells the life story of Charles Maggs, a distinguished Melksham Methodist. When Maggs first went to Melksham just after 1800 he made the acquaintance of two Methodists named Abraham Shewring and Thomas Ruddy. The family names of Shewring and Ruddy both occur in Melksham Quaker records between 1700 and 1750. Even more interesting is the fact that Abraham Shewring was known as "the Quaker Methodist" and that Charles Maggs found that "the quiet manner in which the service was conducted scarcely suited his warm and earnest heart".<sup>2</sup>

### WILTSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING, c. 1667-1785

By 1680 the number of Quaker meetings in Wilts had reached its maximum. The Wiltshire Quarterly Meeting then contained representatives from three Monthly Meetings, those of Chippenham, Charlcote and (Market) Lavington,

<sup>1</sup> This paper was originally prepared for the guidance of contributors to the *Victoria History of Wiltshire*. It is commented upon in the leading article of the present number. Sources used are the Minute books of the meetings (at Friends House), Friends Book of Meetings (annual), and other works mentioned in the text.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 91, 94.

and from the congregations at Alderbury and Fovant in South Wilts, which later formed part of the Salisbury Monthly Meeting but which may in 1680 have been unattached to a monthly meeting. Between about 1697 and 1717 the Quarterly Meeting contained representatives from the Salisbury Monthly Meeting, but in 1717 Salisbury, then the only remaining meeting in the south, was merged in the Lavington Monthly Meeting.

The three Monthly Meetings of Chippenham, Lavington and Charlote were united in 1775 to form the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting, but for another ten years the Wiltshire Quarterly Meeting continued to meet. In 1785 Wiltshire was joined with Gloucestershire to form the Wiltshire and Gloucester Quarterly Meeting. Salisbury was omitted from this merger and became part of the Ringwood Monthly Meeting and the Hampshire Quarterly Meeting. For the later history of the Wiltshire meetings see below under the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting. For a map showing the Quaker meetings within 20 miles of Sutton Benger, Wilts, in 1740, see Arnold C. Lloyd, *Quaker Social History, 1669-1738*, opp. p. 162. This includes all the Wiltshire meetings except Salisbury.

#### CHIPPENHAM MONTHLY MEETING, c. 1669-1775

In 1669 this consisted of the Particular meetings of Chippenham, Corsham, Slaughterford, Kington (Langley) and Lea and Brinkworth. There was no change in these places until 1729, when Hullavington was substituted for Kington with the same representatives at the Monthly Meeting. The meeting at Brinkworth was failing by 1750, and after 1752 ceased to send representatives to the Monthly Meeting. It was omitted from the Monthly Meeting list in 1762 and in the same month the minutes included the notice of removal of Thomas Young of Brinkworth to Frenchay, co. Gloucester.

In 1775 this Monthly Meeting was merged with those of Charlote and Lavington to form the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting. For the last 50 years of its existence the centre of Quaker influence in the area of the Monthly Meeting was Pickwick, in Corsham, where there was a Friends' school run by Thomas Bennet (d. 1764).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Journal, F.H.S.*, x, 203.

## CHARLCOTE MONTHLY MEETING, 1667-1775

On 4th June, 1677, this consisted of the Particular meetings of Bromham and Rowde, Marlborough, Heddington, Calne, Charlote, Purton and Devizes. The fly-leaf of the first volume of the register of this meeting is endorsed "Mens' Monthly Meeting established by George Fox in 1667 in Wilts."

On 4th June, 1683, Heddington was included in the minutes for the last time, its representatives being thenceforth entered under Bromham, which soon dropped its additional title of Rowde.

In February, 1725, there was a temporary change in the composition of the Monthly Meeting. Devizes was transferred to the Lavington Monthly Meeting in exchange for Melksham. The change ended in the following October, when Devizes again became part of the Charlote Monthly Meeting and Melksham reverted to the Lavington Monthly Meeting.

This Monthly Meeting was in decline by 1750. On 12th March, 1759, it was noted that the friends at Marlborough had asked to be excused from contributing to the national fund because their own meeting house was in need of repair. On 11th June of the same year the minutes included a copy of the letter of removal of Edmund Waite and his wife of Purton, who went to Witney, co. Oxon. For some years Purton had rarely been represented on the Monthly Meeting and then only by Waite. The meeting began to discuss the disposal of the Purton meeting house in the month of Waite's departure, and in July Purton was officially dropped from the list. The meeting house was still in the possession of the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting in 1777. Its sale was sanctioned by the Quarterly Meeting in 1799.

Meanwhile the congregation at Charlote, once the strongest of the meeting, was also declining. After 1760 it rarely sent a representative to the meeting and then it was always John Riley, who lived at Avon. On 13th July, 1767, Riley was transferred to the Lavington Monthly Meeting on his removal to Whitley. In 1769 and succeeding years there were discussions concerning the repair of the Charlote meeting house, apparently with a view to its sale.

The meeting house at Marlborough was again mentioned as in need of repair in September, 1772.

In 1775 this Monthly Meeting became part of the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting.

#### SOUTHERN OR LAVINGTON MONTHLY MEETING, *c.* 1680-1775

The minutes of this meeting survive only from 1704, but it was certainly in existence for a generation before this. In 1704 the meeting consisted of representatives from the Particular meetings of Lavington, Bradford, Warminster and Melksham. Lavington had existed in 1678, and in that year there had also been meetings at Cumberwell (near Bradford), and at Shaw Hill with Melksham, and also at Westbury and Warminster. The Cumberwell meeting was known as that of Cumberwell and Bradford in 1694 and from 1698 as that of Bradford. In and after 1696 the meeting at Shaw Hill with Melksham became that of Melksham. The meetings at Westbury and Warminster seem to have united by 1689. The joint meeting was known as that of Warminster.

On 10th May, 1717, the meeting at Salisbury (see below) was added to the Lavington Monthly Meeting. It was as a result of this that the two Monthly Meetings of Lavington and Charlcoate were reorganized in 1725. Salisbury was a long way from the other places in the Quarterly Meeting, and the purpose of the reorganization was to reduce travelling in the Monthly Meeting which included it. When the experiment of 1725 was abandoned it was on the understanding that monthly meetings should not be held at Salisbury and that the members of the Salisbury meeting should only attend monthly meetings as they found convenient.

The Lavington Monthly Meeting remained the same until 1775 when it ceased to exist on the formation of the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting. In and after 1751 the Warminster Meeting was usually referred to as that of Westbury.

#### SALISBURY MONTHLY MEETING, *c.* 1697-1717

In 1678 there were congregations in South Wilts at Alderbury and Fovant. In the following decade they were often classed, in the minutes of the quarterly meeting, as a single meeting. On 5th April, 1686, another southern meeting appeared, that of Stapleford. Salisbury appeared

for the first time in February, 1694, in association with Alderbury. Soon Alderbury ceased to be mentioned, and Salisbury became the head of a Monthly Meeting for the South. The Salisbury Monthly Meeting existed in September, 1697, but none of its minutes survive. It presumably consisted of Salisbury, Fovant and Stapleford. Stapleford was omitted from the Quarterly Meeting list in 1716 and Fovant was dropped in July, 1717. This left Salisbury alone of the southern meetings and it became part of the Southern or Lavington Monthly Meeting in this year.

#### WILTSHIRE MONTHLY MEETING, 1775-1876

The decline of Quakerism in Wiltshire was even faster after the union of its three monthly meetings than before. In 1775 the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting included 13 meetings: Chippenham, Calne, Hullavington, Slaughterford, Bromham, Marlborough, Corsham, Devizes, Lavington, Bradford, Melksham, Westbury and Salisbury.

Slaughterford was dropped in December, 1776. In the same month the Quarterly Meeting circulated a letter of exhortation and restatement of the Quaker faith. Bradford was dropped in 1780, and in the last five years before the union with Gloucester the quarterly meetings were rarely attended by representatives of more than 8 meetings on any one occasion. Nevertheless 11 meetings still existed in 1785, 10 of which joined the Wiltshire and Gloucester Quarterly Meeting.

The Monthly Meeting register for 1788-1800 has on its back page a list of the places within the Meeting, with their times of worship. They numbered 11: Bradford was again included. In this register the members of the Monthly Meeting are listed under three Preparative meetings, those of Devizes, Hullavington, and Melksham. This new form of organization had been decided upon in April, 1788. It was a return to the pre-1775 system under a new name. The Devizes Preparative Meeting was composed of the Particular meetings of Calne, Devizes, Marlborough and Bromham: it was equivalent to the former Charlcote Monthly Meeting. The former Chippenham Monthly Meeting was resurrected as the Hullavington Preparative Meeting; it consisted of the Meetings of Hullavington, Chippenham and Pickwick (Corsham). The Melksham

Preparative Meeting, the equivalent of the former Lavington Monthly Meeting, included Melksham, Lavington, Westbury and Bradford.

In 1790 the total number of Quakers in Wiltshire (excluding Salisbury) was 146 plus, being made up of the following : Bromham 9, Calne 12, Devizes 31, Marlborough 7 plus, Chippenham 3 plus, Hullavington 17, Pickwick 10, Bradford 2, Lavington 3, Westbury 2, Melksham 50. There were also 6 non-members regularly attendant at Melksham. These numbers included children. Eight years later the total had fallen to 113 plus ; Bromham had 5 members, Devizes 30, Calne 8, Marlborough 6 plus, and Chippenham 2. The figures for Pickwick and Hullavington are not comparable with those of the previous return, because separate figures were given for places which did not have a meeting : there were 2 members at Castlecombe, 4 at Sutton Benger, 6 at Westfields, 2 at Rudloe and 8 at Grittleton, as well as 2 at Hullavington and 3 at Pickwick. The members from Castlecombe, Sutton, Westfields, Rudloe and Grittleton presumably attended meetings at Hullavington and Pickwick and their total added to those for Hullavington and Pickwick comes to 27, which is the same as the total for Hullavington and Pickwick together in 1790. In 1798 Bradford had only 1 member remaining, Melksham 31, Lavington 1, and Westbury 2. The most remarkable feature of the decline was that more than half of it occurred in the strongest meeting, Melksham.

In 1799 the Quarterly Meeting sanctioned the sale of the Lavington meeting house and a year later the Marlborough meeting, long in decline, was dissolved : its members were given the option of joining Calne or Devizes and were permitted to meet in each other's houses.

When the nineteenth century opened there were only seven effective meetings in the Monthly Meeting : Bromham, Calne, Devizes, Chippenham, Hullavington, Pickwick, and Melksham. These were all in existence in 1810, but Chippenham died in 1812, Bromham in 1814, Pickwick in 1816, and Hullavington in 1818. In 1827 Devizes was also omitted from the list, leaving only Calne and Melksham. These remained (after the extinction of Salisbury in 1828) the only Wiltshire meetings until 1854, when the meeting house at Devizes, which had remained the property of

Friends, was again taken into religious use. The Devizes Meeting again disappeared in 1880.

Meanwhile the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting had (1868) become part of the Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting. A further reorganization took place in 1876, when the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting was merged in the North Somerset and Wiltshire Monthly Meeting.

#### NORTH SOMERSET AND WILTSHIRE MONTHLY MEETING, 1876-

The meetings at Calne and Melksham were still in existence in 1900, but their two meetings shared one clerk. In 1903 there were only 3 members and 5 non-members attending at Calne, and the 18 members and 10 non-members at Melksham included some who came from Frome and Devizes. In spite of these small numbers the meeting at Devizes was re-formed in 1904, with 7 members and 2 non-members. A single clerk officiated for the three local congregations. The Devizes meeting remained separate until 1908, when it was again merged in Melksham. In 1909 the meeting at Calne, which had had a separate existence since about 1670, was also merged in Melksham. It brought only 3 members and 1 non-member. In 1909 the Melksham meeting had the status of a Preparative meeting, but in 1915 it became an Allowed meeting. It then had 20 members. In 1918 the membership of Melksham was not separately stated, but was included in that of Bath. Between 1909 and 1936 the Friends in this part of Wiltshire met only at Melksham where meetings were held every Sunday.<sup>1</sup> In 1936 a new meeting was opened at Chippenham, more than a century after the extinction of the original meeting there. It met in the Railway Hall until 1938, later in the Co-operative Small Hall (1940) and subsequently (from 1941) at the home of R. and H. Tanner, Old Chapel Field, Kington Langley. This meeting is now Allowed. Another new meeting was opened in 1943, meeting in Westbury, at 4 Church Street. In 1944 this transferred to Trowbridge, where it has since met in the Deacons' Vestry of the Tabernacle Congregational Church.

<sup>1</sup> Since this article was written the Melksham Meeting has ceased.

NOTE ON PROPERTY OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN N.W.  
WILTSHIRE

In 1904 the Society held property in Wiltshire (in addition to the meeting houses still in use) at the following places: Heddington, Marlborough, Titherton, Goatacre, Hullavington, Pickwick, Bromham, Bradford, Chippenham, Devizes and Stanton (St. Quintin?). Except for closed meeting houses at Devizes and Bradford this consisted apparently of burial grounds.

## THE MEETINGS AT MERE, SWINDON AND SALISBURY

*Mere.* Founded in 1859 under Dorset influence. It became part of the Shaftesbury and Sherborne Monthly Meeting and the Bristol, Somerset and Dorset Quarterly Meeting (from 1869 Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting). To-day it has 14 members.

*Swindon.* Founded in 1900 and belonged to the Gloucester and Nailsworth Monthly Meeting and the Western Quarterly Meeting. By 1910 it had 15 members and 12 attendant non-members. In 1927 it was transferred to the Witney Monthly Meeting and the Berks and Oxon Quarterly Meeting. It then had 35 members. In 1950 it had 52 members.

*Salisbury.* As mentioned above, Salisbury Meeting was separated from the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting in 1785, and joined the Ringwood Monthly Meeting and in the Hampshire Quarterly Meeting, which in 1805 was merged in the Dorset and Hants Quarterly Meeting. The Ringwood Monthly Meeting was in 1810 merged in that of Ringwood and Poole, and under a reorganization of 1819 Salisbury became part of the Poole and Southampton Monthly Meeting. The meeting at Salisbury came to an end in 1828. It was revived after more than a century in 1936, when 3 members began to meet in the Rechabite Hall, 91 Crane Street. In 1950 there were 10 members and the meeting was recognized as a Preparative meeting. It is in the Shaftesbury and Sherborne Monthly Meeting and the Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting.

W. R. POWELL.

# First Settlement of Meetings in Europe

By HENRY J. CADBURY, Ph.D.

THE number and early origin of meetings of Friends in Holland and Western Germany is a matter of interest. Local records are mostly wanting, and the work of William I. Hull which would have told us more was left unfinished. For this reason the following summary, which was evidently known to him,<sup>1</sup> seems worth publishing in full.

In 1770 London Yearly Meeting appointed a committee to visit Friends in North Holland and parts of Germany. They found only one meeting remaining, viz. at Amsterdam ; but they took pains to compile an account of the beginnings and times of holding meetings in these parts in more flourishing times. The latter looks like a kind of directory such as existed quite early in other places. Their statements are usually quite definite, perhaps based on records not now available.

Their report, dated 4th of 8th mo., 1770, was given to London Yearly Meeting the following year, and this memorandum, though not apparently part of the report, bears date Fifth Month 23rd, 1771, the day on which the report was received by Yearly Meeting.

## ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF MEETINGS IN HOLLAND, AND PARTS ADJACENT

At Amsterdam the Meeting was first established in the year 1656, and held on the 1st and 4th day of the week.

The Monthly Meetings of men and women were held in the year 1677. The Quarterly Meeting was settled the same year, and the Yearly Meeting the next year, to be held about three weeks after the Yearly Meeting at London.

At Rotterdam the Meeting was settled about the year 1658, and held the 1st and 4th days of the week.

The Monthly Meetings of men and women were first settled in the year 1677.

<sup>1</sup> *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam*, 1938, 116 f. ; *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam*, 1941, 213, 294. Whether Hull, like the present writer, knew the document only from *The Yorkshireman* IV, 1836, 276 f., I do not know. No MS. list as printed in *The Yorkshireman* is now known at Friends House Library.

At Haarlem, a Meeting was first held in the year 1662, on the First-day, and likewise on the 5th day of the week.

At Alkmaar, a Meeting was first held about the year 1660, on the First-day and fifth day of the week.

At Lansmeer in Waterland, a Meeting was first held about the year 1665, on the First-day of the week.

In Friesland: At Leeuwarden, about the year 1670, a Meeting was settled and held on the first and fourth days of the week.

At Harlingen, the Meeting was first settled in 1670, and held on the first and fourth days. And the Men's and Women's monthly Meeting were first held in the same year.

At Lippenhuyzen and Gorredyk the Meeting was held on the first-day and the fourth day.

At Dantzic, a Meeting was first held about the year 1671, on the first and fourth days of the week.

The Men's and Women's Monthly Meeting was first settled about 1682.

And a Yearly Meeting appointed to be held, six weeks after the Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam in 1683.

At Hamburg, the Meeting was first settled in 1659, and a Monthly Meeting held first, 1683.

At Frederickstadt, the Meeting was settled, 1663, and the Men and Women's Monthly Meeting first held in the year 1677.

At Embden, a Meeting was first established in the year 1674.

At Groningen, a Meeting began to be held in 1669, on the first and fourth days.

At Crevelt, the Meeting was first settled in 1679, and held on the first and fourth days of the week. Their Monthly Meeting was first held 1682.

\* \* \* \*

For earlier lists of continental groups of Friends one may consult for 1677 the *Short Journal of George Fox*, pp. 237-254; for 1684, *Jnl. F.H.S.*, vi, 1909, p. 37; for 1686, Colchester MSS. 131 (C. Fell Smith, *Steven Crisp*, p. 18); for 1690, *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxxvii, 1940, p. 18. On the London delegation of 1770 see *The Eliot Papers*, edited by Eliot Howard, I, 1893, pp. 89-91, and Luke Howard MSS. 26 (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxxviii, 1946, p. 43). Perhaps one of these accounts explains the insertion of the item in *The Yorkshireman* of which Luke Howard was editor.

## Warnings and Prophecies

IN many places soon after the spread of Quakerism there are reports of Friends—both travelling ministers and recent converts—going into the places of worship of other bodies and delivering warnings to repent. Sometimes these actions led to disturbances, and a proportion of the sufferings recorded in Besse are directly due to them. It has usually been argued that the phase in Quaker development during which these activities took place was soon over, and that at least from the Restoration in 1660, Friends had settled to evangelize by less unorthodox methods.

This view does not take into account a considerable under-current of the old propaganda spirit which persisted throughout the Caroline period, and was strong enough to be regarded as “of Dangerous Consequence” in Queen Anne’s reign by Friends who had found in toleration the rest they desired.

The following notes may illustrate the forms these warnings and prophecies took during the fifty years or so after the King came “into his own again.”

\* \* \* \*

“If any Warne,” wrote George Bishop at the critical time just after the Restoration, “Let it be in the Authority of God.”<sup>1</sup> It was with the conviction that they had a message entrusted to them by God which must be delivered, that Friends gave their messages in churches, in the streets, and to the Protector or King himself.

The messages had elements of prophecy in millenaristic style of approaching doom, as evidenced in the ending of Bishop’s *Last Trump*.<sup>2</sup>

Friends and People all, hear whilst ye have time, a little time, a very little time, Turn unto the Lord . . . if you turn not, your day is closing up, your night is at hand which will never have end . . . you will be for ever seperated from the presence of God, and must bear his Wrath for ever and ever, if you turn not, and that speedily ; It is the last Trump, or warning to you from the Lord, through His Servant, Geo. Bishop.

<sup>1</sup> George Bishop to a London Friend, 2.vii.1660 ; in his *A few words in season* (1660), 4.

<sup>2</sup> 3.iii.1662. George Bishop : *The last trump. Or, One warning more yet to the people of these nations* (1662), 13.

These vague warnings can be fitly compared with the visionary character of some of the same author's writings: in his *Burden of Babylon*<sup>1</sup> he notes at the end

“ this Triumph I heard in the Valley of Vision, and this Burden I saw in the Valley of Decision, even the Burden of Babylon, and the Triumph of Sion as I was in the Deep the 24 and 25, 8 Month, 1661.”

More remarkable in having a personal interest were the messages and warnings given to various eminent people—notably to Charles II—either on some special emergency or requesting a general reformation. In December, 1662, George Bishop wrote<sup>2</sup>

“ To the King of England, These,  
 Friend  
 Ther is but a Minute between Thee & the breaking  
 forth of the fierce Anger of the Lord against Thee,  
 if Thou release not presently his People whoe sorely Suffer by  
 Thee in Noysome Jailes, & that unto Death. Moved of the Lord  
 I am to Write this to Thee whoe am.  
 Thy friend whoe truely  
 Loves Thee  
 Bristoll. 5th 10th Month. 1662. Geo. Bishope.”

Two years later, under the stress of Conventicle Act persecution George Bishop wrote several warning letters to the King, in one of which he included the following warning from the Lord against banishment for conscience sake, “ For, if you do, I will send my Plagues upon you.”<sup>3</sup>

Sewel quotes George Bishop's warning to the King of 29th July, 1664, against banishment under the Conventicle Act, he continues :<sup>4</sup>

“ Now the prediction of George Bishop was fulfilled, and the plagues of the Lord fell so heavily on the persecutors, that the eagerness to banish the Quakers, and send them away, began to abate.”

In this, Sewel is illustrating the tendency for Friends to look for God's judgment in the subsequent misfortunes of their

<sup>1</sup> *The burden of Babylon, and the triumph of Sion* (1661), 6.

<sup>2</sup> 5.x.1662. MS. in Portfolio I. 35 (Friends House). This concerns the persecutions under the Quaker Act, 1662.

<sup>3</sup> *The Warnings of the Lord to the King of England and his Parliament* (1667), 17. Also printed as a broadside.

<sup>4</sup> Sewel's *History* (1811), I, 174.

persecutors—a tendency manifest in the queries issued by London Y.M. asking for accounts of “ sundry judgments on persecutors.”

Mention might also be made of the warning written from Newgate by Charles Baily to the King, threatening him with a share in the whirlwind of the Lord that is coming over the nation, he having seen a vision of those allied with him feeding as for the slaughter, and advises him to “ avoid rioting and excess, chambering and wantonness, oppression ” for which the land mourns.<sup>1</sup> Similar in tone is that delivered in person seven years later by Mary Bradshaw of Bristol :<sup>2</sup>

“ Oh king of England thy wayes are not right, thy force is not good, I am a daughter of Syon whom the Lord hath redeemed out of Eygipt, & he hath sent me to Warne thee to fly out of Babilon & to escape out of Sodom. & enter into the Land of Zoar. that the Sun may rise upon the Land.”

The stress which deliverers of personal messages underwent before “ giving up ” may be judged by what Elizabeth Stirredge wrote after she had been to London and delivered a warning to the King<sup>3</sup>

“ My Soul honoureth and magnifieth the Name and Power of the Lord my God, for keeping me faithful to his blessed Testimony, and giving me Strength to do his Will, and made good his Promise, which was, *If I could believe, I should return in Peace, and my Reward should be with me.*”

Prophecies were not always in such general terms that whether or not they came true as the deliverer of them expected, no direct proof could be given against their truth. Solomon Eccles declared prophetically at Bristol during the controversy with John Wilkinson and John Story “ That John Story should that Year dye ; because he taught Rebellion.”<sup>4</sup> This was proved false by Story’s surviving the limited time, and Eccles lived to condemn his hasty spirit.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 4.vii.1663 ; see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1663-64, 266.

<sup>2</sup> 5.iii.1670 (message came to Mary Bradshaw, 15.ii.1670). MS. in Portfolio I, 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Strength in weakness manifest* (1711), 40.

<sup>4</sup> William Rogers : *The Seventh part of the Christian-Quaker* (1682), 79.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen Crisp : *A memorable account* (1694), 461. Eccles condemned his prophecy, Barbados, 30.iii.1681.

Warnings were not only addressed to individuals, but also to the world in general or to one particular city. Charles Marshall relates<sup>1</sup> how he cleared his conscience of Bristol early in his ministry :

“ in all manner of plainness, I have declared the truth as it is in Jesus, manifesting the many snares of the enemy that do attend Friends in that city ; and I am clear of the blood of the inhabitants thereof, and of all professing the truth therein ; and am assured that a day of deep trial will come upon many of its inhabitants.”

At a later date he gave a note of implied doom in his *Memorial of the Tender Mercies of the Lord unto Bristol's Inhabitants* dated November 1683,<sup>2</sup> warning them

“ But if you will harden your Hearts, and stiffen your Necks, and will not hear, my Soul shall mourn in the sight of your Distress that will overtake as Travail on a Woman, wherein your Faces will gather Paleness, your Hearts be filled with Anguish.”

Dorcas Dole wrote in similar strain<sup>3</sup>

“ And thee O City of Bristol in perticuler ; for thy Inhabitants have greatly provoked the Lord against them, and without they do speedily return unto the Lord with true and unfeigned Repentance, the Wrath of God will break forth upon thee, and there shall be none able to deliver thee from the Stroak of his Hand . . . for some of thy Inhabitants have committed no less Evil than Great Rebellion against the God of Heaven, in that they have not only rejected, but also despised the Appearance of Christ in themselves and others.”

Elizabeth Stirredge too was moved to write similar exhortations, and warned in her *Salutation of my Endeared Love*<sup>4</sup>

“ Oh ! thou City of Bristol, a City of the Mercies of the Living God, he hath highly favoured thee ; thou hast had a Day and a Time, wherein thou mightest have Inriched thy self with the Treasures of God's Kingdom, and mightest have grown strong in the Lord, and in the Power of his Might, whereby thou mightest have stood in a living Testimony for the Lord, with one consent, as one Man ; But now Behold, the days of thy Distress are at hand, and thy Calamity like an Armed Man.”

<sup>1</sup> Charles Marshall : *Journal* (1844), 23 ; fol. 56 in the 1704 edition. The date is about 1672.

<sup>2</sup> *A Tender Visitation in the Love of God* (1684), 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Once more a warning to thee O England* (1683), 3.

<sup>4</sup> 1683 ; reprinted in her *Strength in weakness manifest* (1711), 185-6.

What exactly the "Stroak" and the "Calamity" expected were to be is not stated, and so long as warnings were confined to such general terms, Friends (at this later date careful of their name and integrity) did not often take exception to these warnings of coming doom. During the last decade of the century, however, a certain coldness is discernible in Friends' attitude to those of their number who ventured to deliver such messages in the streets.

John Love of Canterbury, in Bristol in June, 1698, had an "Excercises in going thru ye streets of sd City with : A Meshed frome ye Lord . . . for which sd Excercises . . . hee meett with some Jelosiess in ye harts of sune Friends Concerning his being in unity with friends "

and thought fit to secure a certificate from Kent Friends as to his character and unity with them.<sup>1</sup> A bald minute of Bristol Men's Meeting dated 14th May, 1694<sup>2</sup> states :

" Upon the 12th day of this present thurd moneth 1694 being on the Seaventh day of the weeke Thomas Rudd one of the people called Quakers. went through the streets of this City of Bristoll with severall of his friends accompanieing him Lifting up his hands as he went with a Lowd and destinct voice with greate Zeale and weight of Spirrit Saying

Woe From God  
Woe from God  
Oh all be warned  
Oh to feare god.

also he the sd. Tho: Rudd past throug the streets againe on this 14th Instant . . . Saying Oh all be warned this day to feare before the lord the mighty god of heaven & of earth and every one torne from the Evill of your waies."

It appears, however, from a reference in Coole's *Quakers cleared*,<sup>3</sup> quoting from the *Spirit of Quakerism*, that Thomas Rudd was taken before the mayor and courteously treated, and his message copied and hung by Friends in their houses. Thomas Rudd is reported to have had a similar exercise the next spring, when he cried through the streets " O the Dreadful and Almighty God will Dreadfully Plead because of Sin."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Friars M.H. Bristol, records ; vol. 140 (Ministers' certificates), 1-2 (19.v.1698) ; see Richard Bury : *A collection of sundry messages and warnings* (2nd ed. 1712), 11.

<sup>2</sup> Friars M.H. records ; vol. 202, p. 91 (Minutes of Men's Two-week meeting). Compare Bury, *op. cit.*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *The Quakers Cleared from being apostates* (1696), 92.

<sup>4</sup> 6.iii.1695 ; Bury, *op. cit.*, 8.

A series of more particular prophecies and warnings and visions of doom occurring at the same time probably reflect the feeling among certain Friends that Bristol was a second Babylon. Isaac Alexander, a young minister visiting Bristol from the north in 1700, declared at meeting "That many people should be taken away . . . so suddenly, that they should not have time to say, Lord have Mercy on me!"<sup>1</sup> Samuel Bownas writes of this prophecy of mortality as to come about "as a judgment upon the people. for their pride and wickedness."<sup>2</sup> Bristol Friends taking note of Isaac's "strong and positive terms" "were afraid he was too much exalted in himself," and having been spoken to by some elders who advised him to return home, he went north. Later in the year, when Isaac was wishing to make another journey, Westmorland Friends reported their satisfaction in his deputation since his return and did not doubt but that Bristol Friends would receive him "in yt love which Edyfies & in Charity wch thinks noe ill but rather Couers weaknesses," he promising not to deliver messages without informing some older Friends.<sup>3</sup> Bristol Friends replied suitably that they considered him a sincere young man and could receive him with love.

More melodramatic was the declaration of John Hall, another northern Friend, in Bristol meeting in 1693:<sup>4</sup>

"Friends, Thus saith the Lord . . . It is my Determination . . . to visit some part of this Nation, and among other Places, this City, with a great, a dreadful and most terrible Earthquake, where-withal I will cause this City to sink into the Earth, and will make of the Place, where it now stands, a Pool of Water. And this my Determination I will shortly bring to pass, except the People speedily Repent."

The previous night Richard Parker, a Friend who had been greatly concerned against the appearance of luxury among Bristol Friends, had a dream and saw the city as if the streets were under water, the earth torn and many of the houses upside down with people removing furniture and goods in great haste.<sup>5</sup> Two years later he claimed to have had a

<sup>1</sup> Bury, *op. cit.*, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Bownas: *Account* (1795), 18.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from J. Blayklinge and others to Richard Snead and others, postmark 21.x.1700. Preserved in Friars M.H. records; vol. 139, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> 29.viii.1693; Bury, *op. cit.*, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

vision in which he learned the date of the coming overthrow of the city, but forgot the year and month of the calamity, only remembering on waking that it was to be on the 11th day of the month.<sup>1</sup> Another dream of a Bristol earthquake was that of Elizabeth Wilson in June, 1696, who saw men riding from Bristol on market day all sooty because an earthquake had shaken the soot down the chimneys!<sup>2</sup> More in line with John Hall's message is the account that Thomas Story saw in 1697 a vision of Bristol after an earthquake with only the spires standing above the waters.<sup>3</sup>

The message of John Hall in Bristol meeting in October, 1693, was confused with Thomas Rudd's warning in the streets in May, 1694, and retold by Henry Winder, the author of *The Spirit of Quakerism* (1696), to ridicule Friends. Benjamin Coole in his reply<sup>4</sup> admits some truth, but does not attempt to enlighten the pamphleteer :

“ something he has got by the end and as he thinks will Reproach the Quakers, and out it goes without Fear or Wit, Two Stories jumbled together with great Additions and downright falshoods ; and were it not for that, I should gratifie him too much, I would relate the Truth of that Matter, that he hath so confused himself about.”

The event shows how any extravagance could be twisted and turned against Friends, and by the end of the century, the prophetic messages which still came out (particularly against pride) were in definite disfavour as smacking of fanaticism and wild enthusiasm, not to the liking of the new quietism which became oblivious to earlier manifestations which attended the rise of Quakerism. Friends in 1700 did not take kindly to prophecies and they strove to persuade Richard Bury not to publish the account he had collected of various visions and prophecies recorded in the 1690s, and when (despite warnings) he persisted in publishing, the Bristol Men's Meeting testified against him in a strong minute as a “ whimsicall & disorderly person.”<sup>5</sup> Bury's

<sup>1</sup> Bury, *op. cit.*, 8. Dated 1695.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 10. No mention of this appears in Story's *Journal*, and it is possible that Richard Bury may misrepresent Thomas Story (see Bristol Men's Two-week Meeting minutes, vol. 2, p. 223 ; 29.x.1701).

<sup>4</sup> *The Quakers Cleared* (1696), 92.

<sup>5</sup> Bristol Men's Two-week Meeting minutes, vol. 2, p. 223 ; 29.x.1701.

second edition (1712) called forth further protests from Bristol Friends, and there was no voice raised in his favour when the Men's meeting deplored the wide publication of prophecies and warnings which had been given to Friends, and wrote to the Meeting for Sufferings disavowing him.<sup>1</sup>

One cannot fail to notice that the messages and warnings came through Friends who, if perhaps not so staid and solid as leading southern Friends had become, were alive to the need for reformation and repentance within the church itself. They, in common with other Friends with no such spectacular visions, felt that Bristol was too fashionable and yielding to worldly temptations: "Turn from the Evil of your Ways"<sup>2</sup> was the burden of their complaint.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER

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### More Members Needed

During the last two or three years the Committee of the Friends' Historical Society has made special efforts to bring to the notice of Friends and others information regarding the Society with a view to increasing its membership.

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ISABEL ROSS, *President*

ALFRED B. SEARLE, *Chairman*

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Men's Two-week Meeting minutes, vol. 3, pp. 137-8; 22, 24.x.1711 and 5.xi.1711. The book (dated 1712) was evidently in print at that time.

<sup>2</sup> The words are Thomas Rudd's; Bury, *op. cit.*, 2.

## A. R. Barclay MSS.

Extracts. Continued from vol. xliii, p. 16.

*Notes are not supplied to Friends respecting whom notes appear in "The Journal of George Fox," Cambridge edition, 1911, or "The Short and Itinerary Journal," 1925. The use of capital letters has been reduced and the punctuation and paragraphing adapted where necessary in the interest of clarity. The A.R.B. MSS. are in the Library at Friends House, and also available on microfilm.*

LXXX

JOHN ROUS to GEORGE FOX

Marsh Grange ye 12th of ye 1st Month 1688

Dear Father

While thou was at Kingston I doe not question but my wife gave thee an account of my travels I writing to her every weeke, & this is to acquaint thee of our travels since. Leonard Fell being much taken up about the lease land, & an expectation of buying corne for severall at London he could not goe with me as I expected. Soe Joseph Nicholson & I went to Sedber meeting the 22d of the 11th month which was a very large & full meeting & met Tho Robbinson there & at night we parted & had two very good evening meetings where many people of the world were. & ye 23d we had a very good Meeting at Grayrigge, & the 24th at Kendall, where was James Moore & another of the seperates with whom I had a great deale of discours after the meeting, but they are hardened in opposition to truth. On ye 25th day we had a meeting at Cames Gill & on the 26th day we returned to Swarthmore.

And on the 28th day we went to Hauxside [Hawkshead] & on the 29th had a very large & blessed meeting there, & on ye first of the 12th month we had a meeting at Keswick, & on the 2d day at Pardsay Cragge, & had an evening meeting at Cockermouth, & on 7th day had a large evening meeting at Broughten, & ye 8th at Holme, & on the 9th day had a very large & precious meeting at Murriss near the widdow Stordies, & from thence we went to Carlile & soe to Newcastle where we met with John Bowren John Langhorne & Robert Wardell. & John Carlike & John Bowsted went with

us & on the 12th day had two very large & blessed meetings there, & the 13th was their Monthly meeting, where a long difference among the glasse makers was referred to friends that were strangers, which was made an end of after neer two daies spent in hearing all parties, & I hope they will have a care of falling into the like for the future.

On the 14th Joseph & John Bowsed went to a meeting at Sheilds, while I with some other freinds stayed to make an end of the difference. On the 15th we had an evening meeting at Sunderland, & on the 16th at Durham, & on the 17th we came to the monthly meeting at Stockton, where we heard the whole proceedings of freinds with Richard Watson, & a paper was read which he sent to ye meeting to condemne his extravagancie in trade & breaking, which seemed a fine smooth thing at the first reading of it, but when freinds came to inspect narrowly into it, they found it much short of clearing the reproach he had brought upon truth. And soe it was returned him again. I find freinds in those parts have had a very great respect for him, & have yet many of them, I fear beyond his deserts, for divers of them are yet apt to speake very favourably of him ; but by reason of the influence he had upon many he hath made a great sporte among many poor freinds, for if he knew of any that had mony he got it from them, & among the rest he got 50 li from my Sister Yeamans & he bought the house he lives in, of [a] young man yt was an apprentice & gave him 5 li in hand & his bond & judgment to pay him 200 li when he was out of his time, which the young man depended on as a stock to set up with, but now he is out of his time is quite at a losse. & Richard hath morgaged the house to another man for mony borrowed of him. I hear the weeke before he broake he was at Durham & spoake very much in the meeting, & spoake after he came home very much of the service he had there, but when the news came to Durham of his being broake, people very much reflected upon freinds, & soe farre as I hear Edw: Haistwell & Nath: Wilmer are like to loose a great deale by him.

We there again met with John Bowren John Langstaffe & Robt Wardall, & Robert Lodge came thither the day before, on the 19th we had two large meetings there, & on the 21st we had a very large meeting at Gisborough in Cleaveland where was the lady Chaloner & three of her

sisters & many more people of the world, it was a very blessed meeting. & on the 22d I went to see Willm Pens sister & her husband who were both well & very loving & at night we had a very large meeting at Whitbey, & on the 23d at Scarborough, & on the 24th as we were going to Burlington we met James Dickenson who had been there, & was going to Scarborough, at Burlington we had a large meeting in the evening, where were diverse presbiterians who were very much affected & earnestly desired our stay on first day, & freinds being very earnest with us though we had intended for York, we stayed & on the 25th day had an evening meeting at Burlington key where were many professors. & on the 26th being first day wee had two very large meetings where were many professors & other people of the world, to whom we cleared our consciences & leave the Issue to the Lord. On the 27th we came to Yorke, & had a large meeting there on ye 29th day, where I got a very greivous cold that hath made me very hoarse ever since. & on the 3d instant we came to Swarthmore where we found them all very well. & freinds are very diligent in providing materials to build the meeting house.

Next 6th day come a weeke Joseph & I thinke to have a meeting at Yealand & on first day after at Lancaster & soe thinke to passe southward visiting freinds. & knowing that it is thy desire to hear of the prosperitie of truth, I thought it my duty to give thee an account of our travels hitherto, which if thou hast a conveniencie I desire [thou] wilt let my brother & sister see. & with the remembrance of my dear love to thee, my brother & sister meade, Ben: Antrobus & his wife I rest

Thy dear son in the truth

John Rous

Many Freinds where we came inquired after thee, to whom I remembred thy dear love, & they desired to have their dear love remembred to thee: if thou please let Grace Watson know we were at Staneforth & her father & mother & sisters were all pretty well, only her mother is something crazy. My brother & sister Lower are well with their children & remember their dear love to thee, he hath received thy letter but cannot as yet answer it for want of having the account from Swarthmore, which wilbe as soon as possible may be.

[address] For my dear Father  
 George Fox This  
 To be Left wth Benjamin  
 Antrobus at ye Plough  
 & harrow in cheap  
 side  
 in  
 London

[endorsed] John Rouses Letter  
 to G. F. from Marsh  
 Grange  
 12: 1st mo 87/8  
 R. Richardson may  
 Read this in the  
 Morning Meeting

## LXXXI

EDWARD BOURNE to GEORGE FOX. *Warwick Goale*,  
 . 6.xii.1660[1661].

Deare G: F:

My love flowes forth unto thee in the pure holy Immortall life, & friends here their deare loves is to thee, & our loves are to all faithfull friends in & aboute London. There are many of us here imprisoned in Warwick to ye number of 120 as neere as wee can judge of it, & amongst us some women friends. & they continue in goeing on in their persecution still for there were severall more brought to prison this morning. & what prisoners are att Coventry & in another place in this County wee have not certaine knowledge of the number of them, but wee heard yt there is aboute a hundred besides what bee of us in Warwick. & wee yt are here are kept close from comeing one to another.

There were some of our freinds here a little time since put into a close seller where they had not roome to lye one by another, & one of them beeing neere dead for want of roome & aire was brought forth very weake, & yet hee remaines sicke & weakly. This cruelty of ye persecutors hath caused a great cry against them from many in Warwick, since which time they have removed ye prisoners to a more convenient place, but they are kept close & there is little comeinge to them (or us) many times but with much difficulty to bring us

necessary things, but some times it is other wise. The last night wee were brought before ye Commissioners to try us whether wee would sweare, they appeared with much moderation towards us & a pretty savour was left amongst them, but when they saw wee would not sweare ye keeper was hasty in sending us back to ye dungion where wee remaine in much peace with ye Lord. After which I felt it upon mee to write somthing to ye Commissioners to shew ye cause wherefore wee could not sweare. This is in short an account of things here with us att present, as there shall bee an oppertunity & it bee judged necessary it may bee done more att large

Edw. Bourne

Warwick Goale ye 6th of  
ye 12th month 1660

Soone after I was imprisoned here I sent a letter to F.H. concerning it. I would willingly know whether it came to his hands.

Symon Horne, Humphry Beeland, John Tombes, Rich: Lucas, Thomas Cooke, Rich: Ishmead & 11 more friends are Imprisoned wth mee in ye dungien.

[address] For George Fox ye elder  
in London or elcewhere  
this with Speed deliver  
Leave this with Richard Davice  
Shoe maker att ye Signe of  
ye Chicken in Martins Lane  
neere Aldersgate London  
to deliver it as before directed

[endorsed] Warwick 6. 12.mo. 60  
Ed. Bourne &c in the dungion.

LXXXII

JOHN HIGGINS to GEORGE [FOX] & MARGARET  
[FELL]

London ye 26 of ye 5th month 1664

Dr Geo & Margt

My love in ye truth & covenant of light & life very truely flowes forth unto yee. Remembring ye daies of our first conversion & Infancy in ye truth, what travell & labour was

then for ye bringing forth ye seed & what dilligence & carefullness has been ever since for ye growth & prosperity of it. . . . It is now a while since I write unto you, haveing been some times in ye Country. . . . It is in my minde at present to let ye understand the present state of things here, & how it was last first day. At Bul & Mouth all was quiett & peaceable & meeting very thronging full, even more than ye Hall could containe, & indeed all meetings are very full ; In ye after part of ye day there was 2 meetings broke up. & many friends taken & sent to Newgate, there was aboute 27 taken at Wheelers street & aboute 24 from Mile End, & all sent to Newgate there to remaine, some for 6 daies were committed ; & some for 8 daies, so something is in their mindes to do. Meeting at Peele (where I was a first day) was quiett, & so was Hors[l]y Down meeting, & meeting at Pel Mel was quiet, & that at Sarah Gales's (so call'd) & yt at Thomas Lacie's in Katherens were quiett, & in Kent all is hitherto quiett, as at Dover, & Canterbury, & Cranbrock, & other places.

Wm Caton he writes me from Holland yt all things there at present is pretty quiett, the plague is much there among ye people but friends hitherto have been little infected with it. John Philley is come downe into Holland ; which news was very exceptable to us to heare, & this is briefly & in short an account of ye present state of things here, & here aboute, so with my very dear love & salutation I rest & remaine

your true Frd &  
Bro: John Higgins

[address] To be left with  
Thomas Greene  
Shoopkeeper  
in Lancaster  
For G.F.  
In Lancaster  
These dd.

[endorsed by G.F.] for G.F. from  
Jo: Hignons  
1664 whoe  
died in the trowth  
london

## LXXXIII

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL

29.vii.[c.1661]

Deare Margett

In him who is become a place of broad rivers & streams unto us & the portion of our Cup & the lott of our inheritance, & truely I cannott butt say our lott is fallen In a fayre & pleasant land, & we have a godly heritage which God hath confirmed unto us which is both sure & steadffast ; what shall I say unto the, ma[n]y words will not add to the, nether detracte from the, but however sufer me a litle. In him who is the eternall fullness & the infinite ocian of life & love, doe I most dearly salute the[e] . . . lett me tell the I am noe more weary then the First day : the sickell was putt into the hervest, when we went out sowing the seed in weeping & teares, butt seeing sheaves brought home, and full loads into the barne, & full draughtes catchett in the nett: hath made me loke beyond faynting blessed be the Lord.

I have noe certan thinge to write unto the, that might make the glad & thy harte rejoyce for what know I thou knowes nott or what doe I injoy that thou injoyes nott, for thou hast seen him upon whome the angels asend & desend: however accept of my love ; my harty unfenied imbraces in the life it selfe. & thou I know canott but owne thy owne & nothing else I would tender unto the nether desires that thou should joyne unto but that which is thy owne flesh. Margett, my harte is wide open to the in harty affections & the deare & unspotted love of God of which I have obtayned a good share for which I give the Lord thankes, but why should I multiple words when that which I have to speake of is without end & unspeakeable, . . . I am glad thou stayer soe long in that city in which we have had many a burdin & weary day ; but that frute is brought forth unto God plentiously countervayles all : & makes me forgitt travill. Thy service I beleive hath been good, & that which could not have been perfumed by many, but how ever God is equell & gives every one according to their worke. I have been northward in Northumberland, Bishopricke, & upon the East Sea & backe to Yorke, & treuly the garden for the most [part]<sup>1</sup> is very pleasant & gives a goo[d]ly smell, now when

<sup>1</sup> MS. has *what*.

the south wind blowes upon it dearly. Farwell in ye holy covenant of God, to thy daughter M.F. salute me dearly

Fra Howgill

the 29 of 7 mo. to Elsabeth Trott wheir thou lodges salute, whome I love in the lord.

[address] For my Friend  
Margrett Fell att  
Elsabeth Trotts  
in Pel Mell neare  
James

London

[endorsed by G.F.] F. Hovgell  
to M.F.

abought 1661  
read over

#### LXXXIV

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL. Kendall,  
20.viii.[1660].

M.F.

Much I have not to say unto the but that I love the[e] without all Doubte in the holy covenante of god, which god hath made & confirmed unto us & hath given us an asured testemony of his love . . . thy Letter cam acceptably to my hand, being only the Last day that I had to stay in Kendall att this time, which I opened & comunicated to very many bretheren who was with me att the opening theirott & was glad off thy writing. All things are well in thees partes blesed by the Lord, only the men in authority are like so many hungry eagells for a prey : & mischeife is their food, Its the Lord limite them not yett. Freinds for the most [part]<sup>1</sup> are above the rage of man or the furie of the opresor blesed be the Lord. I found drawing southward, & had intended my jurney ; beffor thy letter cam to hand, only I cam to Kendell, to visite Freinds & so to have passed & the next weeke intend my jurney only I have apoynted some mettings and shall be doe what service I can in my jurney for so itt is in my harte, so my motion will not be swiffte, only I have a desire to have seen the in that city befor thou had passed, butt I shall be content as the Lord shall order itt, for long

<sup>1</sup> MS. has *what*.

sufering forbearance & patience must be used to them now in authority, & they must be delt with as childeren, that I have clearly seen or else, as thou treuly sayth, they will devour att once. The Lord keep all in wisdom patience & meknesse, for that is the way to over come. & I am not in doubte, but the Lord will plead the cause of his flocke & will rebuke the adversary for their sake. I am glad G.F. is come, thou may tell him I love him, thats inough. I shall forbear writing, being I am straytened of time. But my deare love to thy daughtere & to R.H. & who of the bretheren as are their. Farwell.

F.H.

Tho: Holme Rememberd his love to ye

Kendall the 20 of 8 mth.

[address] These For Margett  
Fell thees

[endorsed by G.F.] F. Hovgell to  
M F 1660  
read over

LXXXV

FRANCIS HOWGILL to GEORGE FOX

Sunybank, 23 of 6 mth [1661]

Dear Geo

Whom I have alwayes loved from the begining and so it continiues now & I beleive will doe for evermore, . . . I have little to say unto the[e], butt judged it mette & my deuty to write thes few lines unto the[e]. Freinds in thees partes are all well & sound & honest & of stayed minds, easey to rule & easey to be intreated. Gods very glorious presence is in their asemblies, & a great increase in gifftes & knowledg & wisdome amongst many. Tho: Robertson is very weke, I spoke with some Freinds, who are gone to Scotland, to visette the poore flocke their, tow went lattly & some more hath moti[ons to] goe affter a season<sup>1</sup> . . .

F.H.

[endorsed] F. Hovgall  
to G.F.

1661

[address] Thees for G.F. dd.

<sup>1</sup> A tear begins here and runs to the foot of the page.

## LXXXVI

THOMAS CURTIS to GEORGE FOX

Redinge, 27th of 2th month, 1662

G.F.

Deare & welbeloved in the uprightnesse of my hart, & with that love that the Lord hath bestowed upon mee, doe I truly salute thee, the remembrance of thy former love is pretious often in mee, . . . deare heart gladly would I have beene with thee, when thou wast at Barbers, but could not, by reason of my beinge warned to be at the sessions,<sup>1</sup> wher ten of us apered & were indited for meetinge in a convinticle, in a contemptious malisious maner by force of armes contrary to the lawes of the Kinge, & this relme, & much such stuff & dirt was put upon us, but I tould the justises that there was not one word in the sumine of it trwe nor had I anie gilt upon mee of anie of those things layed to my charge. So they would have us traverse the sute, & give suertyes to apeare next sessions, wee tould them we should not traverse it, but if they would take our words to apeare we would come if the Lord permitted & that wee wer not in prison mean tyme in another Countrye. Then they tould us that they would take our owne recurrisons. Wee answered, nay wee should not. Then they charged us with contemninge the cort. Wee answered, noe if we had contemned their authoritye, we had not come theire, for that most of us were freemen of the towne of Redinge, & ought to have beene tryed by our owne sessions in our owne burrowhe, which wee did not now dispute but came accordinge to the sumins so that we did not contemne the cort, but would apeare if they would take ouer words. Then the justices consulted within them selves, & I doe thinke had it not beene for the clarke a bad man I suppose they mought have taken our words, but he tould them it was contrary to their law, so they comitted us to the goale, & made our mittimus for severall misdemeners & contempts.

Now there apear'd at sessions with us, 6: baptis which stood with us in the same & would not traverse ye inditement, expecting to have stood out with us, but when it came to the profe they beinge comitted into the custody of the goaler,

<sup>1</sup> Newbury, 8.ii.1662. Besse : *Sufferings* (1753), I, 13.

repented of what they had done & so desired leave of the goaler to goe into ye corte agayne & theire they entred into recurrisens, to apeare next sessions, so they were released & wee remayne in a good prison.

Our deare love is to thee in particuler. George Lamboll one is gon forth very ill, the rest are all well & in a good condition. This is as much as at present I have to signifie unto thee, my true & unfained love in the Lord is to thee in whome I rest

thy welbeloved friend & child  
Tho: Curtis

[address] Lett this bee delivered to  
the hands of his Friend  
G.F.

[endorsed] Berkshire  
T. Curtis to G.F. 1662

## LXXXVII

JOSIAH COALE to GEORGE FOX 22.vii.1663.

Deare George

With fervent, harty, senceare and true love, which is of God and with which my hart is at this time fil[l]ed doe I in the feare of ye Lord dearly salute thee, . . . And deare George it is now neare 6 weeks since I left ye citty of London, and I have been visiting frends about ye countrys in Sury, Oxfordshire, and Bedfordshire, and I Expect to visit frends alsoe in Hartfordshire before I returne to ye citty, though indeed I am not cleare of it, but deare A.P. [Alexander Parker] and Morgan Watkins being ther taks it at present of mee.

I believe thou hast heard of ye buftings and prisonings ther have been of late, but last First day I hear all was quiett and well. J: Audland and J: Story are about Bristoll, Joseph Coale gon westward. I have litle more to signifie to thee at present, only haveing this opertunity it was in my

hart to signifie my unfeigned love to thee, which I believe  
thou well knows, who am

thy in the lord

Josiah Coale

This 22th of the  
7th mo. 1663

[address] This for the hands  
of deare G.F. with  
care wher hee is

[endorsed by G.F.] Jsia Cole  
to G.F.

1663

LXXXVIII

JOSIAH COALE to GEORGE FOX

Chalfont this 11th of 9th moth 1663

Deare Geore

My deare love, I believe thou cannot but know is truly  
and sencearly to thee, Even ye true love of God which hee  
hath shed abroad in my hart, and which hath constraigned  
mee to give up my life freely unto his service, with this doe I  
unfeignedly love and salute thee . . . And deare George by  
this thou may alsoe know that I left things well, and quiett  
as amongst Friends In ye citty of London, from wence I  
came yesterday. And meetings are exceeding large, and  
pretious. Multituds coms in of ye world, and many are  
convinced of ye truth. Wee had our meetings peacable in  
at the Bull ye two last First-days, that is since ye new  
Mayor<sup>1</sup> cam into his place. Ther is hops hee may bee a  
moderat man, towards frends. But at Southworke frends  
was takne two meetings together and sent to prison to the  
nombour of about 4 score, wher ye most of them still remayn  
upon ye acount of not paying twelve pence apeece for not  
coming to steeple hous. And truly George, they are a very  
poore devided company and severall very bad spirits amongst  
them, and very unruly [*torn*] subject one to another. Deare  
Solamon Eccles, is still priso[ner in] ye Bridewell, and 6 or  
7 in Newgate but honest Amor [Stoddart] is at liberty and  
is now with mee, and his deare love is remembered to thee.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Anthony Bateman.

I left few of ye ministry in ye citty besids thos who are resident ther, only George Robison, and one Wm. Gibson. Dorathy Dury departed ye body last 2nd-day morning, And I am now upon pasing to Bristoll for a time, but must returne to Hartford to apeare at sesions for I was takne prisoner ther out of a meeting and comited to prison, but afterward they tooke my word for apearence about 6 weeks hence. I have not much more worth writing that I am now wiling to make mention of, and soe I rest

thyne in the Lord

Josiah Coale

I would bee glad to receve a line  
or two from thee.

[address]

this

for deare G.F. wher  
hee is wth care ddd.  
Leave this wth Thomas  
Wilan lining draper  
at his shopp in  
Kendall  
Westmoreland.

[endorsed by G.F.] J. Cole to G.F.

1663

this ar read

over

### LXXXIX

JOSIAH COALE to GEORGE FOX

Newgate London this 22th of 6th 1664

Dear George

My Love in the Lord doth dearly reach forth and extend its selfe unto thee and therwith doe I most dearly salut thee . . . And now deare Georg to give thee an acount of things heare and how it hath been of late, is in my hart at this time to doe. Yesterday was a weeke<sup>1</sup> after I had been speaking ye truth to ye people in ye Bull & Mouth about one howre and a halfe the shirivs [sheriffs] cam with (I Judg) neare halfe a hundred with him of ye citty oficers to breake our meeting, and after they had made proclamation in ye

<sup>1</sup> 14.viii.1664. Besse : *Sufferings* (1753), I, 394-5.

street for ye multitude to depart (for they feared ye multitude which was great yt cam to see what becam of us) they rush't in violently to ye meeting, and comanded mee down, but I was not free to com at his comand, and then they drew theyr swords and one of them layd mee on with a hanger, but strucke with ye flatt side of it, and ye rest layd on Friends with swords and stav[e]s, and soe puled mee down, and out to ye shir[i]vs in ye yard. And then I spoke to them of ye unmanlynes of theyr prosedings to com in such a posture amongst an inosent peacable people yt would not resiste thee, its far below ye spirit of a man. And they wer ashamed and comanded the swords to bee put up, soe affterwards they fectht out ye rest of ye meeting more quiettly, and 2 or 3 of ye offisers tooke mee and lead mee alone to ye Gild Hall, and afterwards brought Friends 2 & 3 and 4 and 6 at a time to mee, tell they had brought neare 200, and I drew them together about ye judgmt seat and had ther a very presious meeting, for ye powre and presence of ye Lord was plentyfully manifested amongst us. Soe after a while ye Mayor and Aldermen and shrev cam, but was soe imployed with Baptists and Pendants that they medled not with us, but kept us ther under strong gards tell midnight. Not permitting Friends to com to us, but they had on way or another turned out neare halfe our company. Then about midnight they brought us to Newgat (that people might not see us) & ye next day sent for about 20 to ye Gildhall and comited about 16 and lett ye rest goe, and ye fourth day they sent for mee and 11 more saying wee must goe before ye Mayor<sup>1</sup> and Bishop<sup>2</sup> to ye Gild Hall, but when wee cam ther, noe Bishop apeared, and I asked of ye Mayor for ye Bishop teling him it had ben more honourable to have sent him to ye Bull and Mouth with his spirituall weapons and theareby to have overcome us if hee could, but he would say little to yt but apeared very moderate to mee, and I had figne<sup>3</sup> talke with him, and hee tould mee hee had rather sett us at liberty then commit us, but hee could not avoyd it, for I must eyther pay five shilings figne or goe to prison 14 days. I tould him if hee would prove yt I was in meeting in other manor then is alowed by ye littergye of ye Church of England

<sup>1</sup> Sir Anthony Bateman.

<sup>2</sup> Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of London, 1663-75.

<sup>3</sup> i.e., fine.

I would ther pay him 5s, but hee would not say more, but left ye bench, and I was sent away. And then they caled in ye rest, on at a time, and comited them in like manor (they did it in an inward room wher non but them selves might heare, though many hundereds of people was without murmering to get in) and soe sent us to Newgate agayne. And on ye 6th day they sent ye rest, about 60 in all, to ye Ould Bayly and comited them for about 9 days apeece. But one 3d-day last, as I was speaking in our meeting in ye Chapell side, one of the keepers men cam and fectht mee away, and put mee in ye hole wher condemned men used to bee put, but kept mee not ther an hour, and on ye Fifth-day as I was speaking hee cam agayne, and becaus Friends stood throung about mee yt hee could not reach mee, hee fell laying on both men and women with a great staff, and ye felons fell one with theyr fists beating Friends, and of ye women theevs with a knife or knives threatening to stabb Friends, and did atempt soe to doe, but wer prevented. But at last they brought mee away and putt mee in to deare A.P. [Alexander Parker] in Justiss hall. And I wrote to ye mayor and sent a Friend with it, and hee seemed to bee wroth with them for soe abusing of us, and sayd wee should not bee soe abused, but hee would take a speedy cours to have it otherways. And indeed since that hee will lett mee goe over som times to them, but not be always with them, but I have very quiett presious meetings with them when I goe, and indeed ye gloryous and mighty powre of God even fils the room, to ye admiration of many.

And last First-day ye Mayor and wicked Brown<sup>1</sup> cam to the Bull, meeting them selves, and Friends was fectht out before them in ye porch wher they figned them and comitted them, upwards of 200, and sent them to Newgate, but they that brought them turned many away by ye way, and som of ye holberd men would run away from them and leave them in ye street, soe yt I thinke but about 120 was brought in. But Brown shewed himselfe very cruell, and pinched ye women soarly, and puled the heare of ye mens heds, and would take them by ye hats and bring theyr heads neare the grownd, and then cast theyr hats in ye dirte. Jams Parke was takne ther. And from ye Peell about 30 was brought to Newgate alsoe, and about 12 from Mile End, but

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Brown.

wee know not yeat how long they are comitted for. Soe wee judge heare is in all in this Newgate, about 300 of us. But ye lord is with us of a truth, and doth beare up our harts farr above all sufferings, blesed bee his name forever.

John Higgins and one more are in upon ye third acount, and at Hartford 8 are sentenced to bee banisht, 4 to Barbados, and 4 to Jamayco, and som more in on the 3d acount.

Deare George, pray for us that forever wee may bee kept faithfull in the powre and authoryty of God, and that his presence and bounty of love may bee always continued with us ; deare A.P. dearly saluts thee, and my love saluts M.F. and ye rest with thee, and I would be glad to heare from thee who am thyne In ye Lord  
Josiah Cole.

[endorsed by G.F.] J. Cole to G.F.  
 at London presener  
 1664

## XC

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL. *Appleby*,  
 18.xii.1665

M.F.

My deare and well beloved In the Lord God everlasting . . . My intire deare & unffeigned love is rem[em]ber[e]d unto the by these lines, which thou hath known & felt in years past : ever the same is to the and all thy children ; and all the people of God every wheir.

I have noe certan thing to writte unto the, save that I receved both thy letters from Lancaster, & I am glad thou hath a litle Liberty to be among thy children, for my own particuler I expecte none for I am invironed about on every side by unreasonable & hard harted men : butt I blesse the Lord I am well content & In perfectte peace, & the Lord hath lengthened my dayes beyond some time my expectation, that I may bear a parte with his suffering people in this day of Jacobs trouble, which the Lord shorten for his electes sake. I was very glad to heare thatt Beloved G.F. was well, & allso I begg off [thee] to remember me tenderly to him, as thou hath any conveniency for I have none. I wrotte once to him the last sumer butt I heard my letter was lyinge still in Scarbrough towne so I forbore to writte any more. I

could have been glad to have seen thy sons John & Willyam [John Rous and William Yeamans] But itt semes it could not be. Lattly I heard from London of the departure out off the bodie off dear Will Catton att Amsterdam for the which I am very sorey ; for the bodies sake he was the verey pillor off that cuntrie, he was a faythfull man : and a good spirited & indued with wisdom & knowledge from on highe.

Treuly when I consider of the takeing away off soe many faythfull men which could & would have done most service for the Lord in our generation makes my harte sad, & also itt is often in me, that intends greatt evill & judgment to the nations, though as for them I canot so much be sorey, for they are att rest with & in the Lord, & itts only their personall presence that we want in the body, for their liffe & spirit we injoy : well lett us rest in the will of God and be content & love & strengthen & comfforte one another & pray unto the Lord one for another that God would preserve his people faythfull in the midst of tryalls.<sup>1</sup>

Hear is a badd book come aforth off one Doctor Smallwodds a sermon preached att Carlile beffor the Judge, with greatt aditions to itt & printed att Yorke upon that subjecte swear nott att all, & from that Scripture he hath gone about to prove the laffullnesse off swearing.<sup>2</sup> He hath reed I perseive many off our writings, a very cuning subtill bad man he semes to answer all objections & argaments layd down by us, & semes to run down all & ride over all. His booke makes a greate noyse, In Yorkshire & those Counties, I am vexed with it, & seeing we have written so much about [*torn*] In time thinke itts inough & agayne what more can I say, yett agayne [*torn*] thinks itts pittty such a son of Anack should come in the rea [*torn*] & bost vaunte and glory over treuth and all Friends suffering. I am constrayned me thinkes to say something though, I confesse, I would much rather some other hand would have written for he is a learned man in letters & is full off authers & quottations & Scripture, so that

<sup>1</sup> The preceding 11 lines are printed in Braithwaite: *Second Period*, 219.

<sup>2</sup> The work concerned was *A Sermon preached at Carlisle, Aug. 17, 1664*. York, printed by Stephen Bulkley, 1665. (See Joseph Smith's *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana*.) For Alan Smalewood, M.A., D.D. (son of Thomas Smalewood of Egton, Yorks), 1608-86, rector of Greystoke, Cumberland, see Venn: *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. The *Sermon* was answered by Howgill (1666) in *Oaths no Gospel-Ordinance*, reprinted in his Works, published 1676, pp. 667-732.

he hath made an ill favoured imige with greatt limbs, that might affright some. Butt I have little of these weopens, I must content my selfe with a bag and a smouth stone & trust to the power off the Lord to give him a knocke and sett the simplicity of treuth above him, & though it convince none, yett iff we keep our owne, in this day off opossicion and blasphemy its well from faynting. Dearly farwell I shall be glad att any time to heare of all your wellffare or any thing that mighte ad to my joy

Fra: Howgill

Applby 18. 12 mth 1665

[address] For the hands of my deare Freeind Margrett Fell thes with care dd at Swarthmore or else wheer.

[endorsed by G.F.] Franses Hovgell to M.F. 1663 abought Smellwood his bouck & to her at lankester presen  
read over

### XCI

Paper by FRANCIS HOWGILL. 1662.

The cogitations of my heart have been many deep & ponderous some monthes, weekes & days conceirning his people which he hath raised to bear testimony unto his name . . . and while I was waiting out of all vissible things & quite out of ye world in my spirit, & my heart upon nothing but ye liveing God, the Lord oppened ye springs of ye great deep, & overflowed my whole heart with life & love, and my eyes were as a fountain because of tears of joy because of his heritage of whom he shewed me, & spake unto me in a full fresh liveing power, & a holy full testimony. So that my heart was ravished therewith with joy unspeakable, & I was out of ye body, with God in his heavenly parradice where I saw & felt things unutterable & beyond all demonstration or speech, at last ye life closed with my understanding, & my spirit listened unto him, & ye everlasting God said, shall I hide anything from them yt seek my face in righteousness, nay, I will manifest it to them yt fear me. I will speake, do thou listen, & publish it among all my people that they may be comforted & thou satisfied, & thus said ye liveing God of heaven & earth

Upon ye 28th of ye 3d mo 1662.

The sun shall leave its shineing brightnes & cease to give light to ye world, and ye moon shal be altogether darkness & give no light unto ye night, the starrs shal cease to know their office or place, my covenant with day & night times & seasons shal sooner come to an end then the covenant I have made with this people (into which they are entered with me) shal end or be broken & my word is unchangable, yea, though ye powers of darknes & hell combind against them, & the jawes of death open its mouth, yet I will deliver them & lead them through all . . . These words are holy faithfull eternal good & true, blessed are they that heareth & beleiveth unto ye end and because of them no strength was left in me for a while, but at last my heart was filled with joy even as when ye Ark of God was brought from ye house of Obed-Edom, when David danced before it & Israel shouted for joy.

Francis Howgill

Your goales we fear not, no nor banishment  
 Terrors nor threats can ere make us lament  
 For such we are as fear ye liveing God  
 Not being vexed by persecutions rod  
 Away hipocrisie, adew false fear  
 Immortal life's ye crown which we doe bear  
 Which can not be remov'd from us away  
 That makes us scorn your threatenings every day  
 These are our prayers & thus our souls doe cry  
 Let justice live & all oppression dy.

4th mo, 1662

[on the back]

My dear freinds & Brethren

Keep in ye seed of peace which was before enmity & adversary was, in which you will have life, peace, & unity, & dominion, then in yt you will know Christ Jesus reign before ye world began, in which you will know ye election before ye world began & sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus above all ye earthly places belowe & mans traditions & inventions & handy workes, sitting in Christ Jesus keep out of them & above them.

G.F.

Let no freind of truth be staggered for truth shall stand over all . . . [a short paragraph signed] J.S.<sup>1</sup>

[endorsed] A noate of F.H.

<sup>1</sup> John Story ?

## XCII

FRANCIS HOWGILL to GEORGE FOX. *Appleby*,  
23.i.[1663/4].<sup>1</sup>

Dear Geo

My treue & unfeigned love reacheth unto the in that which was From everlasting & is to everlasting, which the Lord hath girded my harte with, and strengthened me with in the midst of all oposition & gaynesaying & Contridiction of this generation . . . I had good liberty of speech, & good audience beffor the judges & the greatt men of the cuntree & the wholle cuntrie; Indeed the Lord made me without Fear, & girded my hart with strength, & opened my mouth in wisdome, so that I gayned upon our adversaries glory be to God alone, who is still a present help in the time of need.

Now I shall give you a shorte acounte of the prosedings at Apellby as relating to us, & treuth; I coming to the towne, imediatly went to the Clarke of the Asise beffor the judges came in, & tould him I was come not knowing whether they expected my apearne or not he tould me I did very well, & sayd he would aquent the judges, & withall tould me the judges had heard of me att London. I sayd, nothing but well I hope, & he sayd noe, he would only aquent them, & so I should ingage to apeare the next Assise to my indittment, & I should not apear In courte I bid him doe what ye would & iff it was so, I should quickly goe out of the towne for I had noe other ocation, but yett still it was in me I must apear publickly in courte.

In the mean time Philip Musgrove<sup>2</sup> infformed the judges of me and that I was a person dangerous, & a ringleader & the like and kept up publicke metings of dangerous consequence destructive to the peace of the nation. So they concluded I should apear In court, & so the Clerke infformed me & tould me about what time I should be caled. So they began the courte & the judge<sup>3</sup> gave his charge to the Grand Jurey, In which he sayd their was a sorte of people who

<sup>1</sup> See the accounts of the proceedings in Howgill's Works (*Dawnings of the Gospel-Day*, 1676), signature a2b-b1b; and in Besse: *Sufferings* (1753), II, 11-12.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Philip Musgrave.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Twisden (1602-83).

under pretence of conscience & religion who semed to build upon the Kings Declaration from Brada & under the colour of this hatched rebellions, treasons, & the like, & gave the Grand Jurey charge to make inquiry of them, for the preservation of the peace of the nation. So the[y] impaneled the juries & brought out four to the barr & inditted them of high treason; & in the midst of this the caled me to the barr, And the judge spoke calmely to me and tould me the face of things was altered now since the last asisse, & made a large spech to me & the cuntrie, telling me that in all sectes under pretence of consience did violate the lawes & acted treasons and rebellions, as was manyfest, not that he had any thing to acuse me of, but seing the Oath of Alegence was tendered me, & I reffused it, it was loked upon that such persons wear enimes to the King & goverment & tould me they would not trouble me to answer my inditement now but only to apear to itt the Assise, in the mean time to enter in recognisance for good behaviour. Unto which, I desired in meknesse liberty of spech & audience, which I had very largely without interuption. And sayd to Judg Twisden, thou knowes very well upon a slender or noe account I was brought beffor the the last Assize wheirin thou was pleased to tender me the Othe of Aleigance though I beleive both thou & the wholle courte knew it was receved principall amongst us not to swear att all. Many reasons I gaue the[e] then & more I have to give, If I may be h[e]ard. For it may seme an absurd thing to you that I should reffuse it if I doe not give reasons, wheirffor I did give divers then & now more I might add, which I had a pretty time to declare in; and tould the judge I was none of those that made religion a cloake off malitiousnesse, nor conscience a cloke to cary on plotts or conspirisies, the Lord had redemed me out of those things, and seing I was ingage to apear att the A[ss]ise next I desired the judge that noe further thing might be required of me. He tould me I must doe it enter in bond for good behaviour in this dangerous time & wished consider of it & tell them then or beffor the Assise broke up, I could then: but I rather deffered my positive answer one day or tow: upon the second day they caled me agayne affter they had inditted other 3 upon the account of high treason, And the judge began agayne with long speche about treason & rebeilon & tould the cuntrie all those things was caried on

under prettence of<sup>1</sup> religion, and amongst the rest acused the Quackers, my spirite was loded & greived yet I bore till he had done that I might answer, I tould him as to these I was cleare & I hoped the courte nor cuntrie hath nothing to lay to my charge, & I blessed the Lord I had nothing to charge my selffe withall, for I loved peace & sought with all men, & tould him seing he was pleased to lett me answer to my inditment the next assise that I was willing & I had been of good behaviour & should be but I[t] semed to me a hard thing seing I was obleiged to answer to an inditment of that consernment it prosecuted agaynst me, as extended the losse of my liberty for liffe & my estate for ever, I hoped the courte did not envie my liberty for so litle a time as 5 monthes, but still the judge presed & the other judge<sup>2</sup> also that they did not desire my restraynt iff I would enter in bond on this account but because I putt on the thing as far as I could, I heard Danyall Phleming<sup>3</sup> had another inditment ready agaynst me about a metting & stoed up & sayd to the judg, my Lord he is a great speaker & the Quackers canott spar him, the judg answered let him be what he will iff he will enter this bond he shall have his liberty, the Judg Turner stode up and sayd, what doe you talke of conscience we medle not with your conscience but you keep up great mettings & goes not to the church, I tould him we wear falen into a sad age iff meting together in a peaceble maner in the feare of God without armes or force or intention of hurte to any man, only to exorte one another & to be steadfast in the fayth & to walke in righteousnesse & to pray togher in the Holy Ghost as the primitive Chrystians did of ould, that this should be reckoned as breach of peace & misbehavior. Further I tould them itt was a reseaved principall amongst us that Christ kingdome must not nor could not be sett up by force of carnall weapons, & we wear come unto the Prince of peace & could not learn war any more but could love our enimes, & so whatever jelosie they might have at us, this was the treuth, if I had 20 lives I durst ingage them all for the body of Quackers for ever having any hand in war or things of that nature, for all such as wear found in any thing of that nature I did disowne

<sup>1</sup> MS. has &.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Christopher Turner (1607-75), baron of the Exchequer.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Fleming. See *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xliii, pp. 46-50.

them, nay further I sayd if their wear any such they wear not of us. With that Philipe Musgrove stode up & sayd, my Lord what as this jentellman hath sayd cannott be treue, for we find by experience in this last plott<sup>1</sup> them to be the only inteligencers from all partes of the nation, & further sayd, my lord we have put them in preson once & agayne & fined them & yett they still persiste, & as soone as they gitt oute meets agayne. Also John Louth<sup>2</sup> the elder, he stode up & sayd, my lord they grow insolent & notwithstanding all lawes & the seveir exertion of them yett the[y] grow upon us & their metings are dangerous as we se by this sad effecte. With that Philip Musgrove puled out a paper in greatt capitall letters, I believe it was thy hand G.F. For I knew it att a good distance & he gave the judge it & the judge the Clarke & handed it From one to another & reed it, but not up. With that Phleming stode & tould them he had writen to his brother & some other justis who still did mette in another county to apr[e]hend them & send them to Lancaster amonst which one died, & they brought his body through the cuntrie & the Quackers sett this paper<sup>3</sup> on his corpes, so all these things mett together in one & came agaynst me. The lord made me bould & I sayd notwithstanding hear hath been diligent Inqueary by the Grand Jurey & the cuntrie about this plott; yett whatt had they found agaynst the Quackers; Philipe Musgrove tould me of one Fawcett<sup>4</sup> that brought inteligence from the County of Durham & some from Leeds to Cap Atkinson<sup>5</sup> I tould him Fawcett we had not owned this 6 years; & though peradventer he or any other in this county or else wheir so reputed; should be brought under conviction of guilt by the law & peradventer suffer acording to the law; yett did beleive any or all of such, if any such weare, that they would testeiffe For us though agayn themselves, that the body of Friends & meettings everywheir did not owne them in it, & theirffor desired the judg not to represent us so hardly to the cuntrie for God was with us & on our side, & had kept us from evils & temptations &

<sup>1</sup> The Kaber Rigg plot.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Lowther (1605-75). His son, John (1628-67?), was M.P. for Appleby, 1661-7, and father of John, 1st Viscount Lonsdale.

<sup>3</sup> See Besse: *Sufferings* (1753), II, 12, for the paper affixed to the coffin of Samuel Sandys.

<sup>4</sup> Reginald Fawcett, of Ravenstonedale. See *Second Period*, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Atkinson, of Mallerstang.

plotts & rebellions, notwithstanding all our sufferings & provocations, & I did beleive would doe for ever, & that glourious truthe of God maniffest amongst us must outlive all its enimies.

Oh G:F I was so clear in my harte, that whatever came into itt I spoke it without feare, so att last the judge sayd he & the gentellmen had spent much time with me & he would discourse noe more ; so I tould him I should be shorte also & not trouble them more, that I was willing to apeare to my inditment att the Asisses & to live in peace & quitnesse as I had done if that would sattisffie them, but I must enter in bond or noe liberty, so then I tould them iff I should doe so I wear trecherious to God & to my owne consience & they would loke upon me as an hipocritt, so I tould them I could not doe it & so [they] bad the goaler take him away & when I was goeing, I sayd the fear off God be amongst [you] & the judge bad him lett me alone, iff I would say any more but I was secretly clear and the hartes of people weare tender & the cuntrie very affectionatte to me.

Hear is near 12 young men brought to prison the weke beffor for the meting, but none caled but my selffe & the justises tendered them liberty on the same acounte If they would enter in bond for good behavior & that I se they will make their generall rule every wheir to breake the metings as they judge. Hear was 4 condemned 3 executed & one reprived, and all those prisoners which wear reckoned Quackers by them, nothing was proved agaynst them so they are att liberty upon bond to apeare att the Asise. Thus I have given you a short acount. With my dear love to M.F. & all the prisoners. I have not had perfectte knowledg of their prosedings with you. By accident I se an account of the Assises drawn up by Philip Mus[g]rove which was sent by the post to the King & so I beleive will come in the News bo[o]ke to doe us harme, the thing was this declaring about the plott 2 young men he sayth came from Leeds that wear Quackers, & gaue inteligence to Cap: Atkinson the evidence in courte was thise that tow young men that wear strangers came to Capten Akinson, the[y] asked what they wear & the evidence sayd he know not they wear sober men & Philip hath putt it in Quackers. We tould some of the justises of it & tould them it was wrong & they wronged us & one said Philip Musgrove did it & so putt it off themselves & thus

they invent mischeiffe ever way agaynst us but the Lord is on our side

Your dear Bro: F.H.

Apelby 23 of this i month

[endorsed by G.F.] to gF. F. Hovgell apel  
be presen abought  
1664

[endorsed] Fr: Howgill's letter to GF. shewing something in  
Fra Howgill's letter to G.F.  
giveing some Acc[oun]t of his Sufferings for freind [*struck through*] Truth

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### Gulielma Penn's Grave

FOR nearly 90 years the grave of William Penn's first wife Gulielma, in the old burial ground at Jordans, has been marked by a stone bearing in error the date of the death of one of her infant daughters of the same name who was buried near.

Any seventeenth-century stones there may have been would be removed about 1717 in accordance with the then new testimony of the society against tombstones. When the present stones were erected in 1862 or 1863 the records of burials were misread.

After a careful examination by Henry J. Cadbury of all the available evidence as to both burials, the stone has been recut with the correct date. Gulielma Penn died on 23rd February, 1694 (xii. mo. 1693, old style).

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At the close of an article on *Cromwell's Master of the Horse, and other Claypoles of Northborough* (*Northamptonshire past and present*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1951, pp. 23-33), M. Urwick Smith devotes a paragraph to James Claypole, the Quaker merchant of London, treasurer of the Society of Free Traders, who went out to Pennsylvania in 1682. The author presumes him to be the elder brother of Adam Claypole of Northborough and West Deeping (1622-73). In connection with Elizabeth Claypole, Oliver Cromwell's daughter, the author does not mention George Fox's letter to her and her reported reception of it (see note in *Camb. Journal*, I, 457; text in Ellwood editions).

## Recent Publications

*Towards Undiscovered Ends: Friends and Russia for 300 Years.* By Anna Brinton. Pendle Hill Pamphlets, No. 62. 1951. Pp. 48. 35 cents.

This booklet surveys the relationships which have, very intermittently, existed between Friends and Russian rulers or Russian citizens, from Peter the Great's visit to Deptford Meeting in 1697, until the mission of English Friends to Moscow in 1951.

There are sections entitled as follows: "Czars at Meeting"; "A Quaker Agriculturist", on Daniel Wheeler; "Religious Visits with Social Concern," on Stephen Grellet, William Allen, Thomas Shillitoe; "Political Quakers and Russia," referring to William Penn, John Bellers, John Bright, Joseph Sturge; "Friends and the Pacifist Sects," i.e. Molokans, Mennonites, Doukhobors; "Relief and Reconstruction," on help given between 1856 and 1948; "Publications in Russian, and about East-West Tension"; "Mission to Moscow, 1951."

*Ninth Hour*; by Gilbert Kilpack (Pendle Hill Pamphlet No. 63. 1951. Pp. 38. 35 cents), a devotional pamphlet, is a call for rededication to the divine purpose for men.

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*Dr. John Ward's Trust.* By E. J. Tongue. Printed by direction of the Trustees of Dr. John Ward's Trust. Pp. 57, 1 plate. London, Carey Kingsgate Press. 1951. 5s.

This account by Dr. E. J. Tongue, a Trustee and former beneficiary, of the establishment and activities of the trust established under the will of Dr. John Ward (c. 1679-1758), professor of rhetoric in Gresham College, is a useful contribution in the field of study of educational trusts for the dissenting ministry.

Under the terms of the will, the interest on £1,200 Bank of England stock was to be used to enable Baptist students to go to the university (originally, in Scotland, since Oxford and Cambridge were closed to dissenters). Since 1759, 203 students have been assisted, the majority proceeding to serve the Baptist ministry in many parts of the country.

Dr. Tongue has ranged widely for his biographical notes on the people connected with the trust, and one wishes for fuller references than perhaps the limits of space allowed.

## Notes and Queries

FRIENDS AND THE ARMY, 1659  
A QUAKER'S Curse—Humphrey Norton to John Endecott, 1658; by Frederick B. Tolles. (Reprinted from the *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 4, August, 1951, pp. 415-21.)

This short article reprints the text of this "curse" from the *Publick Intelligencer*, no. 165 (21st-28th February, 1659), where it appears among the news from New-England, Charls-Town. Mr. Godfrey Davies suggests that it was printed to cast discredit upon Friends in England, "who were currently, though illogically, identified in the public mind with the unpopular Army." (cf. Davies' article in *Huntington Library bulletin*, no. 7 (April, 1935), 145ff.)

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE IN 1660  
IN a recent book, *The making of the Restoration Settlement: the influence of the Laudians, 1649-1662* (Dacre Press, 1951, 25s.), Robert S. Bosher has reproduced a passage from the French ambassador's despatches which shows how much some churchmen were prepared to promise to secure the return of the monarchy. The quotation concerns the diplomacy of Dr. Morley (later Bishop of Winchester) at the time of the Restoration. Morley was promising all things to all men—even, and this the ultimate indiscretion, liberty of conscience to Quakers.

"Il promet tout à tout le monde, mesme la liberté de conscience aux Trembleurs; beaucoup se confient en ses promesses."

(Public Record Office, Trans-

cripts 3/107, Bordeaux to Brienne, 3rd May, 1660 (N.S.)) In the same book we see how soon the dream of comprehension within the church or the hope of peaceable toleration was to fade in the repressive measures at the time of the Fifth Monarchy rebellion and the deadness of the Clarendon Code.

### BRIGHTWEN-EVENS MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE, 1755

AMONG the items which have come to light in the Denison Roebuck stamp collection in the University Library, Leeds, is the certificate of the marriage at Coggeshall, 15.iv.1755, of "John Brightwen of Coggeshall in the County of Essex baker, son of John Brightwen Baker of the same place deceased and Sarah Evens of Coggeshall daughter of John Evens Maltster of the same place deceased." The certificate is printed on parchment bearing a 5s. revenue stamp. The names, places, date and declarations are filled in in ink. There are 75 signatures—the two parties, 16 relations and 57 other witnesses. The parchment is without endorsements, save for the entry: "Sarah Brightwen daughter of John Brightwen & Sarah his wife was born the 5th of the 1st month 1756 att about half past three in the afternoon."

Stamp duties in England date from 1694, when they were first imposed by the Act 5 & 6 Will. & Mary, c. 21, with the object of raising money to carry on the French war. Stamp duty was imposed on all vellum, parchment and paper "whereon deeds, grants, commissions, or any

writings, or process in the law are ingrossed or written." Letters patent and the like paid 40s. and among other provisions in the Act was the following: "For every Skinn or Peice of Vellum or Parchment or Sheete or Peice of Paper upon which any Licence for or Certificate of Marriage or any Letters of Mart shall be ingrossed or written the summe of Five shillings." (*Statutes of the Realm*. Record Commission edition, 1819, VI, 496.) The Act provided that no deed or writing should be good in law until the same should be stamped. (G. Jacob: *New law-dictionary*.)

Friends' marriage certificates were probably not in mind when the Act was drafted, but Friends were eager to put their marriage procedure on as sure a legal foundation as possible, and it is thus not surprising to find letters going down from London Friends to local meetings advising the use of stamped parchment. (30.iv. 1694. A letter addressed to Bristol is preserved at the Friars Meeting House, in volume 139 (C.17): *Letters of Discipline*, 1671-1760, p. 85.) Bristol Men's Meeting considered the information they had received at their next meeting, and recorded:

"Friends being Informed that tis the opinion of som emenant Lawers that our Certeficates for Marriage are accounted as Notoriall Acts & doth require the stamp. Whether it may or not, this meeting doe advise that friends make use of stampt parchment in yt Case." (Men's Mtg. minutes, vol 2, p. 94; 9.v.1694. Friars M.H. volume 202 (A.2).)

The practice of stamping the certificates was recommended by London Yearly Meeting, and it

soon became general, and, although this did not of itself make them legal documents, it doubtless helped to establish their validity and that of the marriage they recorded, even before the express recognition of Quaker marriages which came at length in the Marriage Act of 1836 (6 & 7 Will. IV, c. 85).

The stamp accounts for the Brightwen-Evens certificate being found with other stamped deeds at Leeds.

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TROUBLE AT PATELEY BRIDGE  
THE following document has come to light in Ripon Cathedral archives:

"The Case about the Preist Chamber

"see the Trust

"That this House was  
"alwaies the dwelling for the  
"Curate of Pateley bridge  
"Chappell during his con-  
"tinuance there.

"That this Curate Mr. Furnis  
"was in possession of this  
"Preist Chamber with ye  
"Garden on ye backside, and  
"he let it to one Loftus by  
"Article, and no Rent being  
"paid Furnis brought an eject-  
"ment, but could not make out  
"a title till hee got a surrender  
"from Wm Wood the surviv-  
"ing Trustee, which hee did  
"payeing 7s per Annum to ye  
"Church.

"And afterwards Furnis sells  
"this Preist Chamber abso-  
"lutely to Clayton a Quaker  
"& his heirs."

The notice may be dated some-time during the eighteenth century, but at present no further information is available on the subject, and whether the Church regained possession from Friend Clayton.

# WILLIAM PENN

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