

"The
First
Publishers
of Truth"





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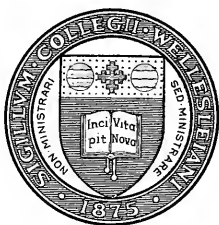
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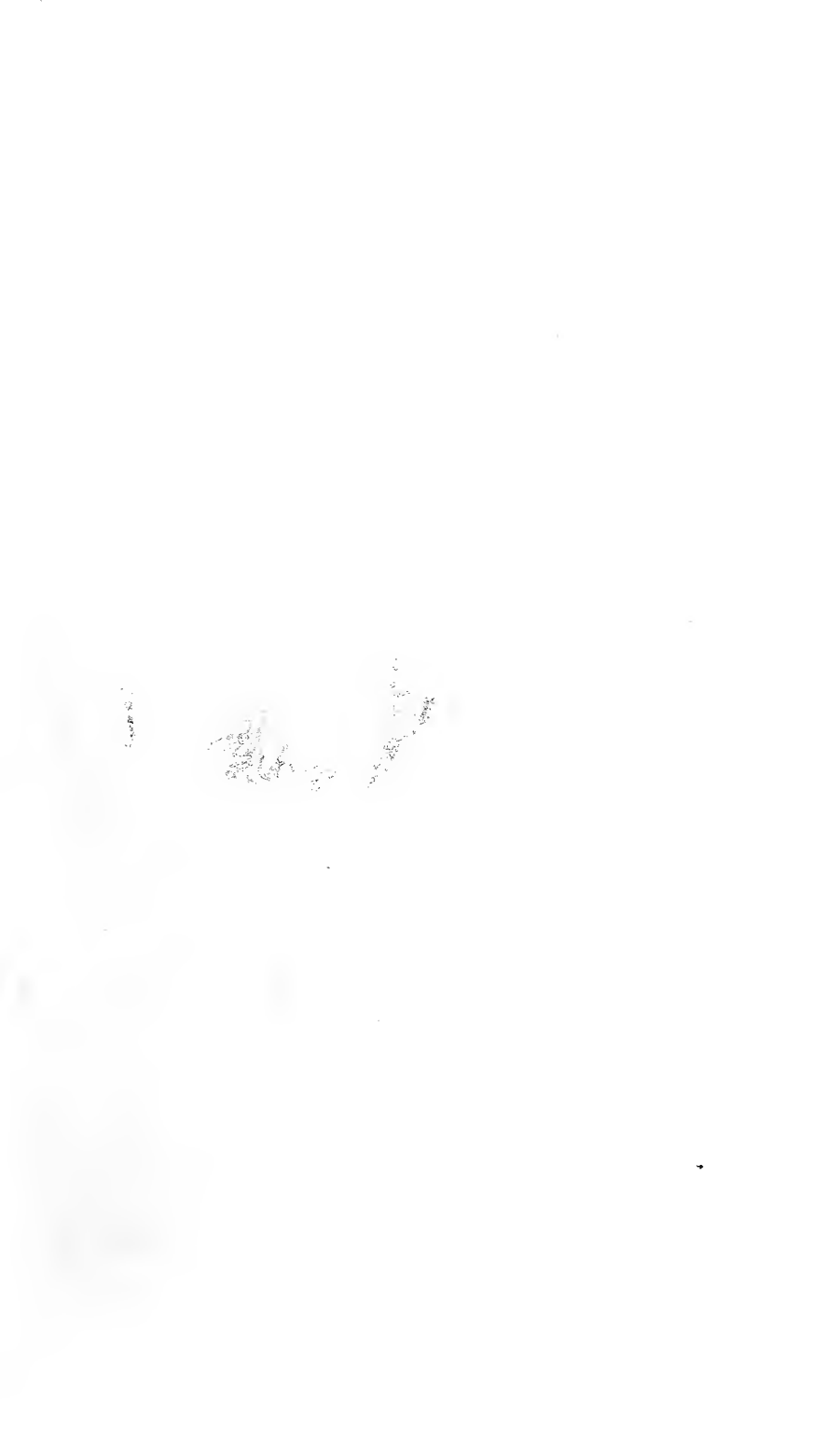


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"THE FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH."

This work was issued as Supplements 1 to 5
— of THE JOURNAL of —
THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



Countries that have not sent up their
 accounts of y^e first publication of Truth
 are as follow.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| ✓ Bristol | ✓ Suffolk |
| ✓ Bucks | ✓ Wiltshire |
| ✓ Cornwall | ✓ Warwicksh ^{ire} |
| ✓ Colchester | ✓ Staffordsh ^{ire} |
| ✓ Camb. & Ely | ✓ Woresp ^{er} sh ^{ire} |
| ✓ Derbyshire | ✓ Yorkshire |
| ✓ Devon | ✓ North Wales |
| ✓ Durham | ✓ South Wales |
| ✓ Hertfordsh ^{ire} | |
| ✓ Hampshire | |
| ✓ Kent | |
| ✓ Leicesp ^{er} sh ^{ire} | |
| ✓ Middlesex | |
| ✓ Norfolk | |
| ✓ Northumb ^{er} | |

Notes of these Counties have
 been all writ to
 the Secretary of the Ministry of the
 6th June 1720 of y^e need for
 suffering

The Counties of: have sent up are

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| ✓ Bedfordsh ^{ire} | ✓ Gloucestersh ^{ire} | ✓ London |
| ✓ Berks | ✓ Hunts | ✓ Middlesex |
| ✓ Ches ^{ter} | ✓ Hertfordsh ^{ire} | ✓ Essex |
| ✓ Cumber ^{land} | ✓ Lancash ^{ire} | ✓ Som ^{er} set ^{shire} |
| ✓ Dorset | ✓ Leicesp ^{er} sh ^{ire} | ✓ Suff ^{olk} |
| ✓ Devon | ✓ Northampton | ✓ Surrey |
| ✓ Dorset | | ✓ Warwicksh ^{ire} |
| ✓ Essex | | ✓ Wiltshire |
| | | ✓ Northumberland |
| | | ✓ Staffordsh ^{ire} |
| | | ✓ Woresp ^{er} sh ^{ire} |
| | | ✓ South Wales |

“THE
FIRST PUBLISHERS
OF TRUTH.”

BEING EARLY RECORDS (NOW FIRST PRINTED)
OF THE INTRODUCTION OF QUAKERISM INTO
THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

Edited by
NORMAN PENNEY,
Librarian, Friends' Reference Library, London.

With Introduction by
THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., D.Litt.

“Friends grew as ye Garden of ye Lord.”—p. 145.

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Explanation of Signs.

c=*circa* (about).

ċ=soft c, as accommodaċon.

D=Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate,
 London, E.C.

ff=ff, as ffamily.

m̄=double m, as com̄and.

l.=pounds sterling.

THE JOURNAL=*Journal of the Friends' Historical Society.*

Introduction.

It will certainly be generally admitted that, by the publication of the following papers, the Friends' Historical Society is doing good service to the cause of historical research, chiefly, but by no means exclusively, in connection with the Society of Friends.

It will perhaps excite some surprise that these records, which were collected two centuries ago, should have slumbered so long in manuscript form, in the silent strong rooms of Devonshire House. Of course the eighteenth century was a time when a somewhat different view was taken of the historian's duty from that which is now prevalent, nor was the publication of mere materials for history in a non-literary form then so frequent a practice as, thanks to the labours of the Record Office and of many archæological societies, it has since become. Were the ruling spirits of the Society of Friends in 1720 waiting the uprising of some well-educated Quaker, like Thomas Ellwood, or William Sewel, to whom they might entrust these precious manuscripts, that he might reduce them into literary form? If so, it is perhaps well for us that the able editor did not appear; for the original documents after they had passed through his hands would probably have disappeared, whereas we have them now, not complete, alas—far from it, dust and decay have made great gaps in the series—but still in their original shape, untampered with by any editor, representing the very “form and pressure of the times” in which they were composed.

The first movements in the direction of a systematic history of the origin of Quakerism seem to have been made in 1680, little more than thirty years from the beginning of George Fox's apostolate. As I understand the Editor's notes, some of the documents now before us were probably compiled in that and the immediately following years; but the historic instinct was feeble and intermittent. The first generation of Friends was too busily engaged in doing and suffering, especially the latter, to have much time for reviewing the past. Another effort was made in 1704, but still, "despite the various requests made," and the "Directions to Collect Matters for a General History of the Entrance and Progress of Truth in this Age, by Way of Annals," the accounts which were called for came in but slowly, and it was not till 1720, when nearly all the actual coëvals of George Fox must have been in their graves, that the work was finally accomplished, and "The First Publishers of Truth," in the shape in which it now emerges from the press, was deposited on the shelves of Devonshire House.

It has seemed to me in reading this account of the genesis of the work before us, that we have probably a good illustration of the way in which some of the Christian Scriptures came to be written. So long as the great events recorded in the Gospels were recent, though they were often transmitted from person to person by word of mouth, there would be little disposition to commit them to writing. Even in our own day how few people undertake the labour of composing an account for those who shall come after us, of the events of the time through which we are actually passing! But the first generation began to pass away; the number of those who could say, "I saw," "I heard," grew smaller; it was felt that mere oral tradition could no longer be relied on to keep an accurate record of the facts which

were the foundation of the Church's life, and some document such as the Gospel of Mark came into being. Then later on, when "many have taken in hand"—some perhaps not too wisely—"to set forth in order a declaration of the things most surely believed" among Christians, Luke takes up the pen, and, inquiring, collating, reviewing, like those good Friends of 1720 (though not of course separated by so great a distance of time as they from the facts recorded), writes his first treatise for "the most excellent Theophilus."

In reading this series of narratives consecutively, one is struck by the fact that the years from 1652 to 1655 were pre-eminently the formative years of the Society of Friends; and one also feels how important was the part played by young men from Cumberland, Furness, Westmorland, Yorkshire, and Bishopric (Durham) in promulgating the message which they had received through the ministry of George Fox. The names of William Dewsbury, Thomas Salthouse, Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill, Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, John Audland, John Camm, Richard Hubberthorne, William Caton, and John Stubbs, all of them North-countrymen, are of frequent occurrence; and we find all of them taking a leading part in what is termed "The Publishing of Truth," in the southern and midland counties of England. Several of these belonged to the household of Judge Fell, and the record of their labours convinces one afresh of the great importance to Quaker history of George Fox's memorable visit to Swarthmore. On the other hand I think it will be found that the East Anglian counties, which sent so many brave Puritan soldiers to fight in the ranks of the "new model" army, did not contribute many apostles to the young Society. This, however, is quite consistent with the nature of the new movement, which in its earlier phases was directed more against militant Puritanism,

against preaching colonels and praying Independents, than against the then depressed and extruded Episcopalian clergy. The "high professors" with whom George Fox had so many a sharp encounter were, I believe, without exception, what we should call Puritans; and in this connection it is interesting to observe that the name, which, as used by a Quaker chronicler, certainly conveyed a hint of blame, was still applied long after the Stuart Restoration. In the very full and interesting account of the establishment of the Society in Essex, a document which seems to have been compiled about 1720, we read (page 103) that a certain informer who was bent on obtaining the large rewards offered for information under the Conventicle Act, "did inform onely against the professors & not agst frds." Evidently here, the word, "professors," means Nonconformists other than Friends, probably either Presbyterians, Baptists, or Independents.

Reverting for the moment to the question of the geographical disposition of the earliest Quakerism, one would like to know what were the pre-disposing causes which made Cumberland and Westmorland so ready to receive Fox's message with enthusiasm, while Puritan East Anglia stood aloof, or was even hostile, and the neighbouring Scotland was always cold to his preaching. I offer the conjecture that the Church of England had been exceptionally indolent and inactive in these distant counties, and that for some reason, "the sectaries," as she called them, had not worked much in that field. If this were so, George Fox's opportunity in Cumberland and the neighbouring counties resembled John Wesley's opportunity in Wales a century later. But I should be glad if someone better acquainted with the subject could read me this riddle. In any case it is interesting to note, and profitable to remember, how large a part these sturdy

shepherds and husbandmen, from under the shade of the great mountains, had in preaching the doctrine of the Inward Light and of God's revelation of Himself to every seeking soul, in the softer and more settled counties of the South. I look upon Cumberland and Westmorland as the Galilee of Quakerism.

In conclusion, I recommend readers to dig for themselves in the fields thus opened to them. They will find doubtless much repetition, some dull pages, and they will perhaps be sometimes repelled by the faithfully reproduced eccentricities of the spelling, though occasionally, as in the account about Gloucester, printed on page 110, the spelling is so wild, and so delightfully dialectic, that it is a real pleasure to study it. They will find many interesting side-lights on general history, as, for instance, on page 65, where the men who had been trying to ruin Friends by a rigorous enforcement of the infamous Conventicle Act found that "when King Charles dyed, there three yeares worke was all undone in a sudden. Soe that by King James proclama^{tion} the friends was sett at Liberty, and many flockeing to meetings, the meeting house was built, and in a few yeares it became to little."

Or again (page 11), where the good Friends of Bristol, in the year 1720, living under the Hanoverian government, "enjoying great tranquility, and the magistrates now, and for a long time past, having been very favourable to us, so that we have free access to 'em and a candid treatment in all cases reasonable," are very desirous that the recital of the inhuman and barbarous sufferings of their predecessors, sixty years before, should not be made such use of as to give "occasion [of offence] either to the government in general under whom we enjoy so many favours or the magistrates of this city in particular."

It may have been cautions of this kind received from various parts of the country, and an instinctive feeling of the danger of arousing sleeping dogs from their slumbers, which prevented the publication in 1720, of the chronicles then collected. Happily the danger of the revival of persecution is not now imminent, and I believe it will be generally admitted that by the publication of these records, with all their quaint simplicity and their general lack of literary merit, a fresh and valuable source has been opened to the student of the religious history of England in the seventeenth century.

The attention of the reader should be especially directed to the valuable article by William C. Braithwaite on the Penal Laws affecting Early Friends. There is an important distinction between the proceedings, harsh as they were, taken against Friends in the Commonwealth period, under general enactments supposed to be framed in the interests of religion or for the maintenance of order, and the special legislation aimed at Quakers and at other Non-conformists by the Government of the Restoration, in glaring defiance of Charles the Second's Declaration of Breda in favour of liberty of conscience. The different character of these two persecutions is well brought out by the author. With this digest of intolerant law in his hand, the historical student will find it an interesting problem to ascertain how far the punishments inflicted on our Quaker martyrs were justified even by the cruel code of the period, and, where even this was exceeded, by the ill-temper of men "dressed in a little brief authority."

THOMAS HODGKIN.

Preface.

The historical documents of which a type transcript is given in the following pages appear to have been prepared by, or on behalf of various Meetings of Friends in response to the request of London Yearly Meeting, then and now the governing body of Friends in Great Britain, and of its representative committee, the Meeting for Sufferings, also of the Second Day Morning Meeting of Ministering Friends.

George Fox, the founder of the people commonly called Quakers, early and continuously urged the importance of the formation and preservation of records and registers relating to his followers, the churchwardenship of his father, Christopher Fox, of Drayton, Leicestershire, having perhaps impressed him, when young, with this importance.

I have searched the early minute books for notices of official action which produced these documents, and I find that :—

At the Yearly Meeting at London the 18th day of the 3rd mo., 1676.
Then agreed & concluded.

1. That friends of the Monthly & Quarterly meetings of each County be reminded to keep an exact account among themselves of those that first brought the message of glad tydeings among them.

2. That their sufferings (to witt, of those first messengers), whether at Steeple Houses, Markett places, or otherwise, be also recorded.

3. What friends first received them and their Message.

Doubtless this decision was sent down to the country, but the next entry implies that not much had been effected for it repeats the recommendation, and calls for reports of what had been done.

At a Generall Yearely Meeting held at Devonshire House, London, the 1st day of the 4th mo. 1680.

Whereas It is now agreed that the aforesaid prticular (see minute 3rd mo., 1676) be againe sent and recommended to all the Counties in England & Wales, and that the next ensueing yeare the Countyes be called vpon to give account what they had done in the same.

The minutes of 1681 contain nothing relating to the matter : but the following year we read

At a Yearly Meeting for Sufferings begun and held in London the fifth of the fourth month, 1682.

It's Advised & Agreed by this Meeting, That what was the last Yearly Meeting agreed on, relating to ye Account & Testimonyes of the first spreaders of Truth, who are deceased, be againe recommended to the Respective Quarterly Meetings To make Enquiry into, & send them up to London.

The Second Day Morning Meeting of the 12th of 4th mo., 1704, taking advantage of the presence of "many Brethren from divers parts," desired these Friends and others to obtain accounts of "wt publick friends first came to ye Respective Countyes, and who Recd them, and wt meets they were Instrumental to settle, and what success attended their Labours. And this Meet Advises yt these accots desired should be viewed and digested at their Monthly and Quarterly Meets from whence ye accounts shall come."

A broadside, *DIRECTIONS to Collect Matters for a GENERAL HISTORY*, was printed early in the century, and is reproduced on the next page in a reduced size. One of the two copies in **D** has the words, "By C. Meidel," written at the foot,¹ and Joseph Smith catalogues it under "Meidel, Christopher," but I have failed, as yet, to discover in what way he acted in the matter. The *Directions* are explicit enough ! It is interesting to think of Friends up and down the country making the necessary enquiries, and the "oldest inhabitant" would be in great requisition.

¹ **D.** B.43. See reference to this document in the letter given under heading "Bedfordshire."

DIRECTIONS

To Collect Matters for a GENERAL HISTORY
of the Entrance and Progress of Truth in this Age: By
Way of Annals. Enquire

I. **O**F The Publication of Truth, as (1.) When?
What Day, Month, Year? (2.) By Whom?
What His or Her Name, Place, Parents, Trade, Former Persua-
sion, Qualifications? (3.) Where? in what Village, Town
City, County?

II. Of the Reception of Truth, as (1) When? (2)
Where? as before. (3) By Whom? Name, Place of Abode,
Quality? (4) How Evidenced? By Word and Mini-
stry. By Entertaining Friends. By Suffering? If By
Ministry, Enquire How Gifted? Where Travelled?
What Labours, as By Letters, Disputes, Books? What
Success, By Convincement, Settling Meetings? If by
Entertaining Friends, Enquire Whom? If by Suffering,
Enquire (1) What? In Name, Goods, Body. (2) For
What? Or what Branch of Truth? (3) By whom?
Rude People, or Colour of Law? (4) By what Law?
(5) Under what Government? (6) By what Inform-
ers and Accusers? (7) By what Warrants, Officers,
Magistrates, Goalers? (8) How long? (9) How
Delivered? (10) Behaviour in Sufferings? (11) Dy-
ing Words?

III. Of Opposition to Truth? (1) When? (2) Where?
(3) By Whom? as before: Whether Open Adversaries,
or False Brethren and Apostates? (4) How? By Words
and Writings, or Deeds and Actings? (5) What Judg-
ments on and Repentance of any such?

The foregoing Directions may be Answered by *Ma-
nuscripts, Narratives* and *Reference* to Books already
Printed. And if every Particular cannot be Answered,
after due Search, let so much speedily be sent up as can
be obtained.

Despite the various requests made, the accounts of the doings of early public Friends came in but slowly. In 1720, the Yearly Meeting requested the Meeting for Sufferings again to communicate its desires to country Meetings, and this attempt, apparently the last made, was decidedly the most successful. The Meeting for Sufferings sent down a letter in the 7th month of that year to the Quarterly Meetings which had not previously replied, and there was a considerable response.

The accounts of "The First Publishers of Truth," now preserved at Devonshire House, consist of ninety manuscripts, and are contained in Portfolio 7. Except for punctuation necessary to make the meaning clear, use of capital letters for initials of proper names, and omission of duplicate accounts of the same events (such omissions being always indicated by footnotes), the manuscripts are reproduced *verbatim et literatim*.

NORMAN PENNEY.

Devonshire House,
12, Bishopsgate Without,
London, E.C.

“The First Publishers of Truth.”



No. 2.]

Bedfordshire.

Letter from the Yearly Meeting.

To friends att their Quarterly Meeting in Bedfordshair.
Dr Friends,

It haveing been now some years desired that a General acct might be gathered of the Publication of Truth and of the reception it had, and also of ye opposition made to it in the several parts of this nation, This desire hath been communicated to ye several Quarterly Meetings, and in order to answer yt desire there hath been sent from divers places some accts, which accounts having been perused are found to be short in several things wch it is to be hoped a more particular and distinct inquiry may supply ; And it haveing been considered that this shortness in the accounts yt are come, may in part have arisen from the shortness of the directions that were att first given, the Yearly Meeting did therefore think meet that a Paper containing Directions to collect matters for a General History should be sent to all Quarterly Meetings, wch paper wee hope you also have received ; but least you should not, wee herewith send you it, and doe not doubt but that to very many of ye Particulars contained therein you may be able to collect their proper answers so far as it respects your county, and the rather for yt as wee Vnderstand you have the Comfort of haveing still among you some yt were wittnesses to those early days and the transactions of them in the affairs of truth.

Att a quarterly Meeting at Jno Rushs of Kempson Hardwik in ye County of Bedford, ye 21st of the first mo, 1704-5, it was concluded by testimony from Joshua Wheeler, who was att one of ye first Meetinges thereabouts thatt

Lower Side.

Wm Dewsbury was the first yt publishd truth in the Lower Side of ye County, And many was Convinced and Readyly Recd the truth in ye Love of itt ; And Great was the Gatheringe in that day, both of old & young, in so much yt truth's testimony had a good Efect, upon ye hearts of Male and female. Itt was in ye yeare 1654, as neare as wee Can gather, yt William came to Bekerings Parke¹ and was Entertained by Jno Crook ; he and Jno Rush, of Kempson Hardwik,² ffather to Jno Rush now Liveinge there, And Hen : Gamble, of Pulloxhill, Grandfather to Tho Gamble now Liveinge in yt Parish, was of ye ffirst that Recd ffrinds one that Side of ye County.

Upper Side.

In ye same yeare, Tho Stacy, Tho Stubs, wth several More, as Jams Lancaster, and Richd Hubathorn, ware ye ffirst yt published ye truth in ye Vper Side of ye County, as Markett Street, Dunstable, and Sewell ; and some ware in part convincd by ffame and Report, and ware Ready to Receive ye Testemony of truth and Gosple Glad tideinges as the Messengers ware to bringe itt, and did not much consult wth fflesh & Blood, but Soon putt in practise ye Doctrine of ye Cross, And in Measure became obedient to itt in word and in action, yt soon After Convincd, Met together att Dunstable & Sewell, when but ffive or six in Number, to wait upon god in Sillence, and ye Lorde bled us with his presence, and Gave vs ye spiritt of Descerning, that in Measure the Ear tasted words, as ye pallett Meat. And

¹ For a description of John Crook's house (where doubtless the famous General Meeting of 1658 was held, and *not at Luton* as frequently stated), see THE JOURNAL, i, 41, note 5.

Kempston Hardwick is situated about four miles S.W. of Bedford; William Dewsbury had a married daughter living there.

when itt pleasd ye Lord to Call our Dear and well-beloved Jno Crook into the Ministry, he gave him ye word of wissdom to speak to Every State, by which many were convind and others Confirmd in ye Blesd truth. ffew Left of yt days Gathering that can give Acct of truths progress in that County. Jno Goodman, of Market Street, and Eliz : Chester, of Dunstable, widow, together wth her son Edward, ware the ffirst yt Recd ffreinds in yt part of ye County.

Jno Crook dyed att Hartford, ye 22d of ye 2d Mo., 1699, And was buryed att Sewell, in ye Parrish of Kings Houghton, near Dunstable in ye County of Bedford, near ye 82 yeare of his age.³

³ The writer of the manuscript has made a slip in the date of John Crook's death. He died on the 26th of 2 mo., 1699, as is correctly stated in the Minute of the Quarterly Meeting. This Minute does not read quite the same as No. 2,

Berkshire.

Some account from the Quarterly Meeting held at Reading, in the County of Berks, the 21st of ye 2d mo, 1707, of the Entrance and Progress of Truth in the said County.

Reading.

About the beginning of ye year 1655, came Myles Halhead, husbandman, of Mount Joy in Westmoreland, & Thomas Salt-house, a younger man & some time before servant to Judge fell, of Swarthmore in Lancashire, to the Towne of Reading afore-said, and had a publick meeting on a first day in a place then calld the Broad Face Bowling Green, where Joseph Coale was convinc'd & soon after bore a publick Testimony to the Truth he then recd, as by the Collection of his works in print may be seen; & the said Myles Halhead & Tho: Salthouse had 2 publick meetings more before they left the Towne, one at the Baptist meeting Place in the Forberrry on ye 2d day, where a young man was then Present who afterward receivd the truth, but ye service of yt meeting was much obstructed by reason of ye Opposition & disturbance made by some ill minded persons, 2 of which afterwards came to nought, and ye other meeting ye 3d day was at Thomas Curtices house who was convinc'd some time before at Bristoll & recd the friends of Truth yt travaild in ye service thereof at that time.¹

About 3 months after this, came Geo: ffox & had a meeting in George Lambolls Orchard where many more were convinc'd as by the Relation thereof in his Journall doth appear. After him in the Year before mentioned came John Cam, of Cams-gil & John Audland, of Crosslands, both of Westmorland, Husbandmen, and ye meeting still Increased. About the same time

¹ For later and less satisfactory references to Thomas Curtis, see THE JOURNAL, i. 57.

Robert Hodson,² from the Bishoprick of Durham, by Occupaçon a Butcher, going to their Worship house here was sent to Prison, & after some time was deliverd & he going to a Baptist meeting near Oar in this County had some service for the Lord, also where Dorothy Austell and her son William ware convinced and severall others afterwards, and a meeting was there settled : from ye other parts of the County we can haue no particular account.

It cannot well be omitted to mention Edward Burrough & Francis Howgill, both of ye County of Westmorland, who though they were not the very first that had publick meetings here yet were the first that passed through ye Towne, having private conference with some professors, & passed away ; but afterward they Laboured more abundantly by reason of their more often Vissitts, & so ye meeting att Reading came to be Jncreased to a Considerable number.

² Robert Hodgson, of Co. Durham, was several times imprisoned in Berkshire, on one of which occasions (in 1672) he wrote a Testimony to his fellow-prisoner, Joseph Coale, but Joseph Smith (*Catalogue of Friends' Books*, i. 961) is probably in error in describing him as "of Reading." He sailed in 1657 for the New World, with other Friends, in *The Woodhouse*, the vessel built and commanded by Robert Fowler, of which there is an account in D. (A.R.B. MSS. 1), entitled, *A True relation of ye Voyage vndertaken by me Robert fowler with my small Vessell called ye woodhouse, but performed by ye Lord like as hee did Noahs Arke, wherein hee shut vp a fewe righteous persons and landed them salfe as at ye hill Ararat.* (The manuscript is endorsed in George Fox's handwriting.) Robert Hodgson remained some time in America, returning to England in 1669. He was in America again later. See Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, 1850, i., 56, 331, and *The Holders of Holderness*, 1902, pp. 40-53.

Bristol.¹

Men's Meeting at Bristol ye 2nd of 11th mo. 1720.

Dear friends,

Your letter of the 2nd of 7th month last came to hand in due time, by which you desire us to send a particular account of the first ministering friends who travelled first to this city, and what sufferings ensued relating to imprisonment or other corporal punishment. And accordingly we appointed some friends to make enquiry and inform us as fully as might be in the particulars, upon which enquiry we find that the first ministering friend who travelled to this city was John Audland, accompanied by some friends near Kendall in Westmoreland, in the year 1654, on the 12th day of the 5th month of that year. And about the beginning of the 7th mo. following, he, with John Camm accompanying him, returned hither again. As to what sufferings ensued thereupon, we find them particularly related in a book, entitled, *The CRY of BLOOD*, published by Geo Bishop, Thos Goldney, Henery Row, Ed: Pyatt, and Dennis Hollister, and printed in the year 1656. In which also is particularly related the coming of² some other friends to this city with their severe treatment from the then magistrates. The several accounts given in said book are so full and exact as to what you desire that we think we cannot add anything thereto, and cannot well tell what part to omit, being so pertinent to the matter throughout, and therefore choose to refer you thereto.

There were two other persecutions against Friends in this city after the Restoration, to wit, in the years 1663 and 1664, of which

¹ Although there is a record on the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings of the receipt of a reply to the Yearly Meeting's request, the reply does not appear in Portfolio 7. By the assistance of Edmund T. Wedmore, of Bristol, however, I am able to insert here a copy of the reply, transcribed from the minutes of Bristol Men's Meeting.

² The following names are given but crossed through:—George Fox, James Nayler, Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, Thomas Robertson.

there is an account in particular in a book, entitled, *A RELATION of the INHUMANE and Barbarous sufferings of the people called QUAKERS in the City of Bristoll*, printed in the year 1665, to which we likewise refer you ; and a third persecution which was begun in the year 1681 and continued till the death of the then King, Charles. But this being at so great a distance from the beginning, we know not whether an account of it is expected, however it may be seen in a great measure in a book, entitled, *The Distressed Case of the People called Quakers in the City of Bristol*, printed in the year 1682. For some further particulars you may consult Thomas Camm's testimony concerning John Camm, his Father, in the account of the life and labours of our Friends, J. C. and J. A. Also in Charles Marshall's works, to all which we refer you.

If you have not the books mentioned by you or any of them, upon notice we shall be ready to send them.³

We take the liberty further to acquaint you that though in the beginning and some time afterwards our Friends in this city were exposed to great hardships and sufferings, yet we have at this time great cause to be truly thankful to God who has in His good providence so ordered it that we enjoy great tranquility in that respect, and the magistrates now, and for a long time past, have been very favourable to us, so that we have free access to 'em and a candid treatment in all cases reasonable ; And therefore, as we do not perfectly know the reason of your desiring these accounts, so we doubt not but you will think it necessary to act with that caution in a thing of this nature as may give no occasion either to the government in general under whom we enjoy so many favours or the magistrates of this city in particular.⁴

With the salutation of Dear Love, we remain your Friends and Bretheren,

Signed by the order of the said meeting.

The request from the Meeting for Sufferings in 7th mo, was addressed to Charles Harford, Merchant, in Bristol.

³ The books above mentioned are in D.

⁴ At this distance of time there can be no fear of giving offence to either the imperial government or the local magistracy by the publication of this letter ! The language in which the hint of caution is expressed is delightful.

Buckinghamshire. ¹

¹ The following extracts from minutes make it evident that Bucks Quarterly Meeting and its subordinate Meetings moved in the matter of "The First Publishers," but Portfolio 7 does not contain any account from that county, and Benjamin Bealing's list (c. 1720) of counties which had and had not responded (Portfolio 7.1) contains Bucks among the delinquents.

Att the Quarterly Meeting at Weston Turvill (Bucks), ye 28th of 7 mo., 1720.—A Letter from ye Meeting for Sufferings was read and minuts given out to ye Meetings on the Lowerside to enquire about ye rise and progress of Truth in this County, and they are to direct the Acetts the can gett to Thomas Edmonds of Alisbury as soone as they can for him to impart to the ffrriends of Hungerhill Monthly Meeting to be put to theres.

Att the Monthly Meeting at Hunger Hill, 8 mo. 3rd, 1720.—A letter from the Meeting for Sufferings (dated 7th mo. 2nd, 1720) is recomended hither from the last Quarterly Meeting signifying that this County not having sent an account (as desired some years past) who were the first Publishers of Truth and of the Sufferings that ensued, &c. ; 'Tis therefore now again desired that an account may be sent, who were the first Ministers and as the Truth took place what Sufferings ensued relating to Imprisonments or any other corporal punishmts, whereupon this Meeting now desires the Friends of each particular Meeting to collect the best account they are now capable of and bring (if they can) to the next Meeting.

Att the Monthly Meeting at Hunger Hill, 10th mo. 5th, 1720.—The accounts of the first entrance of Truth &c. in these parts being again called for, those that Friends now brought in were delivered to Daniel Wharley to carry in to the next Quarterly Meeting (they are but short and imperfect there being now few Ancient ffrriends living), and if anything further can be procured by that time Friends are desired to deliver it also to the next Quarterly Meeting.

At the Monthly Meeting at Hunger Hill, 11th mo. 2nd, 1720.—The Friends of Chesham Meeting brought a short account of the first entrance of Truth and convincement of some Friends at or near Chesham, which account was delivered to Daniel Wharley to make use of as he thinks proper, after some further enquiry of the Friend from whom this relation was given.

Vale of Aylesbury Monthly Meeting. At the monthly men's meeting Held at the Hays the 31 of the 8 mo: 1720.—Tho: Spiers was desred to writ an answer to the paper that come from the qtly meeting in order to send up to Aylsbury concerning the breaking forth of Truth first amongst us.

Cambridgeshire.¹

Cambridge.

Some of the sufferings of the people off god (Called quakers) by the scollers and the Rude and blood thirsty people off this towne and vniversitie off Cambridge, breifly Related as followeth.

Vpon the 8th day off the 2nd month Called April, 1660, the scollers (who are taught but not off the lord) with other Rude people brake violently upon us into our owne hired house with a malicious spirit, and a Cruell intent in there hearts, as did appeare by there Cruelly beateinge of us and drawinge of our blood and drawinge off severall off us out by the haire off the head, haueinge Regard neither to old or younge men, or women with Child, but did uery much abuse them by teareinge there Cloathes, tumblinge and moileinge diuers in the nasty and loathsome Channells in the streets; and this did the scollers and the Rude multitude unto us, att our meetinge.

Vpon the 13 off the third month followinge (Called may), the unruly scollers and the Rude people came to our owne hired house, and uiolently brake open seuerall doores thereoff, and brake the lockes and bolts with a great hammer, and when our meetinge was ended, we, passinge away to our seuerall outward habitations, was most shamefully abused by the Rude Scollers and the wicked people, seuerall hundreds standinge in the streets, some beateinge off vs, others Rejoyceing to se us beaten, and neuer a magestrate appeared to suppressse these wicked actions, but Alderman Blackly,² which could not pacifie the Rude multi-

¹ This manuscript was printed with notes in *The East Anglian Notes and Queries*, vol. x, p. 65 (May, 1903).

² Alderman Blackly wrote, with others, *A Lying Wonder Discovered and the Strange and Terrible Newes from CAMBRIDGE proved false*, 1659. He is referred to in *The Quaker Disarm'd, or A True Relation of a late*

tude, because they will not obey Justice ; and this was done at another meetinge.

Vpon the 20th of the same month, the disorderred Scollers, which is a shame to there seuerall tutors, who joined themselues with the worst of men, Came in with one off the Constables, who Came under a pretence to search us for Armes, and searched some of vs and found a bible in a freinds pocket but noe armes ; and then the rude multitude did fall uiolently upon us and drew some off us out by the haire off the head, and pulled and haled most off the Rest and punched some, insomuch that for a tyme they were in danger off there liues, whither they would Recover yea or nay ; this was att another meetinge. Vpon the 27 off the same month, the blood thirsty men and scollers did joine themselves together with a murderous intent and purpose in there hearts towards us, and Came desperatly and uiolently in vpon us, seuerall scores iff not hundreds, and some with sticks, and strucke freinds on the heads faces and hands, A Justice off peace beinge in the Roome and saw there wickednesse, Charged them in the Kings name severall tymes to be quiet and to keepe the peace, but the scollers and others beinge soe wickedly bent, they neither Regarded the Kings name nor him, although he was a justice, but most wickedly went and gott a smiths great hammer, and brake open 4 doores and brake a wooden window, and tooke peices of the boards and beat us with them in our owne hired house and drew us out into the streets and there knocked seuerall of us downe and drew the blood or spilled off 24 of us or more, insoemuch that it was seene in seuerall places in the streets upon the stones ; all this beinge done neere the mayors house, he not at all appearinge that day untill this mischeife aboue mentioned was ouer ; and then the mayor passinge by the doore to the steeple house and the Shreiffe Cominge with him, they made a stand att the doore off our meetinge house ; and the shreife viewed the hauocke that the Rude multitude had made in the house, and went out and made proclamaation for all to depart upon the perrill that should fall there on. Yett soone after they

Publick Dispute held at Cambridge, 1659. Both tracts are connected with the Bunyan controversy. See *The East Anglian Notes and Queries*, May, 1903.

were passed away the Rude multitude came in againe and fell to worke, as if some carpenters had beene att worke, pullinge most off the staires downe, soe that we could not gett up into the Chamber, and brake most off the glasse that was about the meetinge house, and did much wronge to ye house.

And those wicked Riotous persons followed freinds to the townes end ; and in a most unreasonable and unmercifull brutish manner beateing and stoneinge off us all the way, soe that ury few escaped from Receiueinge much wronge done unto there bodies, and some they hield, while others put durt in their mouths. And afterwards as we were passing through the streets they stabbed two women privatly, the one being an aldermans wife in the towne, the othere a widow woman; and yet to this day euery first day haue they come in a most sauage manner, seeking for to destroy us ; and the major [mayor] of ye towne being willing to grattifie the wicked people and scollers causes people to stand in the streetes to stop friends from there owne hired house.

Heare all may see what mouldie waters this fountayne of Cambridge streams forth.

And we whose names are under written doth owne good an wholsome lawes, and godly learned ministers who doth serue the liuing god and not there owne bellies ; and he who ministers frely unto those who are heires of salvation, those we loue and allow of, with the rest of all true christians, and we hope we shall do for ever, and if man heare not our complaint, the lord of heuen and earth will.

HENRY FFOSTER
 WILLIAM ALLEN
 JOHN SMITH
 JOHN WEBB
 MATHEW BLAKLY
 RICHARD STEATON
 EDWARD WRITE ?
 JOHN CRANWELL
 THOMAS GOLDEN
 JAMES BLACKLY, Alderman
 CLEMENT CRABB
 SAMUELL CATER
 JOH PARNEL

EDWARD SALMON
 GEORGE NASH
 PHILLIP WILLIAMSON
 RUBEN STEUENS
 JERIMAH ROSE
 SAMUEL NOTTINGAM
 JOHN MOONE
 ROBERT LETCHWORTH
 JOHN PEACE
 EUSEBIUS READE
 GREGORY TINGY
 JOHN HART
 THOMAS HAWKES

Cheshire.¹

An Acompt of those that were made instrumentall in publishing the everlasting truth at ye first in ye County of Chester.

The first that received the testimony of truth was John Baddeley and Henry Morry. The said John Baddeley, having passed through all ye professions & finding noe satisfaction, & having received some good account of ye people yt weare coming vp in the Northerne contries, went in to Yorkshire to see & be acquainted with ye people, and coming to a meeting neere vnto a place called Briggost, where one Christopher Taylor,²

¹ Manuscript No. 5 from which the following is copied was addressed "for William Hyde or John Bradley, one of the 2 freinds that apeare for Cheshire," i.e. represent the county at the Meeting for Sufferings; It was received in 1683. It is further endorsed as follows:—

The Breife accompt of them yt first published ye truth in Cheshire: *vizt.* about Malepas, John Baddeley first in that, John Lawson next more publiqly. After yt Richard Hubberthorne, soone after came Alexander Parker, and many more followed as passing on, *vizt* John Camm, John Audland, Edwd. Burroughs, Eliz. Fletcher, Eliz. Leauens who laboured much in yt county; Also Thomas Hoolme.

The accompt in Breife of them yt first received friends in ye parts about Malepas, Owen Painter, John Hewton. In Chestr Edwd Morgan and Eliz Morgan his wife. In Helsby Henry Titler and his wife, Mary Titler. Neere ffradsome 5 Crosses Tho Hill. ffranley Will Gandy, who received friends in a generall manner,

² Christopher Taylor, brother of Thomas Taylor who is several times referred to in these pages, was a Yorkshireman by birth. He travelled extensively in the work of the ministry and was imprisoned repeatedly. He was a schoolmaster at Waltham Abbey, Essex, and at Edmonton, Middlesex. Among his scholars at the former place there was a remarkable outbreak of religious feeling, in the year 1679 (see *A TESTIMONY to the Lord's Power . . . in and amongst CHILDREN*, 1679, etc.).

Christopher Taylor and his wife, Frances, emigrated to Pennsylvania about 1682, he having previously paid a visit to the colony. He died in 1686, his wife pre-deceasing him only a few months. He was the author of numerous books, and his wife added a postscript to *A General Epistle Given forth by the People of the Lord, called QUAKERS*, sub-



A 300
General Epistle

Given forth by the People of the Lord, called,

Q U A K E R S,

That all may know, we own none to be of our Fellowship, or to be reckoned or numbred with us, but such as fear the Lord and keep faithfully to his heavenly Power, that with a holy Conversation they may adorn that Truth they profess, otherwise, what experience soever they have had of the Truth, and are fallen from it, we account them as so many *Juasses* or *Demasses*, and own such no more than the primitive *Christians* owned them; but we testify against them, and say, such go into Perdition through Transgression, and fall under Darkness into a state of Damnation, twice dead, pickt up by the Roots, reserv'd in everlasting Chains, until the Judgment of the great Day, except it be possible they yet can find a place of Repentance through God's great unlimited Mercy. Read the general Epistle of *Judas*.

Printed and Sold by William Bradford at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, 1686.

and William Dewsbury, declared truth, hee ye sd John, & his companion Henry, were both wrought vpon & brough downe vnder truthes testimony, so yt they at theier returne into Cheshire to Malepas, ye towne of their residence, were after a few weeks constrained to cry out against all ye outside showes of religion, in soe much yt some iudged them to be gone madd; & many of ye Preists³ came to reason with ye sd John Baddeley, at wch disputaçon some weare convinced and forthwith denied the Preists & neuer owned them after. This was in ye seuenth month, Anno 1653.

And in the Later end of the 8th month of ye same year, Richard Hubberthorne and John Lawson, both of Lancashire, came to Wrexham in ye County of Denbigh, haueing a testimony to beare for ye Lord. And when they had declared it vnto the Proffessors of that place & were not received by them, they departed and went back into Cheshire againe, deuiding themselves to severall parts of ye County—John Lawson towards Malpas to beare testimony agt ye Preist of that place, & (being soe ordered of ye Lord) he was receiued by the way of John Hewton and Owen Painter, they being before convinced at Malepas, soe John Lawson coming to Malepas was receiued gladly by John Baddeley, & accompanied on ye next first day of ye weeke to beare a publiq testimony agt ye publiq ministry in the publiq place, vizt., John Lawson, John Baddeley, Henry Morry, John Hewton, Owen Painter, who were as a wonder to ye People, & soone thrust out of ye place, onely John Lawson had time to declare openly in ye graue-yard many houres, and had a dispute with ye preist ye day following, & all being hard treated by them both preist & people within a few dayes, John Lawson, John Baddeley, & Henry Morry weare [*paper torn*], & sent to Chester Goale, where

scribed "*From the Church of Philadelphia in Pennsilvania.*" William Penn also wrote an epistle as a postscript to this publication. Hildeburn (*Issues of the Press in Pennsilvania*, 1885, i. 6) says: "This is the first printed utterance of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting . . . I have met with only one copy." This no doubt refers to the copy in London Yearly Meeting's Reference Library (D. 258.3), the title page of which is here reproduced as an illustration.

³ The term "Priest" is used in the writings of the early Friends to denote a minister generally, of any religious body.

the continued about half a yeare. Richard Hubberthorne in ye other parts of Cheshire was receiued by many in severall places, *vizt.*, at Congleton, &c.

And it was soe ordered .that Richd had a great time of Libertie, was seruiseable in many parts, though many time with difficultie and great opposition, & sent from Chester once as a Vagabond from Constable to Constable, & all wrought wonderfully for the truth. And after, he was committed to ye North Gate in Chester.

Richard Sale, who was a constable to conuay Richd Hubberthorne as a vagabond, was after conuinced, then persecuted alsoe, & put in Litle Ease, ye hole in ye Rock.⁴

No. 6.]

Mobberley.

About the year 1652, It pleased the Lord to vizeit this County of Chester By that faithfull Servant of his Rich Hubberthorne, who for his Testimony was put into prison att Chester, where severall Came To See him & Some were Convinced, amongst whom was Thomas Yarwood, who had been a great professor & A preacher amongst them; who sometime after his Convincent had his Mouth opened to Preach Truth, and was Moved of the Lord to vizeit a people who Sometimes met att the house of one Rich Yarwood, in Moberly in the said County (whose Custom was when met Together neither To preach nor pray vocally butt to Read the Scriptures & Discourse of Religion, Expecting a farther Manifestation) ⁵; and the sd Thomas in his Journey Thitherward passing Through Nutsford (the place of his Birth) and Declaring the Truth in the Town, they Laid violent hands upon him, and one amongst the Rest Came into the Roome where he was, and, hauing a private Weapon, Desingned to haue Done him a mischief,

⁴ Little Ease, a cell in Chester Jail, of very small dimensions, held quite a succession of persecuted Quakers:—Richard Scostrop, Thomas Yarwood, William Simpson, Edward Morgan, Richard Sale, Other similar places were “Doomsdale” in Launceston Jail, “The Vice” in Norwich Castle, and “The Oven” in Colchester Castle.

⁵ The existence of a large number of people, dissatisfied with all the various forms of religion and “expecting a farther manifestation,” is repeatedly evidenced in these pages, and partly explains the very large convincement resulting from the preaching of the doctrines of Quakerism.

butt was prevented by the outcry of Thomas's sister, who perceived the Mans Design ; howbeit they took the sd Thomas & putt him in prison all night, but the next Day being set at Liberty he went to the sd Rich Yarwoods, Where after some Discourse he Declared the Truth to the Family and some of them were convinced. Then he asked Rich To Let him haue a Meeting att his house the First Day Following, who Readily Condescended ; whereupon it was Concluded To acquaint the Meeters Afforesd Therewith, and Most of Them Came Together, with Severall others, which made a Considerable Assembly, & many of them were Convinced & as with one Mouth Confessed that it was the Truth which had Bee Declared that Day, being that which they had Long Waited for ; & from that Time A Meeting was Continued thereabouts & is now Called Morly Meeting.

The Travels of the sd Thomas Yarwood were not many, Though he would sometimes vizeit neighbouring Meetings ; and Towards his Latter end was Revived in his Testimony, and Though many Times he would speak butt a few words, yet would Reach to thee seed of Life to the comfort of the Faithfull, haing also Been a Sufferer for his Testimony By Imprisonment & Loss of Goods, &c., in the City of Chester, where he Departed this Life in Vnity whith Freinds ye 16 : of the 10th Mon, and was Buried att Freinds Burying place, In Holt in Wales, In the Year 1695, Aged about 74 years.

*Seen and Approued By our quarterly Meeting in Chesshire and
Signed By ordr of the said Meeting this 13th of the 1st
Month, 170 $\frac{4}{5}$.*

P MEE, RICHARD STARKEY.

No. 7.]⁶

⁶ The next manuscript in the Portfolio (No. 7) is an extract from the proceedings of a Quarterly Meeting in 1709, containing notices of the deaths of Samuel Watson, of Settle Monthly Meeting, Yorkshire, at Chester in 1708, and of Ann Eaton at Over Whitley in 1709, both "publick ffriends." The paper is signed by Benjamin Bangs and Thomas Welch.

Cornwall.

*An account of Truths first Coming into this County of Cornwall,
and of ye first Publishers Thereof; with their Labour &
Service in & for ye Truth and also my own Convincent,
By mee, Robert Hawkin.,*

The first yt came into ye County was our antient & faithfull friend, George Fox (whose Labours are already Published), Being accompanied with Edward Pyott, of Bristoll, and William Salt, of London, and their manner was to Enquire for the honest and well inclined and those yt were of good Report whose Desires were To fear god. The first they were informed of was Edward Hancocke, Tho Debell, & Thomas Mounce, who Received them very Thankfully; and Dyed in ye Truth. From thence to Austle, where they were received by Loveday Hambly; and Travelling farther Towads ye West, att Truro they were Received by Edmond Hinks, William Hawkey, & Grace Burges, who were also Convince'd; & from thence To Lands End where They were Received by John Ellis, & in yt part of ye County they were Taken vp and Brought before Peter Ceely, Justice, who Comited ym all to Launceston Goal, where Seurall friends from ye North & East part of ye Kingdom Came To vissitt them, namely James Myers and Joseph Cole; who

¹ Robert Hawkin, of Stoke Climsland, near Callington, Cornwall, joined Friends about 1659. In later life he lived at Liskeard, having settled there to be near his daughter, who had married Gabriel Rundell, of Sampford Courtney, near Oakhampton, and removed with her husband to Liskeard. He died in 1712. These particulars are taken from *The Friend* (London), 1848, p. 57, where Robert Hawkin's *Account* also appears, though not verbatim from the original, No. 8. Edward Hancock resided at Menheniot, Thomas Debell (Deeble) at Quethiock, Thomas Mounce at Halbathick near Liskeard, Loveday Hambly at Tregangeeves, John Ellis at St. Just, William Hawkey at Truro, Grace Burgess at Truro, Nicholas Jose in the parish of Sennen (which includes Land's End). For some account of Friends in West Cornwall, 1679-1714, see *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1897. pp: 205-215.

were by George Fox Sent with a Letter to Peter Ceely, who were also by this Peter Ceely Sent backe to Lanceston Goal and there suffer'd with their friends. And also Came Down our friends, Alexander Parker and George Buly, whose Labours was much in ys Country in Vissitting those familys (who had Received George Fox and his Companions), and in settling meettings amongst them—George Fox and his Companions still Remaining Prissoners for about the Space of one year, & were afterwards sett att Liberty, who after some Time Travell'd homewads. But Still George Buly and Alexander Parker Remain'd with vs Vissitteing friends and settling Meettings, & there Being a monthly meeting appointed att Thomas Mounce's house on a first day of ye weeke, ye Report of wch Sounded farr abroad, so that many well inclin'd People from Divers parts Resorted thereat, where Trustrim & Daniel Clarke, of Stoke Climsland, were Convinc'd. Soon after there was a meeting apointed at Trustrim Clarks house, where George Buly and Some other friends from Liskeard and Quithiocke Came. George Buly, haveing Sat a Litle Time in ye meeting, had a Concern to goe to ye steeple house, and after ye Service Ended he spoake to ye Priest, who Would not give him any answer, but gat away. Then there Came one Adam Grills, who violently haled him out of ye steeple house, But Seurall People Tarrying in ye yard George had an oppertunity to speak to them for ye space of near an hour. My father & I Being there went afterwards to ye meeting & were Both Convinced, & about ye Same Time were seurall other familys of ys parish Convinced, and from this Time was a meeting settled at Trustrim Clarks house. We were afterwards vissited by our friend Grace Burges and others. Grace, haueing a Concern, went to ye Steeple house, where shee was greatly abused by ye Priests wife and ye aforesaid Adam Grills's wife. This Adam Grills Became a great Persecutor of friends, often Bringing a Train with him, abusing of us and haling us out of our Peceable meettings. Notwithstanding ye aforesd Adam Grills had a great estate of his own, he was forced to Desert his own Country for Debt, and Twas Reported that he Dyed misserable; his wife also ended her days By Cuting her own Throat. And as for this Priest whose wife

was Concern'd in abuseing our friends, he had an Income by his Benifice and otherwise valued nigh Six hundred per Annum, yet Before he dyed, himselfe, wife, & family Came To Poverty. By this we may see ye Just Judgmts of god follow'd our Persecutors.

Soon after this Came Down Thomas Curtis, whose Labour was much amongs us Encourageing friends To faithfullness. By this time we were Preetty many gather'd in this place to sit down in Silence and waite vpon ye lord, and we had many good & Comfortable seasons and meettings att this time, where we felt ye alone Teacher nigh us administring to our Spiritual wants, By whome we were Enabled Both to wait and To suffer for his Blessed Truth and Name Sake.

Here Came also Mills Bateman, by whome Nicholas Jose was Convinced, and Received a Testimony, and in his Time Suffered much for ye Truth.

Here was also John Breathwaite whose Labour was much vp and Down this County.

Here Came Down also William Dewsbury, who had a Meetting with us, which was held near ye midle of ye County at Lovedy Hamblys house, where, by his Request, had ye Sight of many friends from most parts of ye County.

After wch Came down againe James Myers & Joseph Cole, whose Labours were great in this County in Vissitting ye meettings yt were Before settled; whose vissits were very acceptable to vs, Being But Young and Tender in ye Truth and Needed ye help of the Stronge, for altho ye lord was Near and good to vs, yet ye Enemy was Busie in his Instruments to stir ym vp to mocke & Deride. But above all Truth grew and great was ye Increase thereof, which that it may more and more Increase is ye Desire of

ROBERT HAWKIN.

Liskeard, ye 30th day of 1 mo, 1705.

No. 9.]

Minver and Endellion.

A short account of what wee remember of those friends that first came hereaway and of their Suffering and Service in Publishing the Everlasting Gosple.

About the year 1658, it Pleas'd the Lord to send his ministers & servants, George Bewley & James Myers, here, who were Kindly receiv'd by Charles Peters and his wife and Lodg'd at their howse, where they had severall meetings and Severall were convinc'd of the blessed truth. The first day after they came, George went to Minver Steeple howse, and after the priest had ended his service, spok to him, but was soon dragg'd forth the howse and sorely abus'd, very likly to have ben throwne over ye wall of the grave yard, had not the Lord ben pleas'd to raise up some that stood on his side and Rescu'd him out of the cruell hands of his enemyes. And the same first day James went to Endellion Steeple howse, and spok to the Priest, but was not soe much abus'd as George ; He had good service there and from thence was invit'd to Jone Rowes howse, where he was kindly receiv'd, and her son Abram Row and Mellior her Daughter were both convinc'd ; & in some short time after, they came together again and had good service in severall places.

And about the year 1672, it pleas'd the Lord to send his servant and minister, James Adamson, hereaway, who had severall meetings in those parts, wch was of great service to the convincmt of Severall & to ye confirming, settling, and comforting of others. He was an able minister and really indew'd with divine wisdom whereby he did divide the word aright, soe that his ministry prov'd very effectuell. Here was allsoe Thomas Salthowse, Richard Samble, and John Reed, who were made ready and willing to visit us often, and were made very servisable to us many times, even in times of Persecution (some can say), whose Labour of Love doubtless is reward'd. Many other friends came to visitt us, and were made very servisable and of great comfort to a little remnant the Lord was pleas'd to gather in these parts, Blessed be his name for ever.

DIGORY HOCKIN. }
JOHN : PETERS. }

No. 10.]

Salmouth.

Our Answer to those Particulars following, Ordered by friends att ye yearly Meeting, ye 17th 3d Month, 1676, to be Observed, And recomended to vs by friends att ye Last Quarterly Meeting, &c.

1st pa : That friends keep ann Exact account of those that first brought ye Message of glad Tidings among them.

Ansr. The first that brought ye Message of glad tidings unto us was George Buley & Joseph Coal, James Miers & Ann Blackley, Alexander Parker & Thomas Courtis, in the year 1656.

2d pa : that ye Sufferings of those first Messengers be Likewise recorded.

Ansr. Ann Blackley was in short time after brought before Richard Lobb, A Justice, so-Called, for declaring ye word of ye Lord, and was by him sent to ye County Goale.

3 pa : what friends receued there message.

Ansr. There Didd receiue there message, ffrancis Hodge, John Tregelles, Thomas Phillips, Peeter Odger, and John Rail, and others. The first settled Meeting was att ffrancis Hodge his hous.

4 pa : To keep A record of ye names, traueells, & vnblameable Conuersation of all the Ablest Ministers yt are Deceased.²

5th pa : What Fudgment fell upon persecutors.

Ansr. Christopher Gwin, being Constable of ffalmouth, being putt on by A souldier, one William Duncalf, took vp ffrancis Hodge and Richard Mills fore keeping on there hatts when A proclamation was read, and putt them wth a guard to Pendines Castle before ye gouernour, who tendered them ye Oath, & vpon refusale, sent ym with A guard to ye Maior of Penryn, who Likewise tendered them ye Oath, and vpon refusale, made there Mittemass, and Deliuered to ye said Christopher Gwin, who sent them to ye County Goal.

A while After this, Christopher Gwin was Chosen Maior of ffalmouth, and he being Intended to persecute friends Called a

² There is a space left in the manuscript for a reply to this question, but, apparently, it was never formulated.

hale, & gaue Command to bring friends before him to take ye Oath, butt wee took Little notice of it, neither did wee appear, whearupon hee aroas from ye binch in grat fury, and sd, "I will make them know yt I am A Magistrate," and gaue Strict command to bring us before him the day following ; butt before the next day came ye Lord was pleased to Cutt him of, for yt same night he went to bed well (as att other times), and the Next morning was found dead.

A short time after, friends being peacably meet together to wait upon ye Lord, Came Souldiers from Pendines Castle, Intending to doe us som mischief, butt our meetting was Ended before they Came, neuertheless they Entred into A friends hous in ye village, and took away one of our friends Coat (named John Crougey), which was worth about four nobles, and awhile after one of ye Souldiers (named William Bright), which was the chief Jnstrument therein, died misserably ; his flesh did rott from his boans.

Awhile after, Thomas Robinson,³ A Justice so called, Came to our Meetting wth a great Company wth Swords & Staues, and he took a List of our names, and took away ye key of ye Dore ; and ye week after he sent a warrant to the Constables of ye Parrish whearin our meetting was (which was then in Mabe), to com to our meetting ye next first daye to take us up, which accordingly they Didd, and putt us before ye sd Justice Robinson, who tendred us ye Oath, and upon refusale, made our Mittemas, and sent us to ye County Goal, whear we Continued untill ye Sessions. And there he appeared against us, wth a full Jntention to proceed against us to banishment, butt when our Mittemass was swered in sessions, he Coued not doe it being vnder butt his own hand. "Well then" (said he), "I will make it strong Enough next," butt before he Could have an Vppertunity to Act any further against vs he was slain by his own bull, near his hous in an Euening when his servant maid was milking, som of ye Cows being down in a Lane below his hous and the rest up in ye town wth ye bull. (The maid was milking in ye Lane.) And as she was

³ Described by Besse (*Coll. Suff.* i. 118) as "Major Robinson, a Justice of the Peace and Member of Parliament."

Milking she heard a grat Cry up in ye town, whearupon she hasted up to know ye Cause, and she found her master Lying against an Ash tree, and the bull pushing him ; she seeing that, was in a great fear, Cryed a Loud for help, so yt she was heard a half amile of, and wth all stept beetween her master & ye bull & took hould of his horns ; and ye bull took her up beetween his horns and Carried her about 20 passes and Left her down without hurt, and ran furiously att Robinson again, and Pusht him in the same place, Soe That he toar a hole in his thigh whearin aman might putt his fist, and Drunk up his blood from the ground. The maid Continued Crying for help, and putt her Life in her hand and took hould of ye Bulls horns again, Endeavouring to rescue her master, and ye bull threw her aside again, & did her no harm, butt Continued tearing her master, and although she Cryed so Loud for help that she was heard a half mile of, yet none of ye family did not hear her (yet it was in ye town place, near ye hous) before it was to Late, when he had Lost most part of his blood. Then the men Came out wth Corn picks & poals, butt ye Bull was so furious that they would not venture to goe near him, neither Could they gett away there master from him, before the bull went away of his own accord. They took him up and putt him to his bed, & he died in four dayes after.

6th p : to note ye Conwertion of such Enemies as are turned to god.

Ansr. of such persecuting Enemies turning to god wth us wee know of none.

STEPHEN RICHARDS,
JOHN RAILE,
EDWARD BELEY,⁴
THOMAS PHILIPES,

FRANCIS HODGE,
JOHN TREGELIS,
WILLIAM TRETOWAN,
PETER ODGER.

⁴ These are all autograph signatures, and appear to read as printed, but Nathaniel Fox, of Falmouth, who has gone over the proofs, thinks that "Edward Beley" stands for Edward Bealing, of Penryn. I find that the Cornish Registers give "Beley" as an alternative form of "Bealing," so that no doubt N. Fox is correct.

Whereas here hath ben du intention of Marriage proposed
 Betweene mess. John Tregelles of Stallion, in this County of Cornwall
 And Holmer Jose daughter unto Messrs. Jose of the parish of Simon
 in the said County. Both to the mens and womens meetings do on
 the thirde and tenth of the fifth month past and on the second day
 of the instant 6th month. And findinge no objection against the
 same, and the consent of the friends onely with it, hath this day in
 the presence of the parish and the Assembly of his people took oath
 alike to be man and wife according to Gods ordinance and the
 practis of his people whose names with ours are here under
 written this 20 day of this 6th month. 1676

Niggelab Rose
 John Scarth
 Saml Wells
 Sampson Jeffrey
 Thomas Gristler
 Willm. Gristler
 John Gillman
 Thomas Hooper
 John Roath
 John Charge

THOMAS PHILLIPS

Peter Jager
 Edward Abraham
 Isaac Chapman

John Tregelles
 Holmer Jose
 Elizabeth Jose
 Ann Scarth
 Pippa Stoffe
 Margal Shepard
 Jane Sambur
 Ann Dunben
 Susannah
 Elizabeth Thomas
 Mary Jose

No. 11.]

The Testimonies of John Tregelles of the Towne of ffalmouth and of Willm Trethowan & John Crowdgy of the same meeting, concerning such friends as first visited the sd Towne Parts adjacent with the message of the free Gosple of Peace.

It was in or about the year 1656 that our friends, George Bewley & James Miers, came from about Cumberland or Lancashire into these our parts, preaching freely the Gosple of Christ according to the measure communicated to them, and met hereaway some ready prepared to receive their message. By whose Labours ourselves with others were convinced, but we had yet noe settled meetings, our friends preaching often in the streets. About this time came alsoe our friend Ann Blaykline, who, with Grace Burgesse, of Truroe, went into the Baptist meeting at Falmouth and had Service there. She was alsoe taken up and sent to Pendennis Castle, where some of the Souldiery were reached and gathered by her. Our ffriend, George Fox, & his Companions, being taken up in the western parts of this County, were brought to this Towne, as may be seen in his journall. Soon after we were visited by our friend, Joseph Coal, of Reading, and his Testimony & Service was very comfortable & refreshing.

Then came Alexander Parker and Thomas Curtis, about the year 1657, and first settled meetings amongst us, and their service in the truth was very acceptable & helpfull to us. Soon after came our dear ffriend, Willm Dewsbury, with whom we had a Large meeting much to our refreshment. We had about this time a Large meeting appointed on Genreeve Downs, near Penrin, but the Soldiers, being sent from Pendennis Castle, hindred us from the quiet holding thereof. But we mett noe violent Persecution, untill ye returne of King Charles Steward, 1660, and we were then most of us taken up & imprisoned, and altho some few fell in that trying day, yet the most of ffriends out Lived that exercise, and the Tryalls of many reproaches and threatnings of Banishment & Losse of Goods, which was often our Portion.

Thus matters were with us in the beginning of our gathering, but the Lord sent sundry of his messengers for the watering & refreshing of us frequently, and stirred up some amongst our Selves, whom he qualefyed for his service.

Particularly our ancient ffriend, Nicholas Jose, who Lived near Landsend, a man true to his Testimony, faithfull in sufferings in which he was much exercised, & had a word in season ; he finished his Course in the peace of the Gosple in a good old age, & deceased at his owne house, and was buryed and [at] friends place of buryall near Landsend, the 16th day of the 11mo, 1694.

Richard Samble, of Falmouth, a worthy minister of Christ, a faithfull & industrious man in ye service of truth beyond many, of whom we might enlarge but something is already in print concerning him.⁵

Thomas Salthouse, of Lancashire, married a wife in this County of Cornwall, & settled at Austle, visited meetings through Cornwall & Devon and often to Bristoll & London, & suffered imprisonment for his Testimony against swearing, about the year 1684. Sometime after the release of ffriends, being at a meeting in prayer, was seized with Jllnesse, whereof he dyed the 29th 11mo, and was buryed at ffriends buryall ground in ye parish of Austle, the 1st day of ye 12mo, 1690.

We cannot give any positive account of the Births, ages, and buryalls of those friends who first travelled amongst us, they comeing from remote parts. As to those who first received them, most are deceased, some few fell away, and we yet remain as monuments of thee Lords mercy to praise his holy name. Amen.

JOHN TREGELLES.
WILLIAM TRETOWAN.
JOHN CROWGIE.

⁵ This bears the quaint title, *A Handful after the Harvest-Man*, and contains Testimonies to his value by Thomas Salthouse, John Peters, John Tregelles, William Trethowan, and others. London, 1684. There is also a brief account of his life in Evans's *Friends' Library*, vol. 12. He died 1680.

John Scantlebury, of the sd Towne of Falmouth, his Testimony in the foregoing Case.

I, John Scantlebury, of the sd Towne, though not of the first convinced, yet came in some time after, when the act for Banishing friends was in force. Our ffriend, Christopher Bacon, was made instrumentall in my convincement; he was of Somersetshire, but travelled sometimes into these parts. He had a sound serviceable testimony for the Convincing people, and watering the Lords heritage. After many Tedious travells and exercises, he came this way in the tenth month, 1678, was Taken up at Truroe, and there knocked to ground by a vile persecutour. From thence he came very weak & sick to my house, and in about 12 days departed to his Long & better home, and was buryed at our buryall ground near Falmouth, the 31. X mo., 1678; he was greatly opened in his sicknesse to declare unto us the things of the Kingdom of God; went home in peace. Some account⁶ may be already in print concerning him, but this is alsoe thought due to his memory from mee,

JOHN SCANTLEBURY.

⁶ *Richard Samble's TESTIMONY concerning CHRISTOPHER BACON; c. 1678;*

Cumberland.¹

Carlisle.

Some short & breife Account of ye first Rise and progress of Truth in this City, Carlisle, & who was ye first Publishrs of ye day of Salutation, & who received ym, and how Meetings was first obtained in this City.

The first Publishr of ye Gospell here was George Fox, who went into ye Cathedrall, Called St Maries, where his voice brought a dread ovr some there who afrwards was Convinced, as is more att Large sett forth jn his Journall.

Then Leanard fell & Robert Withrs with some othrs Came afrwards in ye time of Richard Crumwell, & some of ye soldiers was Convinced, as John Stubbs & his wife, also William Parkr and wife, wth sevrall othrs thereaway towards Scotby that was Convinced. And tho but few in numbr, they were Concerned for some provission to be made towards a Meeting to be held some times in Carlisle ; & one Thomas Bewley, of Hartleif hall,² bought a house in ye Abbey for a meeting house for ye furthrance of ye worke of Truth, and many Comfortable Meetings frds

¹ The Cumberland manuscripts are much more numerous than those of any other county. The first set (Nos. 12-26) appears to have been written by nine different Friends ; the other series (Nos. 79-89, including 87a) is in one handwriting of contemporary date. Nos. 79-89 were presented to D. in 1900, by William Fletcher formerly M.P. for Cockermouth, and are in a very tender condition. A few of this latter series supplement the accounts given in Nos. 12-26, but the majority duplicate them, though not verbatim.

In *The British Friend*, vol. 28 (1870), p. 269, a similar document to the above, though not the same as any of them, is reproduced by Henry T. Wake. It does not appear to present any fresh facts.

For several Friends mentioned under this county, see Ferguson's *Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends*, 1871.

² *The Bewleys of Cumberland*, by Sir Edmund Thomas Bewley, Dublin, 1902, gives numerous references to Thomas Bewley, of Haltcliffe Hall, the first Bewley to join the followers of Fox, and his descendants. The Bewleys were related by marriage to Wilfrid Lawson, of Isell,

had in it, untill that some time after the officers & soldiers grew rude, raged, and Cruell, & disturbed frds much in ye time of one Stedholme, & Craistr, Justices of peace so Called, in ye time of Richard Crumwell, and there then appearing some Change of govermt, & one Captain Tongue, in araged Manr, Comeing to ye Meeting, Commanded his soldiers to Clubb their Muskets and drive frds out of ye Meeting house, and tooke it from them by force ; aftr wch frds Meet togethr in ye Abbey for some time, untill ye Magistrates, growing bittr and Jndeavouring to keep frds out of ye City, shut ye gates of them ; which, when they had so done, ffrds held their Meeting some time on ye outside undr ye wals. And ye Govermt so Changing, King Charles Came in, the Meeting house yn was taken from frds and became a seat for the Prebends, as appears to this day, and altho they tooke it from frds, yett ye sevrall Remarkable accidents, which has befallen some that dwelt therein from time to time, are Considerable. So friends being dispossesed of it, and some dieing, Meetings here was dropt for many years, near ye space of twenty.

About wch time, ye Lord was pleased to begett some stirring desires in one John Carlile, a tannr by occupation, in ye year one thousand six hundred and seventy three or thereabouts.³ Then a friend, one John Grave, att that time Comeing to have a meeting att John Hows, of Newtown near Carlisle, att wch Meeting John Carlile being there wth others, and fealing of ye love of God Renewed affresh unto him, att that Meeting was much strengthened in his Convincent, and, being faithfull, he grew in the Truth, and ye Lords goodness to him much Confirmed him, and aftr some time Came furth in asweet, Liveing testimony ; and also being of an Jnnocent Convrstation, became of Good service in this City, and in much love Received frds that travelled in the service of Truth. And it happening att a time

first baronet, who appears in G. Fox's *Journal* as a persecutor of early Friends. See also *Genealogy of the Family of Mark*, 1898.

Haltcliffe Hall, in the parish of Caldbeck, was built by Thomas Bewley in 1653, the year in which George Fox visited Cumberland.

³ For a brief account of John Carlile, see *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 76 (1903), pp. 321, 339. He died in 1706, aged 74.

when A friend, one Anthony ffell, Comeing to ye said Jno Carliles house, and wth is family and othrs had a Meeting in his house, at wch ye maior and Magistrates, being much Raged thereatt, fined ye sd Jno Carlile twenty pounds, and made therefor distress of his goods by the Cunstable that year, and altho publick sale there of was Cryed, and Every body declineing to buy, they remained in their hands & became a burden to them. Ye year folling, ye sd Jno Carlile being Cunstable by Course, they returned ye goods again to him, tho not wth out damage. So he being preserved faithfull in his testimony, some time afr his wife being Convinced, & also his Children growing up in the Truth, and othrs being Convinced, they did Joyne themselves as membrs of Scotby Meeting for sevrall years.

Afr wch, frds Jncreasing and Truth gaining ground Among ye Jnhabitants thereof, had occation to hope that a meeting sometime in the City might be of Good service ; in odr to which some Considerations did Entr ye minds of frds both Jn City and Country about it, so as the frds agreed that ye Meeting by Course should be held in ye City, once in three weeks att the house of Jsaac Huntington, about ye year one thousand six hundred and ninety three, & remained so for sevrall years. So that Truth prospering and friends Jncreased in or about the town, then fully beleiveing that A publick Meeting house therein might be of service, frds therefore in ye City, being free to Jncurridge ye building of A meeting house, did nominate something towards ye same, and it Meeting with good Jncorridgemt from frds more generally in ye County, did proceed, and ye house was built in ye year one thousand seven hundred and two, and Meetings by Course held in it for some time, and afr which it by Consent became a setled Meeting ; and tho in ye Morning of ye day ye Magistrates and soldiers was severe in abuseing frds that they could not Enjoye their Meetings peaceably, yett ye Lord who turns ye hearts of Kings and Magistrates as rivrs of watr, Hath made way that wee have our Meetings peaceable in this City, for wch wee are thankfull unto the Lord, who is worthy to have ye praise of his own worke now and for Ever. Amen.

No. 13.]

Pardshaw.⁴

An accot of the Rise and Progress of Truth in Pardshaw Mo Meet in Cumberland, and who were the first Messengers of Glad Tideings there; What sufferings some of them met with; And what success their Labours had.

1653. James Lancaster (as accot is given by an^eAncient frd) was the first frd that Came into Cumberland, and at a Market Town, called Egermond, he declared Truth in the Street and had noe Disturbance; and the people very attentive.

He came from thence to Stockhow, where some thereabouts was Convinced by him (one of which was Antho Patrickson, who afterwards Bore a Publick Testymony to ye Truth); after which the sd James Return'd and went out of the County. And a little after, yt faithfull servt of the Lord, G : ffox, an early Messenger, came to Bootle in Cumberland, in the year 1653, and on the first day of the week he went into the Steeple house there, and when the preist had Done he spoke to ye people, But they were exceeding Rude and beat him in the steeple house yard. And after his Service there he went to one Joseph Nicholson's house (who Reced Truth), and so passed on to Embleton Bell house where a meeting was appointed for him; and sevrall Priests there met to Oppose the Testymony of truth, one of which was John Stubbs, and as G ff was speaking, That the pure in heart shou'd see god, "I witness it," sd he, at which words Jno Stubbs was Convinced; and there was a bundance of people convinced yt day, for the Lords power went over all.

There being one George Larkam, an Independant priest, who cried, saying,

"Where is this ffox yt Deceives the people? Jle Katechise him."

And when he mett G : ff, he askt him, what god was.

G : ff replied, "The word."

"I Deny yt," sd G : L.

⁴ Nos. 84, 85, 86, 87, 87a, are parallel accounts of Pardshaw, Crosfield, Cockermouth, Isell, Portinscale, Broughton, Birker.

G. ff replied, "Take notice, people, he denies the Scripture, 'In the begining was the word, and the word was with god, and the word was god'" ; to wch G : L:⁵ was silent and confounded. So after yt he passed on to Cockermo steeple house on a first day, where he spoke to ye people, who were Rude, but the Souldiers told them they had Broke noe law. Then the people were quiet ; and he spoke to the priest and laid him open ; And in the afternoon he passed on to Brigham steeple house ; and the people haveing bin mightily affected at the othr meeting came thither in great Companies ; and the Lord gave him a fine oppertunity, and abundance was Convinced. And John Wilkinson, then the priest there (who was afterwards convinced by him and became a faithfull minister of Xt), said privately to some of his hearers yt G ff had overthrown them all. And some of them said, "Now wee know the first step to peace."

He went from Brigham to some other places in this County, where he met with opposition, and was put in Carlile goal, in the Dungeon there. After his Release out of prison he return'd to Brigham Steeple house again, where he declared the truth to the People, though they were but a few, for the most of Wilkinson hearers were turnd to Christ's free teaching ; and though the preist opposed G : ff :, yet the Lords power came over him ; & so he returnd to Longlands, where he had a meeting of many hundreds, and abundance were convinced there and in many other places of this County, as may more at large appear by his Journall.

1653. Robt. Withers, another early Messenger, came with J Lancaster into this County (near the time when G ff came), and they had a meeting at Embleton Bell house aforesd, where

⁵ George Larkham, M.A., was one of the ejected Ministers and is mentioned favorably in Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*. In his Church diary (see Lewis's *History of the Congregational Church, Cockermouth*, 1870, there are frequent references to Quakers who troubled his Church. He writes, "John Wilkinson, the Pastor of that Church [Brigham], departed with the most of his people to the Quakers, to his great shame and infamy. The Lord convince him of his error. Amen. Amen. Amen." See my leaflet on "*Priest Larkham*" and the early Friends, reprinted in *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 76. (1902), p. 10.

Preist Wilkinson aforesd was preaching concerning the failing⁶ of the saints.

“And you yt are Sts knows it,” sd Wilkinson.

But J. L. answered him, “It’s thy own Condition ; own it.”

Robt Withers spoke to ye priest & people in publick, and Charged them in the prsence of god that if any of them Could tell wt woud become of their souls if they shou’d be cut of at that present, let them speak. But never one of them durst open their mouths in answer to him. Then stood up one Bayliff Pearson, & sd,

“You Disturb us from hearing the word of god.”

R W : Replied again, “Thou never heard the word of god in all thy life ; thou art but a sinfull man.”

To the wch the Bayliff answered, “God forgiv us, wee are all sinfull enough.”

And from Embleton the sd R W : was moved to goe to Coldbeck Steeple house, where he spoke to preist Hutton, when he was in his high place, and the Rude people, the priests hearers, threw Robert down amongst the seats, and Dragged him forth into the yard, and threw him down upon the ground, and punchd & Beat him untill the blood gushed out at his mouth. [No. 14.] And he lay for Dead some time, But a woman took pity of him, & held up his Head till his Breath come to him again (as some sd who stood by). And on the same day in ye afternoon he went 7 miles to Aketon Steeple house, where he spoke to Priest Nichols, of Aikton, in his high place, & sd, “Come down, thou deceiver, thou enemy of Xt, the hand of the Lord is agst thee.” And one Wm Briscoe, of Crofton, then present (a Justice so called), Comanded the Constable to secure⁷ him, and after examined him in ye preist’s house. And the priest Nichols flattered & fawned upon Robert, But he told him yt ye Spirit of persecution lodged in him ; But the priest sd, nay, he was noe such man. Then presently after, the priest sd to ye Justice, yt he had stollen his Horse, & yt he Cou’d find in his heart to be his executioner wth his own hands ; then

⁶ No. 84 reads “falling.”

⁷ No. 84 reads “to silence.”

Robt told him again, "Did not I say unto thee yt the spirit of Persecution lodged in thee?" so the sd Justice made a warrt to send the sd Robt to Carlile goal; and after he had given the warrt to ye Constable, he Called Robt before him again, & asked him by what Authority or power he came to seduce people & bewitch Them. Robt answered yt he came not to seduce people & bewitch them, But yt he came in yt power wch woud make him & all the powers of the earth to bend & bow before it, (*viz.*) the almighty power of god. And as Robt spoke these words from the eternall word, the terror & Dread of god took hold upon the Justice & smote his heart; then he Called for his warrt again out of the Constable's hand, and Caused the constable to put him on to a Moor near night. So the Lord delivered him at yt time.

But not long after, Robt was moved of the Lord to goe to ye sd Aikton Steeple house again, where the sd Justice Briscoe then had power to send him to ye Comon goal at Carlile, where he did lye in ye Dungeon amongst theeves along time, and never came out night nor day untill he was Released. Then afterwards the sd Robt went to Lamplugh Bell house, & spoke to ye priest & people, & they were very Rude, & tore the hair of his head & Rent his Coat. And in the afternoon on the same day, he went to another steeple house abt 2 miles from thence, & spoke to ye priest; but he went away & would not stay; this was in the year 1653 when he first came into Cumberland. Severall was convinced by him, for his service was to speak to particular persons, he haveing the spirit of Disserning by wch he could read the states & Conditions of many. Much more might be sd of this worthy man, But shall referr to his Journall which doth and may more at large appear.⁸

1653. James Lancaster, at another time, went to a place called St Bees, & bore a publick Testymony for the Truth. He was sore Beat, & had his Coat Torn by the rude people; they drove him upon a Bridge & there threw him into the water; And he stood in the water declareing the truth, they haveing so

⁸ *The Life and Death, TRAVELS, and SUFFERINGS of ROBERT WIDDERS, 1688,*

wounded him with punching & beating his Legs, that the Blood run down the water ; & afterwards he went to a house where the people out of pity took him in. Notwithstanding their Rudeness the Lords power prevailed, And many hearts were reached, & severall convinced by him in this County.

1653. And soon after G :ff was here, then came John Audland, Edwd Borough, and Tho Holm, and had another meet at Embleton, and afterwards went with Peter Head, of Pardshow (who reced the truth), and they appointed another meet at Mosser Chappell, where there was near halfe a Hundred convinced of the truth, and they return'd again to ye sd Peter Head's house. Many other faithfull servts of the Lord came as early messengers into this County, (*viz.*) G: Whitehead, Wm Dewsbury, ffrancis Howgill, Tho Briggs, Wm Simpson, Tho Salthouse, John Blaikling, & Miles Halehead, who were Instruemtall for the Convincing of many people ; and great were their sufferings by wicked men in beating, abusing them, and many of them Imprisoned.

And about this time, after the meeting had bin at Mosser Chappell aforesd, then frds settled a meeting at the sd Peter Head's house, wch was the first meeting yt was settled in Cumberland ; & many were convinced of the truth, that the houses Could not Contain them, But they met without Doors, for many years, on a place called Pardshow Cragg, & abundance of People crooded to the meets, & great were there sufferings in those parts by scoffing, beating, & blood shed, that frds did undergoe from the priests & wicked men. Yet truth still prevailed, & those yt kept to it grew stronger and stronger.

And many worthy Instruemts were early Raised in this meeting (called Pardshow meeting), as John Tiffin, John Burnyeat, John Steel, John Banckes, & John Wilkinson, who were all faithfull Labourers in the gospell and were as pillars in the Church, with many more worthies yt stood firm to the end through all Sufferings. Some accot of their lives, labours, convincemts, Dyeing sayings, & sufferings entered as followeth :—

No. 15.]

1653. John Tiffin was early convinced, and one of the first

that had a meeting in Ireland. He was nine times in it on truths accot, & lived to see a Brave people in yt nation. And the first time he went for Ireland the seamen at Whitehav'n would not take him because he was a Quaker, so he travelled on his foot to Liverpool, and from thence to Bristoll, before he could get shipping. He was a sweet, tender spirited man, sound in judgmt, and had a liveing Testimony; and severall times suffered the spoiling of his goods for the same. He ended his days sweetly in great unity with the Bretheren.

John Burnyt was Convinced in the year 1653 aforesd. He was a man of an Excellent spirit, & laboured in the work of the gospell many years; & many were turned from Darkness to light by his Ministry in many parts of this nation, And also in Scotland, Ireland, & America, where he had great Service in those nations. He was a man very Serviceable in Settling good Order & Disscipline in many places. He finished his course & ended his days sweetly; his travells, service, sufferings, & Jmprisonmts for the testymony of truth may be seen more at large in his Journalls.⁹

John Steele was a man the Lords power was wonderfully with, & endewed wth a spirit of deep desering, that the states of many were made known to him; & his service was great in warning many of secret faults privatly; & many thereby who took warning was helped by him, and others who rejected his counsell suffered Loss & came to nought. He was one yt placed Judgmt upon yt Spirit of Separation yt appeared in John Wilkinson & Jo: Story at a meet at Drawwells in Yorkshire.¹⁰ His Testymony was but short, yet powerfull & peirceing agst deceit, and was as a nail fastened in a sure place. He suffered the spoiling of his goods for the Testimony sake; And towards the latter end of his days he was roused up to proclaim war agst

⁹ *The Truth Exalted in the WRITINGS of that eminent and Faithful Servant of CHRIST, JOHN BURNYEAT, 1691.*

¹⁰ For an account of his remarkable address on this occasion, see *The Irish Friend*, ii, 27, and for the Wilkinson and Story Controversy see *THE JOURNAL*, i, 57.

Deceit, and hastened to get his days work done, & finished in peace. His dyeing sayings may be seen in *Piety Promoted*.¹¹

Tho Stubbs was convinced of the truth in the year 1653. The Lord opened his mouth in a publick Testymony; he declared Truth at severall places amongst the people, where he suffered hard usuage as beating, blood shed, & his Cloaths torn, yet truth prospered, & severall Convinced by him.

John Bankes was a man of great service for the Convinced of many. He travelled much in England & Ireland, & went through great Sufferings both by spoiling of his goods & Imprisonment of his body for many years. He laboured much in this County, & was Instrumentall for ye settling of severall meetings in it, and greatly promoted Dissipline & good Order amongst frds. He Removed from his place of Residence he had hereaway, severall yeares agoe, into the County of Somersetshire and is yet liveing.

John Wilkinson (who was a priest at Brigham aforesd), after his Convinced, came to know a waiting in Deep Silence till the Lord opened his mouth. He had a Convinced Testymony, and was of great service to many. He travelled severall years on truths accot in England & Ireland, and finished in peace.

Philip Burnyeat was early convinced, & was a man of a meek spirit. He loved the appearance of truth in whomsoevr it appeared, and eschewed evill. He had a publick Testymony, (and though he travelled not much) yet it was fresh & liveing, and was of great service amongst frds, & well beloved of them. He suffered the spoiling of his goods for the testymony of truth & ended his days sweetly in the unity of frds.

Richard Head reced Truth early. He was a man of a Sober conversaçon, well beloved of his Neighbours, concern'd to live a godly & exemplary life, & Rebuked some for vanity. He was serviceable in the Church for the promotion of Dissipline & good Order, And suffered the Imprisonmt of his body for the Testymony's sake, and died in the unity of frds.

¹¹ *Piety Promoted in a COLLECTION of the Dying Sayings of many of the People call'd Quakers, 1701, etc.*

1653. Christopher Wilson was one yt early embraced Truth in wch he lived & died. He was a man that had low thoughts of himselfe, although well Reputed of his Neighbors for his honesty amongst men & free heartedness. He was a man concerned for the carrying on & manageing of Truths affairs, & was ready and willing to give up his time for the promotion of the same; and was faithfull in suffering for truth (being fined &c). His heart & house was kept open to entertain frds, and was belloved of them till his dyeing day; towards the latter part of his time, being under great affliction of body, yet born up in spirit, And a little before his death spoke of the goodness of god to him before some of his family, saying he was freely given up to dye, & exhorted his Children to live in love & unity one with another, with sevrall more sweet expressions; and in a few days after finished his course in peace.

No. 16.]

Peter Head, of Pardshow, aforesd, was one yt reced Truth & frds in the year 1653. He entertain'd frds at their first comeing; his house & heart was free & open to entertain them, so long as he had a family. Frds kept meets at his house for many years. He suffered the spoiling of his goods, (& was fined) & Imprisoned for the testymonies sake; and died in the unity of frds.

John ffearon, of Eaglesfeild Cragg, was early Convinced & reced Truth in the Love of it. He was a man of a solid life, sound in Judgmt, and free & open hearted to entertain Travelling frds. He freely gave up his house for many years for frds to keep meets in, ffor wch he greatly suffered the spoiling of his goods, as also for the Testimony of truth. He was a faithfull, true hearted man to the end of his days.

Many more profound men & women were raised in this meeting, who suffered greatly the spoiling of their goods & Imprsonmt of their bodies, and were as the stakes of Sion yt Could not be moved; and the Lord wonderfully Blessed them, & bore them up through great sufferings yt Came upon them for the tryall of their faith. Thus it pleased the Lord to Cause truth to prosper in this part of the County, so yt frds Increased

to a great number ; and a meeting shortly after settled on a place called Pardshow Cragg for many years ; & truth prevailed in many towns & villiages, & many convinced. Although the enemy raged & stirred up his Instruements to rayse persecution, & many foundations were tryed, & sevrall turned from the Truth, that proved as the stony ground in the time of tryall, and turn'd with the Dog to the vomit, Yet the Lords power prevailed, & they yt Dwelt wth it were settled & grew strong. And after some time the sd meeting at Pardshow Cragg was Divided into fower quarters in the winter time, & so kept their meetings at frds houses (*viz.*), one at Lamplugh, another at Pardshow, another at Whinfell, & another at Eaglesfield. And sevrall frds suffered deeply the spoiling of their goods. And in the summer time the meetings were kept together at the aforesd place on Pardshow Cragg till the year 1672. Then frds builded a meeting house there, and kept their meets in it both winter & summer. And great was their sufferings about this time on the accot of the Conventicle act, yet the Lord was effectually with them & gave them Courage and boldness.

Crosfield.

A Branch of Pardsham.

And in the year 1677, severall were Convinced abt Crosfeild, and had a long way to the meeting at Pardshow Cragg, so yt frds saw it Convenient to settle a meeting there at Wm Carter's house (who was raised to be a true minister of the everlasting gossell & was faithfull in his day). The frds abt Crosfeild & thereaways belong'd to Pardshow meeting aforesd. Truth was precious & wonderfully prevailed, & frds hearts affected wth it in sevrall places, and Increased in number at this meeting of Pardshow, so yt abt the year 1688 another meeting was taken from it & settled at Cockermouth, and a meeting house provided there as hereafter appeareth. And after the sd two meets was taken from Pardshow meet, frds Children grew up, and some Convinced of the truth thereaway, so yt frds Increased & truth mightly prevailed. And in the year 1705, then frds saw it needfull to enlarge their meeting house. And this ancient meet

is yet kept up, & sevrall yt are not of us is Comeing at times to our meets. And through the goodness of god, frds yet contains in number sevrall Hundreds, that belong to Pardshow meeting.

No. 17.]

In the year 1673, John Wilkinson, aforesd (as accot is given), was the first publisher of truth abt Crosfeild, and had a meeting at John Nicholson's house. And in the year 1674, the sd John Wilkinson, John Burnyeat, John Grave, John Tiffin, Tho Carelton, & Tho: Atkinson all had meets at the sd John Nicholson's house. And after yt, sevrall meetings were held abt Crosfeild, and John Bankes, John Tiffin, & some others were Instruementall to settle a meeting there, at Wm Carters house. And in the year 1677, then frds saw needfull to build a meeting house near Crosfeild, and severall frds being added thereto, It increased, and Continues a meeting to this time.

Wm Carter, a member of this meeting, was early Convinced, Suffered on truths accot, and was rayseed to be an able minister of the gospell, & laboured faithfully therein in Divers parts of this nation, & in Scotland also, as may be seen more at large in a book of frds Testimony concerning him.¹²

Cockermouth.

Another Branch of Pardshaw.

frds abt Cockermo & thereaway were abt 3 miles from Pardshow meeting, and were members of that meet for many years. And it pleased the Lord to add to the number of his people at the meeting of Pardshow, that it became very large, so that for the Accomodaçon & more Conveniency of sevrall frds thereunto belonging, There was a meeting house prvided in Cockermouth in the year 1688, and a meeting settled there in the 10th mo of the same. And it pleased the Lord to send his messengers thither to give them many vissits; & some were Convinced of the Blessed truth, & sevrall removed to live thereabouts, (and although sevrall frds are removed by Death

¹² *The MEMORY of that Faithful Servant of Christ, William Carter, REVIVED, etc.* He died at the house of Thomas Lower, at Marsh Grange. near Swarthmore, 1686.

& some otherwise from this meeting since settled) yet the meet is larger ; & so continues a settled meeting to this day.

Bartholemew Elston was a member of this meeting, & a serviceable man therein, being Instrumentall for the settlemt thereof. He had a few words sometimes in meetings (though not much concerned yt way), wch was Edyfieing. He was of good report amongst men, of a solid, sober conversation ; he lov'd the appearance of truth in any, & swift to rebuke sevrall for their wickedness. He was concerned for good order & Dissipline in the Church, a help & strength to the weak. So he dyed in unity & good repute of frds.

Jsell.

In the [year] 1653, when James Lancaster & Robt Withers were in this County, they published truth abt Jsell, & in the same year came G ff & James Naylor thereaway's, who settled a meeting upon a Hill called Settraw, on the Comon near Sunderland, & there were severall Convinced who reced the truth in the love of it. And in the year 1673, frds yt kept their meetings on the aforesd Hill by agreemt remov'd the same to frds houses (unto Wm Adcocks, Katherine ffell's, Tho Scots, John Bell's, & Peter Hudsons), where they kept their meetings by turn untill the year 1687, in wch year frds belonging to this meet Builded a meeting house at Bewoldeth wherein the meet (called by the name of Jsell meet) is kept, & yet Continues till this time.

John Grave, who was a member of this meet, reced truth in the year 1654, being Invyted by a frd to a sylent meet, in wch gods Heavenly power broke in upon him, whereby he was wonderfully shaken, insoemuch yt he was constrain'd to Cry out agst the many gods in Egypt. He was a faithfull minister of Xt, & much Drawn to the Steeple houses to reprove the priests for their Deceit ; and often had meets near them, as at Brigham, Turpenhow, & Asspetrick, & many other places, for wch he underwent Hard & cruell usuage by beating & Bruising him, pulling the Hair of his head, Bloodshed, abuseing, & like to have slain him. He suffered Imprisonmt of his body for the

Testimonies sake. And in one place a priest wife (when John Grave was at prayer) got a Hat, & endeavoured to stop his mouth therewith, But the Lord gave him power, courage, & boldness to withstand all opposers & gainsayers of his precious truth, he being not Daunted for any mans threatening. He was Imprsoned 22 weeks by Lan ffletcher, called a Justice of peace, And afterwards he was Carried before Phillip Musgrave (another Justice so called), & some other persons in authority, who tendered him the Oaths of Alleigance & Supremacy, & for refusing the same he was Comitted to Goal, where he remaind a considerable time before he was released. This worthy man was a faithfull Instruemt of the Lord ; and dyed in peace & unity of the Bretheren.

Tho: Scot, a member of this meet, reced truth in early days. He underwent deep suffering by spoiling of his goods, for ye testimony of truth ; he freely entertain'd frds, & was serviceable in manageing truths affairs ; and it is believed he sweetly ended his days in the Lord.

John Westray was early convinced, and reced truth. He stood firm through great sufferings that came upon him, by spoyling of his goods for bearing a testimony for ye truth. He is yet liveing, although attaind to a great age, and lives in unity with frds.

No. 18.]

Portingscale.

In the year 1653, when friends came firstt into Cumberland, Wm Dewsbury (as Accountt is given) was the firstt thatt declared Truth at Portingskell ; and the firstt Recievers thereof in thatt Meeting were Anthony Tickell, Hugh Tickell, & John Willson, and Thomas Dockwray, and severall others, and they settled a Meeting att Portingskell aforesaid. ffriends there had some Service att Steeple houses & Marketts, And also in Meetings, in Testimony for the Truth, for which some of them suffer'd the spoiling of their goods and Jmprisonment of their bodies ; the Meeting being keptt att Portingskell for some time. Then the said Hugh Tickell afterwards purchas'd a House and an Orchard near Keswick, att his own Charge, and Convey'd

the same to friends ; in which house the Meeting hath been keptt for many years, and yett Remains, and is keptt up there till this Time.

Hugh Tickell reciev'd Truth early, as aforesd. Hee was a serviceable Man in thatt Meeting, and kindly entertained friends who travell'd on Truths Accountt. And thatt wordly Riches, which itt pleased the Lord to bestow on him, hee made many pertakers thereof ; hee settled some parcells of land to the use of the poor of the parish where hee lived, and a Considerable quantity of Land to friends, the Rents¹³ whereof to the use of poor friends in this County. Hee lived & dyed also in the Unity of friends.

Thomas Laythes, who was a Member of this Meeting, and lived many years within the Compass thereof. Hee was a Man of a solid Life, and was wellbelov'd by mostt of Men for his honesty & true heartedness ; hee was a lowly, meek, and sweett spirited Man, exceeding many others in Sobriety & Comeliness amongstt men ; hee had a few Words in Meetings sometimes, wch was Comfortable to the Hearers. Hee was Sound in Judgmentt, serviceable in the Church for Discipline, and suffer'd the spoiling of his goods for the Testimony's Sake. Hee gave many seasonable Cautions & Warnings to the wicked by writing severall Papers. Much more mightt be said of this true hearted Man, butt shall Refer to a book of his Works, and friends Testimony Concerning him.¹⁴ Hee ended his Days sweetly in the Lord, and was Accompanied by many friends and other sober People to his Buriall.

Broughton.

The firstt friends who came within the Compass of Broughton Meeting were James Lancaster & Robert Widders, in the year 1653. They went to Ribton Hall, and as they Came back through great Broughton, severall Professors mett with them, and they wentt into a House in Broughton, and many

¹³ No: 87 reads "rest."

¹⁴ *The Inward and Spiritual Christian*, 1705, contains his works and also an account of his conviction. He died 1701.

followed them in and heard the Truth declared, Some whereof were Convinced and Remain'd soe to their dying Day.

And some Time after, James Lancaster appointed a Meeting att Henry Wilkinson's, of Rosegill, near Deerham, where severall People Came, amongstt whom the said James Lancaster declared Truth, and Some were Convinced, who gave up their Houses to keep Meetings att, and Entertained ffrinds.

The first Meeting thatt was appointed att great Broughton was by Thomas Stubs, att Parcival Sargentts House, where Truth was declared, and severall Convinced, who were Serviceable Men in their Day, and dyed in the firm Belief of the Truth. And the firstt Meeting thatt was settled within the Compass of Broughton Meeting was att a place called Standing Stone on Broughton Common, where Meetings did Continue for some Time ; Butt in a few years after, the Meeting was Removed to John Gibson's, of Deerham, one firstt Day, and to Richard Ribton's, of greatt Broughton, the other firstt Day, and Continued soe for some years. And the said John Gibson and Richard Ribton became principall Entertainer's of ffrinds.

And in the year 1679, ffrinds Increased and grew more Numerous on Broughton Side, and their Meetings were Ordered to be one Week att Deerham, and another Week att litle Broughton, and another Week att great Broughton. And the Lord was pleased to give to the Inhabitants of Broughton a Renew'd Day of his tender & fresh Visitation, wherein Severall were Convinced and Came to own Truth, some whereof Continues to this Day.

And aboutt the year 1687, ffrinds Increased soe in Number thatt mostt of the dwelling houses was to litle to Contain the Meeting, soe thatt the ffrinds belonging thatt Meeting, agreed to build a Meeting House att litle Broughton, where they keep their Meeting firstt Day & Week Day mostly, excepting two firstt Days of the Week every year, on which the Meeting is Removed to Gawen Biggland's, of Birkby.

Birker.

William Willson, of Longdale Chappel Steel (as Accountt is given), was the firstt who bore a publick Testimony to the Truth & Day of the Lord att Eshdale, where he spoke to the People att their publick Place of Worship, and exhorted them to mind thatt of God in their Consciences, and turn to that holy Lightt & Law which hee had putt in their Inward parts, thatt by the same they mightt come to know the Will of God and doe itt ; for declareing of which hee suffer'd by One Priestt Parker, who in Cruell Rage did beatt & wound him with one of his Crutches, untill the Blood runn down his Shoulders. The Priestt being lame, and nott able as he would to effectt his purpose, Caused his horse to be broughtt, on which hee Mounted, and in the sightt of the People hee broke his staff in three pieces on William's bare head, which made the People Cry outt againstt his Merciless Work. Butt before the Priestt gott home hee was struck with sickness, thatt hee never came more to the Steeple House ; and dureing the Time of his sickness hee was loathsom & stinking above ground, and soe the Wicked Priestt dyed. Wm Willson came again afterwards, and visited the People aboutt Eshdale, for which hee mett with great suffering by another Priestt att thatt Place.

A Meeting was settled thereaway in early Days, call'd Birkerah Meeting, which yett Continues there. Edward Tyson & James Stenton were the first who Recieved Truth thereaway, and Suffered for the same ; and the Meeting was keptt att Edwards House for many years, and is yett keptt there to this Day.

No. 19.]

Caldbeck.¹⁵

The first Publisher of Truth in ye Monthly Meeting of Coldbeck Was George Fox. He Came to Thomas Bewlys, of Haltelif hall, About the beginning of the 6th Month, 1653, and was entertained by the said Thomas, Whose former days had

¹⁵ Nos. 82, 83, referring to Caldbeck and Sowerby, are the same as No. 19;

been spent in true Retirement and thoughtfulness of his latter end. He was formerly Dissatisfied with the Nationall ministrey that Plead for the Continuing of sinn, and did not beleive they were the Called of God ; he ceaced to use their Ministrey, being fully Convinced of their Errors by the spirit of God in his heart. When he With his family heard the truth Plainly & Profoundly borne Testimony Tow by the Servant & Messenger of the Lord, Then gladly Did he Receive ye Gospel Messige, and Chearfully Entertained ye Mesingers of it from yt unto his Dying Day. His house he freely offered it for A Meeting place, Where a Meeting Did Continue all his time, & many Glorious, heart Melting, Soul Efecting time was under his Roof, God noe doubt Approveing of his offering. He suffered Chearfully & stood valiently for Gods Cause, for both in body & goods was he tried, in all which Through ye grace of God he was kept steadfast, unmovable, allways Abounding in ye work of ye Lord. 14 years was he a Prisoner ; in all this Time his heart was firm, his soul was humble, and had Exelent Corage for his Maisters Cause. A Little before his departure out of this life, he said, "God hath Preserved Me faithfull hitherto ; I have done wth this World, & all those Things that God hath given or Rather Lent me to soiurn with I must leave, & am willing to go where & when My Creator pleaseth, with whom I hope to be and Reign wth Christ my Redeemer for evermore." Soe powerfull was ye word of life yt severall were Reached, Convinced, & gladly Received ye truth att the first hearing of it, and lived & dyed in itt. Dorithy, ye wife of ye above named Thomas, Received ye truth att yt time wth her husband, & was A true ffriend to the flock of god & Cause of Christ, A helpmeet And strenth to her husband in his sufferings, a visiter of ye sufferers, & Chearfull Entertainer of Gods People, And Dyed in Vnity with Friends.

George Bulewy, & the rest of ye said Thomas Bewlys Children & ffamily, Received Truth at ye afore Mentioned time ; and George, his son, Received A gift of the Ministry, & was often Concerned to go to Steeple houses & declare the aproaching day of Gods salvation, and Manifestation of his light and Grace Jn ye hearts of all people ; for which he was often hardly

Used by Rude people. He Traueled in Many Places of this Nation Jn the Service of the gospell, & his Labours were Efectual to the turning many to ye knowledge of Rest and peace ; he suffered Cruell whippings 3 times att Bidport in ye County of Docett, Jmprisonment & spoiling of goods at home Jn Cumberland. He also Entertained ye meeting, as did his father, all his days. Through his Jmprisonment, which was eige years, his sufferings and seruice was great, and dyed peaceably ; in a sweatt Retiredness was he often Towards his Latter end, and ffinished with an Easy Pasige and in Unity with the bretheren.

John Stricket, at Branthwaite, & John Peacock, of Whelpoe Jn Coldbeck, were Convinced in the year 1653 ; the also Entertained Meetings, in those Early times, which Continued at their houses until a Meeting house was builded, which was in the year 1698. Those, with many more, stood stedfast, as seeing througs all their sufferings him That is Jnvisable ; and the work of God Prevailed in those parts.

John Nickelson, at Woodhall, & John Haskew, William Scott, of Greenrig, George Priestment, of How Beck, Thomas Greenup, of Greenrig, Thoms Relf, of Hescut, all those were Early Convinced, and gave up to ffolow Christ through many Tribulations and Excercyses, Jn sufferings, Jn ffasting, Jn Watching ; & Through faith and Patience are made Pertakers of the Crown Jmortall that's full of Glory. The above Named Thomas Relf Received a part in the Ministry, and had a watering testimony. He Traveled in Kent and many other places, & did ly down ye body in the City of London, being their on truths service.

Also in the year 1653, John Fell, of Langlands, with his wife & 4 sons, Received truth by the Efectual Ministry of George Fox. The being Convinced, lived in the truth, suffered for it ; severel of ye said Children Received gifts of the ministry & traveled in the servise of it in England and Scotland, & ffinished in the faith. Anthony, the 4 son of the said John fell, had a watering Testimony att many times, & was an Jnocent Man much given to Retirement. He exorted friends near his end to keep Loose from ye world (that hinders many from the

service of God); near his departure he was filled with Life, & seliberated pure Praises to the most high God; & so left ye world in Great unity with gods people.

Thomas, the son of Thomas Bewly, of Haltlif, Received the Blessed Uisitation of gods Glorious Light and life. He walked in ye faith, and suffered much for it, and dyed in the unity of the bretheren; & altho many were the dangers and Perils of those early beleivers in the light, and great and many were the raging of the souls Enemy of mankind, both in Raising up wicked Jnstruments to percekute, & false Reports, thereby to stain the shining of the glory of the son of Righteousness that was breaking through ye clouds of ignorance & Error; but the Lord Continued & enlarged his loveing kindness to his people downwards all A long.

And about ye year 1678 & 79, it pleased God to Uisit Afresh many parts of this County with a Clear spring of truth, and Uisitation of his heavenly life, and many were Convinced, & the rest greatly strenghtned that had formerly believed; who settled in ye life, & waited in ye Jnioyment of ye presence of God Jnwardly Revealed. After which time Many were raised up to declare the works & wonders of the Lord, & bear Living testimoneys to the Revelation of Gods spirit in mens hearts, & to ye Renewing of his blessed Gospel day; and the benefitt of those worthy Jnstroments we are wittness of, to the honour of God. May his light & life still shine upon us, that many may beleive in it and come to share with us, is our Real Desire.

Sowerby.

A Branch of Caldbeck Monthly Meeting.

The first entrance of truth in Sowerby Meeting was in the year 1653. Moungo Bewly, & his wife, and son George, Came to their brother, Thomas Bewlys, att Haltlif hall, George ffox being their, and the were Convinced of Gods blessed Truth, and satt down under the Teachings of Christ Jesus the Lord. And about the year 1655, Thomas Stubbs held A Meeting at ye said Mongoe Bewlys house att Hive Gill Heed, where divers were convinced; and truth Grew and Prospered, and a meeting

was settled & kept there by course unto this day ; & ye said Mungoe did freely Entertain The Messengers of the Lord unto his Conclusion : and diuers families in Sowerby Parrish did Acknowledge to the blessed truth, and settled In the spiritual worship, waiting inwardly upon the lord ; and the son of the said Mungoe Entertains The Meeting att the place aforesaid, and has suffered greatly for his testimony which he bears for the Lord.

Mosedale.

A Branch of Caldbeck Monthly Meeting.

About ye year 1653, Came G F to Jno Slee's house att Grisdaile How in ye baroney of Gray Stock, and had a meeting, where were many people, and their harts were oapned to receive truths testemoney. With him was also Robt Withers, Edward Burrah, Jno Blaklin ; and soone after a meeting was settled, and yett remaines, Caled Mosdaile meeting, to which meeting did Tho : Mark, Jno Sowerby, Jno Todhunter, Wiliam Greenhow, and Hugh Peacock, with sevrall others, belong, who recd truth in those Early dayes, and did suffere much for it since by impriseinment and spoiling of Goods for non payment of tyths. Jno Sowerby suffered fifteen years Jmprisenment and upwards, John Todhunter eight years & upwards, Wiliam Greenhow six & upwards, all which Cruell sufering they did Chearfuley undergoe. Some of wch have finished this mortall rase, others remaining hath held their Jntegrity. To which meeting belongs Richard Atkinson, who Early recd truth att ye hearing of Georg fox, for which his father banished him from his house and would not owne him for his son, soe great was his Enmyty to truth, nor accept of him for aservant ; but afterwards he yt Can turne ye harts of ye fathers to ye Children, and prouids for them yt Loue and feare him, turned ye father to this young man, who being aduisd by Georg fox to goe to his father againe, did goe, and his father tooke him in, and afterwards Loved him above ye rest of his Children.

No. 83.]

The first Publishers of Truth in the Bounds of Mosedail Were George ffox, Edward Borrow, Robert Withers, & John

Blakeling ; and ye first Meeting was at John Sleys, at How, Jn Grisedail, in ye Year 1653, Where the Gospel was freely Preached in the Power & Spirit of Christ ; and those that did Receive Truth in those Early Days were Thomas Mark, John Sowerby, William Greenhow, John Todhunter, Hugh Peacock, & Richard Atkinson, with Several others, Some of which have under Gone Great & Cruel Sufferings, & long Jmprisonment for ye Testimony of a good Conscience, & through ye Grace of God Stood firm in all Tryals. And there is an Jncrease to ym, for that Meeting is Jnlarged, and they have builded a Meeting house at Mosedail, & the Children of many of ym that were first visited are Come up in their ffathers Rooms, altho' Some of ye first Rank are yet Remaining, and their hearts Good, & their Love great unto God, Who is worthy of all Servis, who is both ye Rock, his People's Safety, & ffountain of all their Springs of Living Refreshment. He who was with their ffathers, he is also with their Children, Even with all them that Love & fear him.

No. 88.]

Wigton.

An historical Account of ye Enterance & Progress of Truth in & About Wigton.

About ye Year 1653, A few People were Gathered together from ye publike worship of ye Nation, & oftentimes sat together in Silence. Some of ye Persons that were so Separated were Wm Pearson, & his wife, James Adamson, Senior, John Seanhouse, &c, Jn whose hearts ye Lord Raised good Desires after himself.

About which time, it pleased ye Lord to Send his faithful Servants, Georg ffox, Wm Dewsbury, James Lancaster, & Robert Withers, who came to ye house of Wm Pearson's (of Tiffinwhate, near Wigton), whose heart ye Lord had opened to Receive these messengers of God into his house, where They had a Meeting with these Separated People, who were by ym turned to Christ their teacher, & Lived & Died in ye faith. And James Adamson, son of James Adamson, was Raised up by ye Spirit & power of Christ, & was made An able

Minister of ye Gospel, & was Concerned to Travel up & down ye Most part of this Nation, & bore A Living Testimony against ye hireling Priest, & was A Comferter & Confirmer of ye faith of ye Bretheren, & after some time was drawn into ye South & Married in South Wales, & Remained A faithful Minister to ye End of his Days. And Several other were convinced & turned to Christ their Teacher, Some of whom were Raised up in Testimony, as John Adamson ; & a little after was Thomas Hisma [Ismay] Raised up in Testimony to ye Truth, & continued a faithful man to ye End.

About ye Year 1674, were John Watson, & his Wife, his Brother, & Thomas Watson, with Several other yt were Convinced, And John & Thomas Being honest men, the lord gave them his Living word To declare to others ; John travelled through the most parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and not withstanding the Trials and Sufferings he under went for the truths sake, he Lived and dyed In the Faith, and his wife dyed a prisoner for her Testimoney against Tithes. About ye Year 1685, ye said people increased, Tho' Several Sufferings did Attend ym for their Testimony Against Tithes, And Several were Cast into Prison for their Testimony against ye Same, and John Baylie, of ye town of Wigton, brought a Writ against John Keey, Senior, & junior, & ye Young man dyed, & was to be buryed ye same day ye writ Came to be Executed, & John Bayle, Tythe ffarmer under George ffletcher, of Hutton, Impropiator, was so hard hearted yt he would not suffer the ffather to stay his Sons Buriall, but Caused him to be carried to Prison with Several others. Also Exercises did Attend them [No. 89.] for keeping up publicque Meetings for worship, in Time of persecution, and Severall were fined by those Called Justices of peace, Especially by one Muzgroff, of the City of Carlisle, but not much havick made, ye officers being moderat men, Some of them offering Rather to Suffer themselves than have a hand in such unreasonable work, tho' threatened there to by ye sd Musgroff.

And (as before) ye People were Jncreased so that their Dwelling houses, where they often met together, Could not

well Contain ym, so they builded a meeting house upon ye ground which was formerly purchased of William Pearson for a Buring place, & so Remains to this day. And John Richardson, Senior (of Standing Stone), whose heart the Lord had open'd & made free to Entertain ffriends & Servants of God that Came to his house. He was free in distrebutio to ye poor, & other services, & as a further manifestation of his Love to Truth & ffriends, at last by a Will Left Twenty pounds to ffriends. And about ye Year 1699 or 1700, Robert Atkinson, of Lawerance Holme, was Persecuted for his Consentious Refuseing to pay Tythe malt to George ffletcher, of Hutton, to Sequestration, & took goods from him to ye value of Sixty pounds and upward, besides 8 or 9 monthes Jmprisonment in Carlisle. Tho' since that Time many of ye Antients are Removed & dyed in ye ffaith, ye Lord hath Raised a young Generation, both of their Seed & others, which ye Lord hath drawn near to himself, & is become their Teacher, who had & have a Concern Living upon ym, having Tasted of ye goodss of God & of the Power of ye world which is to come; And that others may have a Share with them, they often Appointed Meetings in Towns & Villidges, where ye Gospel hath been preached in ye Demonstration of ye Spirit of God, where ye Principles of true Cristianity hath been held furth, which hath gained ground in ye hearts of Sober people; & tho their Antient ffathers & Bretheren with Some who are yett living had a Concern to Build a Meeting house, and did as afore sd, and yet a further Concern Lives with ym which doth Remain yt a place more publick may be had for a meeting house in ye Town of Wigton, whose hearts ye Lord hath opened; so now ye have purchased ground for yt purpose where its hoped may be of more benefit for ye publishing of ye Everlasting Gospel of peace.

No. 20.]

Some Account of the Entrance and progress of truth in the parish of Wigton and some other townes Adjacent.

There was seurall people in Wigton aforesd, and thereabouts, yt had seperated themselves from the Nationall

Worshipp, and Meet together by themselves, to seek the Lord, if possibly they might feele After him, before yt truth Appeared in the North parth of Cumberland.

Butt it pleased the Lord to draw seurall of his seruants to the places abouesd. The first yt Came was Geo : ffox, James Langcaster, Robt Widders, & Wm Dewsberry, About the year 1653, to the house of Will : Pearson, of Tiffithall near Wigton, and had a meeting wth those seperated people ; & they were Conuinced & Received the truth wth gladness. And ye sd Wm Pearson & his wife Entertained frds, & had Meetings att their house Setled by course ; for by yt time the fame of truth had spred abroad in those parts, soe yt seurall others in Alittle time was Conuenced, & the Meeting Jncreased Aboundently, Jnsoemuch yt the frds of Wigton Resolued to build A meeting house for the better Accomodaçon of frds in the blessed Exercise of yt one pure and spirituall Worshipp, Vpon the ground of the sd Wm Pearson, where frds keep there Meetings vpon the first days & Week dayes Vntill the year 1674.

Soe yt aboute yt time the Lord was pleased for to Renew the Visitations of his Love to yt part of the Country, the which was Aday of glad tideings to many yt satt in darkness and vnder the Region & Shaddow of death ; for there was many Conuenced, who Received the truth in the love of itt, and greatly Rejoyced in ye day of god Salvation, & more Esspecially in yt the Lord had nott onely Counted them Worthy to beleive, butt to suffer for his name. For there was seurall yt Came fourth in A testimony to ye truth, & Jncreased in their Respective gifts, seurall of which Laboured in the work of the Ministry in England, Scotland, & Jreland for the Confirmaçon & building vp of gods people in the moust holy faith. Soe when they had faithfully done their days work in the Lords Haruest, and patiently Endured the Reproaches & persecution yt often Attended them for ye Testimony the Lord had given them to bear, Ended their days in peace wth ye lord, in blessed Vnity wth ye Brethren.

And Allthrough the Antients yt were as way marks & pillers in ye sd Meeting be Remoued from ye Stage of this world, the lord is pleased to bless their Children wth ye vertue of his

holly Spiritt for to succeed them in the Managemt of truths Affaires ; & seurall others are Conuenced of Late, frds being Concerned to hold Meeting in some fress places, Insoemuch yt it gaines ground & is of good Esteem in many places. The lord our god, yt has thus fare been wth vs, & hath often pleaded our cause in the hearts of our Enimies, shall have the praise & thanksgiving Returned to his great Name, for he is over all, Worthy for Ever.

Bolton.

A short and Breaif account of the Rise & progress of truth in Boulton Meeting, who formerly were part of Wigton Meeting Aforesd, butt, yt the blessed truth might spread itselfe on ye sides of ye Earth, & yt people should Come to ye knowledge thereof, the frds belonging to ye sd Meeting builded A Meeting house, in which they hold there Meeting of Worshipp due to the Lord.

The first yt Came into Boulton to declare the glad tideings of the Everlasting Gospell to A people thatt was then seeking after ye Lord, was Geo : ffox & Robert Widders, & had A Meeting on the side of A Mountain, where the truth was Largly born testimony to & people derected to the Manifestation of the grace of god in there inwards, which the Apostle testified brings saluation & hath Appeard to all men, and yt day there was seurall Conuincd, & satisfied yt it was the truth, the way to Eternall life.

Shortly After, there was A Meeting Appointed att ye house of Tho : Porter, Where ffrancis Howgill & some others preached the truth to the people, & directed them to ye word nigh in the heart to be there teacher & Instructer in ye way of Righteousness. To this Meeting Came 5 preists yt had Consalted together to oppose the sd frds, butt the Lords power Came over them, And they all fled A way wth shame & Contempt. And shortly After, Came ye sd ffr Howgill & James Nailer, & had Another Meeting Vpon Ahill side, Largely declareing Matter Appertaining to ye kingdom of god, and for

the good & welfare of the soules of all people, to the great satisfacion, & Confirmacon of many yt was then present, who were butt Newly turned to the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ ; & seuerall was Conuincd & settled vpon the Rock of Ages the foundation of all ye Righteous Generation. Soe the truth preualed and the sd Meeting Jncreased ; for nottwith stand [ing] the seuerall Exercises & tryalls which the Lord was pleased to suffer his people to meet wth for Ends best known to himsele, as the spoileing of theire goods by Vertue of yt Act made agt Conuenticles, & testifeing agt the Corruptions of the times yt have Crept in in the night of Apostici, the lord, blessed for Ever be his powfull & Honourable name, has made vp the Loss of all one way or Another, soe yt there is noe Cause to Complaine or Murmer, for god has given vs his son, & shall he nott with him giue vs all things ; to whose name we doe Ascribe all Honour & glory for he is Eternally worthy for Ever.

No. 81.]

An Historical Act. of ye Rise & Progress of Truth according [to the] best of Memory.

It pleased ye Lord in his Jnfinite [*paper torn*] visit a people in ye Latter Age of ye Worl, viz. [in ye] year 1653, So in yt age there were many in affervent [desir]e after ye Lord & ye way of Worship yt might be the [mos]t acceptable to him, which Caused many to leave of ye [for]mal, dead way of Worship yn professed amongst a people Notionally professing Christianity ; under a Deep Sence of ye want of ye Jnjoyment of that we made Profession of, Caused us to Separate our Selves from a mong them, so yt it pleased god to look down upon us with an Eye of pittie, and he sent his Servants amongst us to preach ye glad Tydings of ye Gospel of peace, which directed our minds to ye measure of grace or light manifested within our hearts & Consciencies ; not with standing many & great were ye Sufferings we under went for ye same. This was in ye Parish of Bolton, in the County of Cumberland, where Several Meetings were Appointed, sometimes upon ye hills without & sometimes in houses & barns, as it pleased ye Lord to make way for his Truth in ye

hearts of his people ; The Names of Those yt Came first to visit these [p]arts are as follows.¹⁶

There was A meeting appointed without Doors, at a place called ye Quarry Hill, in ye above said parish, where [wa]s Tho: Stubs, who had ye Everlasting Gospel to Declare [*paper torn*] ye People then and there present, but at ye same Time [*paper torn*] Robert Porter, a Cruel persecutor, to ye sd meeting ; he had a Club in his hand with which he gave George Bewley, of Hautley, a Cruel Stroke [on] his head, with Some others, which can yet be Remember[ed] by Some yt were Eye witnesses of it. And for ye furt[her] gratefing of his wicked mind, he set his masti[f] upon Som yt were at ye afore sd meeting, but provi[den]ce did so order yt ye dog did not harme any, and th[ough] the Rageing of ye Enemy was & is great, & ye Instrewm[ents] yt he had were & are many for ye propagating & upholding of [his] Kingdom, Yet through all The Truth grew & prospered, altho' many were ye Exercises yt Gods People under went for bearing Testimony there unto, and many were Convinced of ye Truth, & it had such an infleunce upon ym yt nothing was to dear for ym to part with for ye Love they had to it, altho' great was ye persecution yt many Children met with by ye Cruelty of their ffathers :—namely, ye Children of John Ravle, of Quarry Hill, who from time to time did use great Severity, by many Cruel Strips he laid upon ym. But after some Time, before ye heat of his persecusion was fully over, it pleased ye Lord to Visit his Eldest Daughter with a Violent ffever, which did attend unto ye Removal of her, which brought great Trouble upon him, as was understud by Several yt did be hold him ; but most aspecially, at a Certain Time when she was fully Satisfied yt she must be Seperat'd from ym, She called to her ffather, & Requested of him to Let ffrds have her Body to Dispose of. His answer was, “ Abraham desired to be Buryed with his fore ffathers.” She Repl[ied] & said again, “ ffather, I desire to be Buryed with Abraham's Seed.” At which Answer he was greatly smitten, & granted her Request ; & never perse-

¹⁶ Portions of No. 81 have been omitted as they give parallel accounts with those given in No. 20.

cuted any longer. But notwithstanding all the Exercises yt ye People of ye Lord met with for ye Truth Sake, yet great was ye inward peace yt we Jnjoyed to our Souls. So yt it became a further Concern upon us, being affected with ye Love of it, yt it might Succeed to further generations. So yt a meeting was settled in ye sd parish, & for many years it was held, going from house to house, and their Love and Zail were such for ye Lord & his Truth, that not withstanding it hath pleased God to remove many, Yet A Remnant Still is Remaining & more stirred up to bear a Testimony to ye same Truth, so yt that about ye Year 1702, Some of their hearts were so affected for ye Truth & for a Memorial To Succeeding generations, They were concerned to build a house on purpose for ye better accomodating of ye afore sd meeting, which is now in being.

No. 21.]

Kirkbride.

The Entrance and progress of truth in the Meeting of Kirkbride was After this Manner, According to the best of Memory.

About the year 1653, when yt the lord was pleased to send seurall of hiss seruents into our County of Cumberland wth the Mesuage of the gospell, & to preach Repentence & Remission of sins through the Name & powr of our Lord Jesus Christ, then was seurall of our Antient frds Conuenced & Received the truth, and Joyned themselves with frids of Brough Meeting in Worshipp & buesiness. Butt Afterwards seurall publique frds, as Jno : Grave, Jno : Wilkinson, & Jno : Bancks, haveing had divers Meetings att Kirkbride & Longnewton, there was Many Conuincd, & A Meeting for Worshipp was settled by Course att ye sd Kirkbride & Longnewton ; and when ye love of god Abounded in ye hearts of frds, A holy zeal Encreased for the promotion of truth & the spreading Abroad the fame thereof, yt soe people might be gathered to the lord, & come to the Jnward fealing & tasteing how good he was to his people, like as he was to Jserell of old. For those & other priueleges then Vnder the Considercon of ye sd frds,

they Resolved to buield A Meeting house Vpon there Buriing place att Kirkbride, where frds belonging to yt Meeting holds there Meeting of Worshipp to this day.

The Antients being Remoued by death, A younger Generation the lord hath Rased to beare testimony to the truth, and those yt are faithfull are as lights in the world, And as A Citty sett vpon A Hill yt Cannott be hid, for Although seurall of the frds of yt Meeting haue been deep Sufferers by Sequestercon and otherwise, for bearing there Christion Testimony agt yt Greivous oppression of Tythe the Nation Groans vnder, they have often known deuine Prouidence to turn the Councell of wise men backward, & to dissappoint there Enimies of there Cruell designes ; the which is still A duble obligacon vpon the mindes of the faithfull to be more zeallious for ye Name of the Lord, which hath thus fare helped them in the Needfull time & day of Exercise, still beleueing yt through ye many Tribulations the kingdome is obtained. To God for all his Manifould Mercies & fauiours be praise for he Alone is worthy for Euer.

No. 22.]

Allonby.¹⁷

Some Relation of the Rise and spreading of truth at Allonby and thereabouts.

The first that was Convinced of ye truth and Lived in Allonby was Robert Sibson and his wife, and Francis Hayton, wch was in ye year 1656, and did Assemble themselves wth ffrriends of Abbey Holme. And the first ffrriends that had a Meeting in Allonby, that can be Remembred of, was Thomas Stubbs and Miles Gray,¹⁸ wth some others ffrriends, wch had an Evening Meeting at Robert Sibson's house, where the Gospell of Christ was declared and born Testimony of, to ye breaking of

¹⁷ No. 88, Allonby portion, is the same as No. 22.

¹⁸ Miles Gray is referred to in Besse's *Coll. Suff.* ii. 464, 465, in connection with Ireland, His home was, apparently, at Old Castle in co. Meath. See also Stockdale's *Great Cry of Oppression*, 1683, pp. 7, 54, 68, 105, 128, 154, 180.

many hearts and tendering many Spirits, in somuch yt there came to be great openness in the hearts of many, yt several was convinced, as Jane Martindale, and a little while after her Husband, Nicholas Martindale, & Anthony Smith, Nicholas Beeby, & John Beeby, wth sevrall others, & great tenderness was in the hearts of Sevrall in yt day.

And they Continued assembling themselves wth ffrriends of ye Holme for many years; And it pleased God to Raise a Concern in ye hearts of many Brethren to visit Friends att Allonby with Evening Meetings, as they went to ye Holme or came from it, as James Lancaster, William Duesbury, John Grave, wth sevrall other faithfull labourers, as John Banks, who Laboured much in ye work & Ministry of Christ Jesus in those parts, so yt truth gained ground, & sevrall more was Convinced, and some became faithfull Labourers in ye work & Ministry of Christ Jesus, and could tell to others by Living Experience what God had done for their Souls. And youth grew up, & ffrriends Jncreased, yt afterwards it came into ffrriends hearts to build a Meeting house at Allonby; And they went to ye Meeting at Holme, wch they then Assembled themselves wth, and Acquainted ffrriends wth what was in their hearts to do, and desired their Consent & unity in it, and after a Consideration they Appointed a Meeting to have a more [full] Satisfaction; And from that Meeting had their free Liberty & consent, so yt the Meeting house was built in ye year 1703, and the first Meeting that was in it was on ye 22 day of the 6th moneth, where Friends have had good Satisfaction and hopes it will be of benefit to future Generations.

No. 23.]

Kirklington.

A relation of ye first entrance and progress of truth in Kirklington Meeting.

Anog dmi 1672, John Wilkinson, who lived in the west part of Cumberland, and before his convincmt had been a preacher amonge the independants, had a meeting at Longtown, in the border of England, about the time of harvest, where were

prety many people and Sober. There was noe objection by any against what was delivered ; and after the harvest was over, Thomas Langhorn, that lived in Hiltindale in Westmorland, and Thomas Carleton, that lived in Litle Sackheld in Cumberland, appointed a meeting two miles from Longtown, at a place called Bromehills, upon Breckonhills Land ; and Robert Barclay, of Vrye, traveling for Scotland, came to the Hivegill on the seventh day, and heareing of the Meeting next day, came to it, where there was many friends and people from divers parts, and Robert Barclay had the greatest part of ye service, & spoake excellently about Baptism and concerning the Scriptures, and directed all to the Spirit of God by which ye Scriptures was given forth ; and many beleived what was spoken to be true. But about the time of breakeing up the meeting, there was a younge priest, and another man that afterward became an informer, that made some disturbance, but in the conclusion truth prevailed, and some that opposed resolved in themselves to dispute noe more with friends publickly.

And the said Thomas Langhorn, and Thomas Carleton, haveing but litle time in the meeting, appointed a meeting about a mile from that place, in Kirkclinton, neare Hethrside, and was held at aplace called the Green Kiln, where was many people, and the service was to the condiçons of the people, and the people went away quietly. And after the Meeting was over, Christopher Story,¹⁹ of Righead, whoe had been at all the meetings, invited Thomas Langhorn and Thomas Carleton to his house to lodge, on purpose to have some conference about the principles of truth, but the neighbours hearing, came to the house in the evening, and there was anoother Meeting, and all was quiet. But after the Neighbours was mostly gone, some few went apart & proposed Some queries to the friends in writeing, that they had drawn up ; the friends called for abible, and answered the queries by plaine words of Scripture, that gave all Satisfaction. The next day the friends went away Joyfully, and a few weekes after, in the tenth Moth, the said

¹⁹ For fuller particulars see *Account of the Life of Christopher Story*, 1726.

John Wilkinson appointed a meeting to be there againe, & the season being wett, leave was asked of Christopher Taylor, of Hethrside, to have it upon his ground, called Megshill, which he readily granted, and there being many people the Gospell of Glad tydeings was freely preached, and many that heard beleived & received the truth in the love of it. And after the Meeting Christopher Taylor invited ye friend to lodge with him, which he did, and appointed anoother meeting next first day, where there was many people and well satisfied. And John Wilkinson, staying Some dayes with us, advised to settle a Meeting, tho there was none to speake words, to waite upon the Lord, which was done, and for a time kept in Christopher Storys house in an upper roome, untill it was to litle, but afterward was settled at William Grahams, of Sykeside, Christopher Taylors, of Hethrside, George Grahams, of Rigg, & Christopher Story, of Righead, to goe by turn.

The next friend that gave us avissit was John Grave, of Threeland in Cumberland, and the Meeting was on Megshill aforسد ; & Jt being winter time, it proved afaire Sun shine day ; there was aboundance of people, and Severall convinced that day, received the truth in the Love of it, and lived and dyed in the faith. And Jno Grave, being much overcome in asense of the Love of God to the people in the Country, that he declared openly to the people, that when he came to London, that he would tell the Earle of Carlile that he might now take away his Gallows, for truth had gott an enterance in the borders of England, and would make them honest men. The Meeting increased, and many was Added, till all the dwelling houses became to litle ; and many friends comeing to vissit us, they mostly Lodged with Christopher Taylor, William Graham, and Christopher Story, and friends seeing the great want of a meeting house, ye Meeting increasing, resolved to build a Meeting at Sikeside, upon the Ground of William Graham and Jannet his wife, because of which Robert Priestman, preist of the parish of Kirklington, was much greived, for many times, tho the parish was five miles in length, there did not come to heare above four or five besides the Clerke. And three Clerkes, one after another, was convinced, and left the priest and Joyned

with friends. And the Generall part of people being convinced, upon which the priest petetioned the Sessions to put astop to the building of the meeting house, Alledging if a new Chappell was built they might pull down the old house, and haveing noe other way to doe it, but ordered those that had wood to sell, not to lett us have it for that use, soe that it was delayed for a time.

And Gilbert Atkinson, of Stubb, in the parish of Kirkclinton, became an informer, and was ury hot in takeing friends goods by that act made against Conventickles ; and his Severitty increasing, he with others prevailed with the Justisses to put Christopher Taylor, of Hethrside, Andrew Taylor, of the Same, William Graham, of Sykeside, George Graham, of Rigg, Henry Graham, of Howberry, John Jveson, of Jerishtowne, Humphrey Tweddall, and ffergus Watson, of Parkend, into prison for refuseing to give bond for the good behaviour, they alledgeing at that time, that if friends went to meeting it was a britch of the good behaviour. After some time the said Gilbert Atkinson being come to the Sessions at Carlisle to prosecute friends with great severitty, was himselfe cast into prisson for debt, where he boasted what he would doe to friends when he was at liberty againe, which he supposed would have been in alitle time. All the friends was inlarged, and in alitle time was sett at liberty by the Sessions after, but he remained aprissoner with much hardship, and often in want, to his dyeing day.

And many being convinced, for atime did not Joyn with friends, many people beleiveing many friends and there familles would be ruined, the persecution being hot, but the Lord whoe sett's bonds to the seas was pleased to stay the rage and fury of ye wicked, in which time many came to sitt down amonge friends and Joyne with the truth, and Glorious times there was, and Severall came forth with publicke testimonies, as Andrew Taylor, Andrew Graham, and others, Severall of which is removed ; whose Service was not a litle both at home and abroad, to the convincing and confirming of many in the faith in which they had beleived. The fame of truth increasing, and the old priest being taken away, George Story, of Justistown, ayounge priest, comes into his place, and being much intraged

against friends for haveing a settled meeting always in the parish, with all his might begins to persecute friends, and comes upon them first for Sunday Shillings, as they were called, and made distress of goods, and alittle after indited friends for absenting from there worshipping, as popish recusants, to come upon them for 20lb a moneth.

And after this, James Appelby, Senr, of Askerton, becoming an informer, used all meanes he could advise for three years, both by fineing friends as the Conventickle act directed, and Makeing distress of friends goods ; And on purpose to ruine friends, went Severall times to London, and at one time brought supeanas for about twenty friends to appeare before the king at Westminster, and indited friends for meeting together five times at the Assizes held at Carlile for riots, Routs, & unlawfull assembles, and put twelve friends in prisson. In which time King Charles dyed, And there three yeares worke was all undone in asudden, and tolleration proclaimed, Soe that by king James proclamation the friends was sett at Liberty, and many flockeing to meetings, the meeting house was built, and in afew yeares it became to litle. And tho the times of persecution had been hot and Seemed not Joyeous for a time, yet Such was the peaceable fruits thereof, that we had the greatest time of convincmt after the times of persecution was over.

And the meeting house being enlarged, and the times peaceable, many came to the Meeting, and severall came forth of a younger generation with Publicke testimonies, whose service and Labour of Love hath been not onely to convinceing but confirmeing of many in the faith. And the goodnes of ye Lord being largely continued, and severall of those that was raised up in the morneing of the day being removed from the evill to come, a younger generation cometh up, Severall of which was Children of beleiveing parents, a concern entered the mindes of those that had retained there integretty to the Lord that, as there was a people gathered, they might be Settled in the truth, and as there had been a comeing out of Babilon, there might be such a seperation as not to touch that which was unclean. And here the Lord hath wonderfully owned his people and blessed there Laboures of Love ; and upon this younge generation the Lord is

pleased to poure forth of his holy Sprt, that severall of them at times are made to profecye and Speake well of the name of the Lord, and others are becomeing helps in Governmt, that those whose eye the Lord has opened Spirittually, and kept open, to see the great acts the Lord has done for a people, and the Mighty workes which he by his own arm of power is bringing to pass in the earth, they are made to bow down in humillitty of Spirit before the Lord, whoe is worthy to have dominion and rule in the hearts of his Children for ever & ever. And tho many of those that was a kind of first fruits unto the Lord is removed, and others that is yett in being severall of them settled here and there on this side and beyounde the seas, yett others comes upp and takes there place, that the Meeting continues Large, for which ye Lord shall have all the praise of his own worke for evermore.

Solport.

The Entrance and progresse of truth in Solpert Meeting.

In the yeare of our Lord 1658 or 1659, George Bewly, of Hatclife Hall, in Cumbreland, and Severall other Publicke friends, had Meetings in Stapleton parish, as ffell End, Solpert Mill, and other places, and divers was convinced & Joyned with the truth, as Thomas Summers, of Soultermoore, ffergus Watson, Humphrey Tweddall, and Thomas Story, with Severall others, and being a Long way distant from Brough and Scotby meetings, they Sometimes kept a Meeting at the aforesd Thomas Summers house while he lived, but in alittle time he dyed, and Some proveing unfaithfull, the meeting was Lost in that place, and the friends yt retained there integrety became members of Scotby meeting for Severall yeares, untill the Meeting in Kirklington came to be Settled, and the friends in Solpert & Stapleton was willing to Joyne with friends in Kirklington.

And in the Yeare one sixe hundred Seventy & three, John Bankes, Jno Tiffin, and Thomas Langhorn, had a Meeting at Edward Atkinsons, of Masthorn, and the Gospell of Glad tydeings was preached freely to the confirming of those that

did believe, and to the convincing of others that was present, that afterward became honest friends. The next Meeting neare that place was held by John Wilkinson vpon agreen hill on Lang rigg Common, where was abundance of people, and went away well Satisfied. After this John Bankes had a meeting at Humphrey Tweddals, of Parkrigg, and Severall friends belonging to Solpert Meeting was convinced by him, for he had meettings in divers parts of the Border of England.

And for Severall yeares all the friends in Solpert and there awayes came to Kirklington Meeting first day and weeke day, and being Severall Miles from the Meeting, and ariver to goe over that had neither bridge nor boate, because of which friends was often in danger, (with the consent of Kirklington Meeting) Solpert friends agreed to keep a meeting amonge themselves in the winter, which was held by course in the dwelling houses of Thomas Vrwen [Irwin], of Mosside, James Blackburn, of Jenkinstown, and John Vrwen, of Cloose, and being about twelve familys of friends that lived pretty neare together, and many other people comeing to heare for themselves (for Glorious times there was), all the dwelling houses became too litle ; & Solpert friends haveing it in there mindes to build a Meeting house, was encouraged by the said Meeting unto which they did belonge, And the Ground of Thomas fforster, of Hurst, and Anne his wife, called the Thornyland, being most Sutable and neare the Midle of friends, was requested, which they readily granted and the house was built in the yeare 1698 at Thorneland aforesd, being about four²⁰ miles from Kirklington Meeting house and three miles from Scotland. And now a meeting being Setled first day and weeke day, where many people at times frequents the Meeting, soe that Severall is convinced, and there number increased, for which the Lord Shall have all the praise to whome be Glory and honor now and for ever.

²⁰Thorneyland is about seven miles from Kirklington.

No. 25.]

Scotby.²¹

Some Account of the Rise & Progress of Truth and Dawneing of ye Gospell day in & about Scotbye.

In the year 1653, came Francis Howgill, of Sunnibank in Grayrigge, in Westmorland, who had been a teacher of a people in these parts (refer to his own works, & G. ff's Journall), and wth him Thomas Stubbs, of Dalston, in Cumberland, who had been a Soldier and had laid down Arms, & received Truth; they came together to the house of William Bond, Carpenter, in Scotby, where they kept a Meeting, he receiving them and their Message freely; and although this meeting was attended wth a Rabble yt some thought they should have pulled down ye house, yet there was but little of Contraversie yt appeared, for the Lords power prevailed, & several were convinced yt day, who continued faithfull, & finished in ye faith. The same day did Tho: Stubbs go to Weatherhall Bellhouse, and was about to have spoken to ye people but they hurried him out, and as they pushed him along their Alley, one John Sewell, an Inhabitant of that Town, did smite at Thomas his head & shoulders. And some years after, ye said Jno Sewell was in topping a tree near ye Bellhouse, and fell down the tree upon his head & shoulders, & so dyed.

William Bond and his Wife receiving Truth, & one Adam Robinson, of Holm gate, and Thomas Graham, of Aglionby, being convinced, they four mett on Warwick moor wth some others yt resorted to them, and at William Bond's, in Scotby, & at Adam Robinson's, at Holm gate, and some times on Aglionby moor; thus ye Lord began his great work, and as ye Metting came to be settled, ye Enemie in his Instruments began to rage, for his kingdom was like to be shaken, and great stirr there was amongst ye people.

A little after came Grace Crackenthorp and Margret Bradley, and some little after yt Thomas Stubbs came again to confirm & strengthen ye Brethren, & one Will Atkinson, an Inhabitant in

²¹ No. 24 is omitted, as No. 25 gives all the incidents in an extended form.

Scotby, did beat & abuse him sorely, but he bore it patiently. After yt, one Dorothy Waugh, of Westmorland, came to ye house of Will Bond, and went from there to Carlisle, and declared Truth in ye streets on a market day. One Peter Norman, who was Mayor at that time, asked her from whence she came. She answered, "Out of Egypt, where thou art." His wrath was so kindled against Truth and her, that he caused a bridle to be put upon her, which is said to be a stone weight, and another on her companion, & put them into ye Mute-hall, untill his heat was abated. About ye year 1661, John Richardson, of Scotby, and his Wife, were convinced; he was a zealous man, fervent in spirit, bold to assert Truth, & valiant in suffering for it, yet not long after his convincement, he, wth William Bond, Adam Robinson, & Thomas Graham, for refusing to pay tithes were committed to Carlisle prison amongst ye Fellons, into a nasty, stinking place where they were like to be stifled for want of air.

After some time, ffrancis Howard, their adversary, being ye Jmpropriator, did bring an Habeas Corpus writt in order to remove them to London, and set forward with them; and as they were on their way, some frds did perswade them to appear to ye writt, which they did, and it came to a tryall at Carlisle Assizes, and went against the friends. Judgement was given, & goods distrained & sold; great havock was made, but nothing returned, so that their sufferings were heavy, both by rude people and by colour of Law. But as they stood faithfull, ye Lord made their way easier, both by giving them dominion in spirit, and by takeing of the edge of their adversaries, and makeing way for the spreading of truth, for several were convinced in Gillsland as John Hethrington, of Ullerbank, Henry Scolick and his Wife, of Birkshaw; John was a prisoner for his testimonie, & suffered cherfully, & they all finished in ye faith.

Divers more were convinced in divers places in ye Countrey and in Carlisle, who became members of this Meeting, for there was a great convincement in these parts, and alsoe sufferings again were mett wth, by Jnformers upon ye Conventicle Act, and as Papist Recusants in forfeiting two thirds of their Estates, and distress was severall times made of John Richardson's and William Bond's goods by Sheriffs bayliffs, who some times

would have kept part in their own hands, and made no returne of them ; and when application was made to Charles Howard, who was Lord Lieutenant of the Northern Counties, or to his son Edward, who was called Lord of Morpeth, they blunted the edge of their persecuting spirits, and caused some of the Bayliffs to Return part of the goods again, wch they had taken away, thus the Lord made way for his Truth & people to gain ground, even by ye great ones of the earth and them in authority, blessed be the name of the Lord for ever, whose ye work is, and by whose arm of power it hath hitherto been carried on. Now as this Meeting increased, many were concerned to visit it from divers parts of the nation, and of our own County, as John Burnyeat, Jno Banckes, Jno Watson, Anthony ffell, and of Lancashire, Leonard ffell, and many others, that were sent in the name and power of God, by whose power their ministry was made effectuell to reach the state of the Meeting & to the turning many unto Righteousness, as are many living witnesses unto this day, blessed be the Lord for ever.

Now whereas Will Bond was one of ye first yt received Truth in this part of the Country, so he entertained friends and Meetings freely so long as he lived, as alsoe did Jno Richardson whilst he lived, for the Meeting was generally at their two houses for many years, except by appointment one was held at a place called!Dubb in Warwick Bridge, where a Marriage was solemnized, and it being one of the first in those parts, many of ye Gentry, & a Justice of peace, was there, as alsoe ffrancis Howard, yt had before cast frds into prison for Tythes, and had said yt if he lost all his tythes he would never take yt rigid course to prosecute again, several others were wth him. Our worthy friend, Jno Wilkinson, yt had been a teacher amongst ye Baptists, and had opposed Truth at the first of G. ff's comeing into this County, was their, & good service he had, and declared ye word of eternall life over all opposers. Francis Howard offered some dispute, but ye power of God prevailed, and some were convinced yt day, as John Bowsted, Senier, of Aglionby, who became an honest & faithful man, and entertained friends & Meetings in his house freely. Some others alsoe were convinced yt day by Jno Wilkinson's ministry.

Now as this meeting increased, several were brought forth in testimonie, as John Richardson, who sometimes had a few words suteable to ye state of the Meeting, and Jno Carlile, Elder, who was a member of this Meeting, likewise John Watson, before mentioned, as he was one of the Lords worthyes, did often visit this Meeting. He was a fatherly, tender spirited man, quick in discerning, powerfull in ministry, terrible in rebuke, courteous in carriage, gentle in admonishing, of great & good service to ye young and tender spirited in this and other Meetings, who underwent many weighty exercises ; in particular, in obedience to ye word of ye Lord, he was made to come naked into Carlisle on a Market day, for a sign unto those high professours, and altho' they had thrust Truth out at their gates, and whipped and evilly entreated ye Lords servants, yet in ye word of ye Lord, John was made to prophesy of Truth's entrance again into ye City, when by all outward appearance at yt time it was very unlikely. But ye Lords own arm which brings salvation hath been made bare, & is stretched out towards her Jnhabitants. (Oh, that they would lay hold of it before the day of their precious visitation be over !)

Now as the Lord had a seed in the City, he made way for to visit it, and yt that everlasting day of salvation might be proclaimed in it again, as it sometimes was in ye prison house by ye prisoners and others yt went to visit them, for this prison was not free of prisoners for many years together, and the Goalers were of bitter spirits against Truth. Now as a service appeared, and as the Lord made way thereto, & as a door was opened in ye City, this Meeting was held in Jsaac Huntington's house one week in three, week day & first day, & at Jsaac Bond's & Jno Bowsteds before mentioned, and soe was held at these three places by course for several yeares, untill a Meeting house was builded in ye City ; so yt at present our Meeting is at John Bowsted's house, of Aglionby, and Will Bond's, in Scotby, who is grand-son to Wm Bond who first received the Lord's messengers, so that ye Lord's Regard is not awanting from one generation to another, of them that fear and love his holy name, he blessedly attending and overshadowing our Meeting with the wing of his power, to whom, through the dear

Son of his bosom, be the Returnes of thanksgiving, obedience, and worship, both now and for evermore.

No. 26.]

Abbey Holme.²²

Some Historicall account of ye Enterance and progress of truth in Abby holme, A place yt was forespoken of wherein A great people should come forth to the Lord, which is now come to pass.

It pleased the Lord, in the year 1653, to draw sevrall of his servants to Abby holme to preach the glad tideings of the Gospell of peace, which had been Lost in ye night of Apostacy and day of darkness yt had ovrsprede the nations.

The first yt came into these parts, was James Langcastr, of the Jsle of Walnah, in Lancashire, to the steeple house at Abby holme Aforesd, and declared ye truth to the people, and Directed them to ye Light of Christ in there Jnward parts, that with the Light they might come to see ye Evill of their ways, and soe come into peace wth that of god in their own conscience. As he was going Away the people followed him, and was something Rude, but Especially one Briscoe, that would have done him a mischeife, yet was prvented, soe James passed away without much harm, afr he had cleared himself and some was convinced.

A little Afr, came William Dewsberry to the steeplehouse att Abby holme, and sounded the Day of the Lord yt would ovtake all the workrs of Jniquity ; ye people was so alarmed that they haled him out of the Graveyard, and violently drove him out of ye town, untill that they brought him to A little River, where the Rude people beat him sore, and forced into the water, but Willm got upon A little hill and cleared himself by speaking to the people. Then afrwards he passed Away to William Lothwhaits ; he Received him, and was Convinced, and his wife, and there was some Convinced that day att Abby holme,

²² Nos. 79, 80, contain an early copy of the same account as given in No. 26.

and Received ye truth with Gladness. Robt : Saull, of Sillath, & Simond Osnothrley, had seprated themselvs from ye Nationall Worship before the comeing of frds, and kept Meetings in there houses, being men zealous in there way, & of these called Round heads, butt when the truth Apeared, they Readily did Embrace it, soe that ye first Meeting of frds that was in those parts was held at Robt : Saulls, Aforesd, for he Entrtained frds, & had ye meeting Settled att his house by course. He and his wife died in the truth.

Now by this time there was many Convinced up and down in Abby holme ; the fame of truth spread it self Abroad and gained ground in the hearts of people, Jn soe much yt many came to frds meetings in those days, to hear the truth declared by the Servants of ye Lord, that was drawn to Viset the seed of god in those parts, as George Wilson,²³ Mary Howgill, Thomas Stubbs, and sevrall others, Soe that in a few years, the Meeting Encreased and grew pretty large, for the Love of god abounded in ye hearts of such as was Dilligent in waiting for ye flowing forth of it, that soe in the humillity of there hearts, they might be united to the Lord, and one to anothr in the Blessed fellowship of the Spirit, the which in those days wass plentyfully Enjoyed. And the Lord was very favourable & kind to these parts of ye Countery, for there was litle or noe persecution that Atended frds for bearing testimony to ye truth, Except one or two some times Jmprisoned for non payment of tyths, Yett frds kept there meetings deligently from year to year. Till the year 1671 and 1672, Jn which years A fresh Vissitation of ye Love of godwas againe Renewed to many towns and villages in the said Abb holme, and amongst the people, Jnsoe much that there was but very few of any Rank or Sext of wht: prswassion of Religion soeevr, but they ware awakened in their spirits, or had some desires Raised in their hearts, to seek the Lord by Speedy Repentance and amendment of their ways, Enquireing the way to Sion with there faces thither ward.

Jn those dayes the Lord was graciously pleased to send sevrall of his servants to Abby holme Aforesd, and had Meetings

²³ No: 79 gives George Coilson and adds John Grave to the list,

in divers places ; and there was A great openness and tendrness Amongst the people that flocked to frds Meetings to hear the truth declared, by the Lords Messengers, that then were drawn forth Largely in the love of god to speak of matters Aprtaining to the kingdom of heaven, and for the good and Etrnall welfare of the souls of all people, as Jon Grave, Jon Banks, Jon Burnyeat, Jon Wilkinson, Joseph Nickelson, Jon Tiffin, & Jon Steall, with sevrall others. But Especially Jon Banks Laboured much in the work of the Ministry, in which he was mightly Enabled by the powr of the Lord for the opening of peoples undrstandings in things wherein they were Doubtfull, and for the convinceing of there Consiences that they might beleive, and Indead the Lord made his Labours very Suckcessfull to the Convinceing of many, who Received the truth in the Love of [it], and are as Epistles to shew forth the work of it in there hearts, and keeps A share of the visitation of gods Love to this Day.

And thus the Lords work prospred, and the Meeting abundantly Encreased, both by friends that ware Concerned att Allonby, and likewise in sevrall places, in the sd Abbiholme, in soe much that friends houses, where the Meeting used for the most part to be kept, Could not Containe them, soe that friends were necessiated to build A meeting House for the Bettr Accommodation of friends In the Exercise of Religious worship. And although offences then Happened, and many stumbleing blocks fell in the way of the weak, Nevtrtheless the Lord in his own time Removed all out of ye way, and brought up the Glory and beautie of his pretious truth againe in the hearts of his people, and many Rjoyced in the day of his Salvation that did spring from on High, which was as A shineing Light that did shine more and more to the prfect [day].

And soe friends were settled upon Christ there Rock and foundation, were Dilligent in Comeing to Meetings first day and week day, and an Excercise and travill Entred the hearts of many for the more Enjoyment and Jnward feeling of the love of god we were often directed to wait for, that soe our hearts might be prpared to worship him in the spirit and in the truth, that an ofring of his own prpareing we all might

know, which he would Except of; and as frds thus were diligent in the Inward Excercise of true Silence, the lord was pleased in his own time to fill the hearts of many as with new wine, Insoemuch that sevrall friends Could not Contain, but speak forth a few words, that there spirits might be Eased. Great wass the tendrness and brokenness of heart in those days, for the Lord wass wittnessed to be near att hand by his Liveing prsence from whence Refreshment Comes.

And aftr this mann'r was the hearts of sevrall frds touched by ye pow'r of the word, and gradually opened to declare what god had done for there souls, and grew in there Respective gifts; and some time aftr were drawn forth to travill a broad in the service of truth in sevrall places Jn England, Scotland, and Jreland, makeing some prooffe of there ministry both by Doctrine, Jmprisonment, and sufring the spoiling of there goods for the testimony the lord had Raised in there hearts, Especially against that Antichristian yoake of tyths the nations groans undr. Great was the Care of the Lord, and many were his favours that was often Extended to his sufring people, Insoemuch that in the Sevrall Revolutions and Change of Govrment they were often Released, and freed from there Jmprisonment and Confinement. Now the truth gaines ground, and is in good Esteem in the hearts of many people; the work of the Lord goes forward, and he is adding to the Church shuch as shall be saved. The work is his, and the Glory belongs to him, who is Eternally worthy for Ever, Amen.

Derbyshire.¹

¹ It is evident from the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, and from B. Bealing's list that an account from this County was received in 1722, but I have failed to find it; and an application for a copy from the Quarterly Meeting records has not yet been successful.

Devonshire.¹

¹ B. Bealing's list of accounts received includes Devonshire, and the following minutes, copied for me by R. Reynolds Fox, of Plymouth, confirm the fact that a document was sent up, but it is not in Portfolio 7.

Quarterly Meeting at Kingsbridge the 6th 8th mo. 1720;

6 min. By a letter from Ye Meeting for Sufferings which was read here this County is desired to collect an account of ye first Publick Ministering Friends that travelled in these parts and their Sufferings by Imprisonment or any other corporal punishment. Each Monthly Meeting is to take care about it and give as full an account as they can at our next Quarterly Meeting at Exon the 29th xth mo. 1720,

Quarterly Meeting at Exon 29 xth mo. 1720;

Min. 11th. The care of that particular mentioned in ye 6th article of our last relating to ye acct of ye first Public Ministering Friends yt travelled in these parts is left to ye Mo Mting of Exeter.

Quarterly Meeting at Cullumpton ye 30th of 1st mo. 1721;

Min. 9. The best acct. that ye Monthly Meeting of Exon can give in relation to ye first Public Friends that travelled in these parts was brought to this Meeting and ordered to be sent by our Representatives to London.

There is also a minute of the Meeting for Sufferings, 9th of 4 mo., 1721, as follows:—"A Paper from ye friends of Devonshire brot by George Wingfield That they have Nothing so Clear on Record of the first Travelling friends that visited the County of Devon, as is in the Treatise, Entitled, *The WEST answering to ye NORTH, G. fi's Journal*, Joseph Cole's *Collected Writings*, and Humphery Smith's *Collection*, also ye Commitmt of Christopher Bacon and James Adamson, not very Early, vizt. abot ye year 1670: George Wingfield to write for ye friends there to Collect an Account hereof and send ye same up."

Plymouth.²

Where as it was agreed upon at the Yearly Meeteing the first of the 4th Month 1680 That friends in their Respective Monthly & Quarterly Meeteings should keepe an Account of all such first brought the Messuage of Glattidings amongst them & of there sufferings for there testymonys, and as Testjmony hecreof for them as a memorjall for them which first Came amongst vs & preached the Everlasting truth to vs ward as followeth (vizt.).

In The yeare 1654, about the 6th Month, John Audland & Thomas Arey Came to Plymouth, and was received of many who were waiteing for the Lords appearance. The said friends Stayed wth us about 4 or 5 days, and had severall Meeteings wth us both publick & private, & one the first day the sd John Audland went to one of the Steeple houses in this Towne, & testyfied against the preist & there worship, & also sounded Truth amongst them, for wh the sd John Audland recevied from the people in the Steeple house pritty much abuse ; and the sd Thomas Arey, he went to the Baptist Meeting, & sounded truth amongs them, who stod in great opposition to his testjmony. But by the heavenly Testjmony of the sd John Audland amongst us, it raised the wittnis of god in divers, that they acknowledged to the truth wh he ministered to us, and his testjmony was recevied wth great Joy and wth gladnes of heart, and many keepe to the acknowledgmt of the truth ; but noe farther, for there stay with us was very short.

But one the 16th day of the third month, in the yeare 1655, the Lords good hand brought amongst us Thomas Salthouse & Miles Halhead, who also came & preached the Gosple of the Kingdome of Christ, & thorrow the Lds Mertce, by there Ministry, they reached & raised by the wittnes of God in divers

² The following account from Plymouth Monthly Meeting Minute Book (1669-1717), has been extracted for me by Alfred P. Balkwill, of Plymouth, and examined by Albert Gripper, clerk to West Devon Monthly Meeting.

of us, & wee truly receivied the truth in the Love of it ; & wee were by them confirmed, more particularly thorrow there sufferings, wh they sustained for there Testjmony to the Truth. For there sufferings & Imprissonmts heare at Plymouth, & Exon, was about thirteene Months, wh the booke called, *The WOUNDS of an ENEMIE in the House of his [a] FRIEND* [1656], doth at large declare. By those Two friends were first our gathering into a Meeting, & through the Lords good hand amongst us & with us, through great perrells & sufferings, have been to this day continewed, wh is more than 24 yeares.

There also came severall other friends in a short time after, as, Namely, Margreett Killam³ & Barbury Pattison, whom the Lord maid his Instrjments to watter what had been by those other friends before sowed, for wth there service the said Margerett Killam was a great sufferer, & the sd Barbury Pattison also, at another time, wh the booke of *The WEST answering to the NORTH* [1657] doth more particularly declare, and therefore needeth not to be heare farther Recorded.

³ Margaret Killam (Killin, Kellum, Kellam) was a sister of Thomas Aldam, the elder, and married John Killam, of Balby. Another sister, Joan, appears to have married Thomas Killam, of Balby. John Killam is referred to in George Fox's *Journal*. Margaret travelled extensively in the work of the Gospel, and was several times imprisoned. In conjunction with Barbara Pattison (for it seems probable that "Margret Killin, of Plymouth," mentioned by Joseph Smith, is the same person) she wrote, *A WARNING from the LORD to the Teachers and People of PLIMOVTH*, 1656. She died in 1672. See *A short account of the Barbarous sufferings of Margaret Killam, Priscilla Cotten, Mary Cole, and Barbara Pattison : during the Mayoralties of John Page and Christopher Ceely*, at the end of *The WEST answering to the NORTH*, also *A Testimony Concerning Thomas Aldam*, 1690.

Dorsetshire.¹

Poole.

Dear George Fox was the first that Published the truth & had some Meetings in this County. In the year 1655, he was at Poole (accompanied by Edward Pyott), and had a Serviceable Meeting there amongst the Sober people, at Which time William Bayly² was Convinced.

Weymouth.

And in the year 1656, he was at Waymouth, where were also Jasper Batt, John Dando, & Richard Adams³; and in the same year, Thomas Briggs & John Brathwaite had Severall Meetings there, & very great Service, and soone after George Bayly was there, where he was Imprisoned, & after his Releasment he had Severall Meetings there.

Bridport.

And in the Same Year, George Fox, Joseph Coal, & Tho Curtis came to Bridport, & had a Meeting there, and Tho: Curtis had a dispute with the Priest of the towne, Namely, John Eaton, in the Audience of Severall people, & was thereupon imprisoned for a few houres, & Released, which proved of good Servis in that Place.

¹ No. 27 was sent up in 1705, and Nos. 28, 29 in 1707.

² William Bayly became a noted preacher and writer among the early Friends. He married Mary Fisher, whose interview with Sultan Mahomet IV. at Adrianople, is one of the most remarkable occurrences of early Quaker history. He was a sea-captain by profession, but he appears to have spent more time in prisons ashore, than following his profession afloat. He died at sea, on board the *Samuel*, of London, in 4th mo., 1675, on a return voyage from Barbados. See Budge's *Mary Fisher and her Friends*, in *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1876, and reprint; also *A COLLECTION of the Several Wrightings of . . . William Bayly*, 1676.

³ Richard Adams was of Limington, Somerset. He died in Ilchester jail in 1660. (D. Portfolio, 17,22.)

Also in the year 1656, Mathew Thomas & George Bayly were taken on the high way, & Committed to Dorchester prison as vagrant persons, & had some service for truth there ; and in the Eighth Month, Mathew Thomas was brought to the Quarter Sessions at Bridport, and had a Meeting there which was of Service, the said Mathew Thomas being the first that published truth in that Towne. Also in the latter part of that Year, Joseph Coal was againe at Bridport, & in the Steeple house, after the priest had done preaching, he asked him a Question, for which he was greatly abused by being haled by the hair of his head, & had to the towne Hall, & kept there one Night, where he preach't Truth out at the Window, & had very good Service, & after sent to Dorchester prison.

Lyme.

The first that published truth at Lyme were Miles Halehead and Anne Burden⁴ ; they were Received by William Browning. And in the year 1657, came to that Towne George ffox, Tho: Curtis, & Joseph Coal, and Next, William Dewsbery, & after him, Humphry Smith, who Settled meetings at Lyme & Hawkchurch.

No. 28.]

Account of the Entrance & progress of Truth in this Age.

POOLE, In the year 1655, George Fox was at Pool,
1655. Waymouth, & Dorchester, as per his journall,
accompanied by Edward Pyott, of Bristoll. At
Pool, they came to an Jnn, & on enquirey for a Baptist Teacher
was directed to the house of Walter Spurrier, a taylor. G ff,
willing to have a Meeting with them that Evening, desired he
would give notice to his Brethren, which was accordingly
Effectuated to the great Satisfaction & comfort of divers of those
present, Severall being Convinced of the blessed Truth at that

⁴ Anne Burden was presumably the same as the Friend of that name who was illtreated in New England, in 1657, while on a private visit to the Colony. Bowden (*History of Friends in America*, i. 52ff) states that she was not a minister, and Besse (*Coll. Suff.*, ii. 181), describes her as "an inoffensive Woman, no Preacher." Her home was in Bristol.

Meeting, of whome was Walter Spurriers wife, who received the Truth in the Love of it, & abode faithfull, she being an innocent woman & of a good Life & conversation.

William Baily, another of their Teachers, was then Convinced, & became an able minister of the Gospell; a Large account of his Service in the Truth is given in the Collections of his writings.

WAYMOUTH, The 21st of the 4 mo, 1656, George Baily went
1656. into the Steeple house of Waymouth & Melcomb-
regis, & begining to speak unto the People, he
said, "Hear the Word of the Lord God eternall," whereupon
the Rude people fell upon him, & haled him forth, & he was
Committed to prison in that Towne by Thomas Waltham,
mayor, where they kept him three dayes & three Nights, &
then had him up into the Town hall, where they asked him
many frivolous Questions, haveing no Crime to charge him with,
nor the breach of any known Law, yet Notwithstanding
returned him to Prison again, & the Next day
DOR- made him amittimus, & sent him to the County
CHESTER. Goale at Dorchester.

BRIDPORT, Mathew Thomas, an elderly North country
1656. friend, being apprehended as a Wanderer about
Blandford, in said County, was sent to Dor-
chester prison by one major Dewye, called ajustice, & from
thence brought to the Quarter sessions held at Bridport in the
8 mo, 1656. And under his confinement at an Jnn had a good
oppertunity to declare Truth to the People, Severall being
Convinced, of whome was Thomas Bagg, son of Richard Bagg,
mercier, of that place, whose house was the first that Enter-
tained friends, & fameieley the first that received Truth in that
place. His wife & four Daughters were Convinced some time
after, their former Perswasions being preisbiteriens⁵; some
others were also convinced at that tyme, he being the first
publisher of Truth in that Towne.

⁵ The Bagg family, of Bridport, were great sufferers for conscience sake. See Besse's *Coll. Suff.*, i. 167, 169, 171.

WAYMOUTH, Upon the 16th of the 9th month, 1656, Jasper
 1656. Batt, being moved of the Lord, went into the
 Steeple house at Waymouth (aforesaid), where
 he found George Thorn, preist of the Towne, in the Cheiff seat
 of the Synagoge, & demanded of him if he were aminister of
 Christs. He answered, he was, whereupon Jasper bid him
 prove his ministry, but he fled away, & the rude Company fell
 upon him, & beat him, & haled him to prison, where he was
 detained untill the Evening. He was Committed by Tho
 Waltham, deputy mayor, in the absence of James Gare, mayor.

WAYMOUTH, On the 30th of the 10th Month, 1656, John
 1656. Scafe, Robert Wastfield, Richard Adams, Josiah
 Coale, & John Allen, being moved to goe into the
 Steeple house of Waymouth to declare the Truth in that Place,
 were (by some of the Preists followers who are said to be of
 agathered Church) very dispitfully used, being beaten & haled
 out of the assembly, & were all of them dragged from the
 Market to the Town hall, from whence they were committed to
 Prisson by James Gare, mayor, where they were kept that day
 & the night ffollowing, & the next day set at Liberty againe.

The first ffriends that came to Lyme to
 LYME. declare the Truth were Miles Halehead & Ann
 Burden, & William Browning, a Clothier (of no
 Religious Society), received them.

In the first month ffollowing, George Fox
 BRIDPORT. & Thomas Curtis came to Bridport & had a
 Meeting there, and Tho Curtis had adispute
 with the Preist of the Towne, whose name was John Eaton, in
 the audience of Severall people, was thereupon imprisoned for
 afew houres, & being released, went westward.

Joseph Coal, declareing the word of the Lord
 LYME, in Lyme in the Streets on aMarket day, was by
 1657. Robert Burridge, mayor, & Ignortius Turner,
 called ajustice, Taken up & imprisoned, & the
 next day sent away in order to go to Dorchester Goale by
 mittimus dated the 25th of 2d mo, 1657. He being committed to

The Wise, constable, for Convayence in their Way, they came into the town of Bridport, the seventh day of the Week at night.

Next day, Joseph Coal, being moved of the Lord, BRIDPORT, went to the Steeple house there, where were two 1657. Preists. After he that officiated had Ended, Joseph asked him a question, desireing him to stay & answer it, but the other Preist, being of the Towne, namely John Eaton, called to the Magestrates for help, and he was much abused, being haled by the hair of his head and had away to the Towne hall, where they kept him prisoner that day & the Night ffollowing. Notwithstanding which he had good Servis there, & declared Truth out at the Prison windows. The Bailiffs, named Morgan Bull & William Balston, having taken away the Mittimus, & sent back the Constable again to Lyme, they made another mittimus & sent him to Dorchester common Goal. Thomas Curtis, on his return, came to Bridport again, & had Severall Meetings there, which were of service, & he setled afirst dayes Meeting there amongst ffriends in that Towne.

In the beginning of this Year, Humphry Smith was at Bridport, & had severall Meetings there to the strengthening & Confirming the newly convinced, who was as affather to a small handfull in that place, who have been preserved & are increased.

In the same Year, William Dewsberry was at Bridport, had a very Large & Comfortable Meeting there in the Name & power of Jesus.

LYME, From thence, William Dewsberry went to
HAWK- Lyme, & had a Meeting there, & after him
CHURCH. Humphry Smith, who setled Meetings at Lyme
& Hawkchurch.

DORCHESTER, The last day of the 6th Month, 1657, Humphry
1657. Smith & Tho Woodrow⁶ Came to Dorchester.
They had aMeeting to wait upon the Lord in
that Towne, where was much disturbance, & the Constables
ordered The watchman to take up them that Came to the Meet-

⁶ Thomas Woodrove lived at Weymouth,

ing. They took up such strangers as they Mett with, and put them in the Blind house all the Night. Next day, being the first of the 7th Month, Tho Woodrow went to the blind house to see them. Notice thereof being given to the Mayor, Thomas Simmons, he (with the rest of the Company) Sent for the said Tho Woodrow, & Caused him to be whipt & Sent with a pass from Tything to Tything.

CORFF, ISLE Anthony Meledge, of Lyme, went to vissit his PURBECK. mother, awiddow at Corff castle in the Jsle of Purbeck, & his ffriend Humphry Smith with him. Humphry Smith, being declareing the Word of the Lord there, in the house, were by one Doctor Gibbons & Richard Jones disturbed, who came with awarrant & carried them before Rogers Clavell, & he sent them both to Dorchester prison, where they were prisoners Twenty weekes or above.⁷

BRIDPORT, George Bewly, comeing (with two other 1657. ffriends) to the Towne of Bridport, upon the 21st of 9th month, 1657, being the Seventh of the week, to a meeting which was to be in the Towne the Next day, and haveing been at the Meeting, the Bailiffs sent the Constables, named Nicholas Way & John Davy, with awarrant that night to bring them before them. The Bailiffs said they were wanderers, & sent them to prison that night, & the next day sent for them to the Townhall, and Caused them to be whipped, & the day after, being the third of the Week, sent them away with pases for vagabonds & wanderers. George Bewly being haled out of Towne without his horse & Cloaths, he desired to go back for them, & to pay for what he had taken att the Jnn, but they would not suffer him ; however, after they left him, he came back to fetch his horse & Cloaths, was taken up again by the Constables before named, & had before the Bailiffs, viz. Nicholas Sampson and Robert Prince, thence they had him to

⁷ For a further account of these incidents see *A True RELATION of the former Faithful and long service, with the present most unjust Imprisonment of ANTHONY MELLIDGE, sometime called a Captain ; now in scorn called a Quaker*, dated from Dorchester prison, 25th of 12 mo., 1656: He was a sea captain.

the hall againe, & Caused him to be whipped a 2d Tyme, telling him he was come back from his Testimonialls, & sent him away without his horse & Cloaths again. Passing out of Towne, &

being set at Liberty, he went to South Perrot,

SOUTH PERROTT, & had a meeting there, & came to Bridport again, the first of 10 month, to fetch his horse & Cloathes.

1657. He tarried about an hour in the Towne ; & then was on horse back rideing out of the Towne, the

Constables, before mentioned, came & laid hands on ye horss bridle, & had him before the bailiffs again, from thence to the hall, & Caused him to be whipt the 3d tyme, saying he was come from his Testimoniall again ; who answered as before that he came for his horse & Cloaths, & was riding away. Next day, they sent him away with another pass & his horse & Cloathes, after which he returned not againe, being sent with a pass from Tything to Tything as avagrant person, tho he was asufficient Mans son.

WAYMOUTH, In the same year, Ambross Rigg, comeing to

1657. the Towne of Waymouth, was moved to go into the Steeple house, where he stood silent untill

the preist had done, & begining to speak, the preists flock came upon him, very much abusing him, & Tearing his Cloathes, putting him forth of the assembly. They had him to the Towne hall, asked him divers frivilous questions, & was Committed to Prison by James Gare, mayor, & next day they sent an officer to tell him if he would promise to be gone & not Trouble them any more, but he, not being free to assent hereunto, was kept there that Night also, & the next day came officers from the Mayor

DOR- with amittimus under his hand to remove him
CHESTER, thence & carry him to the Prison in Dorchester,
1657. being the County Prison, which was accordingly done.

Richard Fairman was passing through aplace Called Winefreth, in the said County, being passing along towards his outward habitation, one Petfield, preist of the parish, sent a watchman after him on the high way, & fetched him back againe, Carried him before Roger Clavill, called ajustice, who sent him to Dorchester prison, where he remained Twenty weeks or more.

SOUTH PERROTT, 1657. The 24th of 8 mo, 1657, Humphry Smith came to South Perrott to the house of Samuell Curtis, a Clothier, being the 7th day of the Week. Next day they both rode to a Meeting near Axminster, in Devonshire, at a place called Uphay, & had a peaceable meeting there. Next day, they passing towards Chard, in Sumersetsshire, there came a wicked man from Hawkchurch, riding with Much violence, & a tything man with him, with a warrant from Tho Bampfield,⁸ of Poletymore, in Devonshire, to apprehend Humphry Smith, & any vagrant person wandering with him, whereby they were both brought back to Axminster, & Carried to a place called Bear Hall (about Six milles from South Perrott), where John Hodder, preist of Hawkchurch, & Tho Bampfield, Called a justice, came. They were Examined, whence they came, & answered, from a Meeting of the Lords people to wait upon the Lord, & were going to Chard markett, & from thence to South Perrott, the out ward dwelling place of said Samuell Curtis, yet nevertheless, although he had nothing to accuse them of, he commanded the Constable to strip them both naked, & whipt them for vagrant persons, & then made them Each a pass, & sent them from tything to Tything, verri-fying that Saying, "The Tender mercies of the wicked are Creullty."

SHERBORNE, 1657. Severall friends were at the Towne of Sherborne, where Humphry Smith had a Meeting, where they were unhumanly abussed by a rude Multitude ; they, not resisting any in the least, were very much bespattered with the filth & dirt of the Towne, many great stones were cast at them, & some had their heads broke, with many other abuses, were followed into a house, where they tarried all night to prevent the spilling of blood, but were Encompassed round by the rude people like the Sodomites in the dayes of old, yet the Lord delivered them.

⁸ Thomas Bampfield was M.P. for Exeter, and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1658.

HAWKCHURCH, Dewens Morry went to the publick place of 1657. Worship in the parish of Hawkchurch, on the 20th of Iomo, 1657, where John Hodder, parish Teacher, was praying that they might walk holy as Christ walked, with more to that Effect; then she was moved to ask him if he thought it was possible to be attained; he not answering, she askt him again, & he answered, it might. Then she opened what he had prayed for unto him, & said further more she had received a Message from [No. 29.] the lord to declare amongst them. After she had delivered it, she went away to a friends house, where she had not been long before one of the officers came thither, & questioned her Concerning her speaking in Publick, & told her she must answer it; then left her, & came again, & brought the act with him, by Virtue of which she was, as he said, to go with him. She obeyed. He had her to the preists house, at which the Preist was much intraged, & said he had nothing to say to her, & was not to receive such into his house. Next day they compelled her to go about 6 miles to one Called ajustice, where the said Preist came to accuse her, & Complained that she had disturbed his Congregation; she askeing what evill she had done, the preist said, "A Woman must not Speak in the Church." She denyed it to be the Voice of the Woman that spake, but said twas the voice of the Spirit of God. She asked him what Law Paul had for a Woman if she Spake in the Church; he said, Paul had no Law, but that he wished he had had a Law. So in conclusion they ordered her to go back to Hawkchurch that Night, & there she was to be whipt untill the Blood did come, which was done the next Morning Early, she receiving many Creuell, bloody stripes, & was sent home with a pass from tything to Tything.

*Most of the before Recited passages were abrivated & taken out of a book, Entituled, "The Lamentable SUFFERINGS of the Church of GOD in DORSET-SHIRE."*⁹

⁹ This appears to have been written by Samuel Curtis, and was published in 1659.

Durham.¹

In the 5th Mo : in ye Year 1653, & on the 5th day of the week, James Naylor of [Wakefield], Jn the County of [York], had a Meeting at the house of Ambrose Appleby, of Startford, in Yorkshire, adjoining to this County, & now belongs to Durham Quarterly Meeting, where he publickly declar'd the message of ye glad tidings of Truth, & hee & his message were gladly received by the said Ambrose Appleby.

Bishop Auckland.

And on ye first day following, he had a Meeting in ye house of Anthony Pearson,² at Ramshaw, near Bipp-Auckland, in the County of Durham, where severall were present, & some who wth gladness Jmbrac'd the testimony of Truth declar'd by him, viz., Jno Langstaff, Anthony Hodgson, Geo: Adamson, Zachariah Murthwaite, Jno Walton, Martin Richmond & three of his Sons, & severall others. James Naylor came noe further into ye County at that Time.

¹ No. 30 was sent up in 1721. The Quarterly Meeting of Durham is meagrely represented, but more may have been prepared than has been preserved to the present day. At a Meeting for Sufferings held on the 30th of 10 mo., 1720, "Benjamin Bealing Reports he made search to see if the Account from Durham was sent up (as the friends there did suppose it might), but could not find it. The correspondents, Thomas Busbey, &c., To write for an Account to be sent up in ye best manner they can now do it in."

² Anthony Pearson, J.P., was probably the most noted Friend of Co. Durham. He was convinced while on the bench at Appleby, with James Nayler and Francis Howgill before him, and became of great service to Friends. He is frequently referred to by George Fox in his *Journal* (see my index to the 8th edition, 1901, where, however, the first reference is incorrect, there being apparently another Justice Pearson, in Holderness), "Ramshaw Hall, the residence of Anthony Pearson, is pretty much in the same condition as he left it. The oak wainscoats are, however, sadly worm-eaten. It is near Evenwood Station on the Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland branch of the North Eastern Railway."—John Bigland, of Henknowle, Bishop Auckland, 1904.

In the 8th Mo : In the Year 1653, Thos Holmes, of In the County of [Westmorland] wth on John Durham, who accompanied him, had a meeting at the House of one Frances Robinson, Widdow, in Bipp Auckland, where a rude multitude came furiously in, and demand'd of one Sa: Kirby of Richmond, in Yorkshire, who was alsoe a stranger, The names of the two Strangers, being more Exceedingly madd against them, & she, not being free to satisfie their wicked Wills, refused to tell their Names. They then went out & soon came in againe in great Rage & fury, & violently pulled downe the sd Thos Holmes from the seat on wch he stood declaring the Gospell of Truth, But he was providentially rescued out of their hands by some Friends. And they then fell furiously upon Jo : Durham, his companion, on whom they laid blows, "as if it had been on a Beast," as some of the People described itt, till it was thought they broake his back ; of wch he never recovered. And they alsoe hailed away the sd Sarah Kirby, throwing Her down & calling here Whore, and a Woman standing by said that was the worst they could doe to Her. She went toward her, hoping for some help from her, but the neighbours asking if she were turned Quaker, she went away & Left her to the Cruelty of the rude Multitude, who some of them threw her downe, others more kind helping her upp again, till at last a relation found her, & Saved her from them. Then they threw dirt & Mire upon her, & some who were acquainted wth her said the next day, Jf it had not been for them she had been killed. This entertainment had the Messengers of Truth, & Strangers, from yt wicked Generation at its first spreading here in this Towne of Bishop Auckland.

In the same year, 1653, Jo: Audland & Edwd Burrough came into ye Northwest part of the County of Durham, & had a Meeting near Darwin-water, At Snows Green, and another at Meddomsly, where they had a dispute wth some professors. They were gladly received by Jo Hunter,³ of Bendfeild-side, &

³ John Hunter was the ancestor of several North Country families, including my own. There is a curious reference to a meeting at his house on the 19th of 8 mo., 1654, in a postscript to Giles Firmin's *STABLISHING against SHAKING*, 1656, the information contained in which was said to have been supplied by Thomas Tillam, a fellow minister of Essex. The

from thence they travelled to a place called Strait Stirrups, near the City of Durham, where they wth Tho Holm's, aforesd, had a meeting. Severall received their Testimony, & were Convinced. In a little time after, came Fran : Howgell, who laboured much in ye sarvice of the Gospell about Darwin-water, & had severall Meetings there-abt, and many were Convinced.

Shotton.

In the same year, 1653, upon ye 6th of ye 10th month, Edwd Burrough travelled into ye East of ye County of Durham, & had a meeting at Shotton, where he publickly declared ye Testimony of Truth, wch severall received wth gladness of Heart. He was kindly received by Jo: Richardson, of Shotton, & the 1st day following, being ye 11th of ye same mo, Edwd did goe to the Steeple house at Easington, where he bore a faithfull testimony agst the Preist, & told him yt he was amessenger sent from ye Lord to declare unto him yt he was one yt God never sent, & he alsoe spoak to the People to be still, & ye Preist was soe astonished yt he was silent, but presently, being filled wth wrath, he ordered men violently to take him away, who shamefully beat & abused him wth Jo: Richardson & some others. Ye name of ye Preist was Philip Nesbet. They knock't ym downe wth clubs, as if they had been Beasts, Their Hatts were driven off their Heads amongst ye rude multitude, who appeared as if they had been without Limitt to have devour'd all before them, Yet Friends were preserved, & a meeting was settled at Shotton.

following is a portion of the narrative: "*At the earnest desire of some friends, I went with John Ward and Anthony Hunter to a meeting of the deluded souls called Quakers, at John Hunters of Benfieldside in the County of Durham, where we found about twenty persons sitting all silent; after we had sate awhile (all being mute), the Lord moved me to arise, and call upon his name by prayer. . . . While I prayed to GOD as a Creatour, there was but little disturbance, but when I cryed in the Name of JESUS CHRIST, my Mediatour, God in my nature, . . . then the Devil roared in the deceived soules in most strange and dreadfull manner, some howling, some screeking, yelling, roaring, and some had a strange, confused kinde of humming, singing noise. Such a representation of Hell, I never heard of, nothing but horror and confusion.*"

This "foolish babbling story" is denied by Edward Burrough, in his reply to Firmin, *Stablisbing against QUAKING* thrown down, 1656, who gives Tillam, then of Hexham, a very bad character. Charles Leslie repeats the story in *The Snake in the Grass*, 1696, and Mrs. Greer gives it a further lease of life in her *Society of Friends, a Domestic Narrative*, 1852 (ii. 157).

Essex & Colchester.¹

Colchester.

To the Meeting for Sufferings held in London.

Dear Friends,

Pursuant to yr Request to us and according to ye advice of ye Yearly Meeting in London We send you ye following Accot of ye Breaking forth of Truth in this Place and ye most materiall Sufferings which Accrued thereupon.

The first Messenger of ye Lord that Appeared in this Town to Sound for ye Everlasting Gospel was that Eminent Minister and Faithfull Labourer, James Parnell, whose first Coming to this Town was in ye 4th Month, in ye year 1655, being on a Seventh day of ye Week; and on ye day following, he Preached ye Gospell first at his Lodgings, then in a steeple House after their Worship was over, and next in a Large Meeting appointed on purpose, and after that disputed with ye Town Lecturer and another Priest in ye French School,² all in one Day. Ye Remaining part of ye Week he Spent in Preaching, praying, Exhorting, &c, and many were Convinced thereby, and Meetings Soon Settled in divers parts of ye County of Essex.

Great were ye Sufferings which this faithfull Minister of ye Lord, J. P., underwent, being beat and abused by many. One Person, in Particular, Struck him with a Great Staff, as he was Coming out of ye Steeple house, Called Nicholas, and Said to

¹ Portions of No. 31, which duplicate portions of No. 32, have been omitted.

Wilson Marriage, J.P., of Dilbridge Hall, Colchester, an ex-mayor and alderman of the town, informs me of documentary evidence in his hands that Mary Marriage, widow of Francis Marriage, of Stebbing, an ancestor of his, was desired by a committee of Friends to give information as to "the first publishers of Truth," but no reply to this request is either entered on the minute books, or known to be extant. For a fuller account of Quakerism in Colchester see *Steven Crisp, and his Correspondents*, 1657-1692, edited by C. Fell Smith, 1892.

² That is, the school of the French Huguenot refugees settled in Colchester.

him, "Take that for Jesus Christ's sake," To whom J. P. meekly Replied, "Friend, I do Receive it for Jesus Christs sake." Thus having Laboured in this Town about Ten days, it Lay upon him to go to Coggeshall, a Town about 8 Miles Distant, where ye Professors had appointed a Fast to be held on ye 12th day of ye 5th month ; on which day, this faithfull Servant of ye Lord went into ye Steeple house, and after ye Priest had Ended his Matter, he stood up, and Said, "This ye order of ye True Church, that all may Speak one by one, and if anything be Revealed to him that Stands by, Let ye first hold his Peace," and went on to declare in behalf of the People Called Quakers whom ye Priest had Reviled, but as soon as he had Spoken a few Words, ye Priest, and several others, interrupted him, and the Priest asked him what he had to Object against him, to which he Answered, in that he Reviled ye People Called Quakers and Said they were built on a Sandy Foundation, &c, but that he would prove their Foundation not to be Sandy, and him to be ye False prophet, with much more.

Then he went out into ye highway, and was passing Quietly to a Friends house in ye Town from whence he Came, but one Dionysius Wakering Stepped out after him and Told him he Arrested him in ye name of ye Protector, and from thence he was sent Prisoner to Colchester Castle by a Mittimus Signed by Dionysius Wakering, Thomas Cooke, Herbert Pelham, and Wm Harlackenden ; and from thence, at ye next Assizes, was had to Chelmsford, being kept on ye Chain with Thieves and Murderers Day and Night ; and when he Appeared at ye Bar, Judge Hill urged ye Jury to find him Guilty, and would not Suffer him to Speak to them to Clear himself, but Fined him Forty Pounds, as he pretended for Contempt of ye Magestracy and Ministry, and Committed him Close Prisoner in ye Afore-said Castle, with a Charge not to Let any of ye "Giddy headed people" (as he Called Friends) Come at him. So ye Goaler Denied Friends to Come to him, and would Let none Come in but Such as Came to abuse him ; and ye Goalers Wife set her man to beat him, and Swore She would have his blood, and Sometimes they would not Let him have any Victualls, and at other Times would Set ye prisoners to Take away Such as was

brought to him, and would not permit him a Trundle bed, which Some Friends had procured him, but forced him to Lye on ye Stones, which in a Wet Season would Run down with Water. And when he was in a Room, for which he paid four Pence a Night, he was Threatned, if he did but Walk to and fro in it. Then they put him in a Hole in ye Castle Wall, which is Very high from ye Ground, and Set a Ladder which was too Short by Six foot ; and when his Friends would have Provided a Basket and a Cord for him To Draw up his Victualls in, they would not Suffer it, but Caused him to Come down by a Rope to ye Ladder, or else he must have Famished in ye Hole. He being one day Climbing up with his Victualls in one hand (and being through hard Usage much benumbed in his Limbs), and, Coming to ye Top of ye Ladder, Catching at ye Rope with one hand, Missed of it, and Fell a Very great height down upon ye Stones, by which Fall he was Very much Bruised in his head and Arms, and Taken up for dead.

Then they put him in a Little; low Hole, Called the Oven (which Place was So little that Some Bakers Ovens have been larger though not So high), without ye least hole for Air or Smoak; and after he was a little Recovered, they would not Suffer him to Take a Little Air, which was but once desired by him, finding in himself a Want of breath, And Although some did offer their Bond of Forty Pounds, and one to Lye Body for Body, that he might Come to their House till he was Recovered, yet they would not permit it, and it being desired that he might but Walk in ye Yard, it was answered, he Should not Walk so much as to ye Castle Door. And ye Door being once opened, he did but Take ye Freedom to Walk forth in 'a Close, Stinking Yard before ye Door, and ye Goaler Came in a Rage and locked up ye Hole where he lay, and Shut him out in ye Yard all night in ye Coldest Time of all ye Winter. So, finding that Nothing but his Blood would Satisfy them, great Application was made to those in a Superior Authority, but to no purpose. Thus, he having Endured about Ten Months imprisonment and having Passed thro' many Deep Tryalls and Exercises which ye Lord Enabled him to bear with Courage and Faithfullness, he laid

down his head in Peace, and Dyed a Prisoner and Faithfull Martyr for ye sake of ye Truth, under ye hands of a persecuting Generation, in ye Year 1656.³ His Body was buried in ye Castle Yard, being ye Burial Place of ye prisoners, by Reason ye Goaler Refused to Deliver ye body without fees.

The following Persons were Committed to Colchester Castle⁴ from Several parts of ye County, viz :—

In ye Year 1655, John Isaac, of Halstead, Mary Cook, of Chelmsford.

6th mo, 1656, John Sewell, of Grotingham, John Child, of Felstead, twice Committed, Jonathan Bundock, John Davage, and Stephen Hubbersty, Sent from Dengey hundred.

28th 3d mo, 1657, Wm Monk, of Sandon.

28th 10th mo, 1657, John Sewell, of Gessingthorpe, Mary Braddy, of Felsted, John Claidon, from Hadstock.

21st of 1st mo, 1658, John Davage, from Burnham.

Imprisoned in ye Moot Hall⁴ in Colchester :—

In 1657, Martha Simmons,	Tho : Shortland,
Stephen Crisp,	Ann Langley,
Edmond Cross,	Ann Stammage,
Margt Grey,	George Eade,
Matth : Hodson,	Susanna Cockerell ;

1658, Joan Disborow, Edward Grant,³ Aged abt 65 Years, whom ye Cruel Troopers beat and abused, so that he went home, and died that day month, about ye Same hour and Minute of ye day ye Trooper had abused him, and Left his bruised Body as a Testimony against their Merciless and unchristian Barbarity.

These latter were all of Colchester, and several of them, and many more, underwent Cruel buffetings, and were Sorely abused and beaten.

In ye time of ye Great Persecution in 1663 and 1664, and

³ A beautiful Italian marble tablet was placed in the new Town Hall, Colchester, by Samuel Fennell Hurnard, in 1901, to the memory of the Colchester martyrs; at the close of the list of twenty-nine names stand those of James Parnell and Edward Graunt. See *Commemoration of the Colchester Martyrs*, 1904.

⁴ Inhabitants of the town were imprisoned in the Moot Hall, persons living in the surrounding districts in the Castle.

while ye Cruel Troopers were in Town and friends Sorely Persecuted, they built a Large Meeting house, which was an amazement to ye Whole Town.

In ye year 1670, Wm Moore was Mayor again, and Caused ye Meeting House to be Twice planked and Bricked up, which was Twice broken up, but at last Friends were forced to Meet in ye Street in ye Winter in Rain and Snow, though pretty free from Disturbance. Two Friends were imprisoned for breaking open ye Meeting house doors, but were quickly Released. Thus Truth through Great Sufferings got ye Victory.

In ye Year 1673, Friends Pulled down part of ye Meeting House to build it more Convenient, when one John Vickers, an old Adversary to Truth, petitioned the Quarter Sessions that while our Meeting house was Pulling down it might be utterly laid Wast and Razed to ye Ground, but they took No Notice of it.

As to informers, this Town afforded none, but two Came out of Norfolk, but were likely to be Stoned by ye People, who, Seeing their Danger, Applied to ye then Mayor for a Place of Safety. He Replied he knew of none unless they would Lye in ye Goal, which they did, and went Early out of Town next Morning. So Friends Remained Quiet till ye Year 1685, when ye Duke of Monmouths insurrection was, and Capt Wroths Troop being in Town, Friends old adversary, Shaw, put him upon breaking up our Meetings, and Two Meetings were fined, and John Furly, Jun, for preaching, fined for ye first Offence Twenty Pounds, and had Goods distrained, and for ye Second Offence forty Pounds, but no Distress made, by ye Favour of Edward Lock, a Moderate Person, being High Constable ; and ye Goods for ye first Offence being unsold about a Year, by ye Favour of King James Remitting Such Fines, he had his Goods again.

Signed by order and on Behalf of ye Two Weeks Meeting in Colchester this 20th of ye 12th mo. 1720

By

PETER JARVIS, JUNR.

No. 32.] **Halsted, Coggeshall, & Colchester.**

A Brief accot of the breaking forth of truth in ye County of Essex, beginning Jn the 4th Month, 1655, being mostly about Halsted, Coggeshall, & Colchester :—

Who first recd ffrds

Who were the oposers

What Judgmts Came upon Some persecuters

What branch of our testimony frds sufferd for.

Before his Jmprisonmt James Parnell came to the following places & had divers Meetings, & was received as follows :—

By John Jsacs, of Halsted, tanner, at whose hous he had a Meeting ;

By Robert Ludgater, of Coggeshall, Glover, where he had a great Meeting in the street by the said Roberts door, the day he was Comitted to Prison, & Thomas Sparow & Robt Ludgater was bayl for him for a few daies that he should be forthcoming ; also he had a very great Meeting Jn Roberts yard, J. P. speaking out of a window ;

By Thomas Shorthand, weaver, Jn Colchester, where he had a little Meeting, & Steven Crisp, and Thoms Bales, Grocer, & Georg Weatherly, Malster, wth some others, were soon Convinced, being in the 4th mo, 1655 ; & in ye afternoon of the same day had a very great Meeting Jn John ffurlys yard, he speaking out of a hay Chamber window, where Jts thought were about a Thousand people ; & after that, ye same day, he had a dispute Jn one of John ffurlys Chambers, lett to a french Schoolmaster, where truth got the dominion, being wth Wm Archer, the town Lecturer, & Thoms Tillam⁵, a 7th day baptist preacher. He was also received by some others Jn Essex. And the Cheif entertainers of frds were the said Robt Ludgater, of Coggeshall, fellmonger, Wm Talcot, of Colchestr, Stapeler, first ;

⁵ Thomas Tillam was a minister at Hexham, and subsequently in Essex. He wrote *The Seventh day Sabbath*, which is only known to me through George Fox's *Answer*, 1659. See note 3 to the Durham portion of "The First Publishers."

and then after some time, John ffurly⁶, of Colchester, Merchant, John Child, of ffelsted, Taylor, John Jsacs, of Halsted, Tanner, John ffreeborn, of Witham, Baymaker, Thomas Shortland, of Colchestr, Weaver, Georg Weatherly, of Colchestr, Maulster, John ffurly, of Colchestr, Mrchant, as aforesd.

The Judgments of God yt overtook ye persecutors of James Parnell were very Remarkable. Dionisius Wakering, that pretended to arest him in the name of Oliver Cromwell, Protector, was taken wth the Small Pox, his tongue being very much sweld Jn his head, saying, "Oh ! this Parnell. Oh ! that J had never medled wth this Parnell," & so dyed. John Stelham, who Jnstigated the Justices to lay hold of James Parnell, going to vissit one, as he was alighting from his hors, his foot slipt, so as that the head of his Cane ran into his mouth, & before he dyed, he said, That he did not think that ye Quakers principles were so neer the truth as they were, or to that efect. Wm Harlakinden, one of the Justices, dwelling at Earls Coln, became distracted, so that he would go Jnto fields without stockins or shoes, & over hedg & ditch, and continued in that Condition, & dyed. Herbert Pelham, another Justice, of Buers hamlet, was like a Mad man at times, & would hallow & luer as he did ride. Thomas Cook, anothr Justice, of Pebmarsh, his estate was wasted and came to little.

There soon followed other ffrds wth a Publick testimony, As

Steven Hubbersty,	Wm Dewsbury,
Richard ffairman,	Wm Ames,
Richard Hubberthorn,	Joseph ffuce,
Georg ffox, Senr,	Ann Gold,

Georg ffox, Junr, John Blakelin, Humphry Norton, John Stubs, Thomas Bond, John Hall, Richd Clayton, who was publickly whipt at Buers, by order of Herbert Pelham & Thoms Walgrave, George Harison, who departed this life at Coggeshall, Wm Robinson, whom the Cruell persecutors in New England put to death, Wm Allen, of Cambridge, Barber Chirurgion, who was drawn into a pond at Thorp, he going to have a Meeting there, Georg Whitehead, who, Being at a Meeting at Nayland,

⁶ No. 31 adds, "at whose House ye first publick meeting was held."

was there publickly whipt, ye 2d mo, 1657, by order of John & Robert Gourdon, cald Justices, as a Vagrant.⁷

Jn the years 1658 & 1659, Many ffrds were brought Prisoners to Colchestr Castle for nonpaymt of tithes—Also some for speaking to Priests at Steeple hous, As

John Child, of ffelsted,	}	ffor speaking to Priests.
Steven Hubbersty,		
Mary Cook,		
John Daveridg,		
Jonathan Bundock,		
& some others,		

Wm Allen, aforementioned, riding through Weathersfield to a Meeting that way, was Stopt by halberd men that were set there on purpose to Stop ffrds. Jt being their Lecture day, When the people came out of the Steeple hous, he declared the word of life to the people, for wch he was Comitted to Colchester Castle, ye 4th mo, 1658, by Dudly Templer, & afterward released at ye Assizes held for this County at Chelmsford. During his said Jmprisonmt, wch was about a year or more, as near as can be remembred, John ffruly procured his liberty of the Goaler to go abroad about ye town & Cuntry (being the same Goaler yt was so Cruell to James Parnell), By wch means the said Wm Allen was very serviceable Jn Colchestr, & had divers Meetings there & Jn the Cuntry, by wch divers were Convinced & brought to the Knowledg of the truth.

And in the time of the great persecution at Colchester, in the year 1663, occasiond by Wm Moore, Mayor, & John Shaw, recorder, who petitiond king Charles for a troop of hors to dispers frds meetings. When the troopers had on the 1st day disperst frds meeting, Jt being held Jn the street, they being by ye said Mayors ordr kept out of the Meeting hous, The said troopers riding Jn among ffrds wth head pieces & back pieces & naked swords, & beat frds wth the blades flat waies. The 4th day after, being also Meeting day & the troopers ready horst Jn

⁷ No. 31 adds, " after which he disputed with a Priest in ye Steeple House at Stanway, a village about three Miles Distant from Colchester,"

order to come down, the said Wm Allen declared the word of life amongst frds in the street to the great amazement of the people & troopers. And the first words he said was, "ffriends, fear not, for the Lord hath determined your deliverance, and not one hair of your heads shall perish this day," some of the troopers standing by & hearing these words. And Jt was fulfilled, for tho the trooprs were on hors back they came not down, but the Captain gave ordr to some of his troopers to let the preacher alone till he had done, & then bring him before them, wch they did very Civilly, & the Capt discharged the said Wm Allen, telling him he wondred how our frds dare meet Contrary to the kings Lawes.⁸

But frds at Colchestr were sorely persecuted & beat by these troopers afterwards, for about 5 or 6 mo, as by abook of the printed Narrative⁹ of their actions every Meeting day May apear (a Copy of wch Jn writing J transcribed & can Communicate to ffrds if desired, Jf the book is not to be found), how sorely frds were beat & rod Jn upon wth their horses as ffrds stood Jn ye street before their Meeting hous dore, being kept out by 2 men set by ye said Mayor, Wm Moore. At last these trooprs came without their horses, wth great Clubs, & beat ffrds soarly on their shoulders & legs, & put sharp spikes Jnto the end of their Clubs, wch they ran through the women frds Clothes, whereby one antient frd, whose name was Mary Cockerell,¹⁰ a widow, had divers holes made Jn her thighs, wch making agreat noise Jn town, the Mayor sent a Midwife to see if Jt was so, wch she examining & finding true, reported to ye Mayor, so there

⁸ No. 31 adds:—

"Divers Friends whom they happened of in ye streets, altho' not at nor going to any Meeting, they would knock down and abuse in a most Cruel Manner. One Friend was beat in ye street by a Trooper with his Naked Sword, untill ye Blade fell out of ye hilt, which when ye Friend Saw, he said, 'I will Give it thee up again,' which he did, and Said, 'I Desire ye Lord may not Lay this days work to thy charge.' Then would they set Centinels to Guard ye Streets Leading to ye Meeting Place; whilst a Party went to disperse such as were Gathered and such as were Coming, ye Centinels would Drive back and Cruelly beat."

⁹ See *A True and Faithful RELATION from the People of God (called Quakers) in COLCHESTER*, dated 11th month, 1663;

¹⁰ No. 31 gives, "Susanna Cockerell,"

was astop put to that. This persecution lasted all his Mayrolty, little or much. These troopers, at last, went away, & others came yt were more moderate, but would turn frds away, who then met in their burying ground, their time being out Jn their hired hous; So that it came Jn frds heart Jn the midst & greatest of their ffury & abusing frds (& when about 60 of the richest frds had been first Cast Jn ye town prison before these fighting trooprs came), to build a very larg Meeting hous, wch was an amazement both to ye troopers & to ye town in generall.

And John ffurly, ye Elder, was then by the Jnstigation of ye said Wm Moor, the Mayor, & John Shaw, Recorder, had before King Charles & his Counsell, where he had been once before upon occation of outward afairs, & so was known again to severall of them; & they sent up witnesses agst him, as one Parkinson, a baymaker & Auger, & his man, both weavers but his man was also the hired hangman. They could say little, but yt ye said Jno ffurly, my fathr, had read a lettr, wch was an Epistle among frds, while they were kept Jn ye street, being from Henry Jackson,¹¹ wch Jno ffurly having notice of by ye pursivant that came for him, caryed up wth him, & the Counsell, or speaker, Charging him wth such alettr, he produced. Ye speaker was ordred to Read Jt. Jno ffurly desired he might read Jt, wch they granted, & Jt being 2 Epistles Joyned together & long ones, when he had read one, they bad him lay Jt down, asking Jf there was no wors behind. The witnesses, being cald, were abashed & could say little; they askt what trade they were of, to wch they answerd, "But Augers man," not telling yt he was hangman, but cald himself a weaver, as he also was. The then Duke of York askt if he weaved halster, & some of them askt Jf ye Mayor of Colchestr had no bettr witnesses then these; however; becaus Jt would look too discouraging to the Magistrates to set him at liberty, he was

¹¹ Henry Jackson wrote "From the Lodge in *Essex* this 4th day of the 9th month 1662," *A Testimony of Truth*, addressed to Friends in Yorkshire. He also wrote, *A VISITATION of Love to the tender Plants of God's VINEYARD*, from Warwick gaol in 10 mo., 1663, which was addressed: "For the dear Plants of God in the Southern Counties, Essex," etc. It was probably the latter epistle, which John Furly, the elder, had read to Friends at their meeting.

Comitted to ye Gate hous, Westminster, his mittimus mentioning noother Crime then being an Jncouragr or Countenancer of ye Quakers in & about Colchestr. Where, & Jn Newgate (to wch he removed himself hoping to come to tryall but could not), he was prisoner about 3 years, till ye sickness came Jnto Newgate he was let out ; & all ye Goalers dying, was never more cald for. And in the year 1666, Wm Moore, ye Mayors, onely daughter dyed, wch was taken notice of by divers yt it bowed his spt in some measure yt he was generally more quiet afterwards as to matters of Religion, as apeared afterward in the time of his Mayrolty, 1670.

1669 was the Jnforming act & Henry Lamb, Mayor. Our town would aford no Jnformers, but two came out of Norfolk & Jnformed agst One meeting, but ye Rabble Stoned them so much yt they desired to know of the Mayor where they might lodg safe. He told ym he knew no where safer then in ye town Goal, so thither they went, & got away very early Jn ye morning & never came more to disturb ffrds at Colchester. But ye Mayor (as it was supposed) did, Jn kindness to ffrds, block up the doores & windowes of the meeting hous. However after some small space of time frds broke ym open & got into hous. After wch he brickt up ye doores & plankt ym over also as also the windows, so frds stood Jn ye street before their Meeting hous all a Cold winter Jn frost snow & rain, & when his mayrolty was out frds did break open their Meeting hous again, for wch 3 frds were Comitted awhile to prison, but not long without being set at liberty.

Jn the year 1670, Wm Moore was mayor again, but then behaved himself quietly as to Religion ; & its worthy to be observed that, the said Moore being Mayor again, When the act required all Meeting houses for worship to be licensed & recorded, he signed a licens for frds Meeting hous according to act of parlamt.

And Jn ye year 1674, That John Shaw, our Recorder, put his son, Samll Shaw, into ye place of Town Clerk, our old town Clerk, Mathew Scrivenor, dying (who was very kind to frds). The said Samll Shaw, Eager of prey, & the 20 ñ per month

absence from yt cald divine service being on foot, about 60 persons, frds and others, were Jndited at one sessions, but yt day the said John Shaw was to sat judg of ye Court, his wife dying lay by ye walls, & soon after, his son Samll dyed, but before Samll Shaw dyed the sober Magistrates made an Jntrest wth ye Duke of Albemarle to turn old Jno Shaw out of his Recorder-ship, & begd of ye Duke to accept the place, & did. And it was reported yt Jno Shaw did oft blame his son, Samll, telling him it was his fierce doings to prosecute the dissenters on ye £20 per month yt brought him to loose his place, & he also dyed like a man without honour wth ye Generallity of ye town, that had so ruled over all ye town many years; & It was oft observed yt when he came to break up ffrds Meetings, or sat Judg upon frds, yt he was so smitten yt he would call for aire, & sometimes go off ye bench to get aire, when he sat Judg, so yt a frd once told him he might from thence observe ye difference betwixt when he sat judg on us an Jnnocent people & when he sat judg over Malefactors.

Over & above ye frds Jn ye ministry first mentiond that travell'd amongst & vissited us were as follows :—

Humphry Smith,	Thomas Green,
Wm Brend,	Samll ffisher,
Wm Bailey,	Samll Cater,
Wm Penn,	James Park,
John Ainslo,	Charles Harris,
Wm Bennet,	Jno Kilburn,
Thoms Adkins,	Henry Currier,
Josiah Coale,	Richd Greenway,
Wm Smith,	Xo Tayler,
Charles Marshall,	Stephen Smith,
Steven Crisp,	

Wch Latter, *viz.* Stephen Crisp, was raised up to a publick testimony from among ourselves, & had a very larg Gift Jn his preaching.

7 mo 29, Anno 1672, Nathaniell Laurence was sworn Mayor, who, though out of Enmity to him, he being Accounted a Moderate man, the Collector of the Kings Customs in

Colchestr turned Jnformer, yet ended his Mayrolty wth honour beyond any that went before him, as to persecution about Religion in our day ; & the Lord defended him from suffering, As he was lyable by the act for not executing Jt, & Confounded his enemies, but the said Hebdon did inform onely agst the proffessors & not agst frds, tho he had also threatened frds, but afterwards told a frd yt what ever he had done agst them he never hurt our frds.

As to Oposers, They were generally the priests, but two Jn particular, both Jn Colchestr. First, one Worster, a Glover, when truth first brake forth among us, he dwelt 4 miles off, at Bromly, & was reported to be aman of an unclean life & Conversation, He frequented the meetings at Colchestr above a year, & would comonly be babling or preaching agst truth, & speak most part of ye Meeting, whether Jt was a silent meeting, or yt a publick frd was declaring, but at last was tired out & left off, & many years after, coming to town, askt an almes of our antient, & one of our first Convinced ffrds, Thoms Bailey. After him was another Molester of frds meetings in Colchestr, one Jacob Cassier, a dutch man dwelling Jn Colchestr, who came comonly to frds meetings for some years; & his way for some months was onely to walk too & fro In ye Meeting, till afrd speaking to him, & asking him, he also being a dutch man, what he sought, & bad him turn his mind Inward, &c, from yt time forward he fell into babling many words agst frds doctrines & principles in ye meetings, till Jt was ye time to go to his own worship, & then would depart. He was a man of a very week Capacity, dark & ffoolish; he dyed Jn the sickness time Jn Colchestr, anno 1665 or thereabouts.¹²

This has Cheifly relation to Colchestr. But there was great sufferings Jn ye County upon frds for non paymt of tithes & for speaking Jn Steeplehouses. But little by Jnformers except at Cogeshall by One Maxy, Gold, & Hunwick, who all came to poverty, & Gold & Hunwick dyed misserably.¹³

¹² The plague in Colchester, 1666, carried off one third of the inhabitants.

¹³ No. 32 was "brought in" to the Yearly Meeting of 1709. Internal evidence points to the authorship of John Furlly, the younger,

Gloucestershire.

Frenchay Monthly Meeting.

Freinds off Frenchay Monthly Meeting Jn Answere To The Advice and Request of our Freinds and Brethren of The 2d days Morning Meeting in London, dated The 12th 4th Month, 1704, do Give The Following Accot off our Faithfull Freinds and Brethren in The Gospel of Christ, 1704, viz.

John Audlam and John Cam were The First Publique Freinds that Came amongst us, about The year 1654, And had Theire First Meeting at Fellton,¹ Jn an open Feild, where they were Jnited By [William] Blackway,¹ Preist of the Parrish, as well as by many Others. They Had Theire Next Meeting att Elberton. Att Both These Meetings Many were Conuincd, and In a uerry Short Time after, a Meeting was settled att Olueston. Soone after, They Had a Meeting In an Orchard of Robert Colles,² at Winterburn, Where was allso a Great Conuincent ; and Some Time after They Settled a Meeting in That Parrish allso. They were Receiued att Elberton by Robert Smith, att Olueston by Wallter Clements,³ and att Winterburne by Robert Colle.

Edward Parker, of Thornbury, Aged about 50 years, was Conuincd by John Audlam and John Cam att Theire first Comeing amongst us. Hee had a Publique Testimony for The Truth, and Continued Faithfull To his death, and on his dying Bed Gaue a uery Liueing Testimony for the Truth To many

¹ Now Filton, on the high-road (the ancient Patchway) from Bristol to Gloucester. The present rector states that William Blackwell, B.A., received the appointment in 1645 and was ejected in 1662 for Nonconformity.

² Probably Cole or Coale, Josiah Coale was of Winterbourne.

³ In the Swarthmore MSS., preserved in D., there are seven letters from Walter Clements, written from Olveston to Margaret Fell, between the years 1655 and 1659, which relate events of interest happening around him and also some of his travels and sufferings.

Freinds and Others about him, when his Last words were, "Come, Lord, Thy Seruant is Reddy," and Then departed This Liffe, in The yeare 1667.

Ellanor Canings, of Thornbury, Aged about 73 years, was Conuincd by John Audlam and John Cam at Theire first Comeing in these Parts. Shee was offten Exercissed in Bareing a Faithfull Testimony for the Truth against the Preists, for which shee suffered and Jnduered many and Great abuses from Rude People, and Continued a sencere, True Harted Freind To the end of her days. And on Her Dying Bed Shee gave many Good Exhortations To Freinds about her, Saying, a Little before her departure, Shee was well Sattisfied and was Going To a better Habitation. Shee was Buried att Hasell the 19th day of the 1st month [1701/2], about the 73 yeare of her Age.

Henry Pontyn, of Frenchay Meeting, was a Faithfull Labourer in The Ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, as well beyond The Seas as in this Nation of England. Hee Suffered many Buffetings and Hardships, and seuerall years Imprissonment at Gloster, for his Faithfull Testimony for God, and Continued faithfull To his death. On his Dying Bed, hee said, The Lord had done well for him, that The Chastisements of The Lord were Good, Exhorting His Children and Freinds about him To Liue in The Fear of The Lord that They might dye in his fauor, saying, The End would Crowne all, and departed This Liffe in the 67th year of his Age. [Anno 1692.]

No. 34.]

The first coming of ffriends to Painswick, Naylsworth, Tedbury, and Minchinghampton, in the County of Gloucester.

Painswick.

About ye year 1655, come that faithfull servant of the Lord, Humphrey Smith, to Paynswick, and declared truth there, and some were conuincd, and were Redy and willing to Receive ffriends into their houses; as one Thomas Loveday, ye elder, and his wife, and John Masson [Mason], ye elder, and his wife, and some others. But the people at that time & in those

days were exceeding Rude and deboist,⁴ both professors and profane, yett truth prevailed and gott ground in those parts, and a settled meeting was sone established there, which hath Remained to this day. And the said Thomas Loveday and his Wife, with others there aways, were very serviceable in their day and time to entertaine friends, and the offspring of some of the Antients have been Raised up to serve the Lord and his blessed truth. And a fine people have Rison in that town, and truth is of agood esteem in that place. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

Naylsworth.

And the same year, came the said Humphrey Smith to Naylsworth, and had a meeting at one William Beales, where had been a meeting for some years of a people called puritants, or Independants, a seeking people to know the way of truth, and most of those meeters came to here Humphrey Smith, and were mightily affected with him, believing it was the way of truth; and many in and about Naylsworth were convinced by Humphrey. And in a very short time after, came those faithfull servants of the Lord, Thomas Goodhaire, John Audlong, Margret Killum, Ed: Edwards, Thomas Briggs, George White-Head, with many more, who was Received with great and gladness, and a meeting was sone established at Naylsworth (as first days at William Beals, fift days at one Thomas Harrisons, and eveing meeting once a week at Robert Langlys, ye elder), which meeting continued at their housen for many years, till friends hired an house more fitter. And the offspring of the sayd Robert Langley, ye elder, was That excellent man, Robert Langley ye younger, who was sone convinced after truth first broke forth in these parts in the morning of his days. And also there was one Richard Smith belonging to the county aforesaid, who had been a souldier for many years, but sone after friends came about, he was convinced, and Layd down his Arms, and came and Dwelt at Naylsworth, and continued there to his dying Day. And the said Robert Langley, ye younger, and Richard Smith, Married

⁴ That is, *debauched* or *corrupt*.

two sisters and thereby came to be Brother Laws.⁵ Pen would be to short here in this place to write the vallue of those two men and their wives. They were an upright hearted people and of a cleane conversation, and freely given up to serve the Lord and his Blessed truth, and the Lord mightily Indued them with his wisdom above many. They were great entertainers of ffriends, and thought no Journeys Long nor charg to much for the promotion of the Blessed truth. They were made great Instrumts in the hand of the Lord for the good and strengthening of many in this our perticular meeting, and the meetings Rounng about vs, all ways Lending a hand to help the weakons aLong in their journey, where they saw any tenderness or hope of Recovery. Yett still the Lord is to be Looked unto, who only and aLone Raised them up to be as pillers in the Church. And as they were a strengthener to the weak ons, soe they were as a terrour and Dread to all those who sowed discord amongst Brethern and made Rents and Divisions in the church of God, and as they Lived in the truth and haveing a good esteem in the hearts of many, soe they died in the same. And great is the miss of them, with many more of our Antient ffriends and Brethern, who are gathered to theire Long home, which hath cased Lamentation and great mourning, as Did of Jsraell of old, with us who are yett behind, yett not wholly comfortless, nor as a people without hope, believeing the Lord as Raised up these faithfull Labours can Raise up many more in his due time. The said Rob: Langley had a publick testimony amongst friends and others, and many was greatly beniftted thereby; and his wife, as mention is made of, Dyed in her younger years, but while she Lived, she was wonderfull serviceable in her day and time for the entertaining of travelling friends, and any other service that did extend for the promotion of the blessed truth.

⁵ William Beale's strong commendation of the "Brother Laws," Robert Langley and Richard Smith, makes us desirous to know more of them, but there is little forthcoming at present concerning them. According to Besse they took their part in suffering for conscience sake, and according to Rogers (*Christian Quaker*, 6th part, p. 5), the former took the side of George Fox and his party in the Wilkinson-Story controversy;

Tetbury.

Some after the first coming of friends, the said Humphrey Smith and John Audlong had drawings to goe to Tetbury, and preached truth there, and some were convinced, as one Nathaniell Crippes,⁶ a justice of the peace in that parish, and he was a serviceable man in his day and time. But the people of that town was exceeding Rude, yett truth gott ground, and a meeting was sone established at the said Justices house, which continued for severall years.

Minchinhampton.

The aforesaid Thomas Goodyear, about the year aforesaid, had drawing to goe to Hampton and Declare truth there, and some were convinced. But the people of that town was exceeding Rude, espetically one Samuell Butt, ashopkeeper, who stired up the Rude people, both professors and profane, and by Reason of this man friends were greatly abused, stocked, stoned, and Imprisoned. He and his company Did make it their business to come to Naylsworth to break up friends meetings, halling friends before magistrates, whereby they

⁶ The identity of Nathaniel Cripps has been somewhat obscured by the way his name has been dealt with by modern editors of George Fox's *Journal*. In the editions of 1694, 1709, 1765, and 1827 the name is *Cripps* or *Cripps*; in one place in the Leeds edition, 1836 (i. 508), it appears as *Crisp*, although it is indexed *Cripps*; in Wilson Armistead's edition of 1852 the error is repeated; and in the Bicentenary edition, 1891, it is given uniformly as *Crisp*. For a facsimile of his signature see p. 111.

This early Friend was one of several J.P.'s who were convinced. Justices Crook and Pearson have already appeared on these pages. George Fox paid several visits to Cripps at his home at Tetbury, on one occasion (1667) "a general men's meeting" being held. He suffered much for his religious principles; in 1662 he was committed to prison, though "an aged Man, at that Time very sick," and despite the intercession of his wife that he might have his liberty one week longer, while she lay in prison in his stead (*Besse's Coll. Suff.* i. 211, 215). Justice Cripps figures in the controversy between William Rogers and Friends, wherein he appears to favour the Separatists. See Rogers's *Christian Quaker*, 1st part, 1680, p. 31, 5th part, pp. 53-55, 6th part, p. 5; G. Whitehead's *Accuser Cast Down*, 1681, pp. 163-175. I do not find the date of his death. There was another Nathaniel Cripps, who was son of John and Mary Cripps, of Cirencester, born there 1665, who emigrated to America (*The Friend*, Phila., vol. 30 (1857), p. 229).

were cast into prison, and he continued his wicked ways for severall years; yett truth gott ground and prevailed, and this wicked man, as it was told him by Thomas Goodhaire that the Lord would find him out, soe he blasted, and came to Little, as they alsoe that joynd with him. One thing is observable about the coming in of King Charles ye 2nd, one Justice Low came to Naylsworth, and committed 13 to prison for not takeing the oath of A Legnce. This Justice never prospered after, but fell into great distress both in his estate and upon his body; but by the Reason of A moderate Justice, Liveing nere to Naylsworth, who had continued Long in that office, it went much the better with friends at Naylsworth, yett some were cast into prison, and had goods taken from them, but not accõrding as yett had been in many other places. One thing hath been much observed in these part, that those that had hand in cruelty to stirr up the magestrats to persecute friends at their first coming came to nothing, and many of them fell into great calamity, and on the other hand those that were sivell and Loveing to ffrriends have wonderfully prospered.

Signed by WM BEALE.

No. 35.]

Gloucester.⁷

An account of the first frendes that did preach the Efer lasting gospell Jn the sitey of Glostar.

Thar Cam Cristifar Houldar and Tho. Thirstone⁸ to Henrey Ridall house, and did Apoynte A metinge thare, and when it

⁷ No. 35 has, probably, as little claim as any of the manuscripts to literary merit. The pronunciation of the words as written reminds us at once that the writer is a West Country man, and the accidental use of the first person in a place or two implies that he was John Edmonds.

⁸ Thomas Thurston was a Gloucestershire man. In 1657, in company with his fellow-countryman, Josiah Coale, he crossed the sea, and engaged in lengthy religious service in America. In John Burnyeat's travels in America he had (in 1665) "a sore exercise with one Tho. Thurston, and a Party he drew after him for a while" (*Truth Exalted*, 1691, pp. 33, 34), presumably the same person, and G. Fox, while in America, "sent for Thomas Thurston, and had a Meeting with him, to bring the Truth over his bad actions" (*Journal*, anno 1673). If the statement in *Saul's Errand to Damascus*, 1727, p. 31, is correct, Thurston had fallen into gross immorality.

was gethered wee sate A prete while, and then Cristfor Houldar stod vp, and said, "Be singell, my frindes, be singell," and did dereckt vs to the Light and sperit of god in oure hartes, and, as we did waite low in godes feare, so that wee may receue pour from him to doe his will, and so went on verey safrey, wich did Refresh our emortall soules ; and aftar wards did direckt vs hou wee shold meete on such daies as was most Con veniante, and to be diligente thare in.

The names of them wich was most genrall Kepares to this metinge was as vndar Riten :—Henrey Ridall and his wif, Grisell ; John Jayes and his wife, Elisebeth ; John Edmonds and his wif, Anne ; And did Entartaine frendes that did cum Amongest vs Af tar wards.

In sum time Aftar, thre Kame to Henrey Ridalles house Elizebeth Morgin, of West Chustar, wich had Ameeting thare, and maney Came to it, And filled the Roome and the Entrey Agining thare vnto. And Af tar sum time, shee did be gin to Declare the word of trewth to the peopell uerey bouldly, And aftar sum time, the powe of god Cams u[p]on sum frendes, wich was verey straing to the peopell, And sum begin to stan vp, and to goe to see what was hapned to them, wch the pwar had sesed vpon them. Elizebeth Morgen stod be for sum of them, and said, "Efram as A haifar vn A Custumed to the yoke," and so went on with much bouldnes in the A thoretie of godes poure to the Ende of the metinge ; and the meting was as peasabell as wee Cold desiar. So frendes being well Refeshed had good Case to prais god for his gret marces at that time. But after this meting thare was A great naise in the sitey about the quakar, and said thy had be wiched John Edmonds and Henrey Ridall, and put black strengh A bout thaiar armes, and thay said that when it was so dune then thay had no pour to goe from that way ; and such false scandeles reportes thay sente A brode. And sone af tar, thare Cam to John Edmondes house an Aldarman Edards, on wich had bine a greate frende to him, and he labred by maney Argementes to parswad him fran that opinion, for he said was verey daingrous. J tould him that J was well saties fied that it was the right way, wich we ote to be in the practies of, be Caus it ledes to life and saluation, and to that

purpos, and he sae that hee Cold not preuaile with him, he wente away. Soe Af ter words wee found the peopell genrally insensed Against vs, And the Rud sorte wold A buse vs, and throw stons or any othar thing thay mete with, with scofing and deriding of us, as we went along the streates.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Nathaniel Cripps". The script is a cursive hand with a large, decorative initial 'N'.

Signature of Nathaniel Cripps, J.P., of Tetbury. Reproduced from a deed dated 1652.

Hampshire.¹

The first Friends that Vizited this County with the Message of Truth, viz.

Ringwood.

George Fox, ye first that was att Ringwood, in the year 1655;

Bramshott.

Ann Downer, ye first att Bramshott, in the year 1655;

Allton.

Humphry Smith, to Allton, in the year 1655, and on the 14th day of 8th Month, 1662, was taken from a Meeting att Allton, and Committed by warrant from John Norton & Humphry Bennit, Justises, to the Common Goal in Winton,² whare he remained untill the 6th day of 3d month, 1663, and then Dyed.

Bazingstoake.

Ambross Rigg & Thomas Robertson, the first to Bazingstoak, and Comited by Edmond Pittman, Justise, to the Town Prison, for Refuseing to Swear, whare thay remained fifteen Weeks, and then Sett att Liberty by the Quarter Ssesions, 1655.

Southampton.

Ambros Rigg, one of the first att Southampton, in ye year 1655.

¹ This account was brought in in 1721.

² That is, Winchester. He died at the early age of 39. For a sketch of his life see Henry Stanley Newman's *Humphrey Smith, the Prophet of Herefordshire*, 1895.

Herefordshire.¹

Almeley.

A Village in Herefordshire.

Roger Prichard,² of Wootton in the parrish of Almely, in Herifordshire (A glover by trade, Educated in the Church of England), was convinced by Charles Marshall, at a meeting in Morgan Watkins house near Leominster, in the first month, 1671/2. He recd : a meeting in his house in the 6th month, 1672, appointed by Peter Price, of Radnorshire. A meeting was afterwards Appointed there by Richard Davies, of Mountgomery shire, and John ap John, of Denby shire, North-Wales, at which said meetings divers were convinced. The said Roger Prichard built a meeting house vpon his own land, at his own Charge, & gave it freely to friends, where a meeting continues to this time.

¹ No. 37 is endorsed, in the same hand-writing as that in which No. 41 is written, "Acct of the Entrance and progresse of Truth in Herefordsheir, Jn Each of the five Meetings there (*vizt.*), 1. Leominster, 2. Rosse, 3. Hereford, 4. Bromyard, and 5; Almely." The Herefordshire documents were received in London in 4 mo., 1707:

² The circumstances and time of Roger Prichard's convincement are given here with definiteness, but they do not agree with those given in Southall's *Memorials of the Prichards of Almeley and their Descendants*, 1893. Richard Davies mentions in his autobiography, first published in 1710, and many times reprinted, that "About this time, 1658, I heard of one that was called a Quaker who was come from Ireland to Llan-fyllin . . . in . . . Montgomery . . . his name was Roger Prichard." His Quakerism at this early time must have been very elementary, for a "Testimony" concerning him, copied in *The Prichards of Almeley*, gives the date of his convincement as 1669, which was the year that Richard Davies met him again, at Almeley, and rejoiced over him as "the lost sheep found."

No. 37 was written in 1707, or before, and signed by Roger's son [?] Edward, who, we should suppose, would know the circumstances of his father's convincement.

Charles Marshall's itinerary, as given in his journal, which is entitled *Sion's Travellers Comforted*, 1704, brings him to Leominster on the 4th of 3 mo., 1671, the same month and year as given in No. 37, and on the 6th he was at Almeley, but no details are given.

His house was fined 20 li for a meeting (Ye meeting was kept 27th of ye 1st mo, 1673) at the Information of Connisby Booth, and his goods distrained for the same by warrant from John Booth (call'd a Justice), by whom he was convicted vpon the oaths of William Sirrell & Richard Osbourn, in the Reign of king Charles the second. The 6th of 2d mo : 1674, He, with 2 other friends of the same meeting, were imprisoned by an Exchequer writt at the suit of Samuell Mathewes, Priest of Almely, for non payment of small Tyths, Richard Phillpotts, of Heriford, being then Goaler, where they were kept prisoners nine weeks. They were delivered out of prison by a neighbours paying the priest without their order or consent.

Signed on behalfe of the said meeting at Almely Wooton by

EDW : PRICHARD,
DANIELL COLLIER.

No. 38.]

Hereford.

The Best account we Can Give who first preached truth in Hereford in this Last Dispensation is as followeth.

About ye 11th moneth, 1655, John Audland, and annother frd whose name is forgot, Came on a first day morning on foot into ye City of Hereford ; one of them went to ye Collidg, ye other to ye Steeplehouse, Calld Allhollow, where they were both taken and brought to one Bells house, & there Kept prisoners till ye afternoone, and then brought before ye then mayor, who discharged ym, desiering ym to depart ye towne in peace (they made no promise to any thing). So soone as they were discharged and out in ye street, John Audland published ye truth allong ye street, till he Came to John Barbers house, advising people to haue a bridle to their tongus & a stay to their minds, and to haue Regard to ye Light within. Ye sd John Barber Recd them in to his house in ye Euening, where they had a Large, peacable meeting ; all brok vp Quiett & well ; but ye frds, not being Cleare, desiered to haue a meeting on ye morrow,

wch was agreed vpon to be held in ye house of one Capt Herring. But before ye sd meeting began, John Audland wrott a paper, & set it vp on ye Cross, signifying if aney person had aney thing to object against aneything yt either hee or his Companion had spoken ye day before, they might Come to such a place at such a time & Receiue ye best satisfaction they Could giue them, so ye meeting was held very Large and peaceable without aney Intervption, and many were Convinced; & some Liued & dyed in ye truth; so about halfe a dozen frds brought them amile out of ye City on their way, where John Audland Kneeled downe & prayd, & so they parted.

Neuer ye Less some Enuious people Raised a Report on those two men, as that ye one should say he was god & ye other Christ.

Wt is heare inserted is truth, except there be aney mistake in ye time, as witness my mark.

The mark of

THOMAS X MERRICK.

No. 39.]

Leominster.

An account of The ffirst Publication of truth in and about Leominster in the County of Hereford as followeth.

In or about ye year : 1655, Came a servant of ye Lord, but A stranger outwardly, Called Thomas Parrish, but of What parts no Account can be given now, in to Ameeting of the People caled Jndependants, who were mett on ye ffirst day of ye Weeke at ye Hous of Coll James, at Triplton. And after some time he had Waited on the Lord in spirit, he had an opportunity to speke, all being silent; he said by way of Exhortation, "Keepe to ye Lords Wach." These words, being spake in ye Power of God, had its operation Vpon all or Most of ye Meeting, so that they ffelt sume Great dread & ffear upon theyr Spirits, and being silent for sum space of Time, sume Thought to have spake as Vsially to ye Meeting, but Could not because of ye vnusiall awe yt was on Theyr spirits; so After a litel time he spake Again, saying, "What J say unto you, J say unto

all, wach." Then was silent againe Alitel time, but ye Whole Meeting, being sencable yt this man was in som Exterordinary Spirit and Power, wear all Musing what manner of Teaching this should be, being such a voyce yt Most of ye Herears never heard before, yt Caried such Great authority with it that they wear all Nessesitated to be subject to ye Power, though it was a great Cross to Theyr Wills to sitt in silence, though it was but Alitel time. Then he spake againe These word, or to ys porpose, "Where are Your Minds now? Wandering abrode? or in ye Spirit Waching with ye Lord?" Then he went on & opned ye Great Mistry of Gods Salvation, turning theyr minds to ye spirit of Christ by Wch som of Them knew he spake The truth in the Jnward parts, which was ye Light yt shined in theyr horts. Then one in the Meeting, Whose hort God had opned, bare This Testimony to ye truth, saying that he blesed God yt he had heard the Voice of his spirit yt Day, Though he knew not ye man Outwardly, nor what Religion he Profesed, but ye Lord having Latly apered in Awonderfull maner unto him, and Having spake unto him by his spirit, [he] had said severall times before to others, yt if he Evar heard Christ speake in any man by his spirit, he should know his Voyce.

And shartly after this, there being a great Meeting of ye Peopel Caled Jndependats at ye house of ye Aforesaid Coll James, The same man, Thomas Parrish, Came thether, and after severall of Theyr Preachers had spake in the meeting, he began to Declare the Mistories of ye Kingdom of God to ye Meeting Jn great Authority and power, in so much yt sume Confesed after, Theyr flesh Trembeled upon theyr bones. Theyr Priests being asked after the Meeting what theyr Judgment was of ye Straingers testimony, they said that he spake Nothing but what was Consnant With the Scriptures, Though som of them, hereing yt aman Caled A quaker was to be at the Meeting, did Conclud yt they shoud not suffer him to speake, but one of ye Meeting Tould them that was ffrom abad spirit to Judg amans testimony before they had heard him speake, and Contrary to ye Order of ye Church of Christ, and ye Constitusion of that Meeting, which

was yt All might speake Their Experiences of ye Work of Salvation or of any mesure of it Wrought in them.

This Account being Given by Morgan Watkins, who was at ye Aforesaid meetings of ye Independants, & Could Testify ye Truth of ye same.

And after this, in som short time, Came ye Servant of ye Lord and Minister of his Everlasting Gospel, Alexander Parker, into this County, and was Received by Morgan Watkins, Junr, dwelling then at ye Grainge of Wigmor, who There declared ye word of ye Lord with out Opsicion. And near ye same time, Came Edward Edwards, ye Minister of Christ, who ministred ye glad tidings of Gods salvation & Glorious Gospel of Pease, who was Allso Received by the aforesaid Morgan Watkins at the Grainge of Wigmor, and Was astrenth to many in these parts.

And vpon ye 8th of ye 2d mo, 1656, Thomas Goodier, of ye County of York, had the ffirst Publick meeting in the Towne of Leominster, Jn Aclose of William Morgans, who was Afreewill baptis, Where Wear Geathered a multitud of Peopel out of ye towne & Country, There being notice given of ye Meeting beforehand, Who gave Great atention to the Things Declared. At A meeting after, in the same place, one William Baldwin, of ye Towne, Came behind ye said Tho Goodier when he was speaking, and Pushed him downe to ye Ground of ye bench that he was standing upon, but ye said Tho Goodier, steping up againe, Continewed his Testimony and tooke Littel notis of it, but it semed not to Please ye Peopel who wear for ye most part Willing to here ye Truth declared. And many Received the Truth & Wear Convinced; Who Continued in ye Same to theyr End, (*viz.*) Henry Bedford, Charles Barnard, James Curren, Thomas Bach, John Bach. Note that ye said Henry Bedford was ye ffirst yt Received or Entertained ye said Tho Goodier at his house, in Leominster.

And then or Qwickly after, ye said Tho Goodier traviled in these parts sum Considerabel time yt sumber, & seteled a considerbl Meeting in the Towne, which was Kept in the house of Henry Bedford aboue Three years, & Then moved

to ye house of David Edwards in ye Towne also, Where it was Continued to ye begining of ye year 1663; and ffrom Thence Removed to ffour ffrinds houses in ye Country, Movabel every first day of ye Weacke, (*viz.*) to Tho Houltts, of Wickton, Peter Youngs,³ of Luston, Richard Deios, of Eardisland, and Sibel Goode, Wid, of ye Lea, where it Continued for about seven Years, (*viz.*) unto ye 20th of ye 12th mo, 1670; and after that, Removed to ye house of ye afore said Morgan Watkins, then Liveing in ye Parrish of Eyton, near vnto ye Towne, Where it Continued for ye space of ffourteen Years & Three moneths, (*viz.*) vntel ye 3 mo, 1684; and then Removed againe to ffour serten ffrinds houses to be Kept once in amonth at Each house, as before, Where it Continued vntel ye 27th of ye 10th mo, 1687; and then was the ffirst Meeting in our Meeting house, Wch ffrinds Biulded in Leominster, and so Continueth to This Day.

*The Sufferings of ffrinds that Wear Convinced in ye begining
Jn & about Leominster, as ffolloweth.*

In ye 10th mo, one ye 25th day, 1660, Called Christmas day, Titas Meredith, of Leominster, Colermaker, Opened his shop Windows to beare atestimony against the Observation thereof, ffor Which ye Rude peopel of ye towne Did Abuse him & shut up his shop Windows. After which John Tomkins, then Baylef of ye Towne, sent sume of his Constabels for him, who brought him to ye Market House, Where ye said John Tomkins Tendered him the Oath of Alegance, & for Refuseing ye same he was sent to ye Towne Prisson, Where he was Kept all that night.

About ye begining of ye 11th mo, 1660, The ffift Monock men Made an Jnscrectio in London, Which caused ye Souldiers to be up in these parts, & went about to ffech in Costaty Those persons that wear Dissafective as they

³ Peter Young, of Luston, is referred to in G. Fox's *Journal*, anno 1667. He was father of Constantine Young, who signs the Leominster account, and great grandfather of William Young, whose *Memoirs* were published in 1810. The Becks, of Bromyard, were related by marriage to the Youngs.

pretended ; and so it was yt Liftenant Carpenter of ye Hom, and others with him, Came to Leominstr, and seized on Charlse Barnord, David Edwards, and Titus Meredith ; the two first they sent to ye Towne Prisson, and ye Later they sent to the County Gole.

The 27th of ye 11th mo, 1660, Wear taken from our Meeting in Leominster, (*viz.*) Tho Houl, James Curren, Roger Price, Richard Mathews, Tho Longvill, Tho Bach, and John Shuter, by John Onian and John Bedford, constables, and William Caswall, Sergant of ye Towne, Who brought them before John Tomkins, Balf, who tendered them the oath, and They, Refusing to swaere, Wear sent to ye Towne Prisson, where they wear Continued untel ye 16th of ye 12th mo, 1660, at Which time they wear sent to Hereford Gole, and Then Relesed at ye Assise, being ye 28th of ye 1th mo, 1661. Note that the said Thomas Longvill Departed this Lief in ye Time of his Jmprissonment in Hereford Gole, and ye Mayor was for having ffriends put to the Charge of A Crowners-quest, Which being denied, They Keep him There Three days or There about, and Then Carryed him on ye Hangmans Lader, and buried him in som obscuer place in theyr Minster Yard, (*viz.*) not in theyr Crisned mould.

And as to opposition of Truth, the ye ffirst was as ffolloweth.

Jn ye 3 mo of ye Year 1656, John Scaff and Alexander Parker Came to Leominster, and had a meeting Jn a large Orchard, Where much Peopel wear Geathered to hear ; and John Scaf being speaking to ye peopel, Came ye Balf of ye Towne, Edward Hays, and John Tombs,⁴ ye Priest of ye Towne, and

⁴ John Tombes was born at Bewdley in 1603. He passed through a distinguished university career and was presented with the living of Leominster. He suffered much on account of his religious views, especially with regard to Infant Baptism, of which he disapproved. In 1653 he was appointed one of the Triers of ministers, whom Cromwell sent out to report on the ministers appointed by the Government to various Churches. He held other livings, but his views on Baptism frequently brought him into antagonism with his parishioners. His death took place at Salisbury in 1676. His works were very controversial, and several were replied to by Friends. See Joseph Smith's *Biblio. Anti.*, Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.*; ii. 293 ; and for Tombes's discussion with George Fox, see Fox's *Journal*, anno 1657.

Tooke away John Scaf, & detained him prisner. Then Alexander Parker stood up & spake to ye Peopel; and after sum time he was taken away all so, & Detained prisner. Then ffrriends desiered that they and ye Priest John Tombes might Disput & Reason theyr Doctrine before ye peopel, the peopel being all so very Earnest for ye same, & at Lenth was Granted. Then they sent theyr Officers for ye Two ffrriend yt wear in the prison, and they brought them to ye Towne Hall, Whear the Balf, Edward Hays, and Jno Tombes, ye Priest, wear Got on the Judgment seat, and ordered ffrriends to stand before them. So John Tombes began and spake, & Vtter his Envy Against the Truth, and ffrriends Expecting to Returne his Lyes & Desait one his oune Head by way of Answer, which they did in part, but he Could not bear to Hear himself Made Manifest to be Afalse Minister & Adecever of ye People, but Rose up from of his seat, & hasted away as ffast as he Could. So som of ye Peopel Cryed out Against him for not staying and Makeing good his Arguments; so ye Bailef, seing his prechar ffled, Could do no Less then Releas the two ffrriends. And then at an Other Meeting of ffrriends, at Which was two Publick ffrriends, (*viz.*) Thomas Kellam and John Moone, the one of them being Declaring ye Word of Truth, Came ye said John Tombs with sum of his Herears & Arude Company of peopel with them; and when Jno Tombs had got himselfe vpon a bench, or on A tabel borde, yt was in ye Roome Where ye Meeting was, the said John Tombes Asked Tho Kellam, as he was speakeing, What he was, Who Answered him,

“J am what J am by ye Grace of God.”

Then he Asked Tho Kellam what was his Doctrine, who Answered him yt

“Christ Jesus is ye tru shepheard of his Peopel!”

At wch Jno Tombes Derided, & said, Was yt all?

Tho Kellam said, “Nay, for Nither thee nor J nor ye Tounge of Men and Angels are not abel to Declare ye whol Doctrine of Christ.”

So Tombes asked sum Qestions, & would have had Tho Kelam to Answer him, Which Tho Kellam agreed to answer

Provided Jno Tombes would answer him so many more, which was Agreed to by Jno Tombes. Jno Tombes Asked his ffirst Question wch wear all answered by yea or Nay. Then John Moone desired Tho Kellam yt he might ake Jno Tombes three Questions, Which was agreed to.

Then Jno Moone asked Jno Tombes, What was ye Cross of Christ?

Jno Tombes said, "It was the Cross yt he Hang Vpon With out ye Gates of Jerusalem."

Then said Jno Moone, "Thou art Ablasfemer to Call yt a Peece [No. 40.] of Wood Which the Apostel said ye Preaching of was ye Power of God."

Then Jno Moone asked him, "Was it ye Wooden Cross or ye Power of God that Crusified Paule unto ye World?"

Then Jno Tombes, ffinding yt his folly was made Manyfest, and ye People began to Reflect on him, Jnsomuch that he was Greatly tormented, and Would not stand up any longer, but Came doune ffull of shame and so went Away. Now som of ye Peopel Asked him, Why he made such hast, Who said, "When J mean to Go to Hell, J will go among The Quakers."

From our Meeting at Leominster, the 20th of ye 2nd mo, 1707.

Signed } CONSTANTINE YOUNG,
by vs } WILLIAM PERKINS.

No. 41.]

Bromyard.

A Market Town in Herefordshire.

Jn the year 1668, John Ap-John & Richard Davis (who both lived in Wales not farr from Welsh pool) had a Meeting at Bromyard in the house of William Perkins, a tanner, where severall ffreinds of Leominster were present & also a great many rude people, & in particular one Wilder, who intended to have been an Jnformer (& dy'd not long after). Butt the Lords power was over All, & the Meeting ended very peacably.

And about this Tyme, the sd Willm Perkins, & one Roger Beck, Ironmonger, were the only ffrds who lived in Bromyard, & did then (& severall years after) Usually goe to a ffrds Meeting att the Widow Crump her howse in Edvyn, in Worcestersheir, about two miles from Bromyard.

About the year 1673, John Haddock, a public ffrd of Lancashr, had a Meeting att Bromyard in the howse of the sd Roger Beck, wch ended peacably. And not long after, Thomas Janney,⁵ of Chesheir, had another Meeting in the same house, Att wch (last) Meeting two Jnformrs, Peregrine Jones & Thomas Underwood, both of Bromyard (& both since deced), & other rude people, were prsent; & afterwards the sd Jnformers proved a Conventicle (as 'twas cal'd) before Justice Geers (a very moderate man), who Jssued forth his warrant to Leavy five pounds (only) upon the sd Roger Beck, from whom Goods to the Ualue of about eight pounds were thereupon 'taken, & carry'd away & detayn'd some years, & afterwards (wn the Goods were much damnify'd) the same woere All Redelivered to the sd Roger Beck, Butt 'tis not known by whose procurement.

About the year 1675, upon a day cal'd Whitsonmunday (the greatest fair in all the year at Bromyard), in the Chiefe tyme of buisness, the sd Roger Beck was arrested upon a Writt de Excomunicato Capiendo, and taken to Hereford Gaol, where hee was a prisoner for about sixteen weeks by the procuremt of Phinees Jackson (a preist), uicar of Bromyard (an Jnveterate man agt ffrds). And afterwards, by the procuremt of one Dr. Carr, who was the Unke[1] of Roger Becks wife, and was marry'd to a sister of the (then) Chancellors of Hereford, the sd Roger Beck was sett att liberty.

Jn the 5th moneth, 1677, a new Meeting Howse for ffrds & a small Burying place was prepared in Bromyard (at the Coste

⁵ Thomas Janney was born in Cheshire, about 1633. He settled in Pennsylvania in 1683, and was the ancestor of many of the same name. In company with Griffith Owen he visited England in 1695, but his health gave way, and he died at Hitchin at the house of William Turner, while en route for his native county, in 1696, and was buried in Cheshire. See *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 27 (1854), pp. 340, 348; *Piety Promoted*; *Memoirs of Samuel M. Janney*, 1890.

of ffrds of that Meeting), which remain to this day. In wch Meeting howse a Meeting soon after was had by Eleanor Lowe & Mary Worrell; and after that, an other Meeting by Charles Lloyd (a Welchman). Both wch Meetings were powerfull & peacable, and some (tho' not many) were Convinced.

And during all this tyme, All public Travelling ffrds at Bromyard were Entertained by the sd Willm Perkins or sd Roger Beck.

Butt the sd Preist Jackson (as if Angry for Roger Beck his Enlargemt & especially for the progresse of Truth) proceeded again in the Chancellors Cort at Hereford agt the sd Roger Beck, and alsoe agt one William Beck, of Bromyard, Ironmonger, for Tythes, Offerings, or other Ecclesiaticall dues (as they might be called), and they both personally appearing, the Preist was thereby delay'd for some time, & putt to the greater Expence. Butt afterwards the sd Preist Jackson obtayn'd a Warrt from two Justices of the peace to take the sd Roger & William both to Gaol, Butt the same Warrt (partly by the Unwillingness of the Constables to whom the warrt was directed) was not Executed soe farr as to take Either of them to Gaole.

And besides this, the sd Roger Beck was proceeded against upon the Statute as if hee had been a popish Recusant, and upon an Inquest before the Under-sherriffe & a Jury, Two third parte of his reall Estate were Confiscated, & Ceized for the Use of King Charles the 2d, Att wch Inquest the sayd Preist Jackson was prsent, & very forwardly to raise the Ualue of the sayed Estate soe high as might bee. This Confiscaçon continued for about ten years, dying wch tyme the Under-sherriffe (for the tyme being), or his Officers, frequently distreyned, & took away, & kept (or disposed of) a horse, or other Goods from the sd Roger Beck (as 'twas pretended) for the Ualue Confiscated. All wch persecuçon & much more, the sd Roger Beck did Undergoe wth patience.

Butt the sd Preist Jackson, after his persecution aforesd (and more not here inserted), had noe long Enjoyment of his bodily health or life, ffor tho' hee was not very old, and was in Outward appearance very healthfull & strong, yett hee Wasted

in Body Jnsensibly, and (as 'tis Jnscribed on his Gravestone)
 "Hee dy'd the 24th of November, 1681, in the 55th year of his
 Age."

I 2d : mo : 1707,

Signed on Behalfe of Bromyard Meeting by us

ROGER BECK,
 WILLM BECK.

No. 42.]

Rosse.

*A Collection of ye first Publication of Truth in Rosse in Here-
 fordsheire in this age, by whom it was first Published, and
 of some perticulars of those yt did first Rec : it in ye Lo : of
 it, wth an Acomt of theyr first suferings for theyr Testi-
 mony to ye same.*

Jnn the Begining of ye 12th mth, in ye year 1655, Tho :
 Goodayer, A yeoman Jnhabiting in Yorksheire, And George
 Scaff, Came Afoott to Rosse on A week day to James Merricks
 house, A Tanner, where they were first Recd ; where, After A
 Litle stay, they went to ye steeple house where A great many
 people were mett together (they haveing notise of ye Above
 friends Coming), many of whom were desierouse And in Expeck-
 tation to here Truth declared, who had for some time before
 seperated ymselves from ye Publicke worship of ye world, who
 did see ye End of ye Preists Teachings, who did often before
 meet together by ymselves, & would many times sitt in silence,
 & noe perticular person Appointed to speak or Preach Amongst
 ym, but Each of ym did speak by way of Exortation as had
 freedom, soe yt ye Lords power was mightily at worke in theyr
 hearts & great openings there was Amongst ym. And some
 Came in Expecktation to here A dispute, And some others Came
 to Appose friends. And at A seasonable Time Thomas Goodayer
 began to declare Truth (ye Lords Power And Liveing presens
 Acompaning him), soe yt many were Affeekted wth it ; but hee
 was soon Jnterrupted by Jno Skinner, A Baptist Preacher, there

present, wth some of ye Rudest of ye People, wch did occasion A small dispute, but ye Moderate People, wth ym as had seperated ymselves as Above, with ye fower Constabls, of wch ye Above James Merrick was one, ye other 3 Costables names was Jno Cowles, who was A Glover, And Guy Lane, A shop-keeper, And Tho : Nickells, A Dyer, being soe over Come wth ye Lo : of it, And being desierouse to here Truth more fully declared, did withdraw into A house, Caled ye Church house, Joyning to ye Steeplehouse yard ; And there both Tho : Goodayer And Geo : Scaff declared ye Lords Everlasting Truth Boldly without Interuption, Tho : Goodayer Recommending all to ye Inward Teachings of ye Light within, ye wch, as they did obey its Teachings, it would guid ym in ye way of Truth And holiness ; ye Lords Power And Liveing Presens Attending ym, with theyr scripturall Prooffs, opening ye Misterys of Truth And Godliness, yt ye mouths of all gainesayers there present were stoped. And many Jmbrased ye Truth in ye Lo : of it, Espeshaly those as had seperated ymselves as Aboue, wth many more were yn Convinced, Amongst whom were all ye fower Constables. And ye Generality of ye Jnhabitants in Rosse were very kind And Loveing to ym. And After ye Meeting was over, ye Aboue James Merrick did take Tho : Goodayer And Geo : Scaff to his house, where they were Entertained, And did Lodge there, & ye same night severall of ye new Convinced friends in Ross did goe to James Merricks house to give Tho : Goodayer and George Scaff A Visitt ; And at yt time Tho : Goodayer did yn setle A Meeting, And Apointed it to be cept Every first day in James Merricks house, wch Acordingly was Cept And Continued (till About ye year 1676, wn friends in Rosse Built A new Meeting house in wch Meetings have been cept And Continued to this time).

But in a Litle time, one Walter Merricke, A Envious man of A neighbouring Parrish, did Jndite ye Abovesaid fower Cunstabls for Joyning wth friends, vpon wch they made into Roth Rodgers, Governor of Hereford, who was A Moderate man, who did at theyr first Appearance wn Called discharge ym from farther Attending.

And in A Litle time After, there was at severall times

Meetings Appointed, And were cept in ye Parrish of Kings Caple near Rosse, at Joane Merricks house, A widdow, who was an Aged woman, where severall friends of Rosse did goe And Asemble. And at most of ye said Meetings friends did suffer very much by being beaten And stoned, Espeshally Giles Milton, A Bodismaker, who was an Inosent man, was beaten And Bruised soe sorely (yt hee never did Recover it though hee Lived some time After) by Edward Merrett, an Enviouse man of yt Parrish (hee being in noe Authority vnder ye Governmt). And William Gwillim, And Thomas Gwillim, of ye same Parrish, wth many more, were very wicked, And did Abuse friends very sorely as before. And wn ye said Joane Merricke deseased, ye 8th of ye 3d mth, in ye year 1658, wn friends went to burry her in her owne ground (wch place was After given to friends for A Burring place), theyr Malise was soe great yt Richard Powell & Shusan Meend, both of yt Parrish, Reported yt her sons, Thomas And Walter Merricke, had murthered her, wch did occasion ye Coronar to have A Quest of her. And wn Richard Powell & Susan Meend were Called to make proofe to theyr Repord, they vpon theyr Oathes Could prove nothing.

All this time friends in ye towne of Rosse Cept theyr Meetings peaceably, till ye 1st day of ye 11th mth, 1660, wn Jno Pitt, A Captaine of ye militia, in Herefordsheire, wth some of his soldiers, did Come to ye Meeting house, And wt friends were there they did take into Custody; And some friends they did take goeing to Meeting, And some they did take out of theyr houses, in number 16 friends, who they dellr to ye Custody of the Cunstabls of Rosse, whose names was Guy Abrahall And David Jones, who Brought ym before John Nourse, A Justise of Peace, who Committed all of ym to ye County Prison in Hereford for Refuseing to swear Alegianss to King Charles ye Second; who did there Remaine in ye Custody of Thomas Phelpotts, Goaler, who was at first for some time A very wicked And Cruell man to friends, who would not Allow friends to have Provishions brought ym, but what was had they had it Privettly, nor would Allow friends to goe to ye house of Ease. Where they did Remaine

Prisoners till ye next Asize following, at wch time some wear Released. And ye Rest were detained Prisoners till ye 23th day of ye 2d mth following, wn all were discharged, as it was supposed by means of an Act of grace yt day being ye Kings Coronation.

And at any time After, as any friends were sent to Prison, ye said Thomas Phelpotts was as kind And Loveing (as before was so severe), And Redy at all times to doe friends all ye kindness hee Could. And Afterwards ye aforesaid Jno Pitt, Captaine, was very Kind And Loveing to friends, who did pass his word for friends Appearance wn Called, wn in Prison in Exspeckta-tion to be Banished, And by his means Afterwards were discharged. And ye Aforesaid Edward Merrett, who was soe wicked in Abuseing And beating friends at theyr Meetings at Kings Caple, did, for some years After his Above mentioned Cruelty to friends, Pine Away, And was Like to An Otamie,⁶ & Could take noe nourishmt but milke, & soe dyed miserably.

*Signed by vs, who were Eye wittnesses to ye Abouesaid Publi-
ation of Truth, And were some of those yt did then Rec : it in
ye Love of it And through ye Lords great Lo And mercy doe
Retaine it to this day, being ye 25th day of ye second Month,
1707,*

WILLIAM FFISHER,
RICHARD INGRAM, SENR.
his O marke

⁶ That is, *atomy, skeleton.*

Hertfordshire.¹

No. 43.]

Huntingdonshire.

An Account of ye Names of some of ye first ffriends that were sent to Preach ye Everlasting Gospell in this Age, in Huntingdon shire & some parts adjacent, whose message was to turne People from Darkness unto ye Light of Christ Jesus in their own Hearts, that so through faith in it and obedience thereunto, they might Come to true Repentance, & to Wittness a being purged & Cleansed from the filthy-ness of Sin, & might be made pertakers of ye great Benefitt of ye Death & Sufferings of Christ, who Dyed for them. Testificing that if people came to walk in ye Light as God is in ye Light, such should have fellowship one wth another, & then ye Blood of Jesus Christ his Son would Cleanse from all Sin, as it is written in ye Holy Scripture, 1 John ye 1st & 7th.

¹ Hartfordshire appears in the list (Portfolio 7.1) of Quarterly Meetings from which accounts were not sent up, and I do not find any record on the Minute Books of the reception of any information as to "First Publishers." I have made some enquiries of Friends of this County, but I have not yet received any information on the subject.

One of ye first was James Parnell, who for his Christian Testimony suffered much both by Professors & Prophane, which was in ye Year 1654 (or 1655). Soon after Came Richard Hubberthorn, George Whitehead, Willm Dewsbury, Francis Howgill, Edward Burroughs, George Fox, George Rofe,[†] with divers others, who also (some of ym) mett with great Exercises & Sufferings for their Testimony to the Truth.

And Many were Convinced in these parts by their Testimonies, & came not onely to beleive their Report but also to Receive the Truth as it is in Jesus, and to walk in it, to the praise & Honour of ye Lord, & to their owne Joy & Comfort in ye Holy Ghost ; some of which Remaine alive to this day, & are as Seals of their Ministry, & some are fallen asleep.

Note, But not any of ye above mentioned Travelling Friends who are deceased did depart this Life Jn this County.

This was Written on ye 22d of ye 3d mo, 1705.

[†] George Rofe (occasionally and incorrectly, Rose) was a glazier, of Halstead. He suffered much for his religious principles; the record of his life, which has come down to us, is a record of imprisonments and laborious journeyings for the sake of the Truth. He was at Hythe in Kent, in 1655, and in September of that year suffered imprisonment at Edmundsbury in Suffolk, with George Whitehead and John Harwood. During this imprisonment, his fellow-sufferers and he were "put down a Ladder into the Dungeon, where they seldom put any, except some very quarrelsome, murtherous Persons; for it is about four Yards deep under Ground, and very dark, and but a little Compass at the Bottom, and in the midst thereof an Iron Grate, with bars above a Foot distant from each other, and under the same a Pit or Hole we knew not how deep: ; ; ; There we were detained near four Hours, singing Praises to the Lord our God" (Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp: 86, 87):

After other labours and sufferings, in England and on the Continent of Europe, G. Rofe, in 1661, went to North America and travelled there and in the West Indies till his death in 1663: On a letter from G. R. to George Fox, dated from Barbados, 1662 (Swarthmore MSS. iv. 223), there is an endorsement by G. F., "whoe dyed in the trouth be yond the seay," and a letter from William Caton to Stephen Crisp, dated from Amsterdam in 1664, states that G. Rofe was "cast away in a little boat upon Maryland's river in a storm" (Colchester MSS. 141): See my MS. Index to Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, in D., Bowden's *Friends in America*, 1850, i. 360, and *Collectitia*, 1824, pp: 26, 27, 122:

Kent.¹

Dover.

Of ye faithfull & true Messengers of Truth, yt First brought ye blessed Message of Glad-Tydeings &c, into Kent.

Deare William Caton and John Stubs, of blessed memory, being called of GOD into the worke of ye Ministry, Comeing into Kent, as ye first, supposed to bee, but very certaine the first in ye East of Kent, being moued of ye Lord from the North to London, & so for Kent, Came out of London vnto Douer, passeing Rochester & Canterbury, those two Citys, with all ye Places betweene, not haueing any publike Testimony to beare. But at Douer, there comeing on a Seuenth Day of ye Weeke, in ye Third Moneth of ye Yeare 1655, There publicuely to Testify of ye LORD'S Name & Truth, & against all fals wayes & worships, soone allarromed ye Rulers of ye Towne. And takeing vp their Lodging that Night at an Inn, the next day, being ye First day of ye Weeke, in ye Morning, The Mayor, Vallentine Tadnall, came, & after some Discourse, would haue secured them for that day, but haueing nothing against them, he left them to their Liberties at their Inn. So on this First day, after ye Mayor had left them, In ye Forepart of ye day, William Caton went to One of ye Steeplehouses, & John Stubs to the Meeting of ye Anna-baptists (so called). And in ye Afterpart of ye day, John Stubs went to the other Steeplehouse, & William Caton went vp to ye

¹ This Quarterly Meeting is one of the defaulters, according to Benjamin Bealing's list, but I have been able to supply from the Kent Q.M. MSS. in D., the following interesting account of "First Publishers."

The Kent Q.M. MSS. were sent up some time ago by Kent Quarterly Meeting and are contained in five volumes (four folios bound in rough calf and one octavo in vellum). There are many original documents, as well as copies, and the collection has evidently been arranged by Thomas Marche [Marsh] of Sandwich, formerly of Essex; from the original matter added by him in his beautiful, scholarly handwriting we take the portion here printed. He died in 1692. See *The Marshe Family*, by Joseph J. Green, in over 700 type written pages, 1903. The title page of vol. ii. of the Kent Q.M. MSS. is here reproduced as an illustration,



THE ANNUALL RECORD

To Posterity;

Kept by **East-Kent Division** its Generall
Monthly Meeting of **Friends**, the People of God Reproach:
fully called **Quakers**, of y^e East Part of y^e county of **KENT**.

As First more Generall, Of y^e faithfull Messengers that first brought y^e blessed Messag^e
of Glas-ty^e into **KENT**, & their civil Exercises & Sufferings therein &c.

So Secondly more Particular; Of many most Exercises & Sufferings of severall
of their Offspring, stemm'd in y^e East Part of **KENT**, (first by them Visited) since
the **Truths** first Entrance & taking Place amongst them, as they now live in y^e pub-
lique Profession of it having been & so remaining at this day 1690, Distributed
into as yet no more then Six **Subdivisions**, Members, or Particulars Weekly
Meetings for Worship, viz^t

1. Dover.
2. Canterbury.
3. Wingham.
4. Sandwich
5. Deale.
6. Nunnington.

Belonging to & Comprehended in, as yet only, One **East-Kent Division**
Generall Monthly Meeting for **Worship**, as also, One Generall Monthly
Meeting for **Business**; Being Both on severall **Third Days** of the
Weeks (the First & Third of every Month held in y^e Subdivision of
Nunnington, as being neerer to y^e Center of y^e East Part of **KENT**, above said).

EX VNGUE LEONUM.

By a Parte may guesse what's y^e Whole.

The Righteous shall be in Everlasting Remembrance. Psalm. 112. 6.
The memory of y^e Just is blessed: But y^e Name of the Wicked shall Rot. Prov. 10. 7.

Castle to ye Meeting of ye Independants (so called). In all which publique Assemblys, They spake, as GOD gaue them Vtterance, Things concerneing ye Kingdome of GOD, which tooke good effect on them that belieued & obeyed ye Testimony of ye Euerlasting Gospell. By which day's seruice, ye Report of Them, & ye Truth which they bore Testimony of, went through both Towne & Country ; which kindled a Fire (of ye word) in ye Towne.

And on ye second day, They had a Meeting in ye Baptists Meeting-place, where almost all sorts of Professors made a head against Them ; so when they were cleere in Themselues, passed to their Inn with many following them. Then ye Mayor, & diuers of ye Rulers of ye Towne, began to be moued with Anger in their hearts against Them, Insomuch that they Assembled & consulted together, & sent for William & John before them to Examination ; which accordingly was done, And then, not finding any thing worthy of Punishment, They finally concluded with this, *vizt.* Chargeing William & John very stricktly to depart ye Towne ; & gaue Order, that none should Entertaine them any longer, & stricktly commanded ye Innkeeper to turne them out of his house, vpon ye penalty of pulling downe his Signe ; wherevpon they were turned out of their Lodgeing.

Now these things being knowne & vnderstood by Luke Howard² (an Inhabitant of ye Towne), and appeareing vnto him

² There is an interesting autobiographical account of the life of Luke Howard at the beginning of *Love and Truth in Plainness Manifested*, 1704, a collection of his writings, from which it appears that he was much perplexed in his religious views. "About the beginning of the Third Month of the year 1655," he says, "I went to London about business of my trade [shoemaker], and on a *First-Day*, the Fore part of the Day, I went to hear one Cordwel in *Lombard-street* (a Mystery-Man, so called), and when he had done, stood up a Young Man, newly come out of the *North-Country*, his name was *William Caton*." Not wishing to stay till Wm. Caton had finished, however, Luke Howard said to his companion, "Come, let us be gon to Dinner, for I know as much as he can tell me, or more than I or he either can live in." The following *First-Day* William Caton was at Dover, and Luke Howard hearing of it, went to see him, and was much impressed by his testimony. His religious service was mainly confined to his native town and county, where he lived and suffered for the truth. He died in 1699. There is no known family connection between Luke Howard, of Dover, and Luke Howard, of London and Ackworth, who died in 1864.

altogether contrary to Law, Justice, and true Christianity, &c, He Inuited William & John to goe home to his house, there to abide vntill they were free in the LORD to depart (saying, he cared not for ye Mayor nor Jurats, meaning in that case), the which they did. And on ye Fift day of ye weeke, had a great Meeting at his House ; And so passed to ye Seuenth day of ye Weeke, On which ye Mayor and Rulers sent a Warrant with 4 Constables to command & fetch ye said William & John out of their Friend, Luke Howard's, house, Who, heareing of it a little before they came, & seeing them comeing, made fast his Doares, & kept them out ; so to his shop-window they came, Demanding ye Quakers (as they called them). To whom L : H. answered, standing in his shopp,

“ You shall not haue Them, & goe tell ye Mayor That I say soe.”

They so returned to ye Mayor, Who called his Bretheren to consult how to deale with Luke Howard. And they all presently sent againe for L : H., who being brought before Them, They demanded of him, Why he resisted their Authority. Who answered, He did not.

Then said ye Mayor, “ Why did not you deliuer ye men to our Constables then ? ”

L : H. Answered, “ Because you had no Authority to send for Them.”

“ No,” said ye Mayor, “ wee sent our warrant.”

Then said L : H., “ But what had you to doe to make it, & send it ? Is there any Hue & Cry come after them, or are they Theeues or Murderers, or what is ye Matter ? I say they are my Friends, & why may not I receiue & keep my Friends in my house, as well as you keep your Friends in your house ? ”

Then said ye Mayor, “ Wee will binde you ouer to ye Sessions to Answere it there.”

Luke Howard answered, “ But I wont be bound,” But after sometime, rather then goe to Prison, was perswaded of some standing by To giue Bond to Answere it at Sessions. So L : H. went home, & William Caton & John Stubs were let

stay with him, Through a great deale of adoe. Then on ye First day of ye Weeke, W. C. & J : S. had a great & blessed Meeting at L : H.'s house, In which said Meeting, seuerall were Reached vnto, & in L : H. Life sprung, which said Amen to all that was Declared, & sealed to all with Joy & Gladnesse.

Folkestone.

Then on ye Third day of ye weeke following, John & William passed out of Towne, & departed from Douer toward Foulstone, Luke H. going 3 or 4 Miles with them, haueing giuen Them ye Names of seuerall Townes, & Persons in them, along ye Sea Coast, where their Motion was to goe. So they came to Foulstone, where they were kindly receiued by Thomas Nichols, his wife, & others, & seuerall good Meetings They had there, wherent many were present, & the Witnessse of GOD was truely reached in some, & some were conuincd of ye Truth & receiued it in ye Loue thereof. But William Caton had hard vsage at their Steeplehouse, occasioned chiefly by a rude & debauched Fellow. From thence they went towards Hythe, & in their way thither they went into Sangate Castle, where they were kindly receiued by ye captaine & his Wife, & had a Meeting or two among ye souldiers & others there, & then departed for Hythe, where at their publike place of Worship, they were violently dealt with by ye rude Multitude ; & he that was the violentest against them, in a short time after had a remarkable Iudgement befell him, of which many tooke Notice. And there They had a Meeting in ye Baptists Meeting-roome, who at first were Moderate, though afterwards great Opposers ; yet some there were that receiued their Testimony.

Romney & Lydd.

From thence They went to Romney, & soe to Lidd, where there were many high Professors ; and amongst ye rest, was

Samuel Fisher³ (a very eminent Pastor among ye Baptists). William Caton went to ye Meeting of ye Independants (who would scarce allow him Liberty to cleere his Conscience), and John Stubs to ye Meeting of ye Baptists, where Samuel Fisher haueing done speaking amongst them, John Stubs begins, & after John had done, Samuel (being much affected with John's Doctrine) began with his Wisdome to paraphrase vpon it, with excellency of speach, to set it forth in his apprehension, beyound what John had done. After this they had Meetings in both ye said Townes ; And haueing a Meeting in ye Street at Lidd (the Friends house not containeing ye Multitude), some of ye Magistrates sent to Samuel Fisher (who was also present at ye Meeting) to tell him, That they might haue the church-door (as they called it) opened to goe in thither, but they refused to accept of it, chusing rather to continue their Meeting in ye Street. The aforesaid Samuel Fisher receiued Them & their Testimony to GOD's Glory, as after appeared, with seuerall more in those two Townes, who were conuincd of ye Truth of GOD, which had not in them Parts been declared by any Friend before.

Ashford & Tenderden.

From thence they trauelled vp toward Ashford & Tenderden, where they had great Meetings, & strong Contests & oppositions by Professors, especially in these two Townes ; howbeit some they found simple & tender hearted in most places where they had Meetings.

³ Samuel Fisher, as Luke Howard, had been drawing towards the principles preached by the early Friends without knowing it. The latter says, "I was conuincd that Singing of *Psalms* in Rhyme and Meter was a Lye in me, as to my Condition, and a Mock-Service as to the Lord . . . and I did not know another in the World of my Mind, which troubled my Master so much that he got *Samuel Fisher*, a Learned Priest (of *Lidd* in *Kent*) to come to Discourse me," but, apparently, Samuel got the worst of it, for he "went Home to his Parish People, and never dared to Sing more in the Steeple-house with them."

Cranbrook & Staplehurst.

They were also at Cranbrooke & Stapleherst, where they found a very open People, that were very ready to receiue & imbrace ye Euerlasting Truth, & seuerall large & pretious Meetings They had among them, They freely dispenseing of ye Word of Life vnto them. And tho' there were them that would haue giuen them both Gold & Silver, which some would euen haue forced vpon them, yet they had not Freedome to receiue one penny of Them, But told them, It was not theirs but them which they sought. And many were Conuinced & much affected with ye Truth, which with Joy & Gladnesse they receiued, And among them, as at other Places here foregoing, They sought to settle & Establish Meetings, & to bring them that were Conuinced to Assemble & sitt together to Wait vpon ye LORD in Silence, In the Measure of that Light of Life in Themselues which They turned them vnto, to ye End That they might come gradually to feel, possesse, & enjoye the liueing substance of what they had long Professed. And accordingly Meetings came to be settled in most of ye Places before Mentioned, Which they that were Conuinced kept (being likewise conuinced (as their Duty towards GOD) soe to doe) after their Departure.

Douer.

And Douer Friends, begining one of ye first, as their Duty was, To sitt together in Silence to Wait vpon the LORD, & haueing but newly entred vpon that blessed Worke, The People called Baptists came, as it were, with their whole Body into their Meeting, & called ye man of ye house out; & one John Finesse, who was then called their Pastor, told the Friend of ye house That he had a Word from ye LORD to speak amongst them, & asked him liberty to speak it, which being granted, he stands vp & begins with this Scripture, "Beloued, try ye spirits, whither there be a GOD or no; for many false spirits are gon out into ye World," &c. There being many of ye Worlds People also that came in with them, He applied his whol matter to ye People

to be Judge of ye Quakers spirit & Doctrine. And after a long Declaration, when he had ended, A Friend, L: H, stood vp, & told him & ye People That he had this question to ask, to witt, Whither ye Apostle spoke them Words to ye World, or to them called out of ye World? and desired one Joseph Templeman (who was Father in Law to ye Pastor) to answer the Question. At which he was wholly silent; And so ye Meeting broke vp, & ye snare broke, & Friends escaped. This Joseph Templeman was afterwards conuincd of Truth, & liued & died in ye Profession of it, & Bearing a publique Testimony for it.

Maidstone.⁴

Then after this, William Caton & John Stubs being Moued to goe to Maidstone, to which coming neere, being ye 27th of ye Third Moneth, 1655, & ye First day of ye Weeke, in ye Forepart of ye day, They went into a Meeting of ye People called Baptists, wherein haueing peaceably cleered Themselues, They went to ye Towne, & there into an Inn for halfe an hower. And then John Stubs went to their publique Place of Worship, where ye people called Presbiterians mett, & William Caton to ye Meeting of ye Independants. And when they that were set vp to teach amongst them had done, & all silent, Then began William and John to speake at the seuerall Places, To ye turning their Mindes From Darknesse to Light, and from ye Power of Satan, vnto GOD, &c. But John was soone hal'd away into ye Steeplehouse Yard, & there spake something farther to ye People, vntill one John Chaudler⁵ came to him, & in fury put him away, & gaue another Constable charge of him, who had him to ye stocks, where he sat awhile, & then was brought before one Lambert Godfrey,⁴ called Justice, & Recorder, & by him was there Examined, What he was, & from whence he

⁴ See *A True DECLARATION of the bloody Proceedings of the Men in Maidstone in the County of KENT, who write themselves John Allen, Mayor, Lambert Godfrey, Recorder, John Chantler, Constable, against John Stubs, William Caton, etc., 1655.*

⁵ Otherwise, *Chantler*, or *Chauntler*. See note 4.

came, his Education in his Youth, & what he had followed, & what they came there for, with many more Questions; vnto which John Answered as he was free in ye LORD, Notwithstanding it was to Ensnare him, as afterward appeared.

John told him that from a Chield he was kept most at Schoole vntill he was 16 or 18 yeares of Age, and some Yeares after was Banished out of his owne Country (in ye Bishops & Prelat's time) for ye Testimony of a good Conscience, because he could not bow to ye Image by them set up; and afterward was a Souldier in ye Notherne parts. And John told him ye time when he came off ye souldery & ye Cause wherefore.

Then Lambert Godfrey asked what Employment he followed since.

John Answered, he had liued with his Wife & Children in ye Bishop-rick, nameing ye Place where; But still it was vrged, how he liued, & what he wrought, & how maintained, &c. John told him, The LORD maintained him, &c, Yet that would not sattisfie. Then he told him he had a Tenement of Land, which did affoord him a sufficiency in ye Outward.

Then said Godfrey, "You are a Husbandman."

John said, He was little Brought vp to that.

Then Godfrey said, "I will set you to work tomorrow," &c.

And a Mittimus was made, & he was sent to Prison. And on ye next day was brought forth againe, and had before ye said Godfrey, and John Allen, Mayor, who did againe ask him many Questions, As when he came from London, & his Worke & Imployment there, &c.

John told him, His Worke was to Wait on ye LORD, & to write & speake against ye Deceit of Priests & People.

Then they Examined about their Coming into Kent, & what way they came, & what they did at Douer, & the Townes & Villages there about, and how they were Employed.

John answered, That he with his Brother William were Employed in ye work of ye LORD in declareing as they were moued, against ye vniust Dealings of Men, & false wayes & Worships, &c, and he would haue spoken further, but was interrupted by them, & was sent back againe to Prison.

And shortly after, sent for him againe, & told him, They had prouided him a Master, &c, and they brought forth a Statute, & said his Wages was 4 li a yeare, & meat & drinke.

John answered, He had not transgressed ye Law, & they ought not to make him a Slaue in their owne Wills, &c. So they sent John to Prison againe; and all this while his dear fellow Labourer & Companion was at Liberty at his Lodging at an Inn in ye Towne. But soone after they had done Examining John, They sent for William, & ye manner of their proceeding with him, is as followeth.

William Caton, being brought before ye Magistrate, was Examined, where he dwelt, & how long it was since he came from his outward Being, & what way he came, with more of ye like Questions.

William Answered, He came from London.

The Magistrate asked, What he did while he continued in London.

William said, In makeing knowne ye Euerlasting Truth, as he was moued of ye LORD, Turneing people from ye Darknes to ye Light, that with ye Light they might see themselues & be brought to Repentance, &c.

Then ye Magistrate told him, He had a Master for him, & that he should be set on Worke, & be bound vnto him for soe much a yeare, &c.

But William refused to be bound to man, or to be in bondage to any, saying, He was in the Worke and Seruice of ye LORD, and cannot goe out of the LORD's Seruice, to be a Slave to man. Wherevpon they, seeing their Wills were crossed, & that to them he could not bow nor yield, But in ye power of GOD was kept, and was made Willing to suffer for ye Testimony of ye Euerlasting Truth, which shall Testifie against them his Enemies, who could not charge him with ye breach of any Law, Yet was their Rage & Cruelty so towards him, That they sent him to Bridewell, there to receiue sore stripes.

And when they had thus Examined William & John seuerally, they were put together in one Place. And shortly after, the Goaler came & told them, They had their Liberty

paying their Fees. They told him, They could pay none. Then came Chaudler & another Constable with a Warrant to haue them from ye Prison house to Bridewell (so called), and many People came to see, what would be done to them in that Place. The Magistrate told them not what Law they had transgressed, neither did they heare their Mittimus Read, or any thing laid to their Charge, Yet thus were they carried as aforesaid to that Place, where ye Man tooke Them into Custody, & then searched Them narrowly, & tooke away their Money, Bibles, Gloues, Kniues, Inckhornes, & paper, and such like things as was in their pockets, from Them, and then had them into a Room, where They were striped naked, & their Necks & Armes put in ye Stocks, & there cruelly Whipped with Coards in a bloudy Manner, in the sight of Many People, which forced Teares from ye tender hearted that were there to see the Execution done. And when they had thus cruelly proceeded, They fastened Irons vpon Them with great Cloggs of Wood, & put Them in amongst Transgressors.

And after They were there a (little) while, The Executioner commanded Them to worke & sett worke before Them, But They standing out of his Will, & ye Will of Man, Could not Answere his Order. But he laboured much that Afternoone & the next Day, both by threatnings & faire speches, To bring Them vnto subjection to his Will, & to the Order of ye Place (as he said), That all that came there must Worke or else not Eate. Yet They, seeing their Tyranny & Oppression, could not be subject to their Wills, but were made Willing to vndergoe what they had power to inflict on Them. And their Cruelty was so great, they would not let them haue any Victualls or drinke for their Money, for some dayes, only a little Water they had once a day, through ye perswasion of some Souldiers; But still vrged Them to Worke, if neuer so little, & They should want for Nothing, If not, They must not expect to Eate; And though ye Malefactors that were there would haue giuen Them of their Bread, yea, the Women of ye House, being moued with compassion towards Them, would haue giuen Them something priuately, but They were not at that time free to accept of either of both; vntill that They (by

whose order Prouision was kept from Them) did giue Consent, That it should be brought in to Them, Which finally they did, when that Many in ye Towne began to be offended at their Cruelty, which they manifested towards Them. And when they were made to bow by ye Power of God (who sought to bow Them to their Wills), They were free to receiue Victualls for their money, & did Eate, & were refreshed.

And it is to be Obserued, how that he that Committed Them, and was ye Chiefe Agent in Cruelty against Them, was ye aforesaid Lambert Godfrey, a Justice (so called), & Recorder of ye Towne, who was a Noted Presbyterian.

The next day following, being ye Fourth day of ye Weeke (after their cruelty seemed to be abated), they sent ye said John Chaudler, ye Constable, with a Discharge, together with two seuerall Warrants To convoy Them from Constable to Constable to their owne Country as Vagabons (as they said). And when they came to bring their Bookes & other things they had taken from Them, they burnt their Letters and papers before their faces. And afterwards they parted Them, & with Officers conuoyed Them, One out at ye one End & ye other out at the other End of ye Towne (which was no small Tryall to Them to be so seperated). And so They were Conuoyed from one Officer to another through ye Country towards their Habitations in ye North. And thus was their Bloudy & Cruel Dealings toward ye Innocent, in this Towne of Maidstone, where They sounded the Gospell, at which ye Peace of ye Earth was broken, as appeared in the Dragons Rage in ye Justices (so called), To whose Examinations They gaue Answere as became Men of GOD; & that, in ye Love of GOD as moued & sent, They came there to publish ye Gospell; vpon which they were told by ye wicked Recorder, That he would send Them to ye House of Correction where They should Worke. They answered him, They were in their Fathers Worke, or ye LORD's worke, & They should not doe his. Who, after many Questions & Arguments, Yet committed Them thither, & ordered their Worke to be appointed Them. And after such their aforesaid cruell Vusage there, because They Could not doe his Worke,

caused Them to be Parted, and sent Homeward from Officer to Officer, as is before Mentioned.

Now William & John, seuerally by seuerall Wayes, haueing passed in ye hands of many Constables and Officers, they began to grow carelesse of their Order, & left Them in ye Highways. Their heauenly Images, & sober Liues & Words, preached so much to them, That finally they suffered Them to Trauell alone whither they pleased. Which accordingly they did, seuerally, both towards London. And ye next day, getting well vp to London, Where They mett together againe to their great Refreshment, And then it came presently vpon Them To Returne downe to Maidstone againe, & into that Country of Kent from whence They Came, which was no small Tryall to them. Howeuer, to ye Will of ye LORD They gaue vp, & returned againe within two or three dayes.

And when their grand Persecutor, L. Godfrey, at Maidstone, heard of their Returneing againe, he sent a Hue & Cry to meet Them, which being gotten some 8 miles into the Country, ye Officer came into a Friend's house where They had Lodged, but were then at another Place. And it being on a First day of ye Weeke, in ye Morning, They went into their Steeplehouse at Maidstone, where They shewed Themselues, and Preached ye Word of ye LORD againe to them. And GOD chained downe ye Red Dragon, so that William Caton & John Stubs cleered their Consciences, & left ye Towne. For ye Officer not being there, Prouidence did so order it, at that time, They were preserued out of their hands.

Dover.

And afterwards from hence (Hauing before cast their Bread vpon ye Waters in hope, & willing to receiue it againe, They passed through ye Country vissiteing ye Bretheren that had receiued ye Gospell, who were confirmed in ye Faith, & the more through their patient Suffering. But before They came to Douer, the Report of their wicked vsage at Maidstone

came to ye Mayor's Eare, of Douer, who, meeting with Luke Howard, said,

"Luke, I heare your Friends haue beene at Maidstone, and beene Whipped ; Wee did not deale so badly with them here."

"No," said L : H., "But you dealt with them worse then you should."

So in little time came William Caton & John Stubs againe to Douer, where They, with Friends, Enjoyed their Meetings peaceably, Many being Conuincd.

Folkestone, Hythe, Romney, & Lydd.

Then when They were cleere, passed away againe to Foulstone, Hythe, Romney, & Lidd, To view the Feild in which ye seed was sown (as William Caton & John Stubs seuerall times hereafter did in this County), and all was as a greene Feild of Corne growing vp. At Romney, at John Dunks, Friends had a Generall Meeting, At which was George Fox, Alexander Parker, William Caton, John Stubs, Thomas Robinson, & Ambrose Rigge. At which Meeting, George Hammon, a Baptist, opposed ye Truth with much bitterness. Then stood vp Samuel Fisher, saying to him,

"Dear Brother, you are dear & neere vnto mee, But ye Truth is neerer ; This is ye Truth & ye Euerlasting Gospell," with more words he ended his Testimony.

Then said George Hammon, "Our Brother, Fisher, is bewitched also," And so contradicted & blasphemed, & so continued vnto his Death, striueing against God, Who will giue to all men their Reward according to their Works.

Canterbury.

William Caton & John Stubs were also at Canterbury, where they had exceeding good seruice, especially amongst the Baptists & Independants (so called), For They were at their Meetings, & had pritty good Liberty to Declare ye Truth of GOD amongst them ; and some there were, That receiued their Testimony in that Place, who were conuincd of ye Truth ; so that there came to be a Meeting settled there also.

Sandwich.

They were likewise at Sandwich, where William Caton had some seruice, in perticular among the Dutch people there, at their Steeplehouse ; but at that time ye Truth could get but little Entrance in that Place. Only one Thomas Palmer, a man of some account in that Towne, was conuincd by him, & seemed to be loueing, but the Crosse was too heavy, & ye Way too strait for him to walke in. And also, ye next day, after W: C. his seruice among ye Dutch people, he came directly to Thomas Elgar's shop doar, & leaneing vnto ye Post of it, lookeing wistly vpon him in his Shop (who was a zealous professor among ye Independants, so called), William, standing still a while, by & by vtters these Words,

“The Scribes & ye Pharises neuer saw Iesus.”

Thomas answered, “That they did not see Iesus as they ought to see Him, I grant, But that they did see Iesus, I doe affirme.”

Sometime after Thomas's Answere, William againe expresse ye same Words, “The Scribes & ye Pharises neuer saw Iesus.”

Then Thomas cald for his Bible, & opening vpon Iohn 8, Read vnto William these words, “The Scribes and ye Pharisees brought vnto Iesus a woman taken in ye Act of Adultery ; the Law commanded that such should be stoned, but what sayest thou ?” So that they did see Iesus, I doe affirme.”

William, standing silent, neuer reasoning nor disputeing, by & by againe repeated ye same Words, “The Scribes & ye Pharisees neuer saw Iesus.” & away he went. Thomas Elgar was not conuincd till ye yeare 1666, afterwards.

Douer.

The like of George Harrison, a young man also, & a Preacher of ye Gospell, After a Meeting in Douer, Thomas Euerden (then of Douer, tho' afterwards of Canterbury), a very zealous Professor among ye Independants also, Asking him some Questions, George, Lookeing Wistly vpon him, said, “Thou art

a Dog," & so left him. Which Words confounded him, & he meditateing long vpon them, Wrought such an Effect, That he could neuer get cleere of them, Till he receiued & liued in ye Truth, & became a Preacher himselfe.

Againe, in like manner, Iohn Lilburne,⁶ a Prisoner in Douer Castle, sending for L: H. to speake with him about Religion, Iohn vseing these words to L: H.,

"I pray, sir, of what Opinion are you?"

L: H. answered, "None."

Which struck him into that Silence for sometime, That he could not speake. And then he said to L: H.,

"What must I say, & how must I speake?"

L: H. answered, "Thou mayest speak what is in thy owne Minde, & after thy owne Manner."

Who replied againe, "You say, you are of noe Opinion."

L: H. said, "I doe say soe, For really I am of no Opinion."

Soe he, knowing not what to say at present, Begg'd of L: H. To come vp another Tyme; the which L: H. did, And Inuited him downe to a Meeting, where was ye same George Harrison, aforesaid, Who, in his Declaration & Prayer, The Words & sound of ye Truth, he liked well, But his Wisdome was aboue it. So, passeing away out of ye Meeting, George Harrison runs after him, in ye Entry, with these Words, "Friend, thou art too high for Truth." Which Words, as Iohn Lilburne called them, Gaue him (as he said) "such a Box on ye

⁶ The life of John Lilburne is a mirror in which the turbulent condition of the times can be seen. He championed the rights of the people in opposition to government, and was fined, whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned. He served some years as a soldier and rose to the rank of lieutenant-general. He seems to have been of a quarrelsome and vindictive spirit. On his becoming convinced of Quakerism he wrote a long letter to his wife, dated from Dover Castle, in 10th month, 1655, referring to Friends as "those preciousst (though most contemptible) people called *quakers*, the truly beloved objects of my soul." The accounts of the short remaining period of his life are very contradictory, some writers state that Cromwell liberated him when assured of the truth of his conversion, and that his remaining days were spent in retirement at Eltham, while other authorities state that he was detained prisoner in Dover Castle till very shortly before his death, which took place at Eltham, while there on parole. An uncertainty also attaches to his place of burial. See *The RESURRECTION of JOHN LILBURNE, Now a Prisoner in Dover-Castle*, etc., 1656 (two editions).

Eare," that stund him againe, Insomuch that he could neuer get from vnder them ; but liued & died in ye profession of ye Truth, at ye Kings house, at Eltham, in Kent, where Oliuer C. ordered him a Prisoner, Beareing a Testimony for Truth, both by writing & speakeing, vnto his Death.

Hythe.

So Friends which did abide, in little time after (the aforesaid Generall Meeting at Romney), agreed to haue a Generall Meeting at Hythe, at Elizabeth Lopers⁷ (widdows) House, Which was Continued for some Yeares Monthly ; And Friends grew as ye Garden of ye LORD. But in time, for want of Watchfullnesse, The Fowles of ye Aire pickt vp the Seed in some, And the Thornes choaked it in some, And ye sun scorched it in Others, so that that Scripture came to be fulfilled, Many called, Few chosen, to stand in ye Battle, & beare ye Burden of ye heat of the Day. But Glory be vnto the LORD for euer, Can a Remnant say, Who are GOD'S Wittneses, & his Seruants whom he hath Chosen, That they may know & beleue That he is GOD, & that before Him was no GOD formed, neither shall there be any after Him. And of this are we Wittneses That haue receiued the Truth in ye Loue of itt, and haue kept our Garments vnspotted of the World, In which God Eternal keep vs to the End of our Dayes, Amen, Amen, saith all that Loues the LORD with all their Hearts, & all their Souls, & all their Strength, Amen.

Ashford.

1. *Publishing ye Truth.*

John Stubs & Willm. Caton first published ye Truth openly & publickly in ye Towne of Ashford.

2. *Sufferings.*

Willm. Gibson was taken out of a Meeting of Friends in Ashford, & by Tho : ffenner, who was Cunstable, who without a warrant carried him before Norton Knatchbull, called a Justice, & was by him committed to prison.

⁷ She became the second wife of Luke Howard.

3. *Who received them.*

The widdow Jacob was ye first that received Friends into her house.

4. *Apostates.*

Willm. Beane received ye Truth & suffered for ye same, Yet afterwards Apostatised from it, & died in a miserable Condition.⁸

John Edwards likewise received ye Truth, & bore a publick Testimony for it, but Apostatised.

Canterbury.*An account of ye Friends that came first to Canterbury.*

The first Friends that came to Canterbury was John Stubs & Willm. Caton, who came from Douer on ye 7th day of ye week, & were directed by Luke Howard vnto Henry Rogers, who with his wife did receive them. And ye next day, being First day, John Stubs & Henry Rogers went in ye fore part of ye day vnto ye Baptists Meeting, & John Stubs did speake vnto ye speaker, & askt him, If he had ye infallible spirit, & he was put to a stand. And then John did speake vnto ye People, & there was a great hurry. Then one Henery Denn stood vp, & told John, That if he would forbear speaking to ye People, he should haue what liberty he could desire in ye Afternoone. And John, haueing cleered himselfe, Did expect [accept] of ye proposition; and accordingly John Stubs & Willm. Caton did goe, but when they came, they shutt ye doars & would not lett them come in, but were kept out by force; & they being minded of their promise, said, The pues would be broke, so John & Willm. seeing they could get no entrance into ye place, stood vp in ye Yard & spoke vnto ye people. And seuerall of ye Baptists were Conuincd that day, and did remaine in ye practice of Truth till death, and some are still liueing, professeing ye Truth without wauering vnto this day.

⁸ Luke Howard's writings make reference to "one *Daniel* Beane (a Custom-house Officer)," who was convinced but fell away, but Besse has the name of *William* Beane as a sufferer in 1656. There was a William Beane, of "Brayburne, near Ashford."

Lancashire.¹

Knowsley.

The first Entrance of Truth in friends Meeting at Knowsley in the parish of Huyton, Lancashire, 1654.

Thomas Hulmes was one of the first faithfull friends who published Truth in Knowsley & in Huyton, & Wm Hatton, of Knowsley, Mason, & Peter Laithwait, of Huyton, first Received him and others in those parts. And about eleven months after their receiving them (some other friends also visiting those parts), Benjamin Boulton, of Knowsley, husband-man, and Mary, his Wife, were Convinced of truth & received friends. And about a month after that, James ffletcher, then of Prescott, Husbd, was Convinced of the Truth & Received it.

Shortly after, a meeting was settled at the house of the said Benjamin Boulton, being afterwards James ffletchers by the marriage of the sd Benjamin Boltons widow, which is Continued there by ffriends of Knowsley & Liverpooll.

1655. Benjamin Boulton, of Knowsley in Huyton parish, Lancashire, Husbandman, being Convinced of the truth, received it, and in alittle time after, the lord raised him up to bear a publick & Living testimony to it, to the Refreshing of the Children of Light,² for the power of the lord attended him therein, where by Several were Convinced. He was aman of good report amongst his Nighbours & of a blameless life & Conversation.

In 1656, he going to Huyton Steeple house yard to read a paper concerning truth & shewing the marks of the false

¹ Nos. 44, 45 appear to be in the same handwriting and are both slightly corrected by another hand. No. 44 is endorsed with date of reception in London, 4 mo., 1707.

² Note the name for Friends, *Children of Light*.

prophets, upon his offering to read it, he was apprehended, & the next day, by Edward Aspinwell, & John ffox, both of Toxdeth Park, near Leverpoole, Justices, he was Committed & sent to the Common Goale at Lancaster, where from his wife & Children he was kept prisoner seven weeks, & for 15s Demanded for bringing him to prison, Robt Nelson & William Haydock, Constables of Knowsley, took from him pewtar worth 20s. The one of the said Justices Dyed before he was released, & the other lived not long after.

Another time, asking the priest of Huyton, Named Wm Bell, concerning his Doctrine, some of ye Priests Hearers Swear that Benjamin Boulst Disturbed him, Whereupon for 5^{li} Demanded for a fine imposed at the Quarter Sessions, the said Benj: had taken from him two Melch Kine & one heifer Worth 9^{li}, By Anthony Tyrer, Constable of Knowsley, with a warrant from John Case, Justice. He traveled in the Lords Service to Bristoll & other places, & returned home; and in another Journey was taken & kept prisoner in Shrewsbury 14 weeks, and being sett at Liberty, he Dyed the 25th of the 1st mo, 166^q, and was buried in friends buringe ground in Holt, in Wales, & so came not home again to his wife & Children. Jn his Confinements he sent several very sweet & Comfortable letters to his wife, &c, ever shewing his Chearfullness & Satisfaction in his Suffering & hard vseage he mett with & the goodness of the Lord to him therein, for the Encorragemt of others to be faithfull, & his confidance that the lord would Cary on his great work wch he had then begun amongst the Children of men, to the glory of his name, & the Everlasting good of his people.

No. 45.]

James fletcher, of Prescot, Husbandman, & aftr wards of Knowsley, in the parish of Huyton, was convinced of the truth & embraced it in the year 1655, at which time & soon after he suffered great abuses from several of his Neighbours, who Stoned him with Stones several times in a violent manner without any just cause given them, only because he Endeavoured to live an holy life & to walk vprightly; & one time, Several

men & boyes, Meeting him, offered to force him to go wth them to their Worship at the Steeplehouse, & because he refused, they pulled him & haled him & so struck him on the face that he was bloody, And they tore a part of his coat from off his back & took it away with them, Some of them throwing stones at him. Jn the year 1659, he came forth with a publick testimony, & Jn the year 1660, he visited friends in Ireland, & after his Return, Jn the 10th mo, he visited friends in prison at Wrexham, in Denbighshire, in Wales, where the Goaler without Warrant kept him in prison till a warrt was procured to bring him before a Justice, Who, for his Refusing to take the oath, committed him to prison in the common goal, where the Goaler kept him Close prisoner Sixteen weeks in the Cold winter, not suffering him to have straw to lye upon ; And because he would not buy meat of the Goaler, the Goaler some times took away his meat, & one time kept him without meat from the 7th day to the middle of the 2d Day.

Being brought to the barr, before the Justices, at the sessions in Wrexham, they asked him if he would take the oath of Allegance. He answered that he Durst not swear because Christ had forbidden it, & mentioning the Exhortation of the apostle James, above all things not to swear by any oath, lest (said he) ye fall into Condemnation, the prisoner at the bar said,

“Now if J should swear & fall into Condemnation, can any of you Deliver me out of it ?”

They answered, “No.”

Then said he, “J had need to take heed what J Do,” at which the Justices were for a short time silent, & after asked him what tradesman he was.

He replied, “J follow thatching some times,” at which they seemed astonished, & said,

“Take him away, Goaler.”

He travelled much, & was zealous and bold for the spreading & prosperity of truth. Jn the year 1667, he again visited friends generally in Ireland, & Returned ; And towards the latter End of the year 1674, he set forwards in the lords service to go in to forreign parts, visiting friends in several counties in

England, & so to London, where he stayd some time, waiting for passage by sea. And in the 7th mo, 1675, he went towards the Downs, where he took shipping, & upon the 3d day of the 10th mo, 1675, he arrived at Barbados, & visited friends, & Declared truth their, and in Antego, Mevis, and Christophers Island. And thence sayled for New England, but the master of the shipp, being a professor, was afraid to cary him to Boston for paying a fine for bringing a Quaker over, and so put him on bord a sloop bound for Road Island; & having Declared truth there, he sayled thence to Salem in New England, and was at Hampton, near Cambridge, & at Marble-Head, & several other places, & had meetings with friends & people, tho the people were much in fear of their law in New England. And he was three several times at the town of Boston (noted for persecution), & had meetings there. Then he again visited Road Island, and went to Long Island, then travelled to Delaware riuier, & ouer it so to Upland, where were some friends & into New Jersey. And at New-Castle, their he could scarce get any Entertainmt for money, and then he visited Mary land & Virginia, and he computed his travels in New England, Virginia, & Mary Land, to amount to 2,000 miles, passing thorow many Difficulties, dangers, and Hardships therein, a particular account whereof for brevity sake is here omitted. He Returned to his wife & childern at his own house in Knowsley, the 9th Day of the 5th mo, 1677, from which he had been absent in his travels for truths sake at that time the space of two years & ten weeks.

In 1681, he visited friends in the north of Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, Bishoprick of Durham, Yorkshire, & Darbyshire, & then returned. And in the year 1687, he visited friends generally in Scotland, & so returned by Newcastle & through Bishoprick, & the East part of Yorkshire, to York at the yearly meeting there, from thence into Lincolnshire, Norfolk, & Suffolk, & several othr Counties in England,³ & then returned to Knowsley to his wife & family.

³ From Bristol in 8 mo., 1687, James Fletcher writes to George Fox, giving him some account of his travels, and of the favourable condition of things generally. (A.R.B. MSS. 146.)

Jn the year 1694, he visited the Churches in Cheshire, Staffordshire, Darbshire, Yorkshire, the bishoprick of Durham, &c. Jn 1695, he visited friends in Wales, Bristoll, Wiltshire, & so to London, at the yearly meeting there, from thence to Colchester & Harwich. And took Shipping, the 29th of ye 3d mo, for Holland, visiting friends there, and in West Freezland, Groningland, & several parts of Germany, the Bishop of Munstrs Contery, the King of Denmarks Country, & the Duke of Holstains Country, &c, Being generaly at the Chief towns & Cities in those places, as Amsteldam, Rotterdam, Harlem, Hoorn, Groningen, Embden, Harlingen, Hamborough, Bremen, ffredreck-Stadt, &c, so returned for England again. Jn 1696, he again visited friends in Jreland, that being the fifth time in ye labour of the gospell and last time of his Journeys abroad. His trauels vpon truths acct abroad, as by his own accounts, is Computed to 13,140 miles.

After his return from Jreland he grew unhealthy, yet not so as to keep his bed But walked abroad & to meetings near home. Although much Declining in his body, the 15th Day of 1st mo, 169^s, being the day before his Death, Jn a postscript to a letter about business to friends Jn the North of Jreland (where his son James who had a wife & childern Dwelt), he wrote thus, "Live in loue & peace one with another and Keep out of all Contention & Strife, and the god of all peace & loue will be with you. And my Desire is that my Childern who live amongst you may live in the truth, that so you may be a help unto them, & that nothing may reign but life amongst you, that so, ouer all, glory, honour, & praise may be given to god who alone is worthy for Euer more. Amen."

He Died at his own house in Knowsley ye 16th Day, & at Hartshaw was buried the 18th of ye 1mo, 169^s₇, many friends being at the buriall.

Leicester and Rutland.¹

Lincolnshire.¹

Lincoln.

In the beginning of the Ninth Month, in the year 1654, John Whitehead first came to Preach the Light within, and for bearing Testimony (in the High Place called the Minster in Lincoln) that it is the Light of the Glorious Gospel that Shines in Man's heart, & Discovers Sin, He was buffeted & most shamefully intreated, being often Knocked down by the Rude & Barberous People, who were encouraged thereunto by Humphrey Wallcott, who then was in Commission to have kept the peace, but brake it by striking of the said John Whitehead with his own hands ; wch so encouraged the Rude People, that so far as could be seene they had slaine the said John, but that God stirred some soldiers to take him by Force from amongst them.

Elizabeth Hooton was imprisoned in Lincoln Castle in the 9th Month, 1654, by the Procurement of Joseph Thurston, then Priest of Beckingham, for speaking to him in the Steeplehouse. She was kept prisoner about 6 months.

¹ I do not find any record of an account having been sent up. I have applied for local help in searching for any records of "First Publishers," but such help is not yet forthcoming.

¹ This Quarterly Meeting sent up an account of "First Publishers," but it is not in Portfolio 7. On the minutes of the Quarterly Meeting there is a reference to the Yearly Meeting minute of 1676, also the references to Lincoln here given, which are taken from a copy made for me by Mary Spencer of that city.

London.

The Proceedings of Court against Thomas Barker, John Broadgate, Samll Rosswell, Emanuell Low, and Thomas Jewks, at the Session houlden for the Peace, Jn Guildhall, London, the 18th day 10th mo, 1683.

Tho: Barker, Jon Broadgate, Samll Rosswell, & Emanuell Low.¹

CLARKE. T. B., you are here indited for houlding an unlawfull or Riotous assembly to disturb the peace, the 23d day of September Last, in White Hart Court, Gratiuous street, unto which you are required to plead. What say you, Guilty, or Not guilty?

T. B. I desire to hear the Jnditement read.

RECORDER. Clarke, read it, but if you desire it may bee put of till next Sessions, it shall, J will doe you that Justice, & you have the Previlidge soe to doe.

T. B. J know not that wee shall desire that (soe ye Jnditement was redd). I desire to bee resolved in one Question.

RECORDER. What is that?

T. B. J with the rest had the last Sessions another Inditement brought against us, unto which wee were required to plead, & whither it bee the practice of this Court to Jndite twice for one thing or matter, is my Question.

¹ Besse (*Coll. Suff.*, i. 461) refers to the trial in two lines: "In this year also *Thomas Barker, Emanuel Low, Samuel Russel, and John Broadgate*, suffered by Fines and Imprisonment for their religious Meetings." These Friends were probably inhabitants of the district and not travelling ministers, John Broadgate was of Horselydown. Thomas Barker appeared at Guildhall again in a few months' time, and was recognised by the Recorder, Sir Thomas Jenner. His son was arrested on one occasion, but dismissed because he was under sixteen years of age.

Here the Recorder asked the Clarke about the Jnditement; he answers, Yes, wee were Jndited Last Sessions in a wrong place, to wit, in the parish of Criplegate, which should have been in Gracious street.

RECORDER. Well, that was onely the Clarks mistake, you are now right Jndited, & you did not plead to ye Last.

T. B. Wee soe farr pleaded as wee were required, which was, "Not Guilty." The Jewry had us in Charge & were upon our Case. Ye Marshall gave his Evidence against us, wch disagreeing with ye Jnditement over threw it, & yet wee were held to an appearance now.

RECORDER. And doe you think to evade pleading upon this? noe such matter! suppose a man were kild at Criplegate, & the Kings writs comes forth in persute of the murderers, they are not found there but in Gracious street, shall they therefore Escape?

T. B. Noe, but that & our Case differs very much, wee being a peaceable people & not under those Circumstances.

CLARKE. You must plead "Guilty" or "Not Guilty."

T. B. If J must doe soe, then J say the Jnditement is soe full of falsity as J know nothing true in it, our meeting in Gracious street being well known, & wee have never been disturbers or Rioters there or any where else, wee meeting onely upon a Religious account there.

CLARKE. Then you say, "Not Guilty."

Yes, wee must soe say, & soe did all. And soe wee were turned by in Court for neer 2 hours, other Causes being called over in presence of those of the Jewry, who of right aught to have tryed us.

But some time after, & before they were called over & sworne, though it was the Last day of the Sessions & they had all served hitherto, one of the Jewry sitting next to the foreman rose up, & applied himself to the Mayor to bee Dismised. The Recorder & hee speaking together easily, they granted him to goe off, & a little time after did soe for another, by which means when the tryal came on, the Secondary of the Counter was sent out for 3 men to fill up

the Jewry, which being done, wee were againe called over, and our accusers Called for, whoe were Weston, the Citty Marshall, & his man.

The Citty Marshall & his man sworne,

RECORDER. Mr. Weston, what doe you know of these men?

My Ld, J was, ye 23d of September, going along Lumberd Street, & in a place Called White Hart Court, where the Quakers have a meeting place, there J saw a great Crowd of people, & above all the rest was a woman standing upon a block; but whither she said anything or noe J cannot tell, J onely made up to her & tooke her down, & neer unto her J found these men standing.

MAYOR. Looke on them, are these the same?

My Ld, its a great while since, soe doe not know them all, but am sure some of them are the same. J carryed them before the Late Ld Mayor.

T. B. And soe farr was hee from Counting us Riotors, that he first leved 5s upon each, & for one that is in this Inditement it was laid down, but he bidd the party take it againe unless hee would pay soe for the five persons.

Note, that person, unknown to us in Court, did there Certifie the same thing, & that he laid it down for Tho Jewkes, whoe held himself not obliged to appear nor did hee.

RECORDER. They were riotously & tumultuously met together to desturb the peace, under pretence of Religion

T. B. J hope by all this noe such thing appears, J desire liberty to ask ye witness some Questions.

RECORDER. You may.

For wee are noe disturbers of the peace, nor are our meetings Riotous, wee being a peaceable people, & meet onely on a riligious account, & our religion is to us of weighty Concerne however esteemed here.

Here was at these words a silence, & then stood up one Moloy, a Counseller, and askt mee whither J knew what religion was, to which J answered, "Yes."

T. B. J desire the witness may Certifie the Court in what posture hee found us when apprehended, whither wee had offered violence to any or used any force, or yt any armes were found amongst us, for in a Riot J Conceive some such thing as an overtackt must be Comitted.

MARSHAL. J must needs say they were very Quiet, standing together even as Lambs. J heard never a word.

RECORDER. Jntempts, but tumutiously.

MARSHAL. Yess, in a Cluster together, but J made noe proclamation, there being 2 Constables & watch on Each side of them.

RECORDER. And what! did they doe nothing?²

MARSHAL. Noe, not as J see.

RECORDER. Doe You know them ?

MARSHAL. Yess.

RECORDER. Well, bring them to the Ld. Mayor, they should be made Exemplary.

The Recorder sums up the matter, telling wee had men & women preachers or houlders forth, & some times silent meetings, and all against Law. And very much of his discourse tended to insence the Jewry how Contrary to Law wee were in our meetings and waitings in silence.

T. B. J have heard here a great deale of talke of Law & Laws, but doe desire, for our own & the Jewrys Sattisfaction, to know by what Law wee are this day tryed, if a statute, what name it hath, &c.

RECORDER. What! have J not heard enough of your preaching yet, doe you thinke you are at a Conventicle? J see, let you alone & you will make it one.

T. B. J desire to bee sattisfied in this Question.

RECORDER. Then if you must needs know, the 35th of Elizabeth, that is made against sedetious seckтарыs, such as you. The Jewry knows the business.

T. B. J suppose that statute doe not reach our Case, nor was made against us.

² Or, as otherwise pointed, "And what did they doe? nothing?" There are no stops in the manuscript,

Note³ yt these 4 persons fines were each 3^{li} : 6s : 8d, wch were not pay'd wth yr preivity & Consent by any Relation or Acquaintance.

	mo	weeks	days
Thos : Barker, a Prisonr,	—	—	6
Samll Roswell,	01	—	6
Jon Brodgate,	03	—	5
Emanll Low remains.			

No. 47.]⁴

George Baily,⁵ of the Strand, in the County of Midds, being bredd vp a shopp keepr in the new Exchange, in ye Strand. He was an vpright hearted, sinceere young man, & for his Zeale and faithfullnes to the Lord went thorrow great sufferings, hardships, & persecutions, & haueing a Testimony for the Lord, was moved to goe to the Steeple-house at Giles in the Feilds, the 20th day of the 3d Month, 1655, to declare the Truth to the People, from wch place he was taken, & carryed before Walter Bigg, called Alderman and Justice, who askt him his Name, & soe went in to the house with the preist & made a Mittimus, & sent the said George Baily to prison. Jn wch Mittimus was exprest that the said George made a disturbance in ye Steeplehouse aforesaid, by speaking some words there, though the said George did not speak till the Preist had done his sermon & Prayer, all being silent, and for this he was sent to prison & continued a prisoner in New Prison, Newgate, & Brid-

³ Hence to the end of the manuscript is in another writing, which is, I believe, that of John Field, who seems to have assisted in some way with the entry of Sufferings on the official records.

⁴ Nos. 47-49 consist of a brief martyrology in the beautifully neat handwriting of Ellis Hookes, (See THE JOURNAL, i. 12.) All the Friends save the two who died abroad are mentioned in *The Memory of the Faithful Revived, or, An Alphabetical List of the names of more than three Hundred of the People called Quakers, who laid down their lives in Prison, or through cruel Usage, for their Constancy in Religion, together with a Summary Account of the Causes of their Imprisonment, and of the Deaths of each of them*, a manuscript in the handwriting of Joseph Besse belonging to D.

⁵ I have no means at hand to prove the identity of George Bayly, one of the "First Publishers" in Dorset, with the London Friend of that name.

well, in all about 20 weekes, & at last was turned out without any thing being proved of wch he stood charged, & for wch he was there kept so long. This young man was alsoe moved of the Lord to goe into France to declare the Everlasting Truth amongst both Papists & Protestants there, and the Papists cast him into Prison, where he died a faithfull witness against their bloody Religion, whose Innocent life will be required at their hands.

Francis Howgill, a faithfull servant of the Lord, who began to Minister the Truth about the yeare 1652, & continued constant and Zealous in the Lords worke & service vntill the day of his death, wch was the 20th day of the 11th Month, 1668, in Appleby goale, in the County of Westmorland, where he suffered a long and hard Imprisonment, because for Conscience sake he could not sweare, the Oath of Allegiance being tendred to him, for refusing to take wch he had the sentence of a Præmunire past upon him. He was one of the first that declared the Truth in the City of London, wch was in or about the yeare 1654, and although he travelled into Ireland, where many were convinced of the Truth by him, and also into severall other partes of the Nation of England besides London, yett he was very often in London, and had great service for the Lord in declaring the Truth in Publick Assemblies of freinds, & in visitting the Professors at their meetings frequently, *viz.* the Independants, Baptists, Seekers, and others, where the wisdom of God appeared so greatly in him that they were not able by their resistance to answer any thing to purpose, but were greatly confused & scattered, and many came off from amongst them to receive the blessed Truth. He alsoe travelled into Scotland and Convinced many there, and was indeed a Valliant man for the Truth. His cheefe and great Persecutor was one Phillipp Musgrau, called a Justice, in Westmerland, in wch County Francis dwelt, & was born. The said Justice Musgrave, being inveterately bent in his spirit against him, incensed the Justices all he could against him, and though he was sought vnto on his behalfe, yett would he not grant any Libertie at all, neither would he be any thing pacified, but he continued his spirit of per-

secution, shewing himselfe void of Christianity and humanity itselfe.

Edward Burrough, a faithfull & valliant servant of the Lord, who came forth (of Westmerland) with ffrancis Howgill, and were Companions in declaring the Truth in London, in the year 1654. He alsoe travelled in the service of Truth in Jreland and Scotland & severall Countyes in England, and many People were Convinced by him, for though he was but a very young man when he came first forth, he grew in wisdome, & the Lord filled him wth Courage and vallour, that he feared not the face of man. He often vissited freinds in London, haueing tender Loue & care ouer them, and it pleased God [No. 48] that, like a good Shepheard, he laid downe his life amongst them, ffor in the year 1662, being pressed in his Spirit to come to London, and being at a Meeting at the Bull & Mouth, & declareing the Truth, he was apprehend for the same, & Comitted to Newgate, Where, after he had remained neere 3 quarters of a yeare, about the begining of the 12th Mo in the same yeare, he fell sick, and the 14th day of the same Month he finished his Testimony by death. The person that chiefly persecuted him was Richard Browne, a man whose hands was deeply stained with the blood of severall Jnnocent freinds, for no other Cause but peaceably assembling to Worshipp God, and refuseing conscientiously to swear at all; but it was not long after vntill the Lord God struck the said Richard Browne with such a sicknes that he died in great misery & pain, and, as it was comonly reported, on his death bed repented of his Crueltie towards the Quakers.

William Robinson, a young man bred vp wth a Marchant in Crooked Lane, London, being convinced at the first appearing of Truth in London, was afterwards faithfull and true to the Lord, & in the year 1655, being moved of the Lord to goe to a Steeplehouse, & declare agt the hyreling Preacher, was for the same Comitted to Prison by Maurice Tompson, John Waterton, & Walter Bigg, called Justices. And about a yeare after, it pleased God to putt it into the

heart of this his servant (he being released from his Imprisonment) to goe ouer to New England to beare his Testimony to the Truth there, amongst the Professors, Presbiterians, & Independants, who had formerly fledd from England to avoid the prsecution of the Bishopps here, who, after they were settled in New England, became greater prsecutors then them they fledd from, who made lawes first to whipp (wch was vnmercifully executed on many of the servants of the Lord), only for comeing to vissitt them, & then secondly, to banish them out of their Coasts, & if they returned, to be hanged, though they had nothing of Crime to charge them wth, but only being Quakers. And severall freinds were executed by their vnrighteous Law, amongst whom this young man was one, who in Constancy & faithfullnes Loved not his life vnto the death, sealing his Testimony with his blood, about the 8th Month, 1659, being hanged at the Coṃon place of Execution neere Boston, and left many worthy Testimonies of his Loue and faithfullnes to the Truth, and severall Consolatory Epistles, behind him in writing, wch were afterwards printed and dispersed amongst the Churches of Christ.⁶

Richard Hubberthorn, a faithfull servant of God & an Innocent Man, declared the Truth at its first appearance in this City of London, and had an Exellent gift to Minister, and was very apprehensiuie and quick in disputes in answering the gain-saying professors, in the begining, and though he was much amongst freinds in London, he travelled much in many Countyes, & into Scotland, and many were convinced by him, And on the 22th day of the 4th Month, 1662, the said Richard Hubberthorne was taken out of a Meeting at the Bull and Mouth, neere Aldersgate, London, and carryed before Richard Browne, who vsed violence to him with his owne hands in pulling his hatt downe vpon his head, so that he brought his head neere the ground, & then he Comitted him to Newgate, where he remained vntill the sessions, & was then Indicted (wth others)

⁶ This term for Friends' Meetings appears several times in E. H.'s writings, but was not, so far as I know, in general use in early Quaker literature. See *THE JOURNAL*, I. 19, note 10.

for being at an vnlawful Meeting as it was said, and the prison being much thronged wth prisoners that suffered on the same account & were freinds of truth, it pleased the Lord to vissit him with sicknes of body, but his peace & consolation inwardly abounded, and he departed the 17th day of the 6 Month, 1662, & was gathered vp to his fathers, the Generation of the Just, Leaveing many faithfull Testimonyes to the Truth behind him both in bookes and Epistles, the wch have been since his death printed & dispersed amongst freinds.

No. 49.]

John Giles, of Little Woodstreet, London, Taylor, a sincere man for God and his truth, and one that had a gift to Minister. He was taken out of a Meeting where he was declaring the Truth, at the Bull & Mouth, London, and Comitted to prison to Newgate by Richard Browne, where, falling sick the 29th day of the 6 Month, 1662, he laid downe his life for the Truths sake, Leaveing a sweat savour behind him of his Jnnocent and blameless Conversation, not only in this Citty where he finshed his Testimony, but in many Countys where he travelled with his faithfull and vpriht hearted Companion, Richard Greenway, a freind of this Citty, who had alsoe a gift to Minister, & was one that received and entertained freinds at his house in the begining, and continued stedfast to the Lord and his blessed Truth to his death, spending himselfe and what he had in the service of the Lord.

Samuell Fisher, A fathfull ministr and Labourer in the worke and service of the Lord, was often amongst ffrinds in London, and did suffer often in Prisons & Goals for ye Testimony & service of Truth, both in Westminster and the Cytty of London, And was faithfull and Constant to the Truth to his End. And having been a parish priest, Hee forsook his great Benefice of severall hundreds pr annum for the Truths sake. Not long before he dyed, he was taken out of a Meeting in Surrey, & comitted to the White Lyon Prison in South-Wark; he remained a prisoner until he finished his Testimony by death, which was on the 31st of the 6th month, 1665.

Joseph Fuce,⁷ Taken at the same Meeting with Samuell (*viz.* At Charlywood in the County of Surrey), And for no other Cause but declaring the Truth, to Edify and build up the people of God Jn their most holy ffaith, Hee being alsoe a ffaithfull servant of the Lord, whose mouth was opened by ye Gift of God To declare and publish his Truth ; And he often visited ffriends Meetings in London. He was Comitted with Samuell ffisher to the White Lyon prison. And after he had remained prisonr severall yeares, he finished his Testimony by death. [1665.]

John Shield, Another of the Labrours in the work & service of God in the Cytty of London, was taken out of a Meeting at Horsly downe, & comitted to prison to the White Lyon, where he remained a prisoner till about the 6th or 7th month, 1665, And then finished his Course, a ffaithfull witnes for the Lord & his Truth.

John Fothergill, Taken out of a peaceable Meeting of the People of God at Guilford, in the County of Surrey, and was had before One called a Justice, who Comitted him to the prison, called the White Lyon, in Southwarke. And being 25 Miles from Southwarke, He was unwilling to put the Constable to so much Trouble to guard him to prison, But went himselve, the said Constable giving him his Mittimus ; & after he had remained some Months in prison, he fell sick of a ffeaver, & about the 6th Month, 1665, he finished his Course, And was taken away from the many Tryalls & Troubles That the Righteous suffer in this World.

⁷ Joseph Fuce is referred to in George Fox's *Journal*, anno 1655, as "an ensign" at Lynn, who assisted him to make an early start by getting the gate of the town opened for him. His convincement, and the commencement of an itinerant ministry, must have soon followed, as Besse refers to him thus: "Anno 1655, *Joseph Fuce*, being on his Travels, occasionally preaching, was taken by Order of the Mayor of *Arundel*, to be shipped for *Jamaica* among a Company of disorderly Persons . . . his Piety being deemed as criminal as their Profaneness." (*Coll. Suff.* i, 708.) The brief period of his service, ere martyrdom removed him, was fully occupied with travels and sufferings. The Swarthmore MSS. contain several letters of his addressed to George Fox. One, written in conjunction with Samuel Fisher, in 1664, is endorsed by G. F., "Samvell fisher and joseph fues boeth feath foll minesters and died in the troueth. s fisher died 1667, and joseph died 1669," by which it will be seen that George is decidedly out in his dates! Another letter is endorsed by G. F., "Whad [Whoe] had bin an insine be for he was converted."

No. 50.]

To the friends Appointed to Colleckt ye first Publication of
ye Lords Everlast Truth in London in this Age.

Dr friends.

J being in London ye time of ye first Publication of Truth, wch to ye best of my Remembrance was about ye 4d mth in ye year 1654, there was A Report spread About ye City yt there was A sort of People Come there yt went by ye name of Plaine north Cuntry Plow men, who did differ in Judgmt to all other People in yt City, who J was very desierouse to see And Convers wth, And vpon strickt Inquierey J was Informed yt they did meet at one widdow Mathews (in her garden), in White Cross Street, on A first day, where J Repaired, where was our Dear friends, Edward Burrow And Francis Howgell, who declared ye Lords Everlasting Truth in ye demonstration of ye Spiritt of Life, where my selfe wth many more were yn Convinced. And After ye meeting was over, they went to Robert Drings, A Linnen Draper, in Moorfeilds, where to ye best of my Remembrance they did Lodge, who was ye first, wth his Brother, Simon Dring, yt Entertained friends in London. & at Robert Drings house they did meet some time After, till A Publicke meeting was Appointed And Cept in Glaziers Hall, in Thames Street; & in A Litle time After, there was A silent meeting Appointed And Cept at Sarah Sawyers, in Rainbow⁸ Alley, in Aldersgate Street; And in A Litle time After yt, there was A Publick meeting Appointed And Cept at John Nelsons,⁹ at ye Peell, where friends did keep theyr Meetings Peaceably till ye time of ye Riseing of ye fifth Monarcky men, wch was on A first day at night. And ye 3d day following there was A Meeting at ye Peell, And After ye Meeting was over, About fowerteen friends (my selfe being one of ym) were in A Chamber, where was Jno : Hickins, A Publick friend; And while wee were there,

⁸ The writer appears to have put *Rose Alley*. This has been crossed out and *Rainbow* inserted, probably by B. Bealing.

⁹ It was at John *Elson's* house, at the sign of the Peel, that early meetings were held; there was a John *Nelson* living in London at the time.

A Constable with some Rude People Came, & brought all of vs before A Justise of Peace, whose name & where he Lived J have forgott, who, After some Exsamination for meeting together, sent vs to New Prison, where we Remained for some time, & yn were brought to Hicks Hall, where we had our tryall. And from thense wee was sent to Newgate, where wee Remained near six months, And yn were Released.

And at that time there was A Publicke Meeting Cept at ye Bull And Mouth,¹⁰ where wee were Cept out by Alderman Browne, And did meett in ye streett on A first day, from whence wee were many of vs wth my sefe sent Prisoners to Newgate, on ye Acomt of Banishmt, but were Released ye seventh day following. And on the morrow wee went to the Bull And Mouth Meeting Againe, And were yn sent by ye said Brown to Newgate Againe for six days, soe yt on ye seventh day following wee were Released ; & on ye morrow, being first day, wee went to ye Bull And Mouth meeting Againe, from whenc wee were Committed by Browne to Newgate Againe, whereas they Called it ye third offense, from whence severall were Transported.

This being A true Acomt of ye first Publication of Truth, & of ye first sufferings for our Testimony to ye same, J being A pertaker thereof ; And J bless ye Lord who have Cept And Preserved me through many Tyralls And Excercises both Jnward And outward. And it hath pleased ye Lord to Preserve

¹⁰ In a folio manuscript volume belonging to **D**, entitled, *Sundry Ancient Epistles, &c.* (p. 19), is the following :—*A Testimony concerning the beginning of the worke of the Lord, and the first Publication of Truth in this City of London, and also concerning the Cause, End, & Service of the first appointment, and setting upp of the Mens-meeting at the Bull & Mouth ; that it may be known to all perfectly how the Lord hath begun and carried on his Worke to this day.* A side-note in B. Bealing's writing calls it "An Acct of ye first publishers of Truth in this City." It bears the name of Edward Burrough, as author, and is dated "Anno 1662."

There is another copy of the *Testimony* in *John Pennington's Collection of his Father's Manuscripts* (iv. 29). This *Collection* is in four large, folio volumes, containing over 700 closely written pages, all save a few being in one handwriting. On the fly-leaf of Volume iv. is written, "Ann Lovelace Her Book, 1722, given me by Mary Wharly." Mary Wharley was the daughter of Isaac Penington, and sister of the above John Penington. Edward Burrough's *Testimony* is printed in *Letters, &c., of Early Friends*, 1841 (p. 287-310), so it need not be reproduced here. It is of very slight biographical value.

me to A good old Age to see Truth to Prosper And flourish,
 soe yt J have Cause to Praise And Magnifie his Name in ye
 Rememberanc of all his Mercys.

Soe, dear friends, J thought good to Lay this before you
 because J doe not know one friend Liveing now in Lon-
 don yt was Convinced till many years After. And J Continued
 from ye time Abouesaid in London till After ye hottest time
 of persecution was over, & Could wright much as hapened
 in ye time of ye hottest persecution in London, but it being
 not Requierd for Brevitys sake shall Leve it

& subscribe my name, this 8th day of ye 3d mth, 1707,

WILLM SPURRY, SENR.¹¹

No. 51.]

About ye year 165 $\frac{3}{4}$, some woman ffreinds came to London,
 one of their names was Jsabell Butery, and deluerd some papers
 writen per ffreinds by which serall was Conuincd. Some time
 after, Edward Borowes & ffrances Howgill came to towne, & ye
 1st meting, as J vnderstand, was at Simon Drings, at his house in
 Moreffields, near ye end of Long Aly. This Simon Dringe, &
 his brother, Robt Dringe, A lininge draper, in Watling Streett,
 Receiued freinds, and was very serucable to them, As was Amor
 Stodard,¹² Garrad Roberts,¹³ & surall others, both Men and women,
 who came to be conuincd at that time. The ffirst settled
 publike Metinge was at ye Bull & Mouth, near Aldersgate, &

¹¹ William Spurry (Sparry) was a Ross Friend. It is interesting to
 have his account of early days in London, and we should have been glad
 had he written more. He died at Ross in 1716.

¹² Amor (Amort, Amos) Stoddard was a captain in the Parliamentary
 Army. He was convinced by George Fox in Derbyshire. Though retired
 from the profession of arms, he was still addressed by some of Friends
 as "Captain Stoddard." He travelled extensively with George Fox,
 and was visited by him at Enfield, shortly before his death in 1670. See
 a brief account in Backhouse and Mounsey's *Biographical Memoirs*, vol. i.
 (only one published), 1854, printed by my father, Harrison Penney, at
 Darlington.

¹³ Gerrard Roberts, a London merchant, was very active in assisting
 Friends in the metropolis, and is referred to frequently in the corres-
 pondence of the period. He journeyed occasionally with George Fox.
 His name does not appear among the 164 ministering Friends' names
 in the MS. volume, *First Day's Meetings supplied by Friends in the Min-
 istry in and about London, 1682-3* (D, 5), but it is hardly safe to infer
 from this that he was not a preacher. He died in 1703.

was promoted per John Boulton & the other ffreinds above mencioned. And A priuett meting at Sara Sayers, And one other at Humphray Bates his house, A Gouldsmith, in Tower street, And an otheer metinge at Garrad Robtes, in Thomas Apostles, which plase ffreinds yt came to ye City in ye begininge had their Resedence, & was ye plase whear commonly any persons yt had A diesire to speake with ffreinds had Recourse to them. And an other metinge at ye signe of ye helmet in or near Basinge hall street, at Samuell Vosse his house.

Southwark.

1656. Their was A Meetinge at one Daniell flemings, in Blackeman Streett, & A nother in A litle parlor at Willim Shewens at his house in A yard in at ye signe of ye 2 bruers, in Bermonsey Streett, And some time affter one Mary Web desired to haue A metinge in her gardin at her house in Jacob streett, which was prety large, & some time affter that, shee, Mary Web, bult some houses near ye Artillery wall on Horsly downe, & with ye Asistance of some ffreinds bult A Meting house behind them. But after some time shee sould ye houses, & ye Meting house being in ye same lese, ffreinds tooke A lese from ye purcaser at A pepercorne Rent A year for ye Remander of the terme. Their was A nother Mettinge at Tho: Hatckltons, near ye ffalcon on ye Vper Ground, which was prety large & serucable Metinge. Afterwards ffreinds bult ye Meteinge house in ye Parke, in ye plase whear now it is. Their hath bene seurall priuett Metings in Southwarke, as at one Henery Clarkes, on ye Banke Side, & at Robert Benbuckles, in ye Borrow, & at William Shewens, at ye vper end of Bermonsey streett.

And at Adam Walkers at Newington Butts, & one other Meting at one Daniell Barrows⁴⁴ at or near Marigould stairs on ye Vper Ground, And one other Meinge at Lambeth March, but ye ffreinds dyinge, ye mettinge ffell in that plase. Their was one other Metinge at Wallworth, which was prety large but much destubance with ye Rude people. ffreinds in them days had Metings out of towne, as at Mitcham whear ye people was very Rude, & disturbed ffreinds, & abused them by throwinge dirt &

⁴⁴ *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, p. 215, gives *David Barrow*,

Mud at them. Alsoe ffreinds sometimes went to Kingstone & Croydon, but affter some time there wear metings settled in them plases. ffreinds had Metings some times in ye Kings House at Grinwich, near ye logings of Nicklos Bond ; And at Debdford their were at seurall times Metings sett vp, but ye peple Remoung & some dyinge, that it ffell, vntill within A few yers, Aplication being Made to ye ffreinds of ye 6 weekes Metng in London, & the ordred to haue A Meting plase purcased, & A meting to be kept, & allsoe ordered ye ffreinds their to haue A monthly metinge, whch Metting at Debdford depends on ye 6 weekes metting in London by Reson of its Remottnes ffrom any other Meting in Kent.

The ffreinds who had A testmony in these early Metings was Edward Borrowes, ffrances Howgill, Ambros Rige, Alexandr Parker, Richard Hobathorne, George ffox, James Nayler, Rich Farnsworth, George Whiteheard, who had bene in seruice And suffringe in Norfolke and Suffolk, & John Audland, & John Cam, who had bene allsoe at Bristoll, & Samuell ffisher, & Thomas Lackocke, William Caton, Tho Salthouse, Joseph Fuce, & serall others.

This account J was desired to draw out by order of our Monthly Metinge at Horslydowne in Southwark, & deliver it at ye Chamber to Benj Billinge [Bealing], 1st day of ye 3d mo, 1706.

WALTER MIERS.¹⁵

¹⁵ Walter Miers (Myers) was born c. 1633 and was settled in London by 1665. He married Ann Gauntlett in 1669, he being then "of Southwark, cheesemonger." His name occurs frequently in the records of London Friends. His death took place in 1723. See MS. account of the Myers family written by Joseph J. Green, in 1902 (D. Portfolio 14:22), No. 51 is endorsed by Benjamin Bealing, "Walter Miers Account ; ; ; Concerning the first publishers of Truth in Lond, &c. See ye accot of ye first publishers of Truth in ye City of London in page 19 of the books for Recording papers from ye 6 Weeks & Qrly Meet, and ye like accot in a late book for entering such accots: B.B. 1710." I cannot locate above books among the antiquities preserved at Devonshire House. They may not be extant.

The following are some of the authorities for the early history of London Quakerism:—Beck and Ball's *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869; William Crouch's *Posthuma Christiana*, 1712; Richard Hawkins's *Brief Narrative of the Life of Gilbert Latey*, 1707, etc.

Middlesex.¹

¹ It is not easy to understand the relative positions of the Meetings forming London Quarterly Meeting and those belonging to Middlesex Quarterly Meeting; It is clear, however, that, according to the minutes of London Yearly Meeting, there were, until the year 1784, separate representatives and separate reports from London Quarterly Meeting (which comprised the City Meetings and those situated in the districts of Southwark, Westminster, and Ratcliff), and from Middlesex Quarterly Meeting (which included Meetings in the country districts of Middlesex north and west of London), while at the same time Friends in all these districts met together to transact the affairs of the Church within the whole area.

Benjamin Bealing's list does not contain any mention of Middlesex among the Quarterly Meetings, and I do not at present know of any records of "First Publishers" relating to this district,

Norfolk.¹

¹ Apart from the narration of Friends' sufferings in Norwich, given under the heading of the Quarterly Meeting for that city, Portfolio 7 does not contain anything relating to the county of Norfolk,

Norwich.

Memorand in the Norwich Case.¹

1682. Oct. 25. Imprisonmt began, and so Continued in
Novemb., Decemb., etc.

1683. 1st mo. 21. A Copy of Sher : Stebbings Order to the
Sher : Stebb : Goaler :—
Order. “ Mr Gaywood,

“ Let your servant Attend ye prisoners in the Cellar once a
day at the hour of Eight or thereabouts in the morning, that one
of the said prisoners may Empty their
Close stool, and another fetch them a pail
of water at the same time as usually ;
Also Let him Attend those persons, yt
bring provisions at ye hour of 12* or
thereabouts, that there may be but one
Trouble for the whole. And accordingly
let such persons observe the hour that
they meet together. Let all persons that
bring work observe to do it at 8 of the
Clock in the morning, at which time let
the work, that is dispatchd, be carried
home by those persons that bring the
work aforesd.

* This Limitaçon is
expresly contrary
to ye Stat. of ye 22
& 23 Car. 2. Ch. 20.
§ 10, wch requires
both Sheriffs, Goal-
ers, etc., to permitt
& suffer ye prsons
Committed at their
will & pleasure to
send for & haue any
beer, Ale, victuals &
other necessary
food, where & from
whence they please ;
on penalty of for-
feiting their places,
etc.

“ Phil : Stebbing.

“ When ye persons come over for the
water, & to empty the Close stool, the
same ought not to stay longer than till
their business is dispatchd, namely, gotten
their water & emptied their Close stool.”

¹ The “ Norwich Case ” occupied the close attention of Friends in London, George Whitehead being especially active in relief of the sufferers. See *The Christian Progress of George Whitehead*, 1725, pp. 524-540, 582. Applications were made to King Charles on behalf of the imprisoned Friends, by George Whitehead and Gilbert Lathey, and it was probably through the King’s intervention that their release was ordered in the summer of 1683.

1mo. 28. ffive women in a small Room, sometimes almost smotherd with smoke ascending from a ye ffive women's Room under it. The Sheriff, being Com-
Complnt to Sher : plain'd to of their Condiçon, Answerd,
Stebb, & his Ansr. Jf they all died that night, they should not
have Air, &c.

2mo. 11. The two last weeks past, The Jnformers and some
Distresses. parish officers broke open the Dores of
several prisoners houses, took away their
house-hold goods, and Carried them away
to the Hall, for meetings, Convicted before they were sent to
prison.

23. That there are Two Convenient Rooms over the Dun-
geon, the one in Sher : Stebbing's use,
2 ffree prison- & the other Jmployed to lay our Dis-
rooms. trained Goods in.

3mo. 2. Another Accot signifying, that ye prisoners Dores
are broke open, & goods taken from
Distresses. several of them, since Committed, to ye
value of 53^{li} 5sh 1d. And before their
Comitmt, Goods taken to ye value of 64^{li}. 5sh. Jn all 117^{li}.
117^{li} 10s 1d. 10sh 1d. And that many of ye said
goods, being unsold, are laid in one of the
Rooms over the Dungeon, among which goods are working
Working Tools. Tools taken from several, as Lasts, Wrings,
Scouring Tub, Scales, Weights, Shears,
Warping mill, a press, and other things. And that Tho. Gaywood
Rd. Hubberth. the Goaler, Confest he was Jayler at
Norwich Castle, when Richd Hubberthorn
sufferd in ye year 1654.²

² Richard Hubberthorne was arrested at Wymondham, and sent to Norwich Castle, by order of Justice Woolmer, but, despite an order for his release made by this Justice the following day, he was detained a prisoner there for some months. D. possesses a broadside entitled, *The Mittimus answered, by which Rich : Hubberthorn was sent Prisoner to Norwich Castle, by Mr. Ralph Woolmer, Justice of the Peace* [1654], reprinted in Hubberthorne's Works. Perhaps Jailer Gaywood had something to do with the unlawful detention of his prisoner.

7. For want of Air, one of the said 5 women hath fits 5 Women. daily.

9. We know not but if our ffrds be kept so throng'd & Jno Laurence,³ an thick together when the weather is very Antient man & Able hot, in all Likelihood it may be to the phisitian, his Judg- shortning of many of their days. mt.

Against their want of Convenient Room to work, see the Stat. 19 Car. 2d. [Ch.] 4. § 1. Jntitled, "An Room to work. Act for Relief of poor prisonrs & setting them on work."

21. We are Continued Close, night and day, in the Dungeon, and many times denied our ffrinds to ffrom the Dungeon. visit us, except they will give money beforehand ; And our own Wives are denied to come at us to bring us food & necessarys, except they observe the time of going out with the Close stool or coming in again. And if at any time they do come in, they are kept so long from their Children & business, being Caused to stay the Keyturners pleasure, that it has prov'd very prejudicial to us, &c.

A manifest Discovery of the Sheriffs order before cited, in its Effects.

³ This probably refers to John Lawrence, of Wrampingham, several of whose letters on the Norwich Case, addressed to George Whitehead, preserved in *D*₁, have been published, with a brief memoir of the writer, in *The East Anglian*, vol. x., third series, pp. 261-265. George Fox had several meetings "at Captain Lawrence's in Norfolk," and several members of the Lawrence family were convinced.

In 1660, Captain Lawrence, his brother Joseph, William Barker, and George Whitehead, were, with others, imprisoned in Norwich jail. G. Whitehead writes : "There being a *Hole* in a Corner of the Castle Wall, called the *Vice*, we, the Four Friends before mentioned, betook our selves to that *Vice* to lodge in, though a poor, narrow Hole, without any Chimney in it ; yet there we got up two little Beds, and lodged two in each : : : Our said Friends, *William Barber* and *John Lawrence*, having been Men of Note, and Captains in the *Common Wealth's* Day, it appeared in them a great Piece of self Denial, and Subjection to the *Cross of Christ*, patiently so to suffer for his Name and Truth Sake, in such a poor, incommodious Lodging. I remember one Morning, when we were in bed, *Joseph Lawrence* (after his pleasant Manner) said to his Brother *John*, *O Captain Lawrence, I have seen the Day that thou would'st not have lain here.*" (*Christian Progress*, pp. 245, 246.) A pleasing instance of cheeriness under trial, John Lawrence died in 1685.

Jbid : our friends in the Hole are very hardly used. There are 4 felons Lodge among them, and 3 other prisoners, some of them so poor & over-run with Lice, that our Friends are very much annoyed there with. Which Usage is expressly contrary to ye Stat. of 22 & 23 Car. 2. Ch. 20. § 13, which expressly requires That Debtors, Tradesmen, etc., Should be kept & lodge separate & apart from felons in Distinct Rooms.

The 5 women still Confin'd in their Close Room, which is The 5 women. very hard with them this hot weather.

No. 59.]

Norwch. These are to will and require you to take into your Custody the bodies of these prsons herewith sent, and hereafter mencond in this warrant, for as much as they haue vnlawfully assembled themselves, and notwth standing a prclamacon made in his majts name by the sherife of ye City and County of Norwch, they refused to depart, to ye great disturbance of his Majts good subjects, & to the breach of the peace of our sovereigne Lord the King, therefore see you safely keepe them vntill sessions to be holden for the City of Norwch aforesd, vnless in the mean time they shall giue good and sufficient suretyes for their appearance as aforesd, & in the mean time to keepe the peace, & be of the good behaviour towards all the Kings people. The names of the prsons sent you are Ambrose Ansell, in St: Martins the Oake, Robt Mathews, of St: Georges A Colgate, Robt: Burton, of St: Augustines, Anthony Alexandr, of Heigham, Joseph Caruer, of St: Peters Pr montergate, Henry Lombe, of St: Georges A Colgate, Phillip Burton, of St: Augustines, Geo: Lowes, of St: Peter mancroft, Richard Pullyn, of St: Clementes, Mary Booth, of St: Gregoryes, Late of Aldergate, London, James Pooley, of St: Peter Pr montergate. Giuen vndr

⁴ These names appear in positions as written ; their relation to the text of the mittimus is not always evident: See also pp. 173, 174:

our hands & seales, the 20th day of November, 1682, In the thirty fourth year of his Majts Reign, King Charles the Second.

THOMAS GAYWOOD.

Note, that this Mittimus was not made in the Kings name, neither directed to Any Goaler, And is A true Copy of the Originall.

Norwich. These are in his Maties name to will & require you to receive into your Custody Thomas Cockerell, Jun, Thomas Toft,⁵ William Mileham, John Elsegood, Henry Cannuell, requireing you them & every of them safely to keepe vntill they shall finde & prcure good suretyes to become bounde with them for their severall prsonall Appearance att the next generall Sessions of the peace, to bee holden att the Guildhall, for the County & City of Norwich, they being this day brought before vs, & charged by Jnformaçon vpon Oath, for being mett in disorderly manner contrary to Law, & Proclamaçon being made by order of the Sheriffe yt they should forthwith depart & goe to their severall habitaçons, yet refused & kept their grounde, & did not depart, for which this shalbee your warrant. Given vnder our hands and seales, this 6th day of December, 1682.

John Lowe, Maior.
Thomas Wisse.

To the Keeper of the Goale, Guildhall prison, for the County & City of Norwich, to receive, & to William Austin, one of the Constables of Coslany Ward, to Convey.

THOMAS GAYWOOD.

Norwich. These are in his maties name to will & require you to receive into your custody the body of John Cady, Woolcomer, herewith sent, requireing you him safely to keepe vntill he shall prcure able, good suretyes to become bounde with him for his prsonall appearance att the next Generall Sessions of the peace, to be held att the Guildhall, for the County and City of Norwich, for which this shalbee your

⁵ The name of the Mayor of Norwich, who committed George Whitehead, James Lancaster, and Christopher Atkinson to prison in 1654, was Thomas Tofte. See *The Testimony of the Everlasting GOSPEL witnessed through Sufferings*, c. 1654; Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, pp. 34-49.

warrant. Given vnder my hande & seale, this 25th day of October, 1682.

THOMAS GAYWOOD.

To the Keeper of the Guildhall Prison for the County & City of Norwich, to receive the sd John Cady, & to ffrancis Tickle, one of the Constables of West Wymer Ward, to Convey him, ye said John Cady.

Norwich. These are to will & require you in his matie name to take into your custody the bodies of these prsons herewith sent, & hereafter mençoned, & see yt you them safely keepe vntill the next Generall Sessions, to bee holden for the City of Norwich & County of the same, vnlesse in
 John Lowe. the meantime they shall giue sufficient suretyes for their appearance aforesd, & in the meane tyme to bee
 John Mann. of their good behaviour, for as much as they were
 Aug. Briggs. vnlawfully Assembled in the prish of St Gregorys, within this City, & being required by Proclamaçon made by the Sheriffe in the prsence of two Justices of peace of this City to depart peacably & quietly to their habitaçons, obstinately refused soe to doe, & kept their grounde, in the Contempt of the Lawes of this Kingedom & the breach of his Maties [peace] & disturbance of his subjects, the names of the prsons are John Sharpin, of St Michaells of Coslany, Cordwinder, Simon Gogny, of the same prish, Cordwainer, Edward Monck, of St Lawrence prish, Woolcomer, Anne Longe,⁶ of St Georges A Colgate, Widow, Mary Duncombe, of the parish of St Gregoryes, Widow, Katherine Longe,⁶ of St Georges of Colgate, single-

⁶ Katherine Long was the daughter of James and Anne Long of Swainsthorp, and was born about 1667. "She received the Truth as professed by us whilst she was very young, and with her honourable Mother was Imprisoned for her Testimony thereto before She was Sixteen Years of age, and Undauntedly Pleaded for it and Confessed the same in her Examinations before the Judge at Court, being first called to Answer to their Indictment, though there were upwards of Sixty Persons then present, on the like good cause, and she the youngest of them all, where she behaved with such Modesty, giving pertinent reasons for the Joyning along with her ffrinds in Assembling together to worship God in Spirit, &c., and Refusing her Liberty on Terms Inconsistent with her Religious disposition, as drew from the Court no small Attention and Surprise." See Testimony in *Testimonies Concerning Ministers*, vol. i., MS. volume in D.

In 1685, she married Joseph Peckover, and became the mother of Edmund Peckover, the minister (for whom see THE JOURNAL, i, 95-109). She died in 1741.

woman, and for soe doing this shalbee your warrt. Given vnder our handes and seales the 24th day of December, 1682.

To the Constables of Coslany Ward to Convey them, and to the Keeper of the Guildhall Prison of this Citty, Thomas Gaywood, to receive them.

THOMAS GAYWOOD, Goaler.

No. 58.⁷

Norwch Goale, this 9th of ye 12mo, 168 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Deare friend, Richard Richardson.

After the salutation of our deare and tender Loue to thee in the Lord Jesus Christ, who of his mercy hath been pleased to call vs into his worke and service, wherein we are at this time concerned, & our prayers to Almighty God are that we may be kept in patience to the end of our suferings & tryalls, we haueing recd a Letter from our deare friend, George Whitehead, wherein wee are desired to send vp a prticular acct of our present suferings, & hardship in ye Goale, as also our number, This is to Let the vnderstd we are in all 63 in prison—48 men, 15 women, 5 of them wid, one of them a wife, & 9 maidens; & whereas we are desired to send an acct of the times of our comitmt these are to shew yt Thomas Murford is in vpon a Capes about ye 1st mo, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$; Rich Townsend was taken out of a meeting, ye 1st of ye 8 mo, & tendred ye Oath of Allege, & for refusing to sweare was comitted to prison, ye 8th of ye 8 mo; John fiddeman was taken out of a meeting, & tendred the Oath, & for refuseing to swear was comitted to prison about 2 weekes after; John Cade for complaining to ye mayor of abuses ofered to his wife (by Char: Tenison, Jnformer), she being great wth child, he was

⁷ No. 58 is the original letter. (See Note 17.) It is addressed, "This ffor Richard Richardson at his chamber in three King court in Lumber Street in London." In the same fold with the address is a crown stamped in black, and near it a signature, which I cannot decipher. These may be the authorisation for the letter to leave the jail, but they do not appear on the letters which follow; Richard Richardson was Friends' clerk, for whom see THE JOURNAL, i: 62-68.

comited to prison, refusing to giue suretyes to appear at next sessions. Ye 22 : 8 mo, we were by order from ye court kept out of our meeting house, & kept our meeting in the street. Some dayes before any more were comited to prison, although much abused by ye Jnf. & there attendents. Vpon ye 26 : 9th mo, came the Jnformers, wth 2 Justices & ye 2 sherifes, & made prclamaçon for us to depart, wch being not prsently done, ye sherife in great anger comanded his oficers & the Jnf : to take into there custody, who prsently fell to pulling & haleing violently, till they had dispersed ye meeting, & tooke 9 into custody, 4 of wch the sherife discharged ; ye other 5, viz : Thos : Buddery, Danl : Sharping, Charles Reeve, Step : Amos, Peter Lance, were comited to prison.

Ye 29th of ye 9th mo, were comited 3, Willm Kiddle, James Dunks, & John Gurney.

The 3d of ye 10th mo, were comited 11, Thomas Heyward, John Defrance, Rich : Rose, Will : Chittle, Wil : Wilkinson, Will : Drake, James Mayhew, Jsaac Gosse, John Wade, Junr, Robt : Goodwin, Will : Cockerell.

The 6 : of ye 10th mo, were comited 5, Thos : Cockerell, Will : Myleham, Hen : Canuell,⁸ Jno Alsegood [Elsegood], & Thos : Tofte.

The 10th of ye 10th mo, in ye forenoon, were comited 11, Anth : Alexander, Joseph : Carver, Rich. Pullyn, Henry Lombe, Phill : Burton, Robt : Burton, James Pooley, Geo : Lowes, Amb : Ansell, Robt : Mathews, & Mary Booth, wid. In ye afternoon of ye same day, were comited 3, John ffenn, Saml : Wasey, & Jno Weeds.

The 13 : of ye 10 mo, were comited 4, Susan Hubart, Jane England, widows, Priscila Webb, Eliz : Dickings, maids.

Ye 24th of ye 10th mo, were comited 6, Simon Gogney, Edw : Monke, Jno : Sharping, Junr, Anne Longe, Mary Duncon, wids, Kath Long, maid vnder 16 years of age.

⁸ This MS. gives distinctly *Canuell*, and No. 59, *Cannuell*. The name *Henry Cannowel*, "of Gregory's Psh," appears on the Digest of the Norfolk and Norwich Registers of the period ; the surname also appears as *Canowell*, *Canwell*, *Canuell*. On the other hand the Digest also gives *Henry Cannell*, "of Margrets Psh."

Ye 14th of 11th mo, were comited 7, Jno : Harridence, Danl : Dye, Butcher, Mary James, Modesty Neale, Constant True, Lucy Patterson, & Anne Waymer, Junr, all 5 maids.

Ye 21 : of ye 11 mo, were comited 5, Will : Waymer, Robt : Bound, Danl : Dye, combmaker, Prudence Amos, wife of Step : Amos; before mençond, & Hanah Swanton, Maiden.

All these, except Rich : Townsend, & one vpon bayle, are those confin'd. 22 are in ye Low-ward among ffellons, & in great danger to be suffocated, & 9 women in a Low celler, & no less in danger, it haueing no chimney, & the roome very small ; & the roome, wch is the womens free prison, ye Goaler Lets for 7s a weeke, wherein 7 men do combe, 6 of wch doe Lodge in it, being forced to spread their beds in the night one [on] the place where they combe by day. And for the vance roofes⁹ we giue 10s a weeke, for those to worke in yt Lodge in the Hole, & 1 friend for a place to Lodge & worke in among it. Other prisoners giue 1s a weeke, & one maid Lodges among some women prisoners gratis, & 14 more take chambers at 18d a weeke each. Lastly, 10 of vs are in the dungeon vnder ye Guildhall, 27 steps in the ground, & very darke, not haueing in it any chimney or place to ease our selves in ; 20 steps vp, there is an arch that does afford vs some ayre, haueing in it a Little grate. Wee are very close confind, and many times denyed to haue our nessecaryes brought to vs.

One of our wives being very ill, & as it was thought near death, her husband could not pcure to goe to see her, neither would the Keyturner suffer a maide, that came from his wife with a secret errand, come at him to Speake with him. Wee haue seuerall times been very ill for want of ayr, & at one time, we being very ill, sent to Sherife Stebbing, desireing him to giue us Leauē to walke in the Hall, for that wee were in danger of beeing smothered for want of air. His answer was,

⁹ Dr. J. A. H. Murray, of Oxford, and C. H. Evelyn White, F.S.A., of Rampton Rectory, Cambridge, in answer to enquiries, refer to Marshall's *Rural Economy of East Norfolk*, which gives, in a glossary, "Vance-roof, the garret." Dr. Murray quotes Gurnal's *Christian in Armour*, 1655, 1. 256, "Canst thou hide any one sin in the vance-roof of thy heart, there to save the life of it when enquired after by the Word and Spirit, as Rachel hid the spies ?" Gurnal was an Eastern Counties man;

We might be smother'd, he cared not, he would not doe it ; & although we know here are as good roomes in the fre prison as any the Goaler does Let, yet would neither the Sherife nor the Goaler allow us any other then this dungeon, although we haue solicited them sundrie wayes. For all honest meanes, that possible might be vsed, was not vnsought by vs, our wiues haue besought them wth many teares ; they, seeing there husbands conscientiously concerned to bear a testimony agst the oppression of the Goaler, did the more earnestly intreat the mayer & Justices, together wth the sherifes, for some better roome for vs. Seuerall of the Justices seemed to be moued wth pittty towards vs, & p̄mised we should haue better, but the sherife & Goaler doe obstruct it.

One of the Justices spake with us at ye grate, & said he would not put a dog that he loued in that hole, & that he had done what he could to get us a better roome, but could not preuaile, & further added that if we perished in this dungeon our bloods would be required at their hands that put vs in. Many honest people haue intreated the sherifes for us, but can't preuaile wth them to do us any right, but on the contrary threaten vs wth banishmt (wch we conceive they ought not to doe), and frequently sayeing, that at sessions they will profer us the oath, still going on as if they inten'd utterly to destroy vs, Notwth standing the cry of many of the Inhabitants of this City is agst there cruell dealings wth vs, whom they haue known to Liue peacably & quietly amongst them, and doe pay a share of charges in the parishes where we dwell.

Note, that Sherife Stebbing has been and still is the main agent in carrying It on agst vs, & does oppose wtever the Justices doe propound on our behalfe, and is as a nursing father to the Informers. By the aduice of friends, an Attoury Brionton, spake wth Counsellor Bosdocke about our cause, who gaue it as his Judgmt that the proceedings of the magists towards vs were not warrantable by Law, viz., there sending vs to prison, in as much as there is another act in force agst conventicles, not extending to imprisonmt, vpon wch they might have proceeded agst vs.

And although we have thus giuen a relation in short, considering the cruelty of there designe, yet, blessed be the Lord

our God, we are not dismayed, but are supported by that Everlasting arm of the Lord, wch has redeemed vs out of the world, & has caled vs to bear a testimony to his name ; & rather then to desert his cause, doe chuse to perish in nausty holes ; & our prayers are to Almighty God, that he would confirme vs in this our resolution, that at the end of all we may lay down our heads in peace, & enjoy him for evermore. Amen.

JOHN FFIDDEMAN, JOSEPH CARUER,
 ANTH: ALEXANDER, THOMAS HEYWARD,
 JOHN CADE, HENRY LOOMBE.

with the rest of friends as if named.

No. 54.]¹⁰

A Copy of the Distressed Prisoners Peticon sent To the King.

The Humble Subjects Petiçon out of the Low Dungeon in the City of Norwich. SHEWETH THAT we, the said peaceable subjects, have for a Long time been Exposed to Extreme sufferings and Hardships by Distress of our Goods and Jmprisonmt of our Bodies, tending to the utter Ruin of us and our Families, having all of us Dependency on our Industry and Trades for a Livelihood, yet by reason of our strait Confinemt we are necessitated both to shut up our Shops and lay down our Trades ; WHICH great Loss Considered, we are not in a Condiçon to hire prison-Rooms of our Goaler at great Expences, but rather Requested a ffree prison. WHEREUPON our Keeper thrust us with Violence down a dark and dangerous pair of stairs, 27 steps, into a dark Dungeon, which also is Dangerous by Reason of Decayes, Void both of Chimny, place of Easemt, and Air, save one small Iron Grate Twenty steps up, which is Continually Annoyed with Lothsom smells. WE HAVE at sundry times, as well before as since our being Confin'd to this Dungeon, solicited, by our Wives and Neigh-

¹⁰ Number 54 is contained in two large sheets, the writing running across the whole width of the sheet. The first broadside is in the handwriting of Mark Swanner, Richard Richardson's assistant, who also wrote Numbers 55, 62, 57: The affidavits were copied by Richard Richardson, and occupy the second sheet.

bours, for better prison-room, as also by our humble Request in writing to Magistrates in this City, yet still we Remain in this Destructive Dungeon, where we have been warded up night and day for Nine weeks, having not Liberty to breath in the open Air, except once in three dayes, as it falls out to each mans Turn to Clense the Room & fetch a little water. YET HERE are in the City-hall many Rooms formerly used for prisons (some whereof sheriff Stebbing employes to his own use), And though some of the Justices orderd some of the said Rooms for us, the said sheriff opposed them in it ; And when Complaint was made to him of several women being almost smothered in a little Hole fill'd with smoke from a Room under it, his Answer was, That if they all dyed that night, they should not have Air.

WE, THEREFORE, the KING'S well meaning subjects and prisoners in the said Dungeon, whose Names are under written, Do make this our Just Complaint, Humbly Jmploring that the KING in his Clemency will please to Cast an Eye of pity on us, and Afford us such Relief, as in his princely Wisdom and Compassion he shall see meet.

Dated from the said Dungeon in Norwich, ye 28th of the 1st Moth., called March, 1683.

JOHN FIDDEMAN,
SAM. WASEY,
JOHN FENN,
SIMON GOGNEY,
GEO. LOWES,

JOHN GOURNEY,
THO. COCKERELL,
WM MILEHAM,
JOHN WADE.

About 70 persons in all, of Men and Women, are Closely Confin'd in the said prison on Accot of their tender Consciences, many whereof are also in a Low Hole among ffelons, and in other strait Jnsufficient Rooms. Their sad state and manner of Confinemt is more fully Evinc'd by Certain Affidavits lately made by Jndifferent persons before a Mr in Chancery, and Deliverd to the Ld Keeper in order to be presented to the KING.

A Copy of the said Affidavits is hereunto Annexed :—

Richard Seely, of ye city of Norwich, Labourer, & Steven Jepps, of ye same City, Worsted weaver, make oath, that they &

each of them have viewed, surveyed, & taken account of ye rooms & holes in ye prison of ye City of Norwich, where ye psons calld Quakrs now are, & for severall weeks last past haue been confined & imprisoned, And say, That in one room, called the Hole, which is ye place wherein ffelons are vsually imprisoned, which is a room 12 steps into ground, And in ye house of office belonging to ye said room, there are 15 bedds & a hammock, two of which said bedds are in ye said house of office belonging to ye said room, Jn which bedds do constantly 29 psons lay euery night, some of them aged, others impotent & weak, & some of them since their said confinemt haue been reduced to so low a condition, that their liues were despaired of; The said room, if it were empty, conteining not much aboue 16 foot in breadth, & 37 foot in length, so that in regard of ye many bedds, & other necessary things, standing in ye said room, when ye said psons are warded vp, which is vsually done euery night, there is scarce distance enough to pass one by another. And these deponents further say, That they haue likewise viewed another Room in ye said Prison, calld ye Chuck, which is a room without a Chimney, 11 steps within ground, conteining about 18 foot in length & 13 foot in breadth. Jn which room there are, & for some weeks last past haue been 9 psons, calld Quakrs, confined & imprisoned, 3 of which psons are vnder ye age of 19 years, as these deponents haue heard, & verily believe to be true. And further say, That in ye said Prison there's likewise imprison'd one Girle with her mother, being of ye said pswasion, which girle, when she was first imprisoned, was vndr ye age of 16 years, as these deponents haue heard & verily believe.

RICHARD SEELY,
STEVEN JEPPE.

*Jurat decimo nono die Martij Anno regni regis Caroli scdi nunc
Angliæ &c Tricesimo quinto, coram Tho Corie in Canc. Mro.*

Daniel Gilman, of ye City of Norwich, Cord winder, maketh oath, That vpon or about ye 22d day of January now last past, 9 persons, calld Quakrs, being prisoners in ye prison in Norwich, were put into a Dungeon belonging to ye said Prison, being 27

steps down into ye ground. In which place there is but one small light, which descendeth through 2 iron grates, iust by ye ground, nigh which grates ye ground is constantly annoyed with Excrements & filth, to ye great annoyance of ye said room. In which room there is neither chimney, nor place of easmt, nor any place to take air at, vnless what comès in by ye said iron grates, & what comes in at another grate into an arch or hole, which is about 20 steps vp from ye said Dungeon; which said holes are nasty & noisome places, & have been vsd as places for Notorious Malefactors, & for condemned & mad psons. And this depont further saith, that ye reason wherefore ye said psons were put into ye said dungeon was (as ye depont hath heard & believeth) for that ye said psons were vnwilling to pay after ye rate of 18 shillings a week for 2 Chambers in ye said prison. And this depont further says, That ye said psons are warded vp in ye said room night & day, And haue not liberty to go out of ye said dungeon, but when they go to empty their close stool, wherin they are forced to ease themselues, which they are pmitted to do by turns, which comes to one mans turn once in 3 dayes.

DANIEL GILMAN.

*Jurat decimo nono die Martij Anno regni regis Caroli scdi nunc
Angl &c tricesimo quinto, coram Tho Corie in Canc. Mro.*

The originall of these Affidavits deliuerd to ye King by ye Ld Keeper.

No. 62.]¹¹

Goods taken from ffrds since Committed to prison.

12 10 mo, 82, Goods taken from Tho. Cockerell, to ye value of 8*li* 4sh 8d, whereof are 63 pair of Lasts, wch are of his working tools; his doors were not broke open.

The . . . of ye 10 mo, 82, Goods seized from Jno Cade for a meeting, ye 17 7mo, when he was not there, by a Warrt of 3*li*, which money he laid down & entered his Appeal.

¹¹ Number 62 is in the hand-writing of Mark Swanner.

The 28, 1 mo, 83, Taken from Anth Alexandr, Leathr to ye value of 6*li* 10sh. The 4th 2d mo, folling, taken more 10*li* 10sh. They broke open his dore.

The 30 of ye 1 mo, seized of Joseph Carvey, to ye value of 6*li* 11sh, but were brought [bought] by a Neighbor & left in his house.

The same day, taken from Jno fiddeman, to ye value of 4*li* 4sh 5d.

The same day, they came to Tho. Budderys house, brake open his Dore & seized his goods, to value of 3*li*, whereof was pair of wrings & scouring Tubb, 2 pair of scales & weights, & a pair of shears, wch are his working things, were bought & left in ye house.

The 4 10 mo, 82, taken from Charles Reeve, goods to ye value of 5*li*.

The 21 1 mo, 83, Ambrose Ansel's dores were broke open, & his goods seized, to ye value of abot 100*li*; but all ye goods not being his own, one of his Creditors hearing of it, came & laid down 11*li*, wch was ye sum demanded by 2 warts, & so redeemed ye Goods.

Goods taken from ffrds before their Commitmt.

Anth Alexandr, in ye 8mo, 82, at two several times had taken goods from him, to value 16*li* 8sh. John Defrance, ye 13 8 mo, 82, had goods taken from him, value 7*li*. The 24 dto, Joseph Carvr had goods taken from him, to value 14*li* 6sh. The 2 9 mo, 82, John Gold's goods seized, value of abot 5*li*. The 18 8 mo, last, Tho. Howard had taken from him, to ye value of 3*li* 11sh, whereof was a Warping mill, & a press, & 7 score horns, wch were his Working tools. The 8 9 mo, last, seized of Ed. Monks Goods to ye value of 2*li* 10sh, & were bought by a neighbor, & left in his house. The same day, James Byar (no prisonr) had goods taken, to ye value of 10*li* 10sh. The 12 10 mo, last, Wm Weymer had taken from him, to value of abot 5*li*, many of wch goods, being unsold, are laid in one of ye rooms, where several of ye said prisonrs lye in ye deep dungeon undrneath it.

The Goaler nevr proferd ye sd prisoners Convenient Rooms undr 2sh 4d p week, and to find their firing by taking of his ffagots, Although, when ye Jaylors wife saw their Resoluçon not to give so much, she did condescend to take 18d p week for Room to lodge in, & they to find bedds & other necessarys, and that they should be 4 in one little Chamber & 8 in another Chamber, where they had not Conveniencys to work of their Trades, except 4 shoemakers, but the other 8 had not, save one who gaue 10d p week to set a Loom in a dark place, where he was forc'd to work by a Candle in the daytime, wch in all he pd 2sh 4d a week, the others could not work for want of Room for some time. And afterwards, when some of them went to work, were forced to pay 6d. a week for room in a Garret, for which they and others paid 10sh p week. Which things consider'd was one Cause they required a *ffree prison*, so that 3 went into the Hole, & the other nine were thrust into the Dungeon; and those that do now pay rent are most in ye same condiçon.

There is one that pays but 12d p week to set his bed & loom, but its in a very stinking Room, & amongst other prisonrs. And another room, that is the proper Comon fellons free prison, wch *they* had at first for 7 poor men to work in at 7sh p week, 4 of which still work & lodge there, & pay 12d p week each; besides which we know not of any that they might haue undr 18 p week.

There are still detain'd in prison 49 men, & 20 women, of wch are 5 widdows, one above 60, another abot 50 years of Age, & 11 maidens, one of them was undr 16 years of Age when Comitted, & one is about 17, & 2 about 19 years of Age. And the 5 women mençond in ye petçon are still kept Close night and day, & haue not once been sufferd to come into ye Aire near 7 weeks. And of men there are two about 60, & several above 50 years of Age. Several haue been brought very Low by Sickness, but through mercy are in measure recovered.

Tho. Gaywood, our Jayler, confessed to us, he was Jayler at Norwich Castle, when R. Hubberthorn sufferd in the year 1654.

ffor further satisfac̄on in respect of ye sd prisoners Dungeon & Holes, there is here in London that hath viewed the room, & can testify to ye Truth of ye Relāon thereof.

No. 56.]¹²

Exceptions agt ye sheriff's account, in order to invalidate the Affidavits.

1ST SHERIFF'S ACCOUNT. Wheras they say, The Dungeon is as good a cellar as many Tradesmen liue in, that pay great Rents.

PRISONRS EXCEPTION. Wee ansurr, Jt is wholly included in ye ground. The stairs so dark, strait, & winding, as that a man cannot carry down either Beer, coales, merchants goods, or other things vsually laid in cellars. Jn it are two great pillars supporting ye end of ye Town-hall. Which pillars do so blinde ye light, as that one half of the room is so dark that we cannot see, but by ye light of a candle, in ye day time. And though its true, that it is not much more than ten foot lower than ye pavemt of ye street, at one end, by reason of ye descent of ye ground, where the light descends through a double iron grate, continually annoyed with excrements, yet at ye entring ye ground lyes much higher, & is, as wee haue said, 27 steps down, And ye walls so much decayed as that we are in much danger. And we are informed by ancient Citizens it has been vsed as a prison for mad & condemnd men, & has been reputed a dungeon these 50 years.

2D SHERIFF'S ACCOUNT. And where they say, Jt is no more annoyed with excrements & filth, than their own houses are lyable to.

PRISONRS EXCEPTION. Answer. The onely place we haue to take air at is a small iron grate 20 steps vp from ye dungeon, which grate is continually annoyed with vrine, & is in a corner which is common to all for that vse. And its onely prospect is Butchers shops, & stalls for fish, which together with ye lothsome smel of vrine is a very great annoyance.

¹² Number 56 is in Richard Richardson's hand-writing.

3D SHERIFFS. As to age, impotency, & despairing of liues, Jts all contrivance for ye sake of Clamour.

PRISONRS. To which wee say, There are in ye hole 2 men aboute 60 years old, each of them, & several aboute 50, some of which, since committed, haue been brought very low by sickness, but through mercy recovered.

4TH SHERIFFS. Which is allotted, as well as ye other 2 rooms, for such as are comitted by wart, or otherwise cannot, or will not pay for better conveniences.

PRISONRS. As for ye 2 rooms, wee say, 1st, The Dungeon, as we haue already said, is a room formerly vsed for none but mad & condemned men ; 2dly, The other, which is ye room ye women are in, is a cellar, and never, that we know, otherwise vsed Till now ; ye Jailer, having let out ye womens free prison, hath made it a prison for them.

5TH SHERIFFS. In ye room calld ye house of office, but is not made vse of as such, but, on ye contrary, a sweetly room.

PRISONRS. We haue surveyed ye said room, & finde it not aboute 10 foot long, & 5 foot broad. And one onely smal light, not aboute 13 inches long, & 7 inches in height, iust by ye ground, And is obstructed by a bench standing ouer it. Note, This room is low in ye ground ; almost euen with ye felons hole. And its onely way into it is through ye same. And has been vsed as a place of easemt by them in ye sd hole, vntill our number so increased, as that we wanted lodging. Jnsomuch as that we were forced to get in 2 bedds, one of wch stands vpon ye seat at one end, & hangs vpon a line at ye othr end. And as to ye sweetness of it, wee are sure no indifferent prson can comend it, But on ye contrary say, " Jt is a very nasty place."

6TH SHERIFFS. Jn respect of their paying 18sh a week for 2 Chambers, 'tis absolutely false.

PRISONRS. To which we say, The Jailer never profered us, in ye Dungeon, rooms vnder 2s 4d a week, & to buy our firing of him at 2d a faggot ; Though, when his wife saw our resolutions not to giue so much, she did condescend to take 18d a week, & for to burn our own firing, as coles or other (which, when he vnderstood, he was in great rage, & said she would undo him, and swore we should not haue our coales brought in), And to

finde our selves linnen ; And that we should be 4 in one litle chamber, & 8 in another, which together was 18s^h a week, for 2 chambers, where we had not room to work of our trades, except 4 shoemakers, who did work with much difficulty. One of ye other 8 did giue, at ye same time, rod a week for a place to work in, in a dark room, where he was forced to work by a candle in ye day time. The other 7 could not work of their trades for severall weekes. But at length some of them did obtain room for 6d a week, which together amounted to 2s 4d a week for *one*, & 2s week ye other, which was ye lowest rate ye said 12 could (with all their endeavours, which were many) bring our Jailer to.

7TH SHERIFFS. And for those less able, they may haue sufficient conveniencys for vnder 12d. a week.

PRISONRS. Wee answer. They were neuer offered roomes, but at ye rates aforesaid, Except one poor man, who hath a place to set a loom & bed in, a very nasty room, amongst other prisonrs, at 12d a week. And those other prisoners pay no more than 9d. a week, for ye same conveniences in it. And of 7 other poor men ye Jailer demanded 10s a week for one room, not aboue 13 foot in breadth, & 18 foot in length. But vpon Complaint made to ye Sheriff, he reduced it to 8s a week. And some time after, the Jailer's wife did condescend to take 7s a week. And then ye 7 men entred it, & did work. And 6 of them did lodge in ye same. But it was a great hardship (they being all wool-combers) ; Which, when one of ye Justices saw, he admired¹³ how they made shift, And said, It was deare of one shilling a week. Yet they bore it, till the heat of ye weather drove 3 of them out. The other 4 remain there, and do pay 4s a week, so that these 4, & that one abouesd, are all that hire rooms at so little as 12d a week.

8TH SHERIFFS. But nothing will content them but liberty.

PRISONRS. It is eident by our letters sent to ye Court And Justices at several times, That what we haue requested is no more than what ye Law allows us as Prisoners.

¹³ That is, *wondered*. Lady Dunch, in *John Roberts*, says, "Did they come together? I *admire* at that." The account of Sarah Camme, daughter of Thomas and Anne Camme, published 1684, is entitled, *The Admirable and Glorious Appearance of the Eternal God*, etc.

9TH SHERIFFS. Which they may haue on easy tearmes, having been oft times offered to take suretyes among themselues, 2 for each other, for their appearance at ye sessions.

PRISONRS. Though we haue been contented to suffer, yet when some Iustices haue vrged it, wee haue offered baile for our appearance at next sessions. But nothing will do, but suretyes for our good behaviour, which we apprehended would be made an advantage agt us, & snare for us.

JOHN GURNEY,

JOHN WADE,

in behalf of ye rest.

*From ye Dungeon vnder ye Guild Hall, in Norwich, 4th of ye
3d mo, 83.*

No. 61.]¹⁴

Dear Friend, G. Whitehead.

We haue receiued thine of the 17 Jnstant, and in answ thear vnto, we giue thee this folowing acount, *viz.*, that we are yet Contineued Close night & day in the Dungeon, & many times are denied our Friends to Visit vs, Except they will give money beforhand, and our owne Wiues are denied to Cum at vs to bring vittuals & other nessaries, Except they observe the time of our going out with ye Close Stoole or our Cuming in againe. And if at any time they doe Cum in, they are kept so long from their Children & business, as it haue pved very p̄iudisal to vs; So as they durst not Cum in, but on first daies, or at Such times as they Can aford to stay the key turners pleasuer. But not withstanding the Cruelty of our psecutors, Yet blesed be God, his p̄sance is with Vs, & we haue tru Content in our Sufferings, hauing obtained the desier of our Souls, that is, pease with God, which is more to vs then all ye world. Our friends in ye Hoal are very hardly used; thear are 4 fellons Lodg among

¹⁴ This original letter is endorsed: "This ffor George Whitehead at the wheat Sheafe In hounds-dicth In London."

them, & 3 other prisoners, Sum of which are so pore & ouer run with Lise, yt our friends are very much anoyd thearwith. The 5 women are Still Confind in their Close room (which is very hard for them this hott Weathar), only 2 of them have Libarty Euery day to fetch wartar, &c. But in Jendarall things remaine as we gave in our Last an Account.

So, dear Georg, our very dear Loue in the Lord is to thee, to G. Layty, Willm Crouch, & John Osgood, who with thee haue indeauored much on our behalf. Dear Frinds, we think our Selves deeply ingaged to you for ye same, & doe pray to Allmty God to bless & psper your indeauors thearin to the inlargment of vs your tribulated bretheren.

*From the Dungeon vnder
the Guild Hall, in
Norwich, the 21 of
the 3 mon., 1683.*

We recd thine to John
Fiddeman.

JOHN FIDDEMAN,
SIMON GOGNEY,
THOMAS COCKÈRELL,
SAMLL WASEY,
JOHN FENN,
GEORG LOWIS,
WILLM MILEHAM,
JOHN GURNEY,
JOHN WADE.

No. 57.]¹⁵

Norwch Dungeon.

1683. 4mo. 18 (June). Since our Last, we haue understood that ye Jailer did make Affidavits to London, but do not undrstand ye matter Contain'd therein, nor who ye persons are that haue Attested them. Jf Wm Garne be one, he is to be objected agt as an Extream party agt us, being ye Keyturner, by whom we haue been straitly confin'd, though himself be also a prisoner.

We know not how far ye Jnformers may be Concern'd in our Case ; they vaunt it over us very much, & say, We shall haue

¹⁵ Number 57 is a copy of correspondence, written by Mark Swanner.

no Relief from above, but be sent away with the papists. They told some of us this morning, that they had done our business above, & tauntingly bid us sent to sr Leonel Jenkins¹⁶ again ; their names are Henry Siswicks, Charles Tennison, & Peter Webster. They greatly threaten, & still go on in their old way of haling our frds before ye Magistrates.

Yesterday, 5 of or ffrds were Comitted to prison, 2 whereof were men & 3 women, for meeting. The men were 2 of those that were baild out, The 3 women are ye wives of 3 men in prison, yt haue families of Children & Trades in hand, both left destitute, to ye great grief of many well-meaning people.

The 5 women are still kept Close in the little Room, saue only 2 of them are suffer'd once a day to go over to get a little water ; they are very hardly us'd by their Close Confinemt, as they haue shewd in their late lettr to Sher : Stebbing, which follows : *viz.*

“ Sher : Stebbing.

“ We, thy prisonrs, being 5 women here in ye hole over Jno Blanchert, undr thy great severity, ye room being so little & so hot, that we are not able to work to get our Living, having nothing else to live on ; And being it is thy strict ordr that we should not haue ye door open into ye little room next us for a little Air, there being no use made of it, wch is far from yt Christian Comānd to do as thou wouldst be done unto, we being thy fellow Creatures. Jf we haue broken any Just Law, Let us be tried thereby, and not first smother us, for then 'twill be too late to trie us. We haue done nothing agt thee or any other, but only suffer for our Tendr Conscience towards God. Men ought not to usurp Authority over ye Consciences, for ye Apostle saith, ‘ Let every man be perswaded in his own mind, and if any be otherwise minded, God will reveal it to them,’ ’Tis not man’s work. And thou wouldst think it hard to be put into such a stinking Hole, for thy Conscience. We would

¹⁶ Sir Leoline Jenkins was Secretary of State, having been appointed in 1680, after a long and varied political career, “ the most faithful drudge of a secretary that ever the Court had.” Sheriff Stebbings had a strong supporter in Sir Leoline. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, also Whitehead’s *Christian Progress*, page 535. He is named Sir *Lionel* Jenkins in other documents of the period. See *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* xii., App. vii., pp. 184, 191.

desire thee to Consider it, & let us haue a little Air, and not smother us privatly. We rest in ye will of the Lord, who is ye searcher of all hearts, & will reward every one according their doings,

“ PRISCIL WEBB,
 “ LID. WEEDS,
 “ JANE ENGLAND,
 “ THEADO KENDAL,
 “ MARY MONK.

“ Guildhall prison, 14 4mo, 1683.”

18. The Sheriffs Answr was, “ They are a Company of Jading Whores, they haue sent Lies of me to the higher powers, and they shall suffer worse. A Company of whores ! Are they grown too hot ? They shall be sent over with the papists ; they are a bold stubborn Company. They shall haue no more Room, except they'l bail themselves out.”

Attested by

ESTHER DUNKS.

We are willing to Trust in God. Jf he be pleas'd to moue ye hearts of any in Authority with pity towards us, so as to order some Enlargmt for us, we shall embrace it as a mercy receiv'd from his holy hand, and if not, we are Contented. The Lord Reward you for your Christian, brotherly Loue & Care towards us, and, if it be his will, order you such success as to bring a Curb upon our persecutors, but if not, his will be done ; Jn which we rest—etc.

JOHN FIDDEMAN,	JNO FFENN,
SIMON GOGNEY,	WM MILEHAM,
THO. COCKERELL,	JNO GURNEY,
SAMUEL WASEY,	JNO WADE,
GEO : LOWER.	

18 4mo, 1683.

No. 60.]¹⁷*Norwch Goale, this 25th of 4 mo, 1683.*

Dear friend, G. Whitehead.

The salutation of our indeared Loue in the Lord to the with the rest of our Deare friends. Thine of the 21th Jnst we recd, & thereby further vnderstand thine, wth G: Latyes, concern for us, & though we are still continued in our hord suffering outwardly, yet, blessed be the Lord, we are inwardly comforted & strenghtned by him, & fear not what our Enemies can doe, though at present their rage is great, threatning what great things they will doe to us. Wee Jn the dungeon Remaine much as we gaue Acct in our Last. The 5 women the same, 23 in the hole among fellons, & there must haue been many more, but by reason it is sumer time there are seuerall Lay about in hamocks, & 8 women are in the celler, & the rest hire roomes. Our Number is about 70. We haue heard noe more about the sherife since our Last. We think it meet that, if our suffering be printed,¹⁸ that our indeauors for reliefe should be also published, & our names subscribed to it, because our aduersaryes haue charged us with Lies, that we haue informed some in authority wth all, but we knowing our innocency therein are willing to stand by it ; howeuer we are willing to submit to the Judgement of friends.

And, Dr: friend, though we haue been ready according to our duty to giue Accot to friends of the ill usage we haue met wth all from our persecuters, yet, blessed be the Lord, we are well contented in our condition & are willing to waite Gods ap-

¹⁷ The address of this letter is the same as that of Number 61: The three letters (Numbers 58, 61, 60) are written by different persons, but the handwriting of the three addresses is the same, probably that of some Friend of the City, who saw to the letters being forwarded: In no case are the signatures of the letters autographs, unless the writers have added their own names to the letters.

¹⁸ I do not know of any separate printed recital of the Norwich Case, but it is briefly referred to in *The Cry of Oppression*, 1683, under date, "2nd of 3d Moneth, 83." Probably the publication of a detailed account was made unnecessary by the release of the prisoners.

pointed time for our deliuerance. Soe with our deare Loue to
the, we Rest in patience,

Thy True friends,

<i>JOHN WADE,</i>	<i>THOMAS COCKERELL,</i>
<i>JOHN FFENN,</i>	<i>WM MYLEHAM,</i>
<i>GEORGE LOWES,</i>	<i>SAMLL WASEY,</i>
<i>JOHN GOURNEY,</i>	<i>JOHN FFIDDEMAN</i>
<i>SIMON GOGNY,</i>	

Northamptonshire.

An account by the advice & agreemt of our Quarterly meeting held at Northton for ye service of Truth, ye 27th of ye 1st mo, 1707, Recomendend to Friends & Brethren at the Yearly Meeting at London, the second day of ye fourth Month, &c: in answer to matters desired as ffolloweth, viz.

First, as to the Publication of Truth in our County, it was first by William Dewsbury, as near as can be remembred, in ye year 1654, about the eighth Month.

And the Reception of Truth was first by Francis Ellington, of Wellingborow, Vpholster, who was Convinced by Wm Dewsbury at Harborow faire in Leicester Shiere, and envited, Recd, & entertained him, in ye year abouesaid, to his House, & had the first Meeting there, where several was Convinced by ye Ministry of the said Willm Dewsbury, & Meetings settled at Wellingborow & several other places in our County. He, the said Francis Ellington, continuing faithful in his Testimony in Word, doctrine, & conversation, through many Sufferings on various accounts vnto Death, but having noe Record of them we can giue no perticular account thereof.²

But we cannot omit to mention that, at first Entrance of Truth in our County, several were Raised vp & came forth with a living Testimony, at & near Wellingbro, as Francis Ellington, & Mary Page, who died a Prissoner at Warwick,³ Rebeckah Peake, and An Richason, & others, who liued faithfully, & died in ye same. But that generation being deceased almost generally with them, & no Record made as

¹ Portions of Number 53, referring to other subjects upon which the Yearly Meeting desired information, have been omitted;

² The sufferings of Francis Ellington and of Thomas Cooke, of Weldon, are set forth at large by Joseph Besse;

³ Besse (*Coll: Suff*, i, 764) states that Mary Page, wife of William Page, of Northampton, was imprisoned for an attempt to visit her friends in gaol: She died after two years' incarceration, in 1665;

in particular of their sufferings, dying sayings, &c, therefore we can give no Certain account thereof, not knowing whether there may not some former Account have been given thereof before by our Antient & late deceased friend, Edward Couper, of Northampton.

As to Edward Cowper, of his Convincement, how, when, or by whom, we have no account. For his Sufferings, he was eight or nine times imprisoned, mostly for meetings, and suffered distresses several times by fines for Meeting House meetters and Preachers, & other accounts, but no Record being made thereof of ye time, when, how long, or by whom Committed, or how Discharged, & we can give no particular account of ye same.

But as to ye life, labour, & Testimony of ye said, our Dear & welbeloued Antient Friend, Edward Cowper, we have this to say, he was very serviceably among vs, not onely in his Testimony but also in ye Affaires of Truth, being Wise, graue, Meek, and Vertuous in his deportmt among friends & towards all People, which well became his Hoar Head, as ye servant of ye Lord. And to speak briefly, He loved Sincerity, being faithful in his Testimony, Frequenting Assemblies, Labouring fervently, Loving Peace & vnyty, Suffering Patiently, Courteous with gravity, he lived honourably, & hauing obtained a good Report Died Peaceably, Which, although We doubt not but it is to his gaine, yet to our Loss. He is missed dearly; he was a week or more free from Sickness & paine before he died, giving good Advice seasonably as opertunity was offered; And Gods goodness & Mercy he was livingly sencible off, with secret springings of inward Joy & Comfort to his End. He Departed this Life ye 3d day of ye 3d Month, 1706, being about 68 yeares of age, hauing several persons of quallity (so called), as also a Numerous Concourse of people from Towne & Countrey, attending him to his Burial.

As to our antient friend, Thomas Cooch, he was convinced of ye Truth at a Meeting at Kettering by John Whitehead, at his first coming into our County about 44 yeares agoe. Retaining Truth to the last, & bearing a publick Testimony to ye

same, & also bore a faithful Testimony against the Antichristian yoake of Tithes, he was of a Meek, quiet, & Peaceable Spirit, being very sickly for many yeares. His last sickness was an Ague & Feavour, which held about 20 Weeks, in which sickness he was greatly Comforted, & vttered many good Expressions to his ffamily & Neighbours, some of which was that being Asked how he did, Replied that he was every way well & sweetly comforted, and a goeing to Reap the full reward of his Labours. He spake much of the goodness of God, & praying ye Lord to be with him & vphold him in his Exercise, he peacably ended his life the second day of ye first Mounth, 170⁶/₇, being Aged 77 yeares. But of his sufferings we haue noe Account.

Finally, Dear Brethren, we can truly say ye pcious seed of Life is Prosperous among his heritage, and plentifully replenished among his people dayly, by the pouring forth of Heavens divine Blessings vppon vs. Blessed be the name of our God for ever, whereby we are abundantly comforted & refreshed in our Assemblies in the sweet ffellowship of Truth, & consolating vertue of his holy Spirit, in which loue, peace, vnity, and Concord is continued & encreasing among vs to our great rejoycing. Praised be ye Lord overall! And in a tender sence of those devine Mercies and Heavenly Blessings we are made partakers of in ye spiritual ffellowship of ye ever Blessed vnchangable Truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, we dearly salute you, Heartily desireing ye glorious Power & Blessed presence of the Everlasting God of Jsrael may be with you, & plentifully Manifested in this your general Meetting & Assembly, to ye glory of God, ye Honour of his Truth, and ye Peace & gladness of ye hearts of his People for ever. Amen.

Sighed in behalfe of ye said Meetting by

WILLM POOLEY.⁴

⁴ From the pen of William Pooley we have also *A Short Account of some Sufferings in Northamptonshire*, 1683. He died at his residence at Little Addington in 1711: Besse gives his place of residence as Addington-Puce, which is probably a mis-reading of Addington Pva=Parva.

Wellingborough.⁵

*An account of ye entrance of Truth in our County, 1710, from
Wellingborow Meeting.*

The glad tidings of ye Gospell of Truth was first brought into this County of Northampton in late generations by that man of God, Willm : Dewsbury, About ye begining of ye 10th mo, 1654, at which time he came from Harborow to Wellingborow, where he First was Received by Francis Ellington, and gladly entertained at his house, & had ye first Meeting there at Wellingborow, where several was convinced, and received ye word with gladness, & became faithful followers of ye Lord in their generation ; unto several of whom it was given to obtaine part of ye same Ministry, & continued faitful through Sufferings unto death. And from ye Time abovesaid a meeting was settled at Wellingborow, which continues unto this day ; And which soone after was settled in several other townes thereabouts, so mightily grew ye Word of God & prevailed.

As to ye said Man of God, Willm Dewsbury, how he was Gifted it was well known in many or most parts of ye Nation, And many wère ye living Seales of the Verity of his faithful Testimony, of whom many are fallen Asleep but some remaine unto this day. His Doctrine was sound, cleer, & demonstrative in opening ye Misteries of ye Gospel of ye Kingdom of God even to ye life, As also to ye Razing ye very foundation of ye secret and subtil workings of ye enemy in ye Mistery of Iniquity, often Declaring how ready and Incident it was to be prevailling & getting place in & among those that professed Truth, whereupon he frequently Exhorted to Judg their thoughts & deny Themselves, &c. His speech was plaine & powerful, reaching to ye Tendering & breaking of many hearts, his Discerning clear & piercing, whereby many had their conditions plainly demonstrated and laid open before them, whom before he never saw.

⁵ Taken from a modern copy of an ancient account.

The 20th of ye month & year abovesaid, coming againe to Wellingborow, by Rich : Dincrit, then Constable, was Aprehended by virtue of a Warrant for one called a Quaker (no other name). The warrant was from Tho : Pontlo,⁶ of Wilby, whereunto he was had, and after some examination A Mittimus was made, & he was sent to Prison, ye 29th of ye Month abovesd. He was called several times to Sizzes and Sessions, until the 11th Month, 1655, at which time he was called againe to the Sessions held at Northton Castle, where one called Major Butler sat Judge of ye Court, Who said, It was ye purpose & intent of ye lord Protector to suppress this way, which had taken litle effect, And now he would Try further in Releassing them, And toward ye latter end of the 11th month, 1655, he was released, and guarded 12 miles into Liecester Shire.

And after several long imprisonmts & suffering in divers places (of which we canot now give an exact Account), his long & last Imprisonmt was at Warwick, from which being released some time Near to his latter End, he was concernd with a very deepe Exercise to vissit London, that great City (tho infirm & weakly of Body), Where he spent ye last & Residue of his life, strength, & labour in ye Testimony of Truth.⁷ And having finished his service there, was brought in great weakness downe to⁸ Wellingborow, where friends pressing a litle With tender love & desire to Associate themselves with him, his Breath was so very Short, that with hand he beckoned them to stand off from him to get Brèath ; And as he gat a little strength, his expressions

⁶ Arthur F. Gravely, of Wellingborough, sends me the following extract from a county directory of 1894, " In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the manor of Wilby was possessed by the family of Vaux of Harrowden; The family of Pentlow afterwards had it; and about 1706, William Pentlow, Esq., sold it." The name in the text should doubtless be *Pentlow*, and probably was so in the original document. It appears as *Pentlow* in Besse.

⁷ William Dewsbury's last sermon, preached at Gracechurch Street, on the 6th of 3rd month, 1688, was taken down in short-hand. It was printed in *Concurrence and Unanimity . . . Sermons*, 1694, and reproduced separately in 1741 and 1747, by Farley, of Bristol. See also Sewel's *History*; Edward Smith's *Life of Dewsbury*, 1836; *London Friends' Meetings*; etc.

⁸ This incident in the homeward journey from London to Warwick is not given by any of Dewsbury's biographers.

were with seasonable & tender exhortations, & cautions to keep low and be poore in Spirit, that in the true sence of spiritual poverty they might come to be refreshed with God's free grace & tender mercy in Christ Jesus, so might they come to reap the benefit of his Travels & labours for them. And as friends were tenderly concern'd by him, seeing his great weakness, He with ardency revived himself, and earnestly spake, & said, "If any one has received any good or benefit thorow this Vessel, called Willm Dewsbury, Give God the Glory, I'le have none, I'le have none," (& again) "I'le have none." So, desiring to goe to Warwick, he grew weaker & weaker, and being brought thither soone changed, and after a litle while fell Asleep in Christ.

Northumberland.

*ffrom the Adjornmt of our Quartrly Meeting in Northumbr-
land, the 4th of the 9th mo, 1720, to ye Meeting for
Sufferings in London.*

Dear ffrds.

*Jn Answer to yours of ye 2d 7th mo, We haue made what
Jnquirey we Can Concering ye ffirst Ministers that traueled in these
parts, but our Aintient ffrds being all or most remoued by Death,
We haue nothing of an accot to giue but What we haue at a 2d or 3d
hand, which is as ffollows.*

The ffirst We hear of was one Robrt Hodgson, who Came into Allendale, and preached the Gosple there, Which some ffew to ye numbr of aboute 4 or 5 Reced with Gladnes of heart. He mett with some Buffettings, wch he Patiently bore for ye Gospels sake. These ffew we hear was visetted Earley after by John Bowron² from Yorkshire, and much strenthned. Some-time after Came a Sister of ffrancis Hogills³ to visett that Little

¹ Number 52 was received by the Meeting for Sufferings on the 6th of 11 mo., 1720, and read; "and the same being somewhat short John Whiting is desired to Jmprove it." In 1 mo., 1720/1, "John Whiting brot in the account with some additions, made thereto by him, left wth Benja Bealing." John Whiting's addendum occupes half the verso side of the MS. I am not aware that he had any special knowledge of the North, but his general acquaintance with Friends' literature would enable him to supply further particulars

² John Bowron was born at Cotherstone in the Tees valley, in 1627. After being convinced, he travelled extensively in the British Isles and North and South America. He died at Cotherstone, in the house in which he was born, in 1704. See *Piety Promoted*; and *Historical Memoirs of Friends*.

³ Presumably, Mary Howgill, whose name appears occasionally in the records of early Quakerism. She was imprisoned at Lancaster and in Devonshire. From the former place, in 1656, she sent a little note to George Fox, on paper measuring six inches by three inches, which is specially interesting because the latter has crossed out several adulatory expressions and inserted modifications, thus shewing that he did not

Meeting. But then after that Came one Richard Costhorp,⁴ and another ffrd with him Whose name we know not ; it seemes the seruis Laid mostly on Richard, Who preached ye Euerlasting Gosple near 2 Worship houses in Allendale afforesd, to the Effecting of ye harts of seuerall, Who reced them as ye Messingers of ye most high, but We Cannot giue any accot of ffrurther sufferings they mett with then [than] Richard put out of one of ye worship houses.

We Likewise hear that Patrick Liueingston⁵ and James Halleday from Scotland, and John Bowron afforesd, from Yorkshire, visited ye Northeast part of ye County ; but we Cannot giue ffrurther accot of Corporeall punishmt, nor Can we give any

approve of some of the terms used respecting him by his friends. The letter (D. A.R.B. MSS. 41) was written as follows:—

“ Dearely beeloued George, my deare life, my liueing Joy, who beegat me into the liueinge life & put life where none was, & turned me towards an endles Kingdome whose Kingdome endures for euer & stablisht me on him yt was bee fore the the world was, yea he is my strength, & wisdome comes from aboue, & my strength growes, & diserneinge growes & the Mysteries of the Kingdome comes to be opened. Deare life, J desier thee to pray for me, whose words is life, & as sweet to me as pretious oyntment, that J may be kept out of all visible thinges in my measure, & led vp to god, who is the end of all thinges, that the end [*i.e.* ? aim] of the wicked one may be put to an end.

“ A prisoner of the lord at Lancaster.

“ MARY HOWGILL.”

Twice where the words *deare life* occur, G. F. has erased *life* and written *friend*, and the words *put life* have been rendered almost illegible by blots of ink. The slip of paper is endorsed, in G. F.'s writing:—“m: hovgoll to gf,” and another hand has added, “1656.”

Several other letters from Mary Howgill are in D. She died prior to 1681, as her name appears on R. Richardson's *List of frds in ye ministry deceased*, dated that year. (D. Portfolio 5.)

⁴ Of Richard Scostrop (Costhorp, Scochthrap) little is known. Besse mentions him two or three times, in connection with Cheshire in 1654, and Yorkshire in 1655 and 1659. Early in 1661, accompanied by John Stubbs, Henry Fell, and Daniel Baker, he set out on a missionary journey to the East, but died “far from his native Country in the Island Zant,” in the summer of the same year. See Daniel Baker's *Short Relation*, 1662, pp. 91-99 ; D. Portfolio 17,78.

⁵ These two Scotch Friends were frequent companions in travel and suffering, in the land of their birth, and in the North of England. Patrick Livingston lived in Nottingham and London in his later years, and he died in the latter place in 1694. See *Piety Promoted* ; John Barclay's *Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, 1833, etc. ; *Selections from the Writings of Patrick Livingston*, 1847, edited by Lydia A. Barclay.

accot What Cuntry men Robt Hodson⁶ & Richard Costhorp Were, nor yett in What year they Came.

The South part of this County that Joins vpon ye County of Durham, We hear was Early Visited by that Eminent Ministr, Edward Burrow, aboute ye year 1653, but we hear of noe Jmprisonmt he met with there.

Signed on behalfe of ye afforesd Meeting by

THOMAS REAY,
JACOB MOORE,
JOHN NEWTON.

Addition to the wthin Acct.

J find John Audland, Going into Northumberld, was Jmprison'd at Newcastle for his Testimony, but what year is not mentioned, but it must be very Early, suppose 1653, being before he went to Bristol in ye 5th month, 1654. See Tho Camms *Testimony* Concerning him, before his works, p. 38, Letter C.

And in ye year 1653, Miles Halhead was moved of ye Lord to go into Bp.rick & Newcastle upon Tine, to declare his word, wch he did, to ye Priests, Mayr, & Rulers of Newcastle, where he suffer'd much Persecution & was Jmprison'd by them; but ye Lord made him a Burdensome stone to them, insomuch as ye Mayr sent for ye Sheriff & desird him to Release him, wch they did. And in ye year 1654, Coming out of Scotland, he & Ja Lancaster were Jmprison'd at Berwick for speaking thro' ye Streets, but in a few days were Releasd, & pass'd thro' Northumberld to Newcastle, Durham, &c. And in ye 7th month, ye same year, He was Comanded of ye Lord to go into Northumberld again, & to ye Town of Berwick, & speak to ye Chief Magistrate there, wch he did (Rob. Widders Going wth him), & ye Mayr sent him to Prison (for speaking to him in his own shop), where he was kept abt 10 weeks, till ye session, & then a Bill drawn agt him, wch he deny'd, but acknowledged

⁶ It is curious that if Robert Hodgson was the Durham Friend before-mentioned (p. 9) he should not have been better known by Friends of a neighbouring county.

what he sd to ye Mayr, warning him to give over Persecuting ye Lords servants, & yt if he Could say he was no psecutor he wd abide ye Judgmt of ye Court, wch ye Mayr Could not deny, & so M. H was discharged. See these passages more at Large, Espe ye Last, in ye *BOOK of some of the SUFFERINGS and PASSAGES of MYLES HALHEAD*, pticularly p. 14-15.

Nottinghamshire.¹

¹ Benjamin Bealing's list of "Countytes that have not sent up their accounts" contains that of "Notts." I have not found any reference to any account from this Quarterly Meeting, and have so far failed to obtain a copy from the local records.

Oxfordshire.¹

Oxford divition account taken ye 13 of ye 6 mo., 1705. Pursuant to ye Request of friends of ye 2d days Morning Meeting in London. The most Remarkable passages which we can Remember both as to who were ye first publishers of ye Gosple in these parts, & were first Instrumentall for ye gathering & settleing of thes meetings in this devition, are as ffolloweth.

Charlbury.²

At Chaulbeury, first, Ann Downer,³ Daughter to one Priest Downer, of Chaulbery, having lived some time in London, & being Covicend of ye blessed truth through obedience therevnto, afterwards came to have a dispensation of ye Gosple Comitted to her, to which she gaue vp freely, & thereof became a faithfull Minister, travelling vp & down in divers parts of this Nation,

¹ From memoranda copied for me from the Quarterly Meeting minutes, by Charles Edwin Gillett, of Oxford, it appears that at a Q.M. at Witney in 1st Month, 1705, Richard Sparks and Thomas Fletcher were appointed to prepare the account for Banbury division, Benj. Stapel, of Charlbury, and John Flexney, of Witney, for Oxford division, and John Toovey and Thomas Bisley for Warborow division. In 1st Month, 1706, we find, "Ordered yt ye accounts be taken and recorded in this book, And ye copy be given to Jno Crowly for to be delivered to ye friends at London."

² This account from Charlbury was published in *The Friend* (Lond.), 1862, p. 180.

³ Ann Downer was the daughter of Thomas Downer, vicar of Charlbury, and was born in 1624. She seems to have left her home in her earlier years for London, where we first find her about 1654, actively assisting in propagating the new Quaker teaching, and suffering in consequence. She was probably the first woman Quaker preacher of the Metropolis. Shortly after this, she entered upon the service on behalf of the prisoners in Cornwall, for which she is so well known. George Fox writes of this service in his Testimony to her, dated 1686 (the holograph original is in D., and was reproduced in Beck's *George Whitehead*), "When j was in presen at lanston in corenwall in the yer 1655 & 1656 : : : j did wright & send for an dovner, for then shee was not marred & shee cam a foot above 200 miles to mee : . : & shee layed in the toune of lanston, & shee did geet over meet

whre, throw ye ability Recd of god, she became very Instru-mentall for ye good of many ; as, in pticular, about ye year 1655 or 1656, ye sd Ann Downr came to Chaulbury to visit her Relation, where she had some discous wth divers people there abut ye true worship of god, & afterwards, vpon a first day, Came to ye steeple house at Chadlington, where she preached ye Gospell of Jesus Christ freely. And her labour of Lo : therin was not in vain, for by ye powful preaching of ye word were som Convinced, Namely, Francis Strength, yet Living, Wm Cole,⁴ Alexandar Harris, who gaue vp in obadience thervnto, & as a faithfull seruant Lived & dyed therin. Ye people in generall were very Civill, so yt she passed away wthout much disturbance.

And not Long after, One Tho : Taylor Cam out of ye North, & had a Meeting at ye sd Wm Coles house in Chalbery, where he prached the Everlasting truth of god, and divers were Convinced there by & added to ym who at first belived, Who together, being broken of from ye worlds ways of worship, met

& dres it & brought it to vs in presen ; ; ; & shee did continu with vs vntill wee wer sit at liberty out of prisen & as shee came on foot above 100 honderd miles from london to cornwell shee did convnce many people. ; ; ." She acted as secretary as well as cook, for she "could write and take things well in shorthand."

In course of time Ann Downer married Benjamin Greenwell, of London ; and six years after his death in 1664 in Newgate, she became the first wife of George Whitehead. Her death took place at the house of Bridget Austill, at South Street (G. F. has Southgate), in 1686; *Testimonies* concerning her were written by her husband, by her sister, Ann-Mary Freeman, and by Mary Elson, Margaret Meekings, Rebecca Travers, Mary Stout, Grace Bathurst, Mary Woolley, Bridget Ford, Charles Bathurst, Bridget Austill, Ruth Crouch (who, as Ruth Brown, was her companion in her early labours in London), John Staploe, William Ingram, Mary Forster, S[arah] Plumley, Ann Travers, Lucretia Cook, Abigail Fisher, Benjamin Antrobus, Ann Mackett, Elizabeth Haynes, Senr., Jane Sowle, Susanna Dew, Mary Plumsted, Elizabeth Camfield, Clement Plumsted, also by 79 other women Friends, who unite in *A General Testimony*. B. Antrobus's Testimony is entirely in verse, those by R. Travers, A. Fisher, and J. Sowle conclude in verse. Extremely few biographical details are given.

See G. Fox's *Journal* ; Beck and Ball's *London Friends' Meetings*, p. 19 ; M. Sturge Henderson's *North Oxfordshire*, 1902 ; Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, p. 321 ; *Piety Promoted* ; Beck's *George Whitehead* ; *The West answering to the North* ; and especially, *Piety Promoted by Faithfulness*, 1685, containing the Testimonies above mentioned;

⁴ The printed account gives, "William Coles, who ; ; ; therein, and Alexander Harris, and Henry Shad,"

often together at ye hous of ye sd Wm Cole to wait vpon ye Lord, who was pleasd to appear by his powfull p̄sence Among ym for their great Encuragment, & divers were Convinced & added to ym ; & their Number Encrsing, Jn ye year 1681 a Meeting hous was builded in Chalbery aforesd, where a Meeting was settled, Now known by ye Name of Chalbury Meeting.

Witney.

Aboght ye year 1659, Jno: Giels visseted this plase, & not Long after, Ricd: Greenaway & Tho: Low, in which plase Kester Hart and his wife Recd them, & was Convinsed of ye blesed truth, in which thy lived & died. Jn thayr hous having been meetings at times for abought 2 or 3 years, after which a meeting was ther setteled.

And in ye year 1676, a Meeting hous was builded, sence which many haue been in this plase Convinsd, & Receving ye blesed truth, & was added to them yt first beleued.

Tho: Gillpin, of Warborow, in ye County of Oxon forsd, being one of ye first ye Lord Comited a dispensetion of ye Ministry of ye Gospell vnto in this County, he oft viseted vs in this plase, from ye year 1664 to ye year 1701, being ye year before his departure, His ministry was Living & pouerfull, his Labour of Loue afectuell, in prayer fervent & tender, to ye Refresing & Comforting ye haretage of god & strenthing & building vp of ye Church, whos memoriell Livith wth ye faithfull, And may be Cald an apostele of thos parts. He was of good sarvis in ye men & woomens meetings, Zelous for good order in ye Church, & his Concarne was gra[t]ly yt all might Com vp in thos things yt adorn it ; whos Cear & dilligence there in is not to be forgotten by vs. Ye Lord may be plased to Raise more (in ye plases of thos worthy Antients yt are gon) to suckseed them wth a dubell portion of thair spirit, is ye desire & prayr of we who are as a suckseeding generation.

Oxford.

Som of ye first yt published of ye Truth in Oxford was Elizb ffecher & Mary Homs,⁵ & next was John Ardland & Jno

⁵ Presumably, *Elizabeth Holmes*. See the longer account from Oxford:

Cam. And was Recd by Jane Bettres and Mary Clewr. Ye first setteld meeting place was at Richd Bettras hous.⁶ A meeting hous was builded hear in ye year 1689.

Alvescot.

Ricd Greeneway & Jno Giels ye first yt publishd ye truth in ye plase, having a meeting at Jno : Wheelers, who wth his Wife Received ye truth, & Lived & died therin.

Milton under Wyehwood.

Thomas Laiton⁷ & William Simson ye first yt publishd ye truth in yt plase, whear many was Convinsed, of home was ye first Wm Pettefor & his wife, Robart Secol & his wife, George Hancock & his wife, Rob Wilet, Elizb Cripps, Mickell Sessions, James Sessions, Tho : Minchin & his wife, all which Lived & died in ye blesed truth. Ye first meeting was at Rob Secoll abought ye year 1655, and a Meeting hous was there built in ye year 1669.

Chipping Norton.

Mary Clark,⁸ of London, ye first publid ye Everlasting Truth in ye plase, wch was in thayr publick plas of worship. Ye first yt Received ye truth was Samson Sims, John Butler, Tho : French, Wm Tidmarsh, Giles Tidmarsh. A meeting seteled ther in yt parish abought ye year 1670, & A Meeting hous built at Chipington in ye year 1695.

⁶Richard Betteris was a "Chirurgion" living in a street then called "Seven Deadly Sins," opposite New Inn Hall.

⁷A Thomas Leighton (Layton), of Collumpton, is mentioned by Besse (*Coll. Suff.*, i, 149, 153, Devon, 577, 591, Somerset);

⁸This Friend, wife of John Clark, of London, was one of the band of eleven missionaries who voyaged to the New World with Robert Fowler, in his "Noah's ark," in 1657. She suffered much at the hands of the rulers of Boston, receiving "twenty stripes of a three-corded Whip on her naked Back," which were "laid on with fury." On her liberation she laboured in New England, until her work was suddenly stopped by an accident in 1658, whereby she, and two other Friends, Robert Doudney and Mary Wetherhead, were drowned, far from the home where her husband and children awaited her return.

See Bowden's *History*, i, 56, 68, 69, 81, 95, 106, 126; Besse's *Coll. Suff.* ii, 181, 182;

Banbury.⁹

The first publishers of ye everlasting Gospel of peace in and by Bambury, in the county of Oxon, where John Camm and John Audland, who came and kept their first meeting at a place called ye Castle, adjoyning to Bambury, and another meeting at a house called Hardwick House, in the psh of Bambury aforesd, and were receved and entertained by Edward Vivers, of Bambury aforesd, and afterwards sone passed for Bristoll. At which meeting, Edwd Vivers and som of his family, wth others, ware convinced of the truth in or about the year 1654 ; and on ye 13th day of 11 month came Thomas Robinson, Ann Adland, Mabell Camm (wives of ye sd John Adland and John Camm), and were recd by the sd Edward Vivers, and had a meeting in Bambury, where many were convinced. And from that time meetings were settled and always kept in Bambury at friends private houses, and truth prospered and friends increased much, and also James Wagstaff sometimes entertained friends.

And about the year 1657, there was a meeting house built in the said James Wagstaffs Backside in Bambury, at the publick charge of Friends, where meetings were constantly kept : and many friends in the country were convinced, and came there to meetings, untill such time a friend could buy a peice of ground in Bambury, at the publick charge of Friends, to build a meeting house upon. And in the year 1664, friends bought a peice of ground there ; and in the year 1665, the sd meeting house was removed and built upon the sd piece of ground. And since, meetings have been kept there, as at this time [1705] ; and truth propering and friends much encreased in ye adjacent townes in the country, there is severall publick meeting houses built and meetings settled, to the great joy and satisfaction of Friends.

⁹ This account from Banbury is not among others in Portfolio 7. It has been transcribed from the Q.M. records by C. E. Gillett. A modernised copy of this and previous accounts appeared in *The British Friend*, 1845 (iii. 38), accompanied by the following list of Meeting Houses, and the distance of each from Banbury:—Adderbury, Sibford, Shetford, South Newington, Barton, and Hook Norton.

No. 64.]¹⁰

Oxford.

An Acct: of the First Publishers of the Blessed Truth in the City of OXFORD, and who it pleased the Lord to Raise vp to Receiue them and their Testimony, in the YEARE 1654. Taken out of the Records of the People of God com̄n'ly Called Quakers, in OXFORD.

Tho: Castle¹¹ and Elizabeth Williams¹² came out of ye North Country wth ye Message of the Lord, who went about ye City crying Repentance to ye People, who were Euilly Intreated by ye Rude schollars & townsmen, being Hurried vp & down ye streets & feilds by ym, vntill Night drew on, & then Hurry'ed into a Poole of watter, called by ye Name of Giles's Poole, & being almost spent, ye Mayor of ye City, whose name was Tho: Williams,¹³ being Informed thereof, sent his Sergants & rescu'ed them from yt wick'd company, & conueyed ym to ye Mayors house, who deliuered ym to Lawrence Willier, and some others, who were their Friends, to take Care of them that Night.

The 20th day of ye 4th mo, 1654, Came to this City Two Maids, named Elizabeth Fletcher & Elizabeth Holmes,¹⁴ who went through ye streets, & into ye Colledges, Steeple & Tower houses, Preaching Repentance, & declaring ye word of ye

¹⁰ Numbers 64, 65 are in a beautifully clear and scholarly hand. The Q.M. minutes describe this as a "ptikler and full account." It probably took the place of the short account given in Number 63, as this short account does not appear on the Q.M. records.

¹¹ I have searched in vain for any reference to Thomas Castle.

¹² Elizabeth Williams, accompanied by Mary Fisher, "the one about fifty and the other about thirty years of age" (Besse's *Coll. Suff.*, i. 84), travelling from the North of England, towards the end of 1653, visited the sister university of Cambridge, where she was also very cruelly treated, and was banished from the town.

¹³ Thomas Williams, mayor in 1653 and 1654, was a milliner in High Street.

¹⁴ So named by anticipation; she was at this time Elizabeth *Leavens*. R. Hubberthorne, writing on the 26th of 4 mo., 1654, mentions Eliz. Fletcher and Eliz. *Heavens*, and Besse gives the name as *Heavens* in one place (*Coll. Suff.* i. 562). In the Q.M. records it is spelt *Levens*. E. L. married Thomas Holmes. See Westmorland account.

Lord to ye People. On ye 25th day of ye same moth, they were Moued to goe to Martins mass-house (*alias*) Carefox, where one of those Maids, after ye Preist had done, spake something in Answer to what ye Preist had before spoken in Exhortation to ye people, and presently by two Iustices were sent to prison, & on ye Morrow, those Justices asked ye Mayor if ye Iustices mett yt day or not.

Ye abouemention'd Tho: Williams, who was Mayor, answered, He knew no buisnes they had.

Ye Iustices Replied, "There are two Quakers yt were putt into Prison Yesterday."

Ye Mayor said, "Let those Iustices yt Committed ym, if they haue any Law against them, Act it vpon ym, if not, Lett ym be sett Free"; as for his Part, he had nothing to say against ym, but if they wanted Food, mony, or Rayment, he would take Care they should be supplyd, (a Memorable passage of the Power of Truth) yt had such Influence on ye Mayor to shew kindness to ye Seruants of ye Lord so publickly, Considering ye Place.

But, to ye Infamy & perpetuall Reproach of ye schollars and their accomplices, take ye following account. So ye before mentioned two Iustices, that Comited ym, mett about it, & sent for one Called Docter Owin,¹⁵ Visechancellor, but ye aforesaid Tho: Williams, Mayor, perceiueing they were Cruelly bent against ym, could not be satisfied vntill he went to ye Town-hall, being in Care for ye poor prisoners; which, being brought, ye Vicechancellor & Iustices earnestly inquired from

¹⁵ John Owen, previously a Presbyterian, had by this time become an Independent. He accompanied Cromwell to Ireland and Scotland, and then became preacher at Coggeshall. Hence he "was called by the House of Commons to the deanery of Christ Church, Oxford . . . and in the following year, he was chosen Vice-chancellor of the University, in which office he continued about five years," occupying the position with great ability and moderation. Dr. Owen and his party were ejected from the University a short time before William Penn entered it, but the two men frequently corresponded. It is said that there is considerable resemblance in the style and character of their writings. Owen is occasionally mentioned in the literature of early Friends. He died in 1683, aged sixty-seven.

See Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* i. 198, iii. 131; Samuel Fisher's *Rustick's Alarm*, 1660; G. Whitehead's *Divinity of Christ*, 1669; *The Golden Book of John Owen*, recently issued; *D.N.B.*; etc.

whence they came, & their buisnes to OXFORD. They Answered, They were Commanded of ye Lord to come; & it being demanded what to doe, they answered, To declare against Sinn & vngodlikeness, which they Liued in, & att this answer ye Viseschancrlr & Justices ordered their punishmt, to be whipt out of Town, & demanding of ye Mayor to Agree to ye same, & for Refusing, said they would doe it of themselues, & Signing a Paper, ye Contents wherof was this, To be seuerly whipt, & sent out of town as Vagrants; & forthwith, because of the Tumult, they was put into ye Cage, aplace common for ye worst of people; & accordingly, ye Next morning, they was whipt, & sent away, & on the backside of ye Citty, meeting some schollars, they were moued to spake to ym, who fell on them very Violently, & drew ym into Iohns Colledge, where they tyed ym back to back & pumped water on ym, vntill they were allmost stifled; & they being meet att another time as they passed through a Graue Yeard, where a Corps was to be buried, Elizath: Holme spake something to ye Preist & people, and one Ann Andrews thrust her ouer a graue stone, wch hurt shee felt neare to her dying day. They were received by Mary Clewer, Elizabth Digby, & Jane Bettris, some of ye first Receiuers of Friends being honourable Women, faithfull to the Truth, & Liued and dyed in it. Ye Aforsd: Eliz: Fletcher and Eliz: Holmes, finding freedom to Depart out of ye Citty, were accompanied on their way by seuerall Friends.

1654. In ye same Yeare, Richard Hubberthorn, Coming to this Citty before Elizabeth Fletcher & Eliz Holmes was gone, had some conference wth ym. He was recd by Lawrence Willier, wth whom he tarried 13 or 14 nights. He had much seruise by going to their Mass-houses, & by giueing some papers abroad. Towards ye Latter end of his aboade in this Citty, he went to Maries Steeple house, and spake to ye People, where ye Multitude droue him forth into ye Street, & cryed out, "Pump him," but ye people being Diuided, he escaped a Little farther to ye Dore of ye aforesaid Tho: Williams, Mayor, who took him in, & had a Meeting in his house, where he spake freely, & many heard him very peacably; & afterward he kept a meeting publickly att Rich Bettris's, which was ye first settled

Meeting in this Citty, and many heard him Gladly & were Convinced of ye Truth.

(Farther, its to be noted) that ye aforesd Tho Williams, Mayor of ye City, after ye Meeting kept att his House, had a son convinced of ye Truth.

The same yeare, 1654, Iohn Camm, comeing to this Citty, had greate seruise, who kept a Meeting att Rich: Bettriss house & another att Iames: Pinnells, who, with his wife, in a short time after, were Conuincd of ye Truth ; but not being Faithfull, fell from it againe. Also ye Power of ye Lord reached vnto Thomas Loe,¹⁶ whom ye Lord afterward made a Minister of his Euerlasting Truth. The said Iohn Camm, comeing againe ye 2d time wth Iohn Audland, went to the Baptist Meeting, & waiting there vntill ye person yt was speaking had done, Iohn Audland began to speake vpon ye same matter, & made those things more cleare to ye peoples vnderstandings, greatly to ye Satisfaction of those yt were there ; and ye man in whose house ye Meeting was kept receiued Iohn Audland & Iohn Camm into their house, with Rich: Bettris & Lawrence Willier, who accompanyd ym.

The same Yeare, Humphry Smith came to this Citty, & kept a meeting at Rich: Bettriss house, & in ye meeting time came in Willm Simpson & Thomas Marshall,¹⁷ who spake wth greate power & Authority, & afterwrds ye sd Willm Simpson kept a

¹⁶ Of Thomas Loe (Lowe) comparatively little is known, although his history will always be of interest because of his connection with William Penn. He "is described as a laick, an Oxford tradesman, and as having been connected with the university." He and his wife, Mary Loe, suffered imprisonments in Oxford, and the latter, with Jane Betteris, was imprisoned at Marlborough, in Wiltshire. Thomas Loe met with William Penn in Oxford and also in Ireland, in which country he had much service, and he was the means of William Penn's conviction, but the exact order of these events is uncertain. While on a visit to Wycombe, as one of a deputation to the Duke of Buckingham, T. Loe was taken ill. He was removed to London, to the house of Ann Greenwell, and afterwards to Edward Man's, and at the house of the latter he died in 1668.

See *Piety Promoted*; biographies of William Penn; lecture by Charles E. Gillett on *The Quakers in Oxford* (D. BB. 134); Ratty's *History*; Barclay's *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*; Ellwood's *History*; etc.

¹⁷ A Thomas Marshall is referred to by Besse, in 1655 at Banbury, in 1660 at Huntingdon, and in Leicester jail, and in 1682 in Leicestershire. There was a Thomas Marshall living near St. Neots, Hunts.

Meeting att Francis Pickerings house, whereupon her Landlord warned her out of his house in 2 weeks time ; & after, he went wth Rich: Bettris to Iesus Colledge (so called), and there spake ye word of truth to ye Schollars, who Rejected it, and forced him from ym ; & afterwards, he went to Martins worship house, & there declared ye word of truth to ye people, whereatt some Justices sent him to prison, where being kept for sometime, was afterward deliuered, & then againe Recd by Richard Bettris.

Iane Waugh, Dorothy Waugh, Ann Audland, & Richd: Farnsworth came to this Citty, & had greate seruise here to ye building vp of friends and Establishing of our Meetings, being all recd by Richrd Bettris.

1654. Willm: Simpson, Comeing againe to Visit Friends, was Ensnared, & had before ye Magistrates & Examined. Being a Farr Dweller, they took him vp as a Vagabond, & made him a pass to send him from Tithing to Tything to his own home, & certaine friends Accompanyed him out of ye Citty ; & he kneeled down & Prayed, & so took his Leau of them, but two or three Accompanyed him a few miles onward his Iourny, wth ye Constable, Edward Day, who was partly Conuined, & tearing ye pass in peices, he had his Liberty to goe where ye Lord should guide him.

1654. William Simpson, comeing Againe ye third time vpon a seruise for God, wch was to pass through this Citty Naked & bare, as a Sign to yt generatiō then in being, which was in ye time of Oliuer Cromwell, signyfyng to ym yt the day was neare att hand, euen att ye Dore, in wch ye Lord would stripp ym naked & bare, both from ye Rule & authority they then were vnder in this Nation, & also from yt Couering of Religion wth wch they seemed to be couered with. But ye said Willm Simpson did not goe with this Message vntill he had Acquainted Friends therewith, & they, Waiting together on ye Lord to know his mind & Will therein, found freedome & vnity wth him in it. Richd: Bettris & Iohn Shakerly acompanied him, & Carried his Cloaths. They passed allong from ye East gate to ye Midle of ye Citty, where one man struck him on ye back with a Coach whipp, who was suddenly after taken away by Death, it being taken much notice of by ye people, & another struck him with his

gloue, & another put a Nettle between his Leggs, & from thence he passed through ye North gate where mett him some schollars who Laid hold on him to haue him before ye Magistrats ; but some souldiers being by reprocued ym, saying, If he went naked Lett him, what was yt to ym ; & he passed allong to ye North End of ye Citty, to Lawrence Williers house, who reced him, & there comeing afterwards some Friends & a Multitude of people gathering there, he kept a Meeting, & spake to ym in greate power and Authority of ye Lord ; & his Message he came wth soon after was fulfilled.

1654. Tho: Taylor, Comeing to this Citty, was moued of ye Lord to goe to Marys Mass house, there being present Doctor Owin, Vicechancellor, & after ye Preist had done, & ye people comeing forth, ye said Tho Taylor stood vp & spake to ye people, wherevpon a greate Multitude drew about [No. 65.] him, att which ye vicechancellor, being offended, had him seised & Committed to ye Castle, where he was Rifled by ye Prisoners ; & some Friends went down to see him, but ye Goaler had shut him vp in a close roome, and would not Lett ym come att him, so he spake to them out att ye Window. Quickly after, a friend, named Iane Bettris, went to ye Visechancellor to know why he had sent ye Friend to Prison, & to acquaint him of his Close confinemt, wherevpon he sent his man to ye Goaler to bespeake ye Liberty of his friends. Comeing to him shortly after, he sent for him with ye Goaler, and after a Long conference ye Visechancellor had wth Tho: Taylor, vnderstanding he had formerly been a schollar of ye vniversity, he Released him. Ye goaler, being by, demanded his Fees, wch he for conciense sake could not pay, haueing broken no Iust Law, whereupon ye Visechancellor paid it, and so was Discharged.

These sufferings was in ye Time of Olliuer Cromwells Gouernment.¹⁸

¹⁸ Further accounts of sufferings in Oxford, 1654-1683, are in D. (Portfolio 5), but the cruelties, indignities, and vile actions to which Friends were subjected are too minutely described to be reproduced in print. For printed accounts, see *Here followeth a true Relation*, etc., by Lawrence Willyer and others ; Hubberthorne's *True Testimony of the Zeal of Oxford Professors*, 1654.

No. 67.

Warborough.

An account, as neare as can now bee giuen, of the first conuicment, and of the first gathering and setting a meeting of friends in and aboute Warbrow, in Oxford sheire.

The first that wase conuincid of truth in these parts, in or about Warbrow, wase Thomas Gillpin, who was conuincid of ye truth at the city of London, about ye yeare 1654, about the time that Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil came first to the city of London, before heare had been any publike testimoni borne for ye truth in these parts.

Too of the first that came into these parts to preach truth, as neare as can now bee vnderstud, weare Jane Waugh and William Simson. Heare wase Ambros Rigg and Thomas Robinson earely in these parts, and Thomas Gillpin, hauing been conuincid of truth some time before, wase redy to receiue them, when they came, and to acompany them about to seuerall plases. Hee acompanyed William Simpson as far as Uxbridg, whear they wear in danger by the rude multitud, but they weare preserued out of there hands. Now some time after Thomas Gillpin wase conuincid, heare wase one Jefferi Bennet conuincid, who continued stedfast in the truth to his dying day, who liued to the age of about ninti years, and then finished his cours, and laid down his head in pease, and wase buried in friends Buring ground, in Warbrw. Hear wear about to or three more soon after conuincid, and then they began a meeting. They met at ye first, at ye house of one Joane Edmuns, in Warbrow. But her Landlord thretning to turn her out of her hous, the meeting wase moued to Dorchester, to the house of one John Tarrent, whear they met a litle while. Thomas Gillpin, about this time dwelling with his father in law at Shillinford, in ye parish of Warbrow, had then noe house at his disposing, but taking a house sone after in Warbrow, and going there to dwell, the meeting wase moued to his hous, and there settled, whear it continued for seuerall years, until a meeting hous and buring ground was purchased.

Now duering the time that ye meeting wase held at Thomas Gillpins house, there weare seual conuincd in the town of Warbrow, and other plases theare abouts; and they weare sometimes visited by Thomas Loe, of Oxford, who came forth early in a testimoni, and wase a uery seruisable man, and some time after, Thomas Gillpin came forth in a testimoni, and wase allso a seruisable man in his day, not onely to this meeting amoungst whom hee Laboured uery much for seuerall years, but also to many others, bothe in this county, and in other countys wheare hee came, for hee traueled at timse into seueral countys, bothe in England and Waellse; but those countys in which his seruis Cheifley lay, and wase most freqent in the seruis of truth, weare Oxford sheire, Barksheire, and Buckingham sheire, in those three countys hee Laboured much. And after hee had bee conserved in the publik seruis of truth about fourti years, and had boarne a faithfull, sound, and a Liuing testimoni for god and his truthe in seuerall parts of this nation, hee at last finished his testimoni, and Laid down his head in peace, at his one house in Warbrow; of whome it may bee said, "Blesed are the dead that dye in the Lord, for they rest from their Labour, and their works follow them."

Now as concerning the suferings of Thomas Gillpin, and othere friends belonging to Warbrow meeting, i shall giue some relation of, because it was somewhat remarkable. Thomas Gillpin wase wise comited a prisnor to the castle at Oxford from his one house, whilst the meeting wase kept at his house. The first time that hee wase comited there wase only hee and one friend more, whose name wase William Dobson, comited, and they weare comited by one Justis Stone, as neare as it can bee remembred, or at least had some hand in it, but they weare not kept long in prison at this time. And as for this Justis Stone, it cannot bee remembred that euer hee had any hand in comiting any friend to prison afterwards, but carried it fauorably towards friends, calling Thomas Gillpin his ould friend, and used to calle some timse at his hous to see him. But the second time that Thomas Gillpin wase comited to prison, hee wase comited by one Hennery

Macham, called a Justis, who wase a wiked, enuious man against friends. And in the time of his being in the plase of a Justis of the pease, friends weare kept out of theire meeting plase at Thomas Gillpins house, and weare forsed to meet in the street, not being sufered to come within the gate, and one of the ofisorse of the town, being a enuious man, and growing weary with keeping friends out of the house, hee went to this Justis Macham, and complained, who presantly sent his warant to bring Thomas Gillpin befor him, haueing provided his mitimus redy befor hee came to send him to prison, which acordingly hee did, But finding that this would not break the meeting, which wase his desine, hee sent for more of them and tendred the oath to them, and then sent them to prison. But friends stil keeping to theire meeting, those of them that weare left, and hee finding that hee could not acomplish his desine, he shortly after comited all most all the men friends belonging to the meeting to prison together, some of them being men that had litle to maintan there familis with but what they laboured for, and he wase soe far from hauing any bowells of tender compation towards their poore wifes and families, that hee seemed rather to glori in his wikidness, for it was said that hee boasted that he had laid Gillpin fast enough, and that hee should not come forth of prison any more whilst hee liued, and indeed it soe hapened, for it wase not long befor the hand of Lord meet with him, and cut him of in his wikednes, and theire was great notis taken of it by many people, and many seemed to reioyce at it, and indeed it wase uery remarkable, and worthy of being taken notis of and remembred to generations to com, that others may take warning for time to com how they are found fiteing against the Lord in exerciseing cruelty towards his people, For it wase not long after this man wase cut of, but most of his family wasted away, soe that theire is hardly any of them left that i know of now in the country; and as for those friends whom hee comited to prison, after they had been prisnors about a yeare or more weare released by king Charlse the second.

Henley-on-Thames.¹⁹

An account as neare as can be gathered of ye first publishers of Truth & first convinced att Henly upon Thames in ye county of Oxon.

About ye yeare 1658, our honorable ffriend, Ambros Rigg, came to Henly, wth two more in his company, on ye 5th day of ye week, being market day, they setting their horses att ye Roase & Crowne Inn. After market was a little over, they got a stooll or forme, & set in ye Gateway of ye sed Inn, wch was against ye corne market, and there ye sd Ambros Rigg declared Truth, being many people gathered abought them ; sum were very attentive and sober. And I believe two or three then soe reached, yt afterward they came to owne Truth ; yett sum were very rude & abusive & throwing things at him, as gutts ; they got bricks.

And after yt,²⁰ Joseph Coale,²¹ a very young man of Reading, & got sum meetings att ye hous of Wm Waters, & also a conference or dispute wth ye Baptise, wch proved of sum sarvice. This dispute being at one of ye playtims called Easter, or Whitsuntide, there was gathered together in ye street (in order to go to play) severall men & boys, the informant thereof being one of thos boys. One of the men said, "Yonder coms a Quaker, throw stones at him," wch was accordingly don, but he passed gently on his way and took noe notice of our²² abous-

¹⁹ This account is not in Portfolio 7. It has been copied from the Q. M. records by Charles E. Gillett.

²⁰ The words "com Thos. Curtis &" appeared originally, but were subsequently crossed out.

²¹ Joseph Coale (Coal, Cole) was of Reading. In various parts of England he suffered much hardship for his Christian testimony, and spent the last six years of his life in Reading jail, where he died in 1670, aged about thirty-four years. See *Some Account of Joseph Coale*, 1706.

He is to be distinguished from *Josiah* Coale, who was a Gloucestershire man. The latter was convinced by the ministry of John Audland and John Camm, when they visited Bristol and neighbourhood, and he travelled extensively in England and America. "Having laboured his natural strength away . . . for about twelve years," he died in London, in 1668, aged thirty-five years. See *The Books and Divers Epistles of . . . Josiah Coale*, 1671.

²² Note the personal reference to the writer.

ing him. Who it was I am not sarning, but suppose him to be ye aforesd Jos Coale ; who was of great sarvis heare to his dying day through he dyed yong.²³

Also Eliz Hutton,²⁴ a good ould woman, came, and vised us early ; then severall others, & got a meeting, sum time at Wm Walters & allso at others times att Wm Tooveys house. Ye later wth his wife was convinced about ye yeare 1662.

Afterwards our beloved friend, Tho Gilpin, of Warbrow, visited us often, & was a great help & strength both to ye ould and yong convinced, and contined very serviseable amongst us to ye year 1702. Then it pleased ye Lord to take him to himself in a good old age.

In ye year 1672, Friends purchased a meeting hous and buring ground att Henly, & in a short time after we had a meeting of near a hundred friends. Then ye enemy gatt in wth som, as Wm Waters & his wife, they turned thayr bake on Truth & became misearable every way, as this becam a great stumbling to many, & did much hirt, thay being ye first in ye town called Quakers. But ye two next convinced, being ye abovesd Wm Toovey & his wife, Lived to a good ould age, wear of great service, & dyed in peace wth ye Lord & his people. Notwithstanding wee have had great exercises hear by ffalse Bretheren and other wise, yet wee thank ye Lord wee have a small meeting well kept up & in good order to this present year, 1705.

²³ Here follows a reference to Thomas Curtis and John Raunce, but it has been partially erased, probably because these two Friends became Separatists. See note 20.

²⁴ Elizabeth Hooton was among the earliest exponents of Quakerism, perhaps the earliest next to George Fox. She visited many parts of England, suffering persecution in various forms, and in 1661, in company with Joan Brocksopp, she sailed for the American colonies. On this and a subsequent visit, she underwent extreme cruelties at the hands of violent persecutors. Again, in 1671, she crossed the Atlantic, as a member of George Fox's missionary party, but she was able to accomplish only a portion of her proposed service. On arrival in Jamaica, in the eleventh month, she was taken suddenly ill, and died. G. F. says, "She was well the day before she died, and departed in peace like a lamb."

There are many isolated references to this Friend in our literature, but, so far as I know, these have never been collected and printed. The late Mary Radley, of Warwick, made much original research with a view to the production of a biography, and her collection of materials is extensive and valuable.

No. 66.]

Turfild Heath.

An account of the first publick friends that came to Tirfield heath, as near as can be remembred.

Frances Raunce²⁵ (John Raunces former wife) wase one of ye first, if not ye very first, yt declared the truth hear, and Eliz West, wid, was ye first yt Receued the Truth in the Love thearof. Also hear was Richard Grinaway, and Joseph Coal, and John Crook, which ware some of ye first yt visited this place, and also Jsaac Peninton, by which som wear Conuinsed. But ye forsaid Frances Raunce was often hear, and did much good, and hear wear several meetings, by which som wear Conuinsed ; but ye first yt settled ye meeting at Tirfield heath was our dear and honorable Friend, George Fox, who settled the meeting hear in ye year 1660, at ye Wid Weste houce, whear it hath continued Euer since, in heir time, heir Childrens, and now heir Granchildren. Sumtime aftar ye meeting was settled hear, our dear Friend, John Gom, Came forth in a publick Testimony to ye Truth ; he belong'd to this meeting, and was very seruisable hear and in othar places. He departed this Life in ye year 1686, and was bured at Henly in friends burying ground, ye 11th of ye 10th month, Expressing his great peace in the Lord in ye time of his sicknes, and hath left a good sauour behind him. Also our dear and Honarabel friend, Thomas Gilpin, sen, who belong'd to the monthly meeting that is hear, was a great help and strength unto us, being uery seruisabel in this place. We do not finde yt aney publick freind euer sufarde aney thing hear. Our meeting was neuer uery Lard, but we continew a litel meeting, and are in unitey one with a nothar.

²⁵ Frances Raunce was the first wife of Dr. John Raunce (Rance), of Wycombe. Thomas Ellwood describes her in his *History* as "both a grave and motherly woman," who "had a hearty love to truth; and tenderness towards all that in sincerity sought after it." Ellwood was nursed through a serious illness by the doctor and his estimable wife. Frances Raunce died at Wycombe in 1665. Her husband joined the Separatists, which resulted in bitter controversy between his old friend, Ellwood, and himself. See *History of Thomas Ellwood* (esp. Crump edition, 1900); Summers's *Jordans and the Chalfonts* (esp. 2nd edition, 1904); etc.

Thomas Budd of the Parish of Marston, ushalk full man, was
Ready to Receive Friends, & to receive yearly of my my neighbours for the
Lords service, & Lord counts his left, for his testimony for such a
Thomas Whitehead of Brington, formerly of Cudbury, his ordinary
them, and gave by his house for the Lords service.

This amount is faithfully drawn up according to former
Aduise, from the yearly moorting, and left to Adamas Green
Reverend, according to
The 14th of the 1st month 1683.

The true
above is John
Nantley the
son, of the
hand writing
J. N.

I have been an eye & ear witness
of the foregoing amount Jasper; Bats,
Addition by John Whiting

John Androp The Ayer of Westmoreland
Methuen, & the Duke of Devonshire, & the Duke of Devonshire
From the Duke of Devonshire, & the Duke of Devonshire
Ordnance, & the Duke of Devonshire, & the Duke of Devonshire

Somersetshire.

J, John Banks,² of Meare, in Sumersett, vpon enquiree haueing Mett with A paper long since writt, By Jasper Batt,³ Jn Answer who were The first Messengers (&c) Jn his time; And the same thing of Late being desired by ffriends ffrom London, And being J Cannott Meett with Any ffriends Now liueing Thatt Can Add Anything Materiall To what Jasper has writt, J was willing to Take A Copie, And send it as it is, verbatim, But whether it may Answer the end Desired or noe, That J shall say noe more of now, Because he that writt it is Nott here in being. And Thus he Begins as ffolloweth.

¹ Number 68 is a specially interesting document. The first portion is in the handwriting of John Banks, and consists of his transcription of an earlier document written by Jasper Batt. This latter is Number 69 in Portfolio 7. M.B. (Morris Birkbeck) adds a few lines respecting the handwriting. (See illustration.) Thus we have, in these two documents, (1) Jasper Batt's paper, written by himself in 1683, (2) John Banks's copy, (3) John Whiting's corrections and additions, (4) Benjamin Bealing's endorsement with date of production to the Meeting for Sufferings, in 1722, (5) Morris Birkbeck's attestation of handwritings, rather less than a century later, (6) copy of the whole for the printer in 1904, and (7) the whole published in 1905.

² John Banks was of Cumberland till the year 1696, when he removed into Somersetshire. He died in 1710. His *Journal*, including preface by William Penn, and an account of his closing days by John Whiting, was first issued in 1712. See also *Piety Promoted*.

³ Jasper Batt was a well-known West Country Friend, living at Street in Somerset. John Whiting refers (*Persecution Exposed*, 1715, p. 108) to the opinion of the Bishop of Bath and Wells of Jasper Batt, that "he was the greatest Seducer in all the *West*, and the most seditious Person in the County, and that he would make *Somersetshire* too Hot for him." An interesting document, giving an account of the beginnings of Street Meeting, probably written by J.B., is still in possession of Friends of that Meeting. It was published in *The Friend* (London) of 11 mo., 1889. He died in 1702.

An account of some of Those who were the ffirst Publishers of Truth in the County of Sumersett, And alsoe of some of Those That ffirst Receiued Them, which was in & about the year 1654, and some Times since.

John Audland, of the County of Westmerland, An able minister of The new Testament, about that Time had seuerall Meettings Jn the sd County of Sumersett, and Gods wittnes in many was reatched by him.

Thomas Briggs, & John Braithwaite, of Lancashire,⁴ did publish Truth About the year 1656, Jn seuerall Markett Towns, And had seuerall Meettings Jn the same County; And John Brathwaite, being A young Man, ffinished his Testimony by Death [at Chippingham, in Wiltshire, G. Fox says].⁵

Thomas Salthouse, of Lancashire, alsoe About the same Time, had seuerall Meettings, in the same County, And afterwards had good seruise ffor the Lord There, And at his ffirst Comeing was Accompanied by Myles Halehead, of Westmorland, the Lords power & presence attending them.

George ffox, the Elder, soone after Came There, and had good seruise ffor the Lord att seuerall meettings, for the Comfort & Confirmation of many in ye blessed Truth.

Jasper Batt, of Street, in the same County, being soon Conuinst att their ffirst Comeing, had a disspensation of the Gospell Comitted to him, & had good seruise ffor ye Lord in seuerall parts of the sd County, being ffreely giuen vp in the lords seruise, and spent his Time therein, in that County, & other parts of ye nation, euer since.

⁴ Thomas Briggs and John Braithwaite travelled much as fellow-labourers in Gospel work. The former was at least three times in Ireland, and he also visited America with George Fox and others in 1671. He died in 1685, at his daughter's house near Nantwich, his residence for some time. There is an interesting autobiographical narrative of his life in *An Account of Some of the Travels . . . of . . . Thomas Briggs*, 1685.

Of John Braithwaite little is known. G. Fox says in his *Journal*, under date Newton in Cartmel (Lancs.), 1652, "There was a youth in the chapel, writing after the priest; I was moved to speak to him, and he came to be convinced, and received a part of the ministry of the gospel; his name was John Braithwaite." This is presumably the same Friend. The name "Joh. Braythwt," stands seventh on R. Richardson's *List of Fds. in ye ministry deceased*, 1681.

⁵ Words enclosed in brackets were inserted by John Whiting.

John Pittman, of the same, alsoe had a precious Testimony for God, And Did some times Accompany the said Jasper in the Trauills & Labour of the Gospell, But the Lord soon tooke him away by death.

John Dando, of [Hollotrow, in] the same County, had a Testimony ffor the truth, & haue Laboured in the same County, And some Times in other Countyes adiacent.

Thomas Whitehead, of [S. Cadbury, after of Brewton, in] the same County, being Conuincd with some of ye first Jn that County, afterwards had a disspensation of the Gospell Committed to him, And haue Laboured dilligently therein.

John Anderdon, of [Bridgwater, in] the same County, not long after the spreading of Truth There, was Conuinct, & had a Testimony for truth Comitted to him, & haue Laboured faithfully therein ; but much of his time euer since, he hath been a prisoner ffor the same Testimony, in the sd County.

Christopher Bacon, of [Venice Sutton, in] the same County, not long after the first spreading of Truth there, was Conuinct, & had a publicke Testimony for the same, & dilligently Laboured therein in yt County, & seuerall other pts of ye nation, & in Ireland alsoe.

Petter Walter, of [Hollotrow, aforesd, in] the same County, being timely Conuinct, had alsoe A Testimony ffor truth Comited to him, & haue Laboured faithfully Therein in this County, & some other pts of this Nation.

Alexander Parker alsoe had a share in the pulishing of truth in yt County, About the time of the first spreading thereof.

Jane Waugh, alsoe, who was after wards Jane Whitehead, by her Marriage with Thomas Whitehead, before mentioned, ought not to be omitted, who in the Early Time of Truth spreading in the same County, Came There in the power & demonstration of the spirit, & had good seruice for god at seuerall Meettings there, & haue since Layd downe her head in peace wth god.

Elias Osborne, alsoe, of [Chard, in] the same County, of Latter years Receiued a Ministry ffor truth, & haue been a dilligent Labourer in the Gospell, in this County and Elsewhere in the Nation.

Seuerall others there were That had a seruice And ministry for Truth About the Time before Mentioned, some whereof haue not Continued ffaithful to the lord, who at ffirst Raysed them vp, are not worthy to haue Their Names Recorded amongst the Righteous, ffor if the Righteous man Turn ffrom his Righteousnesse, & doe that which is euill, his Righteousnesse shall not be Remembred.

And as for Those That were the first Receiuers of Those that first Published the Gospell in the said County of Sumersett, Take this accountt of some of them.

John Dando, of Hollowtrow, Receiued them there, & yielded vp his house ffor Meettings for the seruise of truth.

John Baker, of Berington, ffreely Receiued them, & gaue vp his house ffor meettings ffor the seruise of Truth.

Jasper Batt, of Streett, Receiued them Gladly There, And ffreely gaue vp himselfe, his house, and all, for the lords seruise.

William Beaton, of Puddimore, Receiued them There, & Gaue vp his house for meettings, and many Good, large mettings wee kept there.

John Cloather, of East Liddford, entertained them there, & many Precious, large Meettings were kept at his house.

Edward Blenman, of Shepton Mallett, Receiued them There.

Henry Moore, of Burnham, Receiued them There, & gaue vp his house ffor meettings, & vsed his endeauours to gett his Neighbours to Come and hear Truth declared.

Richard Addams, of Limington, Receiued them, And also Layd Down his life in prison for his Testimony against Tythes.

John Allen, of the Parish of Trent, Receiued them at his house, And many good Meettings were kept there.

Mary Hide, of Millborne Port, ffreely Receiued them, & gaue vp her house ffor the lords people to meett in.

Henry Gundry, of Streett, was allwayes Ready & ffree to Entertaine the lords seruants, as opertunity offered, & his house Giuen vp ffor Meettings to worshipe God in spirit & Truth.

Richard Lincolne, of Crewkerne, ffreely Receiued them there.

Alice Roman, of Gregory Stoake, euen from the first haue been a free Entertainer of the Lords seruants, And her husband, Tho not professing Truth, yett vsually manifested his Consent to her therein And his loue to ffriends, & many large Publicke and precious meettings were kept at their house, And many there Conuincd of truth, and they suffered much for haueing Meettings There.

George Taylor, of the parish of Kingsbury, ffreely Receiued them at his house, as oportunity was offered, & gaue vp his house ffor Meettings for Truth seruise.

William Allaway, of Minehead, ffreely Receiued them, & Readyly gaue vp his house ffor the lords seruise.

And some Time After, as Truth did spread, John Anderdon, of Bridgwater, Receiued & entertained them there, and ffreely gaue vp his house ffor Meettings to worship God.

William Lidden, of Withell, Receiued & entertained them there, And ffreely gaue vp his house for the lords seruise, he haueing been A prisoner many years ffor denying to pay Tyths.

William Thomas, of Duluerton, was a free entertainer of the Lords seruants, and his house Guien vp for the seruise of Truth.

Elizabeth Periam, fformerly of Chillington, & now of Chard, wth her son in Law, Elias Osborne, haue been, & still are ffree & Chearefull entertainers of the lords seruants.

William Lawerence, of Axbridge, haue been, & still is Ready to Receiue and entertaine the lords seruants, he being now A prisoner ffor his Testimony against swearing [1683].

Thomas Budd, senr, of the parish of Martock, a faithfull man, & was Ready to Receive ffriends, & ffreely yielded vp his house ffor the Lords seruise, & Layd downe his life ffor his Testimony ffor Truth.

Thomas Whitehead, of Brewton, fformerly of Cadbury, ffreely receiued them, and gaue vp his house ffor the lords seruise.

This account is ffaithfully drawn vp According to fformer aduise ffrom the yearly meetting, and left to Remaine vpon Record, accordingly. The 14th of the 4th month, 1683.

I have been an eye & ear wittnesse of the foregoeing account.

JASPER BATT.

Addition by John Whiting.⁶

John Audland, & Tho Ayrey, of Westmorland, Came first to Bristol, in ye 5th month, 1654, & had some meetings wth ye Independnts & Baptists, going thence thro Somrsetsh to Plymouth, in Devon, & so to London. From whence J. A. Returnd wth Jo Cam to Bristol, in ye 7th mo, & then began ye Great Meetings at ye orchard, Earlesmead, ye Fort, Red Lodge, &c. Some of ye first yt Entertained them in Bristol were Tho Gouldney, Dennis Hollister, Geo Bishop, Edwd Pyot, & Henry Roe. And soon after, ye sd J A & J C had meetings at Anth Holders, at Bishford, Wm Hobbs's, at Walton, & John Whittings, at Naylsey, wch were ye first meetings in ye County of Somerset.

Soon after, Came Edward Burrough & Francis Howgil to Bristol, &c. And into Somrsetsh also Came Tho. Briggs, Tho. Salthous, Miles Halhead, & Jo Scaife, who had meetings at ye sd Jo Whiting's, in Naylsey, John Cox's, at Burton, John Dando's, at Hollowtrow, Rob Westfield's, at Brislington, Wm Beatons, at Puddimore, Rich Adam's, at Limington, Tho Budd's, at Aish, in ye pish of Martock, Henry Lavor's, at Yeovel, & Jo Pitman's at Street.

Geo. Fox, ye Elder, Came thro' this County, in his Return from Lancelton Prison, in ye year 1656, & Wm Dewsbury in 1657, & had both divers good meetings & service for ye Lord therein.

Edw Burrough, also, Came into this County, in ye year 1660, & had divers great Meetings, as at Glassenbury, Somerton, Puddimore, &c. Also Alex Parker (& many others) had a share

⁶ John Whiting (the younger) was born at Nailsea in Somerset in 1656, shortly after the conviction of his parents. His father died in 1658, and his mother, who, some years later, had married Moses Bryant, died in 1666. Thus John and his sister, Mary, were soon thrown on the care of others. Mary Whiting was early called to the ministry, and she travelled in the work thereof, her brother frequently accompanying her. She died at Norton, Co. Durham, in 1676, aged twenty-two years. See her brother's account of her in *Early Piety Exemplified*, c. 1681. John Whiting will be principally remembered for his bibliographical work. He issued, in 1708, his *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, which has been of invaluable assistance in the study of Friends' literature, though now largely superseded by Joseph Smith's *Catalogue*, 1867. In 1715, J. W. published a very interesting and useful biographical work, entitled, *Persecution Exposed . . . with Memoirs of many Eminent Friends deceased*. He died in London, in 1722.

in ye Publishing of Truth in this County, abt ye time of ye first Publication thereof.

All these (Especially J Audld, J Cam, T Brigs, T. Salthous, & J Scafe) were very Jnstrumental in ye Spreading of Truth & Convincing many in this County, in ye begining, & T. Salthouse was Jmprisond at Ilchester, in 1657, & he & J Scafe (wth many more) in 1660, see ye Record. And of these, J Audland, J. Cam, T. Brigs, M. Halhead, G. Fox, & E. Burrough are in Print. And for T. Salthous, he was of Druglibeck, in Lancash, but Liv'd afterwd in Cornwall, & there dyed in 1690, of whom ffrds in Cornwall may give a further Acct. J Scafe was of Westmorld, but he thro' unfaithfulness fell from his ministry. And for A. Parker, He was of Yorksh, near Lancash, but Liv'd after at London, & dyed in 1st mo, 1683.

Some of ye first yt Recd ye Truth & ye Messengers thereof were

Ye sd. A Holder, W. Hobbs, & Jo. Whiting, of Naylsey (who kept meetings at his House till he dyed in 1658), J Cox, of Burton, Rob Wastfield, of Brislington, Tho Goodwin, of Salford, T Collins, of Bath, Jo Evans, of Jnksbach, Jo Dando, of Hollowtrow, W Beaton, of Puddimore, Rich Adams, of Limington, Hen Labor, of Yeovel, Tho Budd, of Aish, J Pitman, J Batt, & H Gundry, of Street, Jo Clothier, of Lidford, Sam Clothier, of Alford, H Moor, of Burnham, Jo Baker, of Berington, Jo Allen, of Trent, R Lincoln, of Crokhorn, Geo Taylor, of Kingsbury, W Alloway, of Minehead ; And afterwards, Wm Liddon, of Withell, W Thomas, of Dulverton, Jo Alloway, of Taunton, Jo Anderdon of Bridgwater, Tho Pursons, of Portshead, Edm Beaks, of Backwell, W Laurence, of Axbridge, Edw Blenman, of Shepton Mallet, John Clare, of Froom, Ab. Gundry, of Street, Elias Osborn, of Chard, Rich Vickris, of Chew, J Whiting, of Wrington, To wch may be Added, Alice Roman, of Stoke, Mary Hyde, of Milbornport, & Eliz Perham, of Chillington, as aforesd.

At most of whose Houses meetings were kept, Especially before ye great Meeting Houses were Built at Gregory Stoke & Jlminster, abt ye year 1670, & one at Portshead abt ye same time (when Jnformrs grew Hott), & at Clareham 1674, Puddimore, Weston, & Wellington abt 1688, Taunton, Glassenbury, Belton, & Sidcot about 1690.

Several of these & some others not only Recd ye Truth but pt of ye Ministry as follows.

John Pitman, of Street, a faithful Labourer while he Liv'd ; Jas Bat, of ye same, Labourd in many pts, & dyed in 1702 ; Jo Anderdon, of Bridgwater, an Emint Minister, dyed a Prisonr at Jchester, in ye 1st mo, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$; Chr Bacon, of Venice Sutton, a faithful Labourer, dyed at Falmouth, in Cornwall, 1678 ; Jo Collins, of Lidford, had pt of ye ministry, but fell from it by Transgression ; Rob Westfield, of Brislington, also Recd pt of ye ministry, & was serviceable in ye begining, but declined pretty much for want of faithfulness in his Latter days.

The Murford, of Jnksbatch, also had pt of ye ministry, & sufferd Imprisonmt at Bath, in 1656, but Lost his Condition, and Lived at Norwich in his Latter dayes.

John Dando, & Peter Walter, of Hollowtrow, continued faithful ministers till their deaths.

Henry Macy, of Freshford, a faithful minister, & Rich Amesbury, of Bathford, till Death.

Rich Adams, of Limington, also had a Testimony, and dyed a Prisonr at Jchester, 1660, as had also Tho. Budd, of Aish, who had been a Baptist Teacher, & dyed a Prisonr at Jchester, in 1670.

The Whitehead, of Brewton, a minister, till death ; Elias Osborn, of Chard, had an Emint Testimony, till he dyed in 1720 ; also Jos Paul, of Jminster, who went to Pensilvania. To whom J may add Kath Evans (wife of Jo. Evans, of Jnksbatch), who Travelled & suffered much wth S Cheevers, in ye Jsle of Malta, 3 years & half, from 1659 to 1662, & dyed at home very Ancient in 1692.

Jane Waugh (aforesd), of Westmorld, wife of Tho Whitehead, a faithful Handmaid of ye Lord, dyed in 1674, see The Testimony Concerning her.

Mary Whiting, Daughter of Jo Whiting, of Naylsey, aforesd, a young maiden very sober & Religious, Recd a Testimony, & Traveld to London & into ye North, where she dyed in ye County of Durham, in 1676, & 22th of her age. See The Testimony Concerning her.

J.W.

Staffordshire.

An account of such Friends as first published truth in the County of Stafford, and of those then that received ye message, &c.

In the year 1651, or 1652, George Fox came to a meeting of Professrs att a place called Caldon, in the Moorlands part of this County, and declared the truth amongst them.

Afterwards came a Friend, whose name was Miles Bate-man, and declared the truth in the streets of the Town of Stafford, & called the People to repentance, for which he was brought before Walter Adney, Mayor, and was whipped, & put into the town Prison, where he fasted several days & eat not anything. He was not publicly owned by any, but one Matthew Babb, who afterwards came to be convinced, went to visit him in the Prison.

The next, we suppose to be Humphry Woolrich,² who went to a Babtist meeting in Stafford, and there declared truth amongst them, att which time the aforesd Matthew Babb was Convinced, & received him into his house ; and the sd Humphry passing on to Eccleshall, Chebsey, & Shawford, some were there convinced also, & were so well satisfied with the testimony for the truth he bore amongst them, that they received it, & him also into their houses, and for declaring truth in the streets and steeplehouses att Stafford was several times imprisoned there.

¹ Number 70 is dated 1698, much later than the period of the "First Publishers." It contains answers to questions asked annually by the Yearly Meeting.

² Humphry Woolrich (Wollrich, Wooldrich, Wolrich, Wooldridge, Woolbridge), of Newcastle, in this county, appears to have been a Baptist before he joined the Quakers, as in one of several pamphlets addressed to his previous co-religionists, he describes himself as "one that hath sat under those shadows with them, but hath now found the day in which all shadows fly away." There is a slight account of this Friend in *Piety Promoted*. He died in London in 1707.

In the year 1655, Edward Burrough & Fran: Howgill came unto Comberford, near Tameworth, to the house of Francis Comberford, who then was in comission of the Peace, where both they & their Message was kindly received, & having a meeting with his family there, the sd Francis, his wife, & two of his Daughters, were convinced of the truth, which was effectually preached amongst them.

The next in our account was Thomas Kellam & Thomas Goodyear, who visited a place called Linn, near Litchfield, & there published the truth, & were received & their message by William Reading of that place.

And after them, came Thos: Taylor & Alexander Parker, & were recd by the sd William Reading, they having had a meeting before att Humphry Beelands Chamber, in Litchfield aforesd.

The next afterwards that came into these parts was our Friend, James Harrison, who had severall meetings amongst us, and was very serviceable in the truth for the carrying on of Gods work amongst us.

Also Thomas Holme was one yt came into these parts, & was instrumentall to the convincement of many.

Signed by appointment of Friends,

p RD MORRIS.³

Suffolk.¹

³ Richard Morris, of Rugeley, was a prominent Friend of the first half of the eighteenth century. Morris Birkbeck was his grandson. The account signed by him was delivered by Daniel Phillips to the Meeting for Sufferings in 1720.

¹ This Quarterly Meeting appears among those whose accounts were not forthcoming when B. Bealing made up his list. I have searched the Q.M. minute books of the period in vain for any records of "First Publishers."

Surrey.¹

Monthly Men and Womens Meeting at ye house of Elizabeth Bashford, widdow, 12th mo. 1677.

In answer to friends Request at the yearly meeting at London the 17th of the 3rd month, 1676, that friends of the Monthly and Quarterly meetings take an Exact Account among themselves of those that first brought ye Message of glad tydings among them, their sufferings, and who Received them first.

John Slee, & Thomas Lawson, and Thomas Lacock were receivd in Surrey by Rowley Titchbourn, of Rygate, & alsoe by Richd Bax, of Capill—the said Richard Bax hath Continued a Monthly meeting at his house to this day, being now above twenty yeares.²

Edward Bax hath had Conference wth Jno Stedman Concerning ye first Publishers of ye Truth in this part of ye County, who hath informed him to ye best of his Remembrance yt

John Sleigh and Thomas Lawson, both of ye North Country, had theire first meeting at his house in Ockley³ about ye yeare 1654, or 1655, and were Received by Rich Bax, of Capill, & about yt time a Large Convincement, and a monthly meeting settled at the house of ye sayd Rich Bax, Whom ye Lord honoured wth a Publicke Testimony for ye truth, & good esteeme in his Country.

¹ An account from this county appears to have been received in due course, but it is not now among others in Portfolio 7.

The above accounts are taken from local records, as printed in Thomas William Marsh's *Early Friends in Surrey and Sussea*, 1886.

² Dorking records, 12 mo., 1677.

³ "Probably, at Kitlands, two miles from Ockley."—T.W. MARSH.

The next Messengers were Thomas Laccocke & Thomas Robinson. After them George ffox, and quickly then a Meeting Settled att Thomas Moore's⁴ at Heartswood, In Buckland ; & soone after yt, a Meeting settled at Reigate, and friends Received by Rowley Titchbourne, Thomas Blatt, &c.⁵

*Those who first vissited this countery with truths messiag, &c.
were*

Thomas Robinson, Thos Laccocke, Joseph Fuce, Ambrose Rigg, the first messingers aboute ye yeare 1655, And were received by Tho Patchin, Henery Gill, Humphry Kirke, of Godallming Parish, John Lee, Stephen Wickes, Susana May, of Guildford.⁶

⁴ Thomas Moore, a justice, was convinced by George Fox, in 1655, and became a prominent supporter of Quakerism. "Heartswood, in Buckland parish, is one and a half mile south of Reigate."—T. W. MARSH.

⁵ Dorking records, 7 mo., 1706.

⁶ Guildford records, 1 mo., 1681.

Sussex.

From our Quarterly Meeting Held at Thakham, in Sussex, ye 23d of ye 7th mo, 1706. To the Meeting for Sufferings in London, these.

Deare Friends.

In the Deare Loue of our heauenly Father, which we haue in his Son, Jesus Christ, wee Dearely salute you. It was thought fitt att this Quarterly Meeting to Inform you that among our Endeauours to Answer the Aduises of the Yearly Meeting to friends, as to a Collection of the Rise, progress, and Friends Conuincement, and Sufferings of Friends in Sussex, in order to a Generall History, tho we haue sent up Two Copyes allready for our County, and Desire that Surch may be made for them both att the Chamber of the Corrispondants to prevent farther Trouble therein ; but if both are Mislaide, wee, upon notice, Shall Send up a third of the same,¹ of which please to send Answer to Richard Gates, in Horsham. Soe once more with the Salutation of our Deare Loue, we Remain, your Loueing Friends and Brethren in the Blessed Truth.

Signed in behalfe of the Said Meeting by

WM NICHOLAS.

An account of the first Comeing of the people of God, in scorn Called Quakers, into this County of Sussex, and in what places they first Declared the Truth, and by whome they were first Receued.

God, whose mercies are ouer all his works, & hath had Regard to the Crye of the poore & the sighing of the needy in

¹ Apparently a third copy was not needed, as the one now attached to the "First Publishers" MSS. is dated 1704 ; its appearance indicates that it passed through some experiences !

² Number 72 appeared, "smoothed," in *The Friend* (London), vol. 2 (1844), p. 244, with the following introductory paragraph, "The following account is taken from some papers belonging to the late John Horne of Hook, in Hampshire, and is thought to have been copied from a minute

all ages, and to the breathing of his own Seed through all Generations, Did in this our day & Age send forth his seruants, in scorne called Quakers, to preach the Euerlasting Gospell of peace, & bring the glad Tidings of Saluation, & Redemption, & Liberty to the Captiue, & that the oppressed should be set free, as people Come to yeild obeydience to the heauenly gift of god, the Light of Christ Jesus, as it was made manifest in them.

This blessed Testimoney, & Joyfull Tidings of Saluation, was first preached by friends in the north side of this County of Sussex, about the third month of the year 1655, at the towne of Horsham, *vizt.* by John Slee, Thomas Lawson,³ and Thomas Laycock.⁴ And noe man receueing them into his house, some of them Declared the Truth in the open market, in a powerfull manner, directing the people to yeild obeydience to the heavenly gift of god, the Light of Christ Jesus, as it was made manifest in them. This was to the great admiration of some, yet, as in all ages, the most part Reuiled, and some stoned them, others Counted them mad men, yet all did not Dante them, nor stop their Testimoney; but they bore all with such meekness & patience as was wonderfull to behold. And after haueing

book belonging to a Monthly or some other Meeting for Discipline. It is not known that it has appeared in print until the present time."

The account has also appeared in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xvi. (1864), p. 69, in a sixty-one page article by William Figg, F.S.A., entitled, "Extracts from Documents illustrative of the Sufferings of the Quakers in Lewes."

See also Thomas William Marsh's *Early Friends in Surrey and Sussex*, 1886.

³ Thomas Lawson was the son of Sir Thomas and Ruth Lawson, and was educated at Cambridge. He was convinced by George Fox in 1652, while holding the lucrative living of Rampside in Lancashire. He soon relinquished this position, and took up teaching as a profession. He was a great botanist, and at one time taught botany at Swarthmore Hall. He died at Great Strickland in 1691, aged sixty-one. Various treatises of his have been published, and others are still in manuscript in D. His son, Jonah, who died in 1683, aged fourteen years, finds a place in *Piety Promoted*, and is also referred to in his father's tract, *A Serious Remembrance to live well*, 1684. See Webb's *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*; histories of Friends by Croese and Sewel; *American Friend*, x. (1903), 847; etc. He is to be distinguished from John Lawson, of Lancaster. Both men are mentioned in *The Journal of George Fox*.

⁴ Several Friends of the name of Laycock (Lacock, Lawcock) appear in the early records; I am not aware of any collection of biographical data respecting any of them.

finished their testimonies for that time at that place, they Came the same day from thence to the house of Bryan Willkason, who liued in a park at Sigwick Lodge, in Nutthurst parrish, about Two milles from Horsham, who receued them, he being Indeede the first man that gaue enterance⁴ as well to their persons as to their Testimony. (This Bryan Willkason Came out of the north of England not Long before.) And the next day, being the first day of the week, they had a meeting in his house, which, through the power that attended their Testimony, the Consciences of some were Reached, and soe from that time Truth began to spread it selfe in this County of Sussex.

The next meeting after that was at Jfield, the first day following, at the house of Richard Bonwicks (a weauer by Trade), who was the first that Receued them there. And their Testimony in that place, where was also conuincid Richard Bax, since a Labourer in the Lords vinyard, who Liued⁵ in Capell in Surry, as also seuerall others, and thus the Lords work began to prosper.

Soone after that meeting held at Richard Bonwicks, the same friends, *vizt.* Thomas Lawson, Thomas Laycock, Came to Twinham to Humphry Killingbecks, & had there a meeting which was very great & seruiceable to the Conuincing of seuerall, and perticularly John Grouer, the elder, William Ashfold, and Elizabeth Killingbeck, the elder.

And about this time, *vizt.* the 3d month, in the yeare aforesaid, Came Thomas Robinson, the Elder, to the Town of Lewis, and Came to a seekers meeting held in Southouer, neere Lewis, at the house of John Russell, where he Declared the Truth to the Conuincement of Ambrose Galloway, and Elizabeth his wife, and Stephen Eager, who were then members of the said meeting, and he was the means of dissoluing⁶ that meeting.

Soone after that, Came George Fox and Alexander Parker to the house of the aforesaid Bryan Willkason, where they met with Thomas Laycock, who, being moued to goe into the steplehouse at Horsham, was for the same Committed to Horsham

⁵ *The Friend* account reads, *now living*.

Extinguishing was first written, and *dissoluing* written over it.

Goale, on the 24th day of the 4th month, 1655, by Edward Michell and George Hussey, Called Justices, where he Remained about a Quarter of a yeare.

The same first day, George Fox had a meeting at Ninion Brockats house, att Beeding, and Alexander Parker went to a Baptis meeting.⁷

And in the same week allso, George Fox and Alexander Parker held a meeting att Jfield, at the house of Richard Bonwick, where was a great meeting, and such heauenly Testimonies borne as was to the Conuincement and Settlement of many ; and from that time, and in that parrish, was settled a meeting on euery first day of the weeke which was the first meeting that was gathered in this County to set downe together in Silence to waite vpon the Lord.

Now at the forementioned meeting, there was one Thomas Patching, who then Lived att Bonwicks Place, in Jfield, who Desired George Fox and the other friends with him to haue a meeting att his house, which was granted, and he, with many of his house, beleued ; and after that, at that place were many Pretious meetings, and there was settled the first monthly meeting that was Sett up in this County, which was the Last Six day in euery month, and has since been Remoued to the house of Richard Bax, at Capell, in Surry, by Reason of Thomas Patchings Remoueing from that Place.

Now Thomas Laycock being brought out of Prison to the Sessions, which was then held att Chichester, in his way thither he held a meeting att one William Penfolds and Daniell Gittons house, att Binsted, nere Arondell, being Accompanied with John Slee & Thomas Lawson, where was

⁷ The accounts given in *The Friend* and the *Collections* insert here :—

“ And in the same Weeke allso, Georg Fox had a Meeting at the aforesaid Bryan Wilkason’s house, where one Matthew Caffin, a Baptist Preacher, came and opposed him.”

Matthew Caffin was a native of Horsham. He “ was expelled from the University of Oxford for embracing and defending believers’ baptism. . . . He was frequently engaged in defending the principles of the Baptists, especially against the Quakers. . . . He died in 1714, aged eighty-six years.” (Wood’s *Hist. of the General Baptists*, quoted in J. Smith’s *Catalogue of Adverse Books*, p. 99. His books were replied to by Thomas Lawson, John Slee, James Nayler, George Fox, Humphry Woolrich, and George Whitehead.

Conuincd Nicholas Rickman, Edward Hamper, William Turner, Tristrum Martin, John Ludgater, and seuerall others. And when he Came to the Sessions, he was there Sett att Liberty, but did not Continue Soe Long, for, Comeing back Accompanied with the two aforementioned friends, he had a meeting att the house of Nicholas Rickman, in Arundell, where, as he was Declareing the truth to the people, there Came in one George Penfold, a Cunstable, Jnstigated thereto by one John Beaton,⁸ a Presbiterian Priest, and assisted by one John Pellatt, and pulled away the said Thomas Laycock, and broke up the meeting, haueing Thomas Laycock before one Thomas Ballard, Mayor, who was allso a Presbeterien, who Jmeadiately Committed him againe to Horsham Prison, on the third day of the Eight month, 1655.

And within a Little time after, George Fox and Alexander Parker Came to Steyning, where he was Receued by John Blackfan, and he, being then Constable of that Towne, Lett them haue the Liberty of the market house to meet in.

After which, they two, *viz.* George Fox and Alexander Parker, Came from that meeting att Steyning to Lewis, where they had againe another meeting at the house of John Russell, in Southouer, a parrish Joyning to Lewis, and they trailled from thence Eastward to Warbleton and them parts.

Quickley after which, Came Ambros Rigge and Joseph Fuce through this County, and Trailled much amongst us by visiting all the meetings, and serued much to the Establishing of them, and Continued their Labours amongst us seuerall yeares.

And here in this place it may be Conueniant to Remember the wonderful Goodness of God to Richard Bonwick in perticular, who, as is before obserued, had the first Settled meeting in this County in his house, for the perticulars of which take the following Relation.

This Richard Bonwick and his wife were very Aged, and their Labours done, and but Low in the world as to outward Estate, and they had allso a Kindswoman, more aged then either of them, to maintaine, and he was uery often a sufferer in the

⁸ Beaton was one of the Ejected Ministers of Sussex. See Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* iii. 315.

Case of Tithes, as may be seen in the following Relation of friends Sufferings,⁹ for a little Farme of Ten or twelve pounds a yeare in which he dwelt, and had some times one Cow and some times two att a time taken from him by the priest for Tithes. And he was allwaies ury Ready to Comunicate on all occations of that Substance that God had giuen him, and was Still ury free to friends in his house, Yet, Like the womans barell of meale and the Cruse of Oyle, mentioned in the first of Kings, 17 Chapter, 16 verse, his Little did neuer faile, but he had more att the day of his death then he had the day that he first Receued friends into his house, which was many yeares Assunder.¹⁰

George Fox, ye Younger,¹¹ A true & faithful Minister of Christ Jesus, Laid down ye body at Hurst, on the seauenth day of ye fifth month, Called Juley, one thousand six hundred & sixty one, & was buried at Twineham, in Sosex.

⁹ This probably refers to the recital of local Friends' sufferings, which frequently follows the accounts of "First Publishers," given in the Q.M. and M.M. records.

¹⁰ The *Collections* insert here:—"Now, as touching the First Bookes that were Written by Friends, take as followeth:—(1) Thomas Lawson Writt a Booke in answer to one Magnus Bine [Magnus Byne's book was entitled, *The Scornfull Quakers answered, and their railing Reply refuted; by the meanest of the Lords Servants, Magnus Byne*. 1656. It is referred to in Fox's *Great Mistery*, 1659.] then Priest of Clayton, the title whereof was, *An Answer to a Dawber with Untempered Morter*, etc; (2) An Answer by Joseph Fuce to an opposing Baptist, the title whereof was, *The Ould Botle's Mouth Stopped*, etc., which was Imprinted in the Yeare 1656; [I do not find this book by Fuce in J. Smith's *Catalogue*.] (3) Edward Burroughs writt a Booke in Answer to a Manuscript Sent by one Jackson [Thomas Jackson, of Stoke, in Sussex. In *Truth lifting up his Head above Slander*, 1663. Francis Howgill wrote, "An answer to Thomas Jackson, late Priest of Stoke in Sussex, his Lying Paper, which he left in the North of England."] a Priest, to a parliament man, full of Invectives against the people of God in Generall, the whole Scope of the matter being Intended to Stir up the then powers in that Parliament, to persecute them. This Answer was written in the yeare 1659, Intitled, *Satan's Design Defeated*, the whole booke may be Seene in the 514 page of the works of Edward Burroughs."

¹¹ Named "the younger," or "junior," to distinguish him from the George Fox, although the former was the elder man. His home was near Woodbridge, in Suffolk. I do not find that these two Friends of the same name came into much contact with one another.

Warwickshire.¹

The first publick ministers, that travailed in the severall parts of this County in the service of Truth, were as under.

Thomas Taylor for his Testimony to the Truth, Prisoner in Coventry; William Dewsbury for his Testimony to the Truth, Prisoner in Warwick; Thomas Goodyear² for his Testimony to the Truth, Prisoner in Warwick; John Stubbs, Margerit Fox,³

¹ There is not any account from Warwickshire forthcoming. A minute of the Meeting for Sufferings, dated 10th of First Month, 1720, states, "An Accot brot in of the first Publishers of Truth in Warwickshire, Read, and left with B. Bealing," but B. B. adds to his list, under Warwickshire, "Brot. left with T. Busbey;" between the two Friends it seems to have been lost!

Henry Lloyd Wilson, of Birmingham; has copied the following from the Q.M. Minute Book, No. 1:—

26th 7 mo. 1720.—"A letter being read in this Meeting from the Meeting for Sufferings, desiring an account what ministering friends first visseted this County, Joseph Freeth is desired to take care that a copy of the same be sent to the North and South Monthly Meetings, in order the said account be brought into the next Quarterly Meeting."

19th 10 mo. 1720.—"Persuant to the advice of the last Quarterly Meeting, the Representatives from each Meeting brought in the best account the[y] could. Which account this Meeting appoints Willm Hodges and Joseph freeth to send up to the Meeting for Sufferings in London."

See William White's *Friends in Warwickshire* 1873; *The British Friend*, xv. (1857), 31ff, 60ff.

² Thomas Goodaire (Goodayre, Goodayer, Goodyeare, Goodhaire, Goodier), who is mentioned frequently in these pages, was of Selby; Yorkshire. He died in 1693, after having passed through much suffering at Northampton, Oxford (where he was præmunired), and other places. See Whiting's *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 229.

³ Widow of Judge Fell, of Swarthmore, and wife of George Fox. Her position in the early Quaker Church was one of great importance, and the correspondence she kept up with various Friends must have been enormous. A comprehensive biography of this true "Mother in Israel" is much needed. See her *Testimony* to George Fox in his *Journal*; Webb's *Fells*; Barber's *Furness and Cartmel Notes*, 1894; *The British Friend*, 1845.

Henry Jackson,⁴ Jno Camm, Jno Audland, Thomas Callem,⁵ Lenord Fell,⁶ George Fox, Richard Sanndall,⁷ Soloman Eagles.⁸

⁴ Henry Jackson was a Yorkshireman. In 1661; he and others "were taken from an Inn [in Warwickshire] (where their giving Thanks before Supper was called preaching at a Conventicle); and committed to prison" (Besse, i. 764). [For another instance of this excess of persecuting zeal, see G. Fox's *Journal*, ii. 133.] It is evident that "giving thanks" was not usually vocal, as the author of *The Character of a Quaker*, 1671, p. 10, says "A Quaker . . . cannot endure Ceremonies . . . and therefore falls to all meat . . . without saying grace."

⁵ Perhaps; Thomas Killam.

⁶ Leonard Fell was in the employ of Judge Fell, at Swarthmore, but I do not know that there was any family relationship between the two men. After his conviction; which was in 1652, he travelled extensively in the service of Truth, with George Fox and other Friends. The story of his encounter with the highwayman is well known. Benjamin Holme writes (*Collection of Epistles* . . . 1753, p.3), "In the year 1699; I had a desire to go with my friend, Joseph Kirkbride from Pennsylvania; and our aged Friend, Leonard Fell, being then in Cumberland, he and the said Joseph went to visit Friends in the Bishoprick of Durham. . . . (I think he died at Darlington soon after)." He died at the house of Robert Truman (the Darlington Friend, who usually entertained travelling ministers), in 1700. There is no mention of his death in the Darlington records, which rather points to his burial elsewhere, perhaps in his home county. See Webb's *Fells*; p. 35; *Biographical Memoirs; Autobiography of Henry Lampe*; edited by J. J. Green, 1895; p. 59n; *D. Portfolio 2*; and numerous MSS.

⁷ Perhaps, Richard Samble.

⁸ Solomon Eccles. He was a London Friend. He tells us in his *Musick Lector*, 1667; that he was once a teacher of music, and adds, "I could teach men's Sons and Daughters on the Virginals and on the Viol, and I got the two last years more than an hundred and thirty pounds a year with my own hands." When he felt it right to renounce his profession; he sold his musical instruments and books; but not feeling clear even then; he bought them back and burnt them on Tower Hill. He learnt tailoring to provide for his needs. In 1663, "at the time of *Bartholomew Fair*; he passed through *Smithfield* with his body naked, and a pan of Fire and Brimstone burning on his Head; calling to the People to Repent," and in 1669; he did much the same in Ireland. (Besse, i. 393; ii. 476.) A similar incident is ascribed to a Quaker in *Pepys' Diary*, under date; 29 July, 1667, "One thing extraordinary was the day: a man, a Quaker came naked through the Hall, only very civilly tied about the loins to avoid scandal, and with a chafing-dish of fire and brimstone burning upon his head . . . crying, 'Repent! repent.'" This symbolical action of his is introduced into W. Harrison Ainsworth's *Old Saint Paul's*, where he is called Solomon Eagles. Eccles accompanied George Fox to America in 1671. He died in Spitalfields, London, in 1683, aged sixty-five years.

Westmorland.

A Breife Account of ye ffirst publishers of truth in ye County of Westmrland & some Adjacent places yt Joyn's wth the ffriends quartrly Meeting in Westmrland aforesd. And allso of their Service in Convinceing many labourers in ye Gospell, & satleing Meetings of ffriends, & Suffrings for Truth, wth their Countreys, qualites, Age, & time of their decease, wth dieing sayings, &ct. As allso who was the ffirst receivers of them & their testemony. Who was raised up in publike Testemony's for the spreadeing Truth, & preaching ye Gospell abroad in this & othr nations, their Age, quality, Labours, Sufferings, & ffaithfullness, & time when & where they died, as neare as can be remembred, wth their great assurance of ye Love of God in many pretious dieing words & sayings, when ready to leave ye world, as ffolloweth.

First, that ffaithfull & honorable servant of ye Lord, G. ff, of Drayton in the County of Lester, showmaker, born in ye yeare 1624, and of a reputable & Religious ffamily, whome God Allmighty in his tender years visited wth ye day spring from on high, in ye Revellation of his son Jesus Christ, that true light that Enlightneth every man yt cometh into ye world, who, by beleiveing in ye same & walkeing in it, became A Child thereof, qualified to turne people from darkness to light & from Satans power to Christ the Savior and great power of

¹ Number 75 is composed of thirty-three pages of manuscript; 8¼ inches by 6½ inches; it was presented to the Yearly Meeting in 1709, and is said to be in the handwriting of Thomas Camm. Though evidently prepared with much care, it was probably a work of memory rather than of research. I have been able to fill in several dates left blank by the writer.

Valuable extracts from the Q.M. records were published in the *Kendal Mercury and Times* in 1902; these have been collected into a news-cutting book and indexed, and placed in D.

See also Ferguson's *Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends*, 1871.

God. Him the great God sanctified by his eternall word, & made him Messinger & Minister to bring Glad tideings to ye poore, and delivrance to ye Captive Soulls, to proclaime a Jubille & delivrance to ye prisonrs of hope, to wch service he was Called Early in his tender years, aboute the age of 19 years, and suffered many & great hardships by Jmprisonmt in sevrall places, scoffing, scorning, & cruell beateings, for sevrall years before he came into these parts, as by his Jornell & other Accts doth more at large apeare, to wch the Readr is referred.

Sedbergh.

Jn ye begining of ye yeare 1652, he Came into ye north west part of Yorkshire, into ye dalls & hilly Country there, & perticularly to the house of Richard Robinson, at Brigflats, neare ye Towne of Sedbergh in Yorkshire, near ye borders of Westmrland, upon ye seventh day of ye weeke, in ye later End of ye third Month, or begining of ye fourth, being the day Called whitsonewe. And the sd Richard Robinson received him & his Testemoney in great Love, wth whome G : ff : lodged that night. And the morrow, being ye first day of ye weeke, he & the sd R. R. went to a Meeting of A religious people seperated from the Coñon Nationell Worshippe, at the house of Gervise Benson, at Borratt, neare Sedberge aforesd, who some time before had bene Comissary in ye Archdeconry of Richmond in ye diesses of Chester, but those Courts being laid aside in ye late domistick warrs, in wch time he became a Soldier, & was Advanced to ye place of a Collenell, so then bore the name of Collenell Benson, & was allso then Justice of peace in the County of Westmrland, & some time before had bene Maior of the Towne of Kendall. At whose house ther was a great Meeting from sevrall Adjacent places, both of York shire and Westmrland, in wch Meeting G : ff did Powrfully preach ye Gospell of ye Kingdome, wch had an Enterance into, & reception by many harts there. And the sd Gervise Benson & Wife were Convinced, & gladly received him into their house, And the sd Richard Robinson, & Major

Busfield,² Tho : Blaikling & wife, their Son, John Blaikling, & wife, all of Drawell,³ neare Sedbergh, Joseph Bains, of Stangerthwaite in Westmrland, & many others, who sevrall of them afterwards received him Joyfully into their houses, & beleived in ye Truth by him preached, & became obediant to the same, and lived & died faithfull witnesses & faithfull testimony bearers therto, who are all now dead, except Joseph Bains.

Upon ye 4th day of ye same weeke, being a ffaire at ye Towne of Sedbergh, Comonly Called Whitsonwedonsday, where the sd G: ff powrfully declared Truth in the Steeplehouse yarde, and alltho some opposed him, yet many received his Testemony, & were convinced & turned to the way of Truth. Affter wch, G: ff: went to ye house of Tho: Blaikling & John Blaikling, his son, at Drawell aforesd, who gladly & in great Love received him. And upon ye first day following, G: ff: , being Accompanied wth the sd John Blaikling, went to ffirbanke Chappell, where ff : Howgill & John Audland preached in the fore noone to a seeeking and religeous people ther seprated from the Comon way of Nationall worships. The said G: ff: bore till they had done, walkeing aboute ye Chappell doore, & when the Meeting broke up, gave notice of a Meeting afternoone the same day Jntended, hard by ye sd Chappell ; whither many did resorte, & then & their ye sd G: ff: was opened in a liveing Testemoney by the word of life to ye reaching gods witsesse in many hearts, and ye sd J A was then fully Convinced of Truth, wth many more. And the sd J A Jnvited G: ff to his house, at Crosslands in Westmrland, whither he came second or third day of same weeke, & J A, & his wife, Ann, Joyfully received him into their house. And on the ffourth day morneing, came with G: ff to the house of John Camm, at Camsgill in Preston Patricke, who wth his wife & ffamellie gladly received G: ff.

² He is called Major *Bousfield* in George Fox's *Journal*. William Edmondson met him in Ireland, and refers to him thus, "About this time, one *Miles Bousfield* came from *England* to *Ireland*, at whose house *George Fox* had been; he had been in some degree convinced of the Truth; and came away upon it. He was a great Talker of Religion, but an Enemy and a Stranger to the Cross of Christ," *Journal*, 1715, pp. 10-12.

³ For reference to Draw-well see *JOURNAL*, ii. 22.

Preston Patrick.

And it having then bene a Common practise amongst ye sd seekeing and religiously Inclined people to Rase a Genrall⁴ Meeting at Preston Patrick Chapell once a month, upon the ffourth day of the weeke, to wch resorted the most zealous & religious people in sevrall places Adjacent, as from Sedbergh side in ye County of Yorke, Yelland & Kellet in the County of Lancaster, Kendall, Grayridge, Undrbarrow, Hutton, & in & about the said Preston Patricke, where ye sd ff: H:, J: A:, and sevrall others did vsually preach to the Congregation there mett; and the sd Meeting being their Appointed that same day, thither G: ff: went, being Accompanyed wth J: A: & J: C. J: A: would have had G: ff. to have gone into ye place or pew Where vsually he & the preachr did sitt, but he refused, & tooke A back Seat neare the doore, & J. C: satt downe by him, where he satt sillent waiteing upon God about halfe an hour, in wch time of silence ff H seemed uneasy, and pulled out his bible, & opened it, & stood up severall times, sitting downe againe and Closeing his Booke, A dread & ffear being upon him yt he durst not begin to preach. After the said silence and waiteing, G: ff stood up in the mighty power of God, & in ye demonstration therof was his mouth opened to preach Christ Jesus, the Light of life, & the way to God, & Saviour of all that beleive & obay him, wch was delivred in that power and Authority that most of the Auditory, wch were sevrall hundereds, were Effectuallly reached to the heart, & Convinced of the truth that very day, for it was the day of Gods powr.

A nottable day Jndeede never to be forgotten by me, Thomas Cam⁵, who, wth some othr brethren, by ye Quarterly Meeting is Appointed to Colecte the matters herein mentioned,

⁴ Was this a precursor of Quaker General Meetings?

⁵ The way in which the writer of the account introduces himself into his narrative is very interesting. Thomas Camm was born in 1641, at Camsgill, the home of the family for many years. He appears to have had a prominent share in the work and suffering of his day. In 1666, T. Camm married Anne, widow of his father's friend and travelling companion, John Audland. Anne Camm died in 1705, and her husband followed her in less than two years, on the 13th of First month, 1707.

Piety Promoted contains accounts of several members of the Camm family. See also Thomas Camm's book on the history of his father and John Audland, published in 1689.

J being then present at that meeting, A schoole boy but aboute 12 years of age, Yet, J bless the Lord for his mercy, then religiously inclined, do still remember that blessed & gloryouse day, in wch my soull, by that liveing Testemony then borne in the demonstration of Gods power, was effectually opened, reached, & Convinced, wth many more, who are sealls of that powfull Ministry that Attended this ffaithfull servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, & by wch we were Convinced, & turned from darknesse to light & from Satans powr to the power of God.

After wch Meeting at Preston Chapell, G: ff Came to the house of John Cañ, at Camsgill. Next day Travelled to Kendall, where he had a meeting in the mount⁶ Hall or sessions house, where many were Convinced & Received his testemony with Joy.

Underbarrow.

And the ffirst that received G: ff & others (the publishers of the Gospell of peace & Glad tydings) fnto their house, were

Robert Collinson, Robrt Wharton, Thomas Willan, &ct. After wch G: ff. travelled that night to the house of Miles Bateman,⁷

⁶ Moot-Hall.

⁷ This is, presumably, Miles Bateman the elder. He had a son of the same name, and there were other Batemans in the district. Miles Bateman was visited by George Fox at his house in Underbarrow in 1652. He was one of the Friends who were persecuted by William Brownsword (Brownswood), vicar of Kendal, as recorded by Besse and others. In the account of this occurrence given in the Fleming MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com. *Report* xii, App. vii.) he is named *Milo* Bateman. It is not clear whether the following statement refers to the elder or younger Bateman:—"In 1658, Underbarrow Friends arranged for a grave-yard at the Cragg, by Miles Bateman's consent and order, 'he then being esteemed a good ffriend, and did daly walke in the feare of god in humillitye and heavenly obeydience, having a sweete and large testimony to beare for his name. Yett afterwards he being but young in years went up to London, and letting his mind run after noveltyes, the soules enemy prevailed over him more and more till att Length he quite Revolted from truth, made shipwreck of faith and good conscience, became Insolent and Arrogant in minde, and when he came home pulled downe one side of the burying-place wall againe and layed it to his field to be plowed as formerly. . . . by which he did magnifie himself in wickednesse and became highly esteemed among unbelievers.'" ("Westmorland Quaker Records," extracted from the *Kendal Mercury and Times*, 1902.) The name of Miles Bateman occurs in the Burials Register of Westmorland Q.M. in 1685 and 1717, but as no age is given it is not possible to say which person of the name is referred to in these entries.

of Tullytwhaite, in Underbarrow, who received him into his house with Joy. And the sd Miles Bateman, giveing notice to the Neighbourhood of G: ffs being there, A meeting was held at Underbarow Chapell next day, where G: ff mett wth some opposision, but the Lord gave him power & dominion over it all, & many were Convinced and turned to the Lord in Underbarrow, as the sd Miles Bateman, Edward Burrow, Miles Hollhead, Miles & Stephen Hubersty's, John Tompson & wife, of Crooke, Geo: Bateman & ffamelly, Miles Birkhad, & many others, severall of wch was the ffirst receivers of the sd G: ff. and other Servants of the Lord that came afterwards into theire houses. ffrom thence he travelled to the house of James Dickin-son, at Crosthewaite, who received him & his Testemony, & was Convinced of Truth, & Continued a faithfull man to the end.

Thence G: ff: travelled into the north of Lancashire, and peticularly to Swarthmore, to the House of Judge ffell, where the Lord made him an Instrumt to Convince ye Judg's wife, and his Children, & most of his Servants & ffamelly, with many more in those parts. After a few weeks, he returned into Westmrland, to Poolbanke, where sevrall ffamellies of the Pearsons by name, & sevrall others, received him, & were Convinced by him of the Blessed Truth ; & from thence to the house of Miles Bateman aforesd ; and thence to Kendall, where he spoke and declared through the streets, being Market day. After Came to the house of John Cam, of Camsgill, & had alarge Meeting out of dooers, upon a ffirst day, and some Convinced, & they yt were before Convinced Confirmed, and so travelled from place to place for some weeks, & sattled severall Meetings, as at Sedbergh, Preston Patrick, Kendall, Underbarrow, Hutton, &ct. After travelled to Swarthmore, & those parts againe, & stayed there a few weekes, & returned Jnto Westmrland againe.

And aboute that time (being towards the later end of suñer, in ye same yeare, 1652), Came James Naylor and Richard ffarnsworth, both in the County of Yorke, whome God had allso Comited the word & Testemony of the Gospell of life unto, and made them able Ministers thereof, who had bene Convinced of

truth the yeare before by the Ministrey of G ff. in his travells in yt Country. And they three had a Large Meeting, att the house of Geo : Baitman aforesd, at Cragge, in ye aforesd Undrbarrow, where sevrall was Convinced, others established and Confirmed in Truth.

Grayrigg.

Rich : ffarnsworth was the first that published Truth in Grayridge, Although severall of Grayridge was Convinced of Truth before, by the Ministry of G ff., as ffancis Howgill, Tho : Robertson, Ambros Rigg, Henry Warde,⁸ who had bene a Captaine in ye army, Alixander Dixon, & others, att ffirbanke Chapell, Preston Chapell, & othr places. The sd Richard ffarnsworth Came in the moveings of the Lord to Grayridge Chapell, where one Benson, a Preist, being then Preaching, And in the dread of the Lord declared agst all hierling preachers that deceive the people. One Richard Nicolson, being one of that assembly, was reached by the Testemony then borne, and came & tooke R: ff: by the hand, & led him up to the table in the Quire, And there the sd R: ff did powerfully declare the truth to the people a pretty while, & all was quiet & many well Affected wth his Testemony. Tho : Rawlinson⁹ being then there, did Appointe, or give notice of a Meeting to be at the house of ffra : Howgill, in ye sd Grayridge, which was a great & effectuall Meeting, where was G. ff: J N, & R ff, and many Convinced And others Confirmed.

And ffra : Howgill, Hen : Ward, Tho : Robertson, Alix : Dixon, & Widdow Garnet were the first receivers of those first Messings & Ministers of truth into their houses. And a large Meeting was then gathered & sattled in Grayridge.

⁸ Of Captain Henry Ward, George Fox says (*Journal*, i. 113), "He received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it." It was at Captain Ward's, at Sunnybank, near Grayrigg, that George Whitehead first attended a Friends' meeting, and there also where he first heard George Fox preach (*Christian Progress*, pp. 2-5).

⁹ Thomas Rawlinson was of the district known as Furness Fells, between Windermere and Coniston, in Lancashire. He was on his way to visit George Fox and his companions in Launceston Castle, in 1656, when he was cast into prison at Exeter. He was with George Fox in Scotland in the following year.

Ravenstonedale.

And G f f : , after that, went into Ravenstonedale, being accompanied by ffrancis Howgill, John Blaikling, & Tho : Robertson, & sevrall others, & had a meeting, where sevrall was Convinced, and a Meeting was afterwards sattled wch Continues to this day. The ffirst receivrs of the messingers of Truth into their houses was John Pinder & James Clarkson.

Aboute two weeks after, James Nayler allso had a Meeting at Orton, at Robert Shaws, being accompanied with many ffrriends, who Came along with him, where sevrall preists opposed him, but in the wisdome & powr of God he was Enabled to confound all their arguments. ffrom thence he went to John Pinders, in Ravenstonedale, & had a large Meeting that Evening, where sevrall was Convinced. The next day, he went wth sevrall others in to Molerstang, to the house of John Knewstub, where the next day, being ye ffirst day of the weeke, was a very large Meeting, & many Convinced, & perticularly John ffuthergill & sevrall relations of his. To wch place, one Burton, a Justice, on ye day following, being the Second day of the weeke (at the Instigation, as was suposed, of one Higison,¹⁰ preist of Kirby Sephen), sent some officers, who tooke James Nayler, & ffrancis Howgill went along with him, and some other ffrriends, to before the sd Justice Burton, at preist Higinsons house, who Comited Ja : Nayler & ffrancis Howgill to Appleby Geoall in

¹⁰ Francis Higginson lived in New England in early life, but returned to England while still young. He "settled at Kerby-Steven, in Westmoreland, hoping to do most good among the ignorant people there. But it pleased the God of Heaven to permit the first out-breaking of that Prodigious and Comprehensive Heresy, Quakerism, in that very place; and a Multitude of People being bewitched therinto, it was a great affliction unto this worthy man; but it occasioned his writing [1653] the first Book that ever was written against that Sink of Blasphemies, Entitled, 'The Irreligion of the Northern Quakers.'" (See "The Life of Mr. Francis Higginson," in Cotton Mather's *History of New England*, quoted in Smith's *Catalogue of Adverse Books*, p. 229.)

Higginson commences his *Brief Relation* thus:—"The last Summer there came, or rather crept unawares into the County of Westmerland . . . George Fox, James Nailor, one Spoden, and one Thornton, all of them Satans seeds-men." On p. 30 of his pamphlet, he refers to *The Quervers and Quakers Cause [Case] at the Second Hearing*, an adverse tract, so that his own production cannot be the first written against Friends, as stated above.

Westmrland, where they lay for sevrall weeks, *viz.* ff from ye ninth Month to the Sessions at Easter, where they were discharged.

And after, the sd G ff, J N, R ff, & others laboured in sevrall other parts of ye County, and places adjacent, as Garsdalle, Grisedalle, & Dent, part in Westmrland & part in the edge of Yorkeshire, also about Shappe, & Stricklandhead, & town's adjacent, where sevrall of note in the world was Convinced. And G : ff had a memorable meeting at Shapp Thorne, neare the Towne of Shapp, where many wer Convinced, as William Ayrey, of Shapp, & severall othrs in that Towne ; & the sd William Ayrey Received the sd G ff, & other of the servants of ye Lord, into his house. Allso John ffallowfield, of Great Strickland, and John Moorland, of Millneflatt, was both Convinced, the later haveing beene a Captaine in ye Arme y (& theire ffamellys were Convinced also), & received with gadnesse the sd Messingers of Truth Into their houses.

And thus the Lord prospred his worke in the hands of his servants, & the word of God Multyplied, & many were Convinced & added to ye Church, & Meetings sattled, & the Lords power & presence attended our Meetings. And in aboute a years time, the Lord raised up, ffitted, & ffurnished, about Thirty other ffaithfull labourers out of the sd sevrall Meetings sattled in Westmrland, & places neare adjacent, wch still Joyn's wth and are members of ye Quarterly Meeting of Westmrland, wch after are named in the perticular Meetings they belonged to.

Hutton.

And about the later end of 1652, Came that ffaithfull minister of the Gospell of Xt, William Dewsburey, into those parts, & also aboute the same time, one John Snowden,¹¹ and both of them were of great service in Convinceing sevrall and Confirming others, William travelling through most of the County and Countys adjacent, John Snowdon more perticulaly

¹¹ Besse mentions the imprisonment of John *Snawdon* at Knaresborough in 1654.

about Preston, Kendall, & Hutton, where he had in severall places Meetings, as Holmscalle, ffairethorns, & other places, and sevrall of yt Meeting of Hutton were then Convinced, allthough John Willkinson, after named, & othrs were Convinced before. And ye ffirst yt received those Messing'rs of the Lord into their houses were the sd Jno Willkinson, Edmd Newby, who died aboute that time, and his wife, Margret, who after is to be spoken of, being Called to the worke of the Ministry, and her great suffrings for her Testemony to truth.

Sedbergh.

And ffirst to begin wth Sedbergh where G : ff : first came.

There was sevrall Called to the worke of the Ministry, as John Blaikling, of Drawell, whose ffaithfullness, sufferings, & ffaithfull labours in the Gospell, (both) many parts of this nation & Scotland can beare recorde unto, who died in the ffaith, in a good old age, at his owne house at Drawell, ye 2 day of the 5th Month, 1705, and was buryed the 4th of the same at ffriends Burial place at Sedbergh Meeting house, aged neare 80 years, as more perticularly set down in ye 3d parte of *Piety Promoted*, to wch we referr.

Allso George Harison, belonging the same Meeting, aboute yt time was Called into ye worke of the Ministrey, who was of a ffamelly of Note, and suffered much for Truths sake, by his parents & Relaçons ; yett the Lord & love to Truth, bore him over all. And he travelled into the South of England, & in sevrall Countys Mett wth great sufferings & Hardship's for the Gospell sake yt brought weakness of body upon him. He died in Essex, ye later end of ye 5th Month, 1656, as mentioned in 2d part of *Piety Promoted*, where his end & dieing sayings are more fully related, to wch we referr.

Allso the aforesaid Gervast Benson, & Dorethy, his wife, was raised up in Sedbergh Meeting to beare Testemony to ye Truth, & suffered Imprisonmt att Yorke for thè Testemony thereof. And ye sd Gervast became greatly servisable upon many accts for the promotion of Truth, Labouring in the worke of the Gospell, of wch he was made an able Minister, Appointing Meetings in ffresh places ; and his fformer station in the world

made many take more notice of him, and many were Convinced by his Ministry, wch was sound and weighty, & his Convrſation anſwable, being an example of Humilley in all things, Notwithſtanding ye height and glory of the world yt he had a great ſhare of, ſoe yt none (ſcarce) was more plaine in Aparell & furniture of his houſe, Conformeing to the ſimplicety of ye Truth, and in Teſtemony againſt all the vaine Titells of the World yt his formr ſtation might have given him. He generally ſtiled himſelfe Husbandman, Notwthſtanding yt he had bene a Collenell, a Juſtice of peace, Mayor of Kendall, & was Comiſery in ye Arch Deaconry of Richmond before ye late Domiſtick Warrs, yett, as an Humble deſciple of Chriſt, downed¹² thoſe things; And Allthough he had purchaſed that place of Comiſery in ye ſd Court, yet when ye King Charles ye 2d was reſtored & yt eſtabliſhed againe, yett for Conſcience ſake denyed it & ye profit therof, tho: ſevrall would have purchaſed it of him at a great ſum of mon'y, by wch his ſelfe denyall in that Cauſe was Clearly demonſtrated to all. And his profound knowledge in things relateing to yt Court made him ye more loved and eſteemed by many of yt Court and others. And through his Jnſtrumentall to obtaine yt ffavour for ffriends yt they had ye preevilidge of proveing Wills & takeing leters of adminiſtrcon wth out oaths, wch has bene Continued to this day. Moreover his ſervice was great in helping ffriends yt were proſecuted in ye ſd Court for Tythe, & wt is Called Church dues & repayers, Mariages, &ct, he knowing ye Law ſo well that he ſaw when they Miſed in any pointe, whereby ſevrall ffreinds had releife & bafelled theire proſecutr. His wife, Dorethy,¹³ died in ye yeare , and he bueried her in his

¹² Notice this expreſſive term.

¹³ George Fox writes of this Friend, "Juſtice Benſon's wife was moved of the Lord to come to viſit me [in Carlisle, 1653] and to eat no meat but what ſhe ate with me at the bars of the dungeon window. She was afterwards herſelf imprisoned at York, when ſhe was great with child, for ſpeaking to a prieſt; and was kept in priſon, and not ſuffered to go out, when the time of her travail was come, ſo ſhe was delivered of her child in the priſon" (*Journal*, i. 172). The registers for Weſt-morland record the birth, at York, of Immanuel, ſon of Gervase Benſon, of Sedbergh, 2nd of Twelfth Month, 1653; his name does not reappear in the Weſt-morland registers. Gervase Benſon, writing to G. Fox from Sedbergh, "23d of the Month called december, 53," ſays, "My Wife J lefte at Yorke in outward bonds, but in much inward freedome and com-

owne Ground, at Haygarth, in Cotlay, in ye parish of Sedbergh, in ye edge of Yorkshire ; and in ye yeare 1660, Married Mabell, the Widdow of John Cam of Camsgill, who survived him sevrall years. And Allthough he, ye sd Gervast Benson, did leane somewt to John Willkinson and John Storey in yt sepraçon they made to ye loss of many as to ye life of Truth, yett he Came to se ye wrongness of theire spt yt run into yt sepration, & deserted them & kept to friends Meetings, & in Love and unity wth them, to ye end of his days. He wrote sevrall Treatses, yt were printed, Touching Tyths, & a very Cleare & full answr to Doctr Smalwood about Oaths.¹⁴ He finished his Course in this world in peace, in ye Town of Kendall in Westmrland, in a good old age, betwixt 70 & 80, and was bueried in friends Bueriall place there, ye 5th day of ye 3d mo, 1679.

Ann Blaikling, sister to ye aforesd John Blaikling, of Drawell, was allso Called forth into ye Ministry, & travelled into sevrall Countys in ye south east of this Nation, & had her service for a time in Convinceing sevrall ; but for want of watchfullness ye enemie prevailed to lead her into singulerety & whimcies in severall things, by wch she run out of unity wth ffrriends for sevrall years. Yet after came more neare to ffrriends againe, & married amongst ffrriends of ye meeting of Sedbergh, and kept to meetings & is yet liveing.

George Whithead,¹⁵ schoole Master, allso soone after was raised up in Sedbergh Meeting, and furnished for ye worke of ye Ministry, & Called forth to travell into ye southren parts of ye Nation, aboute ye later end of ye yeare 1654, or beginning

fort; Anne Blakelinge J lefte with her," adding, in reference to the approaching event, "Jt was of the lord; Anne Blakelinge comeinge to Yorke." (D. Swarthmore MSS. iv. 33.)

¹⁴ This book was entitled, *The Cry of the Oppressed from under their Oppression*, etc., 1656. Benson's two answers to Allan Smallwood, D.D., were published in 1669 and 1675.

¹⁵ George Whitehead was born in the parish of Orton about the year 1636. The eastern counties were the scene of most of his earlier labours ; about 1670, he settled in London, and was much occupied with work for his suffering brethren. He appeared on their behalf before Charles II., James II., William III., Anne, George I. and George, Prince of Wales. His death in 1723 deprived the Quaker Church of the last survivor of the first generation of "publishers of Truth."

See *The Christian Prograss of . . . George Whitehead*, edited by Joseph Besse, 1725 ; *Memours of George Whitehead*, by Samuel Tuke, 1830 ; *George Whitehead, his Work and Service*, by William Beck, 1901.

of 1655, who has aproved himsef a ffaithfull & diligent labourer in ye worke of ye Gospell of ye Lord Jesus Christ through out ye Nation, who is yett liveing.

Thomas Taylor, who, although not Convinced in yt Meeting, yet very early, by ye Ministry of G : ff, Did in litle time after satle himsef & ffamely in Sedbergh Meeting. He was bred up a Scholler att ye vnivrsety, & became a publike Minister or preacher, but, being a sencear & Conscientious man, denyed to receive his mainteance by yt antixtan & popish way of Tyths, so became minister to a people yt were seprated from ye Coñon way of worshipe, then at Preston Chapell in Westmrland aforementioned, & tooke for his Mainteainance only wt his hearers was willing frely to give him, & was for his Cencerety & Godly liveing (according to wt was then made knowne) greatly beloved & esteemed by his Congregation wch were many, untill such time as there was Endeavors used by ye Presbeterians, Jndependants, & others for an Uniteing into one body or Church Comunion. And ye persons appointed for that worke did so far prevaile upon ye sd Thomas Taylor to goe back to sprinkle severall of his Children, yt he & his hearers had sene beyond and the emptyness thereof as an Invention of man & not ye one Babtisme of our Lord Jesus Christ, which Condescention his hearers could not beare ; soe he removed into Swodale [Swaledale] in Yorkshire, and became a teacher there to a Seperate Congregation, severall of wch was Convinced of Truth Soone after him. And the sd Thomas became very serviceable in yt Meeting, and in many other parts of this Nation, in a liveing, reaching Ministry, and greatly Exemplery in Humillity, and an Jnocent life, as well as in his steadfast and faithfull sufferings for Christs sake, as the vollome of his works,¹⁶ Labours, & sufferings doth plentyfully demonsterate, to which for a further account we referr.

Jn some time after was Joseph Bayns, of that Meeting, & severall others, Called to ye Ministry, who are yet liveing.

¹⁶ *Truth's Innocency and Simplicity shining through the Conversion . . . of Thomas Taylor, 1697.* He twice suffered imprisonment at Stafford (the first time for ten years and a half), and was also imprisoned in other places. He accompanied George Fox in his travels in various parts of the country. He died at Stafford in 1681, aged about sixty-five years.

And that Meeting has bene a growing and Jncreaseing Meeting ; for notwithstanding that ye Meeting of Dent, and part of Garsdale, went of, & were satled by Consent from Sedbergh Meeting, yet Continues as large as ever ; and those other two Meetings also being very Considerable Meetings, in wch there is a great many publicke Testemony bearers raised up.

Dent.

G : ff was ye ffirst that published truth in Dent, but it was but a ffew yt then was Convinced, who Joyned to Sedbergh Meeting. But ye aforesd Gervast Benson, and Thomas Taylor, with severall othr publike Labourers, had Many Meetings in ye sd Dent, sometime in feilds & Comons, & some time in houses, and tho litle of ye effects of their labours for some time apear'd, yet since they Cast their bread upon ye waters has found it after many days, many being since Convinced in ye Towne & Dale of Dent.

Preston Patrick.

Jn Preston Meeting were also raised up, in ye yeare 1653, severall eminent publishers of ye Gospell of Life and salvation to ye Nations.

ffirst, those two eminent servants of ye Lord, John Cam, Husbandman, & John Audland, Lining draper, wth both their wives. The service, labours, & travels of ye sd J : C : & J : A : is more fully expressed in a Collection thereof, made by Charles Marshar [Marshall] & Tho : Camm, printed in ye yeare 1689, To wch we referr. John Cam was Convinced of Truth in ye yeare 1652, died in ye 11th month, 1656,¹⁷ was Bueried in friends buering ground at Birkeridge Parke, being ye first laid in yt place, aged aboute 52 years. John Audland was Convinced in ye sd yeare, 1652, died ye 22th day of ye first Mo, 1663, aged aboute 34 years. His & J C : s dieing sayings are Mentioned in *Piety Promoted*.

The widdow of John Cam was afterward Married to ye abovesd Gervast Benson, who, while J C s wife, & when

¹⁷ This agrees with the date of his decease given in the Registers. John Whiting's *Catalogue* gives 1665.

widdow, & allso when G: Bs wife, travelled sevrall times into the south and west of England, Continued a ffaithfull and sencable woman to her end, Attaineing neare 87 years of age. She was bueried (being the first that was laid in ye buerring ground adjoyneing Preston Meeting house) the 12th day of 12th month, 1692.

Ann, wife of John Audland, & afterwards wife of Tho: Cañ, was in her day & time a diligent & ffaithfull labourer in the Gospell of Christ Jesus, an Instrumt in the Lords hand to turne many from darknesse to the Light & from satans power, in many parts of this Nation, but more peticularly in & aboute Banbury¹⁸ in Oxfordshire, where her service as well as sufferings was great, part of wch was then printed, and allso in parte Mentioned in the 3d part of *Piety Promoted*, together wth her dieing sayings, to wch we referr. She died ye 29th of 9th Month, 1705, Convinced of Truth in 1652, raised up in a Testemony in 1653, a minister of Truth 52 years.

Allso out of Preston Meeting, & the ffamelly of John Cañ, was raised up two eminent yonge women, servant Maids at that time to the sd Jno Cañ, by name Jane & Dorethy Waugh, sisters, who were then early Called into ye worke of the ministry, and Continued faithfull labourers therin to the finishing of their Course in this world. The sd Jane was ffellow prisoner, for some time, at Banbury, wth Ann, the wife of John Audland, And afterwards Married To Tho: Whithead, of Bruton in Sumer-setshire, and in that County allso suffered Jmprisonmt for her ffaithfull testemony bearing to truth, and stood firme. Her travells, labours, sufferings, & great service in many places being in print, shall therto referr for a further account.¹⁹ Dorethy, her sister, travelled in many parts of this nation, and Jnto America, where she suffered very much by whipping & Jmprisonmt, &ct,

¹⁸ Anne Audland and Jane Waugh were at Banbury in 1654-5. The former addressed a strong appeal to "William Allen, Justice of Peace, so called," adding, "but little peace I finde in thee." See *The Saints' Testimony Finishing through Sufferings*, 1655.

¹⁹ See *A Testimony Concerning the Life and Death of Jane Whitehead*, etc., by Theophila Townsend, 1676. As Jane Waugh, she suffered several imprisonments at Banbury, on one occasion the jail being so damp that it "sometimes would be over the shoes in water." She died in 1674, leaving a husband and five children.

espeshally in and aboute Boston in New England, and other of English as well as Duch plantations, as may be further sene in the booke of Geo: Bishope, Caled, *New-England Judged*, printed in ye yeare 1660, to which we referr. After her returne into England, laboured in the worke of the minstry in sevrall parts, And after some time was marryed to a ffriend in Yorkshire, Named William Laderington,²⁰ to yt County we referr ye acct of her decease.

John Storey, Husbandman, allso out of that Meeting, was Called unto the worke of the Ministrey from a low Estate in the World, yet of an honest, poore ffamelly, & while he kept Humble & low was very servisable, Espeshally in the defence of truth against opposers therof, in sevrall disputes to the Advantage of truth, being well read in holy scriptuer, and had a large undrstanding & Memory and a grave Carriage, by which he was more Qualified for the service. But in processe of time, growing proud of his gifts, and exalted in his spirit, he Grew to be Contentious, Espeshally against good ordr and govrmt in the Church, and he drew the aforementioned Jno Wilkinson, of Hutton Meeting, to Joyne with him, and a great many of the looser sorte Joyned to them, as well as some others, simply betrayed by them through the respect they had to them as being Antient Labourers & Ministers; And at last seprated from ffaithfull ffrds Meetings, and set up seprate Meetings, and Continued to Abit & uphold the same till their decease. But it pleased the Lord to open the understandings of many simply betrayed in Joyneing wth them in the Seperation, and so deserted them, and were restored againe to Unity wth ffaithfull ffriends. The looser sorte, that did not like the Cross & Govrmt of truth, run out of all profession of truth into the world againe. And those that Continiere yet in that sepration are grown very ffew & smalle in Numbr, louse in their lives, has lost their Antient Testemony against Tyths, And sevrall runing out to be Marryed by preists, &ct.

Jn some few years after, was Tho: Cam, of the same Preston Meeting, & sonn of John Cam, allso Called to the same worke in

²⁰ William *Lotherington* belonged to Whitby Meeting. See JOURNAL, ii. 76.

the Ministrey, whome God hath bene pleased to Continue yet alive amongst us.

Kendal.

In Kendall Meeting, Tho: Holme, of Kendall, Weaver, was made an Able Minister, and laboured diligently & faithfully in many parts of this Nation & in Walles, where he was Instrumentall to turne many to the Lord, And was greatly beloved for his ffaithfullness both in doing & Suffering for truths Testemony, meeting wth many hardships, as scoffing, scorning, beatinge, and Imprisonmt, in sevrall places, as at Kendall, Middlewitch in Cheshire, & in sevrall places in Walles, & p̄ticularly at Cardife, in the yeare 1661, for a Considerable time prisoner, Aproveing himselfe a ffaithfull, firme, & Constant ffollower of Xt Jesus his Lord & Master, in many Trebulations. His Testemony was Liveing & effectuall to many in their Severall Estates & Conditions, deviding ye word aright, haveing Milke for babes, stronger meat for those of riper age, as well as Judgemt for the gain-sayers of truth rebelling against the same. And he finished his Course in Walles, at the house of a ffriend about 3 miles from Cardife in South Walles, in much peace and satisfaction, the 2d of ye 8th Month, 1666, And was Bueryed the 4th of the same Month, att Pontie Moyle in Munmothshire, in ffriends Buerying Ground, being accompanied to his Grave by many ffriends. He began to be Jll at Cardife, but haveing Appointed a Meeting at ye sd ffriends house (where he died) before he began to be Jll, Could not be perswaded by ffrds to omitte that Meeting, wch he was much pressed to by ffriends, being so ffarr out of order, but kept ye Meeting, Jntended to returne to Cardife after, and in all things he was bore up while ye Meeting held, wch was a pretious Meeting, and he wondrfully opened to the great refreshment of ffriends, yet after grew so Jll that he was not able to returne, but finished as abovesd. His loss was greatly Lamented by ffriends there, his service amongst them haveing bene so great that he was highly Esteemed & beloved by them above most

besides, as by letters from John Mayo, & Elizebeth, his wife, Francis Gawler, & others, we have bene largely Informed; and for a more full relation of ffaithfull, eminent service & Sufferings for Truth in those parts we refferr thither, not doubting but ffriends theire will suply that wherein we are short, being more Capable therein, he being much in labours in Wales, about 12 years, being so long a time a ffaithfull Minister of the Gospell, And was the Instrumt in the hand of the Lord to Convince many in those parts; died about ye age of 39 years.

Allso out of Kendall Meeting was James Harison then Called into the Ministry, and a faithfull labourer therein, Suffered much in Kendall in prison & other ways. And was prisoner wth ye sd Tho: Holme in Midlewitch, in ye yeare 1655. Travelled in many parts of this Nation, an Instrumt in the hand of ye Lord to Convince many, & p̄ticularly in the lower part of Lancashire, where he Marryed, and he & his ffamelly sattled for sevrall years, untill he and his ffamelly removed into Pensilvania in Amirica,²¹ where he was greatly serviceable while he lived, and died in the ffaith and perfect unity with ffriends.

Elizebeth ffletcher, of ye sd Kendall, a vertious maid, and of a Considerable ffamelly in the world, was then made an able Minister of the Gospell of life and Salvation, and with her Companion, Elizebeth Levens, Travelled through many parts of this Nation, and p̄ticularly to the City of Oxford, where they Suffered by the black tribe of scholers (as allso ye Magisterats), as is almost a shame to relate, Considring the place & the persons that acted it upon two Jnocent, Comely, yonge maids; ffor they dragged them first through a dirty pond or pool, afterwards had them to a pumpe, And

²¹ James Harrison and his family, including his son-in-law, Phineas Pemberton, removed from Bolton to Pennsylvania in 1682. The log of the vessel in which they sailed, the *Submission*, was printed in 1895, in the *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. i., pp. 7-13. The voyage was made in fifty-eight days.

James Harrison soon took up important work in the new country. He died in 1687. See account of him in *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 27 (1854), pp. 157; 163; Bowden's *History*, ii. 111; *Collection of Memorials . . . Pennsylvania*; etc.; 1787; Whiting's *Memoirs*; 1715.

holding their mouths to the pump endeavred to pumpe
 water thereinto with other shamefull abusies; after threw
 the sd Elizebeth ffletcher down upon a grave stone in
 a steeple house or grave yard, and bruised her so sore
 that she never recovered it, but Complained thereof to her
 lives end, as a principle Cause of her lingring weakness after-
 ward. And although the sd Elizebeth ffletcher was a very
 modest, grave, yong woman, yet Contrary to her owne will
 or Inclination, in obedience to ye Lord, went naked through
 ye Streets of that Citty, as a signe against that Hippocreticall
 profession they then made there, being then Presbeterians &
 Jndependants, wch profession she told them the Lord would
 strip them of, so that their Nakedness should Appear, wch
 shortly after, at ye returne of King Charles ye 2d, was fulfilled
 upon them, they being turned out or made Hippocretically to
 Conforme. After the aforesd suferings by the schollers &
 rable, was By the order of ye Magistats (there) severally whiped,
 after wch ye sd Elizebeth ffletcher was never so well againe in
 health, tho for some time after did travell according to the
 ability of her weake and bruised body. And her weakness
 Jncreaseing, was Constrained to stay at her Aunt, Elizebeth
 Manserghs, in Kerby Lonsdale, where a Considerable time
 she lay in a weake and declining Condition, but in much
 peace & Contentedness of minde, blessing ye Lord that had
 raised her up to beare Testemony to his name & truth, &
 that she was Counted worthy to suffer for the same, sevrall
 times saying, It was that Crush that she got upon that Grave
 Stone that was the ground Cause of her illness, praying that
 the Lord might forgive, and open the eys of all her blind
 persecutors. Many ffriends, in her weakness, went to visit her,
 and the good presence of the Lord Attended her, and the
 Joy of Gods Salvation made her heart glad, and the resigned-
 ness & patience that she was preserved in was the rejoyceing
 of her ffriends that Came to visit her. Att last the Lord was
 pleased to take her to himselfe, and put an end to all her
 sorrows, who died in the Lord the 2d day of the 5th Month,
 1658, at her sd Aunts house in Kerby Lonsdale, & was by
 a great many ffriends Accompanied from thence to Kendal,

8 miles, & there bueryed the 4th of the same month, in ffriends buerying ground, being aboute the age of 19 years & 9 months. The losse of her much lamented, being a yong woman soe exelently qualified not only wth a liveing, powrfull, Affecting Testemony, that made her servise great & greatly vallued, but filled wth wisdome to devide the word aright, and greatly examplary in her vertueous, Jnocent, and Chaste Conversation. Her Name is a sweete savour amongst ye ffaithfull, And her Rememberance lives amongst Gods people; one of the worthys early raised up in the North to Alarum the South, who Counted not her life dear for the Lords sake, now enjoys the fruite of her labours, being Ascended into the heavenly Mansion to praise the Lord world without end, Amen.

Her Companion, before Mentioned, (*vizt.*) Elizebeth Levens, was allso raised up in Kendall Meeting, of no great parentage but of the lower ranke in the world, yet ye Lord, thats no respecter of persons, endowed her wth many Sptuall Gifts & graces, a Liveing Testemony bearer to his name & truth, a diligent, ffaithfull, & zealous labourer in the worke of the Gospell, as well as a faithfull & Constant sufferer for the same by Jmprisonment in the towne of Kendall, & other ways, in sevrall other places. Some years after she was Called Jnto the Ministry, the aforesd Tho: Holme & she married, and laboured both together & aparte in the service of truth while she lived, and was a blessing to each other, liveing together in much love & Jndearnesse. She died in Kendall, the [10th] day of the [7th] month, [1665], leaveing thre Children, two of wch atained years of discession but walked not in the steps of their honorable parents. Eliz died about ye age of .

Christopher Atkinson, of Kendall, was opened in a liveing Testemony, and laboured zeallously for a time in the service of truth, and suffered Jmpisonmt Chearfully for the same in Kendall, and allso travelled into the south & east of England, and for atime had a service in many places. But in process of time, for want of watchfullness, run out into things Jnconsistant wth the proffession of truth, and persisting therein was denyed of ffriends. Let this and the like runing out be a Caution to all to keepe in

Humilley & watchfullnesse, under ye Conduct of Gods power, that keeps stable & out of all satans Temptations.²²

Robert Barrow, of the same Kendall Meeting, Waller, was after some years raised up in a liveing Ministry, and was a faithfull labourer therein in many parts of this nation, as also in Walles, Scotland, & Jreland, a faithfull sufferer for truth by the spoyling of his goods for his testemony in meeting together to waite upon the Lord, & because he Could not for Conscience sake Conforme to the Nationall way of worshipec, nor uphold the same by paying Tyths; and moreover was severall times prisoner for the same, as at Kendall, Appellby, & London, in wch sufferings he was allways Chearfull and faithfull. And in the yeare 169[4] was moved of the Lord to goe over sea Jnto America to visit the English plantations there, wch the Lord gave him time & abillity to pforme, though in ould age; and having visited the sd English plantations, being then in Jemeaca, had a desire upon his minde to visit Pensilvania againe, & for that end tooke shipping, wth severall other passangers, from Jemeaca,

²² Christopher Atkinson's fall is briefly described by George Whitehead, "The said C. A. was not altogether so prudent, meek and gentle in his Conduct as he ought to have been; and that was not all, but worse befel him after he was left alone in Prison [in Norwich, 1655]; for tho' he got more Liberty . . . yet he falling into too much Familiarity and Conversation with some Women-kind, especially such as (it seemed) were somewhat inclining to a Spirit of *Ranterism*, he grew loose, and waxed wanton . . . and committed Lewdness with a Servant-Maid who served *Thomas Symonds*. . . When I heard of his foul Miscarriage, it brought deep Sorrow upon me . . . for *Truth-sake*, and our poor innocent *Friends*, who had lately received the *Truth*, being sensible that both would greatly suffer, and be reproached thereby" (*Christian Progress*; pp. 34; 35, 49; 50).

The early opponents of Quakerism made much of such instances of moral delinquency. Leslie refers to this fall of Atkinson in several of his books (e.g., *Snake in the Grass*, 1696, p. 90, amplified in later editions; *Satan Disrob'd*, pt. 2, p. 30). Francis Bugg places Atkinson in his "Cage of Unclean Birds" (*Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity*, 1698; p. 136).

It was, unfortunately, true that among the large number of all sorts of people who were attracted by the preaching of early Friends, there were those whose actions brought their profession into discredit and their Friends into disrepute, but, with the above exception and at most some two or three others, no charges even of immorality, so far as I know, were made against the leaders of the Quaker movement.

There was no desire on the part of Atkinson's late fellow-workers to condone his offence; George Fox styles him, "that dirty man." He is said to have repented of his actions.

but about the Gulfe of Florida the ship was wracked, and they all escaped with life, but fell amongst the Caniballs & maneaters : and wondrfull and admireable was the Lords power sene to their presrvation, for when these Cruell Caniballs had taken them, & had placed themselves behind every one of them, haveing their heads in one hand & their knives in the other, waiteing for the motion of their King to begine the fatall stroke to Cutt all their throats, on a sudden they were all strucke with ffear and amazemt, soe that they desisted their posts, had power only to stripp some of them of their Cloathes ; who being then exposed to nakednesse in frost and could together with hunger, their hardships & sufferings was soe great that, without devine assistance, had bene unsuportable, yet the Lord, that is all sufficient by his Mighty power, brought most of them to Pensilvania, According to the ffervant prayer of this good man, R: B:, in the time of their distress, and had the ffavour to have the Evidence thereof then given him before he rose of his Knees, & in the faith he had in God was bore up over all to the fullfilling thereof, for he wth many of the rest gott to Carolina, and from thence by the good hand of providence to Pensillvania, where soone after this ffaithfull servant of the Lord finished his days in this world in great peace and satisfaction, the 4th day of ye 2d Month, 1699, as by a litle treatise of Jonathen Dickensons, Called, *Gods protecting Providence, Mans sverest Helpe, &ct.*,²³ printed in Pensillvania and reprinted in London, by Tacie Soule, in White hart Court, 170[0], to wch we referr for a more full acct of this good mans sufferings, & the eminent power of the great God, who preserved them through it all. One thing is greatly remarkeable in this servant of the Lord, that when some of the Company, who were not of his perswasion, did faine themselves to be Spaniards (of whome these Canibells stood in some awe), and one of the Company Could speake part Spanish tongue, wch gave some Credit to their Asertion of being Spaniards, and being asked one by one if they were Spaniards, wch ye most answred in ye afirmative, yet when R: B: was asked (the feare of God being before him, though in a Case as

²³ The first edition of this book was printed by Reinier Jansen, of Philadelphia, in 1699, and is now extremely rare. Benjamin Franklin reprinted it in 1735, and there have been seven London editions.

to all outward appeareance would Cost him his life), durst not lie, but answred in the negative, yet that God whome he feared, & saw the sencraty of his heart, did notwithstanding preserve him, as well as the rest, out of the Cruell hands of these Jnhuman people, and through all other his great perrills. They at that time stripping of his Cloathes, wch till then he had.

Underbarrow.

Out of the Meeting then Called Underbarrow, now Crooke (& ye Meet of Windermore allso), for some of them yt was first Convinced came to Undrbarrow Meeting, but in some years there was sevrall more that Came to be Convinced of truth in & aboute Windermore, soe yt, by ye Consent of the Monthly & Quarterly Meetings, a Meeting was sattled at Windermore, And since a Meeting house builded. We say, out of that Meeting, Antiently Called Underbarrow Meeting, now Crooke, was that noble, valliant, & faithfull Minister of Xt Jesus, Ed : Burrow, Early raised up, whose memorable labours, travells, great services, and sufferings, both in this Nation & Ireland, & more p̄ticularly in & aboute the City of London, are more fully demonstrated in a large vollome thereof, in neare 900 pages in folio, to wch we referr.²⁴ He was borne in ye yeare 1635, Convinced of Truth in 1652, began to preach toward ye later end of same yeare, died in prison in London, 1662, aged about 27 years.

Miles Hollhead, of Mountjoy, in Undrbarrow, Husbandman, was allso then raised up in a liveing Ministrey, and travelled in ye worke thereof, in many parts of this Nation, & in the west of England suffered Jmprisonmt wth his Companion, Tho : Salt-house, and stood ffaithfull therein. His testemony was plaine and powrfull, being a plaine, simple man. He died in peace wth the Lord, at his owne house, the day of the month, , and was bueryed in ffriends Buerying place, in Kendall, Aged about .

Miles Hubrstie, of the same Undrbarrow, Husbandman, was allso early Called into the worke of the Ministry, and travelled and laboured in many parts of this Nation, Espechally in

²⁴ This was entitled; *The Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder and Consolation*, etc.; 1672, and was edited by Ellis Hookes (see JOURNAL, i. 18).

the west thereof, and was Instrumentall in the hand of the Lord to promote ye worke of truth where he travelled. In Glostershire, att Hassell, neare Oulston, he Married a vertious Maid, by name, Elizabeth Smith, who also was Endewed wth a large gifte in the Ministry, and had before her Marriage travelled in the service therof in severall parts in the west of England, and in Ireland, and Continued firme in the ffaith, a ffaithfull, serviceable woman to the end of her days, and laid downe her head in much peace, and Assuerance of that Blessed & heavenly Mansion God Almighty hath prepared for all his ffaithfull people, & was bueryed The 3 day of the 9th month, 1668, at Kendall, in ffriends buerying ground. And the sd Milles, some years after, Married another virtuous, Inocent maid, from or neare London, named Hanah Haley, who also was a faithfull woman to her latter end. She departed this life in peace upon ye day of the [9th] moth, 16[72], and was also Bueryed at Kendall [on the 4th]. And Inasmuch as the outward bodys of good as well as evill Men are lieable to the like dangers & ends, The Lord, who is Infnit in Wisdome, permitted it to be yt as the sd Miles was rideing ovr The Sands wth severall in Company, he fell of his horse into the water, and allthough some in the Company did venture there lives to save his, yet was then drowned; and allthough his end hapened thus, doubts not of his well being. And after, he was brought to the house of Joseph Sharp, of Quarry fflat, and upon the [15th] day of ye [10th] month, 16[75], was bueryed in ffriends Burying ground, at Height, in Cartmell ffell, aged about years.

Stephn Huberstie, Brother to the sd Miles, who was also an Husbandman, and early raised up to Labour in the worke of the Ministry, and mett wth hardships in many places, peticularly in ye Towne of Kerby Lonsdalle, where he was sore abused and beaten unreasonably for Calling people to repentance, & lost much blood at that time, and one or two of his teethe broken out of his mouth. Travelled in sevrall parts of this nation, after some years Married, and sattled at Hendon, neare London, where he is yet Liveing, a ffaithfull servant of the Lord.²⁵

²⁵ He died at Hendon in 1711; aged seventy-nine years, and was buried at Guttershedge.

Miles Birket, Millner, of the sd Undrbarrow, was also early raised up in a liveing Ministrey, and travelled and laboured faithfully for some years in sevrall adjacent Countys, & was servisable for the promoting the worke of truth. His testemony was powerfull, and he had a Cleare deserning betwixt the workeing of Gods power and that which was but from Jmitation, & gave true Judgmt therin, and the Lord was with him while he kept Close to his power. Howbeit, through want thereof, he leaned to and Joynd wth them that seperated from ffriends, and so became much darkned and vailed. He died, and was Bueryed in ffriends Buerying place, at Kendall, the day of the month, 16 .

Grayrigg.

Now we Come to take notice of such as was then raised up Jnto the worke of the Ministrey in yt early day, out of Grayridge Meeting.

first, that ffaithfull, serviceable Minister of the Gospell, and ffaithfull sufferer therefore unto death, ffrancis Howgill, a Taylor by trade, whose great and eminent labours, servises, & sufferings, both in this Nation and Jreland, is fully demonsterated and set forth in a vollome of the same, in ffolio, of about 740 pages, printed in ye yeare 16[76], To wch we refferr. He died prisoner, in Appleby in Westmrland, in ye 11th mo, 1667,²⁶ & was by many ffriends brought to his grave at Sunebank, in Grayridge, ye 20th day of ye sd mo, a labourer in the gospell 16 years, aged about 48 years.

Ambrose Rigg, schole master, of the sd Grayridge, was then also early Called and greatly quallified for the worke of the ministry, and Laboured ffaithfully therein, in the Southrn parts of this Nation mostly, where he Married and sattled, vizt. in the County of Surrey, to which County we refferr for a more full account of his labours & ffaithfull sufferings, as well as the time of his death.²⁷

²⁶ More accurately, 1668.

²⁷ The Surrey account of Ambrose Rigge is still briefer. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Luxford, of Sussex, ex-captain in the army. His death took place in 1704, and in 1710 J[ane] Sowle published his life and works. See also Evans's *Friends' Library*, vol. xii. 1848; *Biographical Memoirs*, vol. i, 1854; Budge's *Annals*, 1877; etc.

Thomas Robertson was also then Called forth into the worke of ye Ministry, and laboured ffaithfully therein, very much of his time suffered much Jmprisonmt in many places of this Nation, in all prisoner times, An Jnocent, faithfull, patient Man, to the adorning ye Gospell that he preached in holy liveing. Some time before his departure out of this world, he sattled in the towne of Kendall, being growne aged and weake in body, and there finished his Course in much peace, the 30th day of the 3d month, 1695, and was bueryed there, haveing laboured in ye worke of the Ministrey about years, aged about years.

Thomas Ayrey, of Birkfield, Husbandman, & of a Considerable Estate in the world, was also Called to the worke of the Ministry, & had an Exelent gift given him of God, and was of great service for a time. And in the year 1654, when Edward Burrow, ff Howgill, John Cam, John Audland, and Rich : Hubrthorne were Called forth into the south of this Nation, this Tho : Ayrey did also Acompany them, being in the begining of the sd yeare, And in the County of Lancaster, they devided two & two together, John Cam and Edward Burrow through ye Middle of the Nation, ffr : Howgill & Rich : Hubrthorne to the east ward, And John Audland and the sd Tho : Ayrey west warde through the edge of Walles, so to Bristoll, soe to Exeter, and to Plymouth, where this Tho : Ayrey begun to ffainte, and turned homewarde, and left John Audland alone. The ffive before named, in some time after, Meet all in the City of London, but this poore, ffainteing man returneing home, Endeovered to Appeare in publike testemony, but haveing lost the power, Could not be borne. And allthough he mostly held the profession of Truth in frequenting ffriends Meettings, yett a very weake & faithless man all his days after. Could suffer nothing for truth, for when like to sufer for keeping Christs Comand in not swearing, he truckled under, and tooke an oath ; when like to suffer for Truths Testemony against ffighting and beareing outward arms, he Consented to take the arms. And also when like to suffer for not Conforming to the Nationall worships, soe undrly was he that he went one day to that worships to prevent suffering. And soe in that weake and unsenceable Condition went to

his grave, the [5th] day of the [10th] month, 16[79]. Oh ! that he may be a warneing to all to kepe to the rocke, Gods power, for which end this is recorded.

Hutton.

In that Litle Meeting, Called Hutton Meeting, was John Willkinson,²⁸ of Milneholme, Husbandman, early Convinced, and received a parte in the Ministry, And he & John Storey travelled much together into the south and west part of England, and was Instrumentall to Convince many in severall parts ; And was greatly beloved of the Bretheren, while they kept in humilley and theire Jntegrety to god and his truth, And vnity with the ffriends thereof, but those things being departed from, and they growing high & Contentious, opposing ffriends Care as with respect to good order and Govermt in the Church, And at last, wth some Librtine spirits, run Jnto a sepration, And J : S : Cheifely the Cause. J : W : at first seemed tendrly to accord with ffaithfull ffriends in Jncorageing ffaithfull womens Meetings, to performe that parte of service in the Church more propr for that sex, And allso in ffriends Care and Jnspection, that all who made profession thereof might live & walke answerable, and that all their xtian tēstemonys might be ffaithfully kept up, and perticulerly against that Antixtian yoke of Tyths &ct, John Story being then out of the Contry ; But upon his returne & not before, J : W : quickly Joyned with him in the sd opposition, and at last run out into an open sepration, and notwithstanding all xtian endeovers was used, and p̄ticulerly at yt memorable meeting at Drawell, wch Continued severall days, where was severall Brethren from London, & severall other parts of the nation both north and south, yet Could not be Reclaimed, Although the power of truth came then so far over them, that they semed then to make some Accknowledgemt of weakness in some darke words & tearms, wch they, & some others that Joyned wth them, Construed afterwards to a Contrarey sence, And notwithstanding, Continued in theire formr opposition, and run into that unhappy sepration, to the loss of severall, and Continued therein to the

²⁸ This John Wilkinson, of *Westmorland*, separatist, is to be distinguished from John Wilkinson, of *Cumberland*, ex-"priest" of Brigham.

end. Though, Blessed be the Lord, the simply betrayed into the same are returned Into Unity with faithfull frds, both J : W : & J : Storey heading that seperation till taken away by death, John Willkinson surviveing some years, and although he was then laboured with and visited by sevrall Brethern, & sometimes seemed somewt softer, yet did not Joyne againe in vnity. He died the day of ye month, 16 , was bueryed at Kendall.

Margret Newby, Widdow, was allso Early Called into ye worke of the Ministrey, being a woman of some acct in the world. She Travelled into the southern parts of this nation, being Acompained by Margret Gilpin,²⁹ then an honest, pore Maide of Hutton Meeting, who allso was opened in a publike testemony. And they suffered much for their Testemoney in severall places ; & p̄ticularly at the Towne of Evesham, in the County of Worcester, was by an hypacreticall professing people there Cast into prison, for no other cause then Calling them to repentance and to turne from the Evill of their ways to Christ Jesus, that true Light which lighteth Every one that Cometh into the world, and is the Saveiour of Mankind. And soe Cruell and Inhuman where they to these two Inocent women, that in the preson they put their feete in the stocks that stood a pretty way above the ground, not sufering them to have any seat to sit upon to keepe up their bodys equall with their feet in the stocks, but forced to lay upon their backs on the ground much lower then the stocks, where they lay for a long time, being suported by the Lord to live through it. O, Inhuman Cruelty ! be it recorded to the Shame of the actors thereof ! This their Suffering was in the yeare 1655. And the sd Margret Newby, being a woman that had borne sevrall Children, and never Exposed to any great hardshipe, being but a tender woman, Though a stoute, Comely, big woman to looke upon, by this her lyeing soe long and soe uneaseyly upon her back on the ground, she Received so much wrong and damage to her bodys health, as in a litle time after brought her into an extreame swelling Timpany, of wch she Could never be Cuered, though great Endeovers used ; yet lived some years. At last was advised to have her belly tapped, wch was done, & an excesseive deall of water taken from her, but

²⁹ The Worcestershire account gives *Elizabeth Court*, as companion.

in two or three days after tapping, died in much peace with God, being worthy to be recorded as one of the sufferers & Martiers for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, died and was bueried in ffriends Buerying ground, in Kendall, the 7 day of the 9 month, 1657. Margret Gilpin lived many years after, and being but a pore, simple woman, related & Jngadged to sevrall that seprated from ffriends, was drawn in with them unawars, & so became darkned, and died amongst them.

John Scaife was also early raised up in a testemony, belonging to that Hutton Meeting, being but of low estate in the world, so for a livelyhood was a servant or day labourer. Had a pretty gift in the Ministry, and while he kept litle & low, the lord was wth him, and made him a serviceable Jnstrumt, to the Convincing severall, Espechally in the County of Sunrset and places adjacent, in the later end of the yeare 1654, or begining of the yeare 1655, and for some time after ; but growing proud of his gift, grew high & exalted, & allso Covetious. Then the Lord departed from him, and the enemie led him into other scandoules evils, and though many brethren did advise, Councill, and reprove him, in order to have helped him out of the snare of the enemie, yet he rejected, and turned his backe of it all, and at last run out from friends into the world.

Langdale.

Langdale Meeting was fformerly for sevrall years a part of Haukshead Meeting, Jn the edge of Lancashire, but of later years was, by consent of both Lancashire & Westmrland Quarterly Meetings, ffor Conveniencye sake sattled as a perticuler Meeting belonging to Westmrland, Langdale lieing in that County, reserveing still that Comunetie betwixt Haukshead and Langdale that they hould a Meeting for worshipe together upon a ffirst day once a Month.

The first publishers of truth in that Langdale, & places adjoining, was

Thomas Salthouse, in Grasmer Steeplehouse, where he was much abused, and Leonard ffell, in Langdale Chapell yarde, in a litle time after.

And they that first received & beleived in the truth, & received the publishrs thereof, was

Francis Benson, of the fould, & William Willson, Taylor, of Langdale Chapell Steile. And the said William was early Called into the worke of the Ministry, and faithfully travelled & laboured therein to the end of his days In many parts of this Nation, & in Scotland, Ireland, & Holland, wherein he was a good Instrumt in the hand of the Lord to turne people from darkness to light & from Satans power to God, a faithfull sufferer many ways for Xts sake, Continueing firm, zealous, & faithfull to the finishing his Course in this world. He fell Ill at the yearly Meeting at London, in the yeare 1682, yett the Lord was pleased to give him strength to gitt home to his owne habitation in the said Langdale, where he finished his Course in great peace and full assuerance of a mansion of eternall Glory with the Lord Jesus Christ in the heavens for ever, & was buried the 11th day of the 5th month, 1682.

After, out of Langdale Meeting, the Lord raised up Timothy Harison, of ye sd Langdale, Showmaker, & Called him into the worke of the Ministrey, in wch he Laboured much for sevrall years, & was of great seruice, & well esteemed of in many parts of this Nation, Espechally in the south and west, as well as north of England, And Continued dilligent and faithfull therein, untill he, and others, was by Henry ffleming, Preist of Grasmore, prosecuted at law for their Testemoney against that oppreissive & antixtian yoke of Tyths. And such was his Jntegrety that although he had notice of the writt that was out to Aprhend him, and might have prevented being taken at that time, yett that he might shew his Jntegrety to truth and its Testemony, and be a Strength to his Brethren, willingly ofred up his body to suffer in prison. And Continued a faithfull sufferer till death, dieing a prisoner, though for some time before his death, being through Confinemt grown weake, being a man but of a weake Constetution of body, through the Kindeness of the Joaler granted liberty to goe home to his Wife, where he finished his Course in faithfullnesse and great peace with God, the 5th day of the 6th month, 1694,³⁰ & was bueryed ye 8th day, aged about 33 years.

³⁰ The Westmorland Registers state that Timothy Harrison, of Langdale, was buried on the 31st of 5 mo., 1694.

Strickland Head.

In Strickland Head Meeting (wch is now devided into thre Meetings, *vizt.* Strickland, Penroth, & Shapp, in every of wch places is a Meeting house) was William ffallowfield, son of John ffallowfield, a very yonge man, early Called into the worke of the Ministrey, & hath laboured in many parts of this Nation. After some years, Married in Staffordshire, at ye towne of Leeke, where when at home is his residence, being yett liveing.³¹

Thomas Langhorne, of Heltondale, and belonging Strickland Head Meeting, Husbandman, was Convinced 1653, and was after some years, *vizt.* aboute 1660, Called into the worke of the Ministrey, and had a large and pretious gift given him therein. And he was faithfull in the Jmproevmt thereof, as well as Nouble & Vallient in suffering both Jmprisonmt and spoileing of his goods to a great valliuie, ffor very great was the sufferings that Attended that Meeting in the time of the Convetickle acts, haveing theire Meetings allmost dayly attended wth wicked Jnformers whome sevrall of ye then Neighbouring Justices gave too much Jncoragemt unto, Threatning to breake up that Meeting undr great oaths & Curses, wch made the sufferinge extreame great for many years ; yet the Lord that hath all power preserved his people ffaithfully to keep up theire Meetings, and at last Confounded those wicked Jnformers & persecuteing Justices, so that they were disapointed of theire end. In this time of Tryall, this Tho : Langhorn aproved himselfe a faithfull and vallient Champion as well as a Carefull Overseer & Shipherd over the fflocke of God, standing in the front against all assults, till ye Lord was pleased to appeare for theire ease & delivrance. After wch the sd Thomas was very dilligent in his labours in the Gospell in most part of this Nation, & often in London, Travelling often in Company wth John Blaikling, and allso often with Tho : Cam, & was greatly serviceable as well as greatly esteemed and loved for his works sake amongst ffriends. He stood as a firme pillar against that spt of seperation, & was Jnstrumentall to preserve some out of that snare that was in danger to be simply betrayed.

³¹ According to the Cheshire and Staffordshire Registers, William Fallowfield married Esther (Hester) Brunley in 1666. He died in 1719, aged eighty years, and was buried at Leek.

In the yeare 1686, upon ye 29th day of the 2d month,³² he remoued with his ffamelly toward Pensilvania in Amirica, and sattled there, where also he was greatly seruiceable, and also beloved of ffriends, but his time there was but short, for he finished his Course faithfully and in great peace, the [6th] day of the [8th] month [1687].

Ravenstonedale.

In the Meeting Called Ravenstonedale Meeting was that yonge Man, Called John ffuthergill, Cranahill, Called Early into the worke of the Ministrey, and richly furnished for the same, and laboured much in London and severall other parts of this Nation, and Continued faithfull unto the end of his time in this world, died at London, the [25th] day of ye [6th] month [1665].

In the yeare 1652, was Richard Pinder, of Warth in Ravenstonedale, Convinced, and aboute the year 1657 was Called into the worke of the Ministrey, and laboured much in many Countrys, as Scotland, England, & two sevrall times in Amirica, as perticularly Barbadoes, Bermudes, New England, Jamaica, and sevrall other plantations, where he had a Considerable service.

Since which, theires Severall that the Lord haith raised up and Blessedly ffurnished for the worke of the Ministry, in the sevrall p̄ticular Meetings belonging Westmrland Quarterly Meeting, as Sedbergh, Preston, Crooke, Grayridge, Windrmore, Langdale, &ct, Meetings, most of wch are yett Liveing, except James Bains, Husbandman, & Jsacc Alixander, Tallow Chanler, both of Sedbergh Meeting, & such before taken Notice of, who were both faithfull and zealous Labourers after that they were Called into the worke of the Ministrey, James but a litle time before his death, Jsacc about 8 yeárs, and had a very pretious, powrfull gift, was of great service in most places of this nation, Scotland, Ireland, & Walles. They both died in the yeare 1705, having some time before their death bene Companions in Travell together in Cumbreland and

³² James Bowden (*History*; ii. 109) states that Thomas Langhorn emigrated in 1684, and the account of him in *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 27; (1854), pp. 164, 172, gives the same year. Whence did Thomas Camm obtain the date which he gives with such exactness?

adjacent places in the north. James died at his owne house at Stangerthewaite in Westmorland, the first of the 10th Month, Aged 51 years, and was bueryed the 4th in ffrriends Buerying ground Att Brigflats, belonging Sedbergh Meeting.

The aforesd Jsacc Alixander was borne in the yeare 1680, was Convinced of Truth in the yeare 1694, being the 14th yeare of his Age, was Called to the Ministrey in the 17th, he died at Aba in Westmrland, the 12th day of the 12th Month, in the aforesd yeare, 1705, and was bueryed at Brigflats aforesd the 15th, aged aboute 25 years. His dieing sayings are Mentioned in the third parte of *Piety Promoted*, to wch we referr.

Thus haveing given a short acct of the faithfull labourers that were early raised up to publish the Gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ through this and other Nations; and Jnasmuch as their service, labours, & sufferings was in parte in other p[I]aces, as well as the death of sevrall of wch weare not Capeable to give account of, but hopes that will be in the sevrall places proper taken Notice of.

Wiltshire.¹

¹ There are indications in the minutes of several Meetings composing Wiltshire Q.M. that the request for information respecting "First Publishers" was receiving attention, but the appearance of the name of this Q.M. in B. Bealing's list of defaulters makes it evident that no account reached London. I have searched the minute books of the old Wilts Q.M., deposited in D., and find the following minutes, which, however, do not distinctly state that an account was sent up.

Wiltshire Quarterly Meeting, 2d of ye 11 mo, 1720.

Ordered yt Adam Gouldney examine the minutes and writings of ys meeting to see whether ys meeting hath not already sent up such an acct of ye first Labourers & Ministers of the Gospel among us, wch ye meeting for Sufferings sends for in ye Letter of ye 2d 7 mo last, & make report to next.

3d of ye 2 mo; 1721.

As to ye 12th of last, Adam Gouldney report of ye minutes of ys meeting relating thereto we are inclined to believe yt ye acct ye meeting for Sufferings sent for was delivered above ten Years ago by our deputies for ye Yearly meeting at London, & our deputies for this year are Ordered to give such acct to ye Yearly Meeting or Meeting for Sufferings.

Worcestershire.¹

*In Answer to the directions to Collect matters For a Generall
History of the entrance & progresse of Truth in this Age
By way of Annals.*

1. *Of the first publication of Truth.*

1655. The First wee Know of who published the same in Worcester, & in this County & parts, were Thomas Goodare & Richard Farnsworth. Richard Farnsworth had the first meeting in Worcester. Hee came from Tick Hill in Yorkshire.

¹ Numbers 76, 77, 78 comprise 9½ folio pages, of a good, regular handwriting. This account was, from internal evidence, the work of Edward Bourne, of Worcester, and it is almost certain, by comparison with several of E. B.'s original letters in D. (Swarthmore MSS.; A. R. B. MSS.); that the handwriting also is his. As the account was delivered to the Meeting for Sufferings by John Knight in 1721, more than a decade after the decease of E. Bourne, it must have been put away and forgotten until Benjamin Bealing wrote to the Quarterly Meeting for its account of "First Publishers."

Edward Bourne (Bourn) was a prominent Friend of the Midlands. At his marriage with Margaret Paine, of Kings Capel, in 1661, he is described as "Chemist"; he is generally known as a physician. In Besse's *Sufferings*; several pages of the Worcestershire portion are given to an account of his sufferings and the letters he, with others, wrote to Judges Hide and Tirrell, to the Bishop, to Jurors at the Assizes, to King Charles, and others. E. B. was frequently in Worcester jail for longer or shorter periods, and he also suffered imprisonment at Warwick, Marlborough, and Hereford. He was in London from time to time on "Truth's account." The letter, addressed to the King from Worcester gaol, the 4th of 8mo., 1684, did not, apparently, get further than Devonshire House. It was forwarded to London in a covering letter to George Fox, with the request that it might be considered by him and Friends. Presumably it was not thought desirable to send it on, as both letters are in D. (Portfolio 1), the one intended for Charles the Second being endorsed; "Laid by, till calld for." E. B. died in 1708 and his wife in 1709.

For further particulars of early Friends in Worcestershire consult *A Cry Against Oppression and Cruelty* (Worcester), 1663; *Something Concerning . . . Bromsgrove*, 1681; *For the Inhabitants of Worcester to View*, 1682; *Collection of the Writings of Humphry Smith* (as regards Evesham), 1683; Alfred William Brown's *Evesham Friends in the Olden Time*, 1885.

Tho : Goodare was then a prisoner in Worcester Castle prison For speakeing to Rich : Baxter att His place of worship in Kiderminster, & Richard came to see him, & Appointed a meeting, wch was the First meeting wee Know of. These were both Yorkshire men ; whence Thomas came in Yorkshire wee cannot tell.² For their parents & Trade wee cannot tell, but they were, wee suppose, accounted by their neighbours in their owne County yeomen or Gentle men. Wt their Former pswations were, wee doe not know. For their qualifications, they were men of parts, & Champions for the Truth, & mighty men of warre agst an Hypocriticall sort of professours of Religion, wch then the Nation abounded wth all ; wth many of whom they had often disputes here in Worcester, & else where in these parts, but the Truth prevailed, praised bee Lord therefore. The Disputes were oft in Worcester, & in Chadwith, or neere it, in Worcester shire, first, wth : the friends before named. Richard Farnsworth & Thomas Goodare speake to Richard Baxter att the time of a Lecter Sermon in Swithin Church, soe called, in Worcester, but they were haled forth & Thomas Goodare was Imprisoned, & the 3d day, as well as can bee remembred, after set att Liberty & sent out of Towne wth a Cunstable & Beedle, & charged to come noe more to Worcestre, but Hee came againe the same night & came to an Jnne. But the mayor, whose name was Higgins, sent to the Jnne to give him noe Jntertainment, but Robert Smith came & tooke him to his House, & gave him Jntertainment, & bid the people who were gathered aboute the door goe tell the mayor of it. They flockt together as if they would pull downe the Jnne where Hee had taken vp his Lodging. And the next morning, Thomas Goodare sent for Edward Bourne to come to him to Robt. Smiths House, soe Tho : & Hee walkt about the City together to shew him selfe, & the people were sivill, & ptickullarlie Justice Hacket, & when Hee was clear Hee went away, & some of vs brought him on His way. And soone after, Hee & Richard Farnsworth came againe, but not

² Thomas Goodaire's home was at Selby.

often together, & Had meetings oft, & disputes oft, & went away, and came againe, as did many other friends vnmoleded.

In the yeare 1656, according to our account, wee Had the Happynesse of being vissitted by G. F. ; wth whom came Tho: Kellum, a Yorkshire friend. Hee had a Brave, Serviceable meeting att Chadwitch, on the side of a Hill, for the House could not hold the people they were so many. Anthony Cole there recd him, & there was great service att that meeting, where many recd the Truth wth Gladnesse. Gerat Roberts came thither to him.

Hee came thence to Worcestr, & had a good meeting the evening after Hee came to Town. Some contentious professours of Religion, when the meeting was over, Endeavoured to occasion a dispute, & to raise contention in the street, though it was night & not convenient then, wch, in wisdome, as deare G: F: advised, was short & quietly ended. By wch the Tumultious were disapointed, who in such things delighted, & friends thro : the mercy of God Kept in peace. Blessed therefore bee his holy name. But the next day, Hee had a dispute wth one Clement Writer, who would have G: F: & friends Confirme their doctrine by miracles, & there was good service in that dispute. Jt was att Sarah Drews House, who was a widow woman, & one who recd friends in the begining.

G: F: went from Worcester, & with him went Edw: Bourne pt of the way towards Tewxbury, to whom G: F: speake of many Heavenly things in discourse,³ wch were delightfull & pleasant to E: B:, whom G: F: exhorted to keep vp our meetings, wch Rich Farnsworth had been helpfull to vs in the begining to set vp, & also Tho: Goodare, & said wee should reigne over the Towne, & pressed E: B: much to keep vp our meetings. And after Edward Bourne & G: F: parted, G: F: Reigned his Horse about to speake to him, & put of His Hatt, saying, " The Lord Jesus Christ goe along wth thee," by wch E: B: was greatly Comforted & refreshed, & made glad in the Lord, & went away rejoicing. And the Lord was not wanting

³ This mention of the conversation between George Fox and Edward Bourne, on the road between Worcester and Tewkesbury; is worthy of special notice. E. B. refers to it again on p. 278, see note 8.

to vs to strengthen, Confirme, & Establish vs in the begining in his holy & blessed Truth. Blessed, & praised, & magnified bee his holy & Gloryous name, therefore, who lives for ever.

2. *Of the Reception of Truth.*

It was in the year 1655 in Worcester, & in the same County, By Robert Smith, & Sarah Drew, & Elizabeth Caresse,⁴ & Edw: Bourne, & many more, in Worcester; received by Ambrose Crowley⁵ & William Hodges, in Stowr bridge; by John Roberts in Droyt witch; by John Huncat, in Bromsgrove; By John Payton⁶ in Dudley; By Edw: Pittway,⁷ in Bengeworth, & many more in Evesham; By William Parre, in Shipstone vpon Stowre; & many others in the afore named County of Worcester, Evidenced by the wittnesse of God in wee who heard them, & were comforted & refreshed thereby, Theire ministry being attended wth the psence & power of God, who was wth them; & wee Jntertained them gladly, Gods wittnesse in vs Answering to the Truth of theire Testimony, wch made vs Joyfull in the Lord.

As touching Theire sufferings.

1655. Tho: Goodare was Jmprisoned many weekes in the Castle prison in Worcester, for asking Richard Baxter, in his place of worship in Kiderminster, How the ministers of Christ & the ministrs of Antichrist should bee Knowne assunder, seeing Christ saith, "Not every one wch saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter the Kingdome, but Hee that doth the will of my father

⁴ Besse gives *Careless*.

⁵ An entry in the Worcestershire Register states that Ambrose Crowley, son of Ambrose, of Rowley, was "Baptised (so-called), 13. vi. 1635." His first wife was Mary Hall, and they had one son, Ambrose, who became sheriff of London, and was knighted in 1704/5. Of his children by the second marriage, Sarah became wife of Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, in 1693, and Mary married Sampson Lloyd, brother of Charles, in 1695.

⁶ This was probably the John Payton who was grandfather of Catherine Payton, afterwards Phillips. See THE JOURNAL, ii. 94.

⁷ "Captain Edward Pitwaye" was a magistrate, and had been mayor of Evesham in 1648.

wch is in Heaven." Wch question Baxter never Answered, as wee Know. Jnstead of Answering a sober question in the feare of God, "Away wth them to prison as disturbers of the peace!" but it was themselves that broke the peace; but such was the Jntertainment of the peaceable servants of Christ amongst them in those dayes. But Thomas Goodare, att the sessions following, was Acquitted of his Jmprisonment, & sett att Liberty, thro the mercy of God to him, & came of well, none coming in agst him to accuse him, as wee know of. Soe the Lord helped him, & blessed bee his holy name.

Rich: Farnsworth was the same, or the following yeare, Jmprisoned Long in Banbury in Oxford shire, & came of well att last, thro the Lords mercy to him; & there was good service for the Truth by his sufferings, wch: there by p̄vailed, of wch friends in Banbury, & in Oxford shire, may give a more full & p̄fect account, therefore tis referred to them to doe that. For their ministry, They were men of good vnderstanding & parts, & had great Gifts, & were greatly abillitated for the work the Lord had called them to by His Grace, who were Jnstrumentall in His Hands to the turning of many to the Lord. Richard Farnsworth & Thomas Goodare were the most Concerned in the begining in settleing meetings in the City of Worcester, & in those parts, & afterwards, when George Fox came into Worcester shire & to the City of Worcester, as before is mentioned, & Hee mightly helped vs in the Confirming & establishing of our meetings, & exhorted me wth: friends to keep vp our meetings.

Jn our discourse together on the Rode before our parting,⁸ Hee speak of the Glory of the first body, and of the Egiptian Learning, & of the Language of the birds, & of wt was wonnderfull to mee to heare, soe that J belived he was of a Deep & wonnderfull vnderstanding in naturall, but especially in sptuall things, whose works, wch Hee have left behind him, doe demonstrate the same. Hee was Jnstrumentall in the hand of the Lord mightly to help mee, & to Confirme & establish mee in the eternall truth. J loved his Company, & to bee

⁸ It appears as though this concluding portion of Number 76 was misplaced and should have followed the previous reference to the conversation between G. F. and E. B. given on p. 276.

wth: him & to heare him, & His memoriall is blessed to many.

[No. 77.] Richard Farnsworth & Tho: Goodare wrot to vs after they had been wth: vs pertickullarly to Edw: Bourne, that wee might bee Comforted & established in the Truth. And when Rich: Farnsworth speake to Richard Baxter, in Swithins Church (soe called), as before some mention thereof have been made, before he spoke, Rich: Baxter was speaking of the sad account such would have to give who did not receive Christ ministers & messengers whom Hee sent amongst them, when people must give account to God of theire doings, & shall receive theire rewards according to wt they have done whether good or evill, not knowing that some of Christs servants & messengers were there p̄sent in the Congregation, who, as before mentioned, were evelly Treated by him & his Hearers, as before some mention have been made thereof. This is some wt of wt is remembred of that passage. And some Bookes they published for the p̄moteing of Truth, as J remember, Rich: Farnsworth, after a dispute Hee Had wth some priests & professours, neere or in Chadwitch in Worcester shire, publisht a Booke. The Title was about Election & Reprobation & as Moses Lifted vp the serpent in the wilderness soe shall the son of man bee lifted vp, or somewt tending there vnto, wth somthing relateing to the dispute, as well as may bee remembred,⁹ And also Hee wrot & sent a good paper to vs aboute his & Tho: Goodares service, & theire vsage when they spoke to Priest Baxter att His Lectour sermon as before have been mentioned. Wt may bee found of these things Friends may have or Coppys there of. But wt they left of theire service in these respects wch may bee got may bee of much service for helpe herein.

⁹ It was entitled, *The Brazen Serpent lifted up on high*, "written in Worcestershire, the beginning of the first moneth called March, 1655." Farnsworth refers to the dispute as "the great battle, fought (with the sword of the mouth only) at *Underwood* hill, belonging to *Chadwitch*, the 21 day of the 12 month, 1654, between Priest *Oasland*, Pastor, so called, to an independent company at *Bewdley*, and one *Andrew Trusterom*, Priest at *Clent* . . . and the two men that the world calleth Quakers (R. F. and F. G.) [For F. G. read probably T. G.]" The "battle" is continued vigorously in the pamphlet, the last shot being fired at "Robert Gurdler, postmaster, so called, in Birmingham."

As concerning Suffering.

1656. In the Begining, in Oliver Cromwells time, friends of Evesham were Imprisoned, some for Jntertaining Humphry Smith, & for going to the meeting which hee had there, and theire goods taken from them, & a printed paper was disperced aboute the nation Concerning it, & a great Cry was aboute it, soe that Crumwell ordered Major Generall Berry to set friends att Liberty, & an order was sent wth the Broad seale to Evesham for the Magestrates to restore theire goods to them againe. There were many people came to meetings, both in Worcester & in Evesham, in the begining who were Convinced of the Truth, wch: much troubled the Hypocriticall p̄fessours of Religion, wch then abounded in the nation.

When Crumwell had ordered friends Liberty & theire goods to bee Restored to them, Taken from them by ffines, Jt mortified the p̄secutors att Evesham very much, And somthing the more because Edw: Bourne & Tho: Hacket, wth some other friends of Worcester, who was att a meeting the same day before (However it was before Crumwells order came downe wth: the broad seale to it), being brought before the Major [mayor] of Evesham for Travalling on the Sabbath day, soe called, to Evesham from Worcester, where Edw: Burrough was to have been, but was p̄vented for speaking to priest Mayo, of Kingstone, as well as may be remembered. However John Audland supplied the meeting, wch was large, & a good oppertunity it was for the service of Truth. Wch: meeting being over, The major of Evesham caused friends to bee stopt going Home from the meeting, for Travaileing of the first day, & Edw: Bourne, Haveing a warrant From a Worcester Justice of the peace to Travail wth: out being molested that day wth: Thomas Hackett & some other friends of Worcester, wch: the Justice would volluntarilly doe, vndesired, Edw Bourne was desired by a friend, who knew it, to put forward wth: the rest mentioned in the warrant, who believed it might make way for other friends to passe away vnmollected. Hee there vpon, wth the rest in the warrant mentioned, tooke Horse to ride Home to Worcester, & being seized & brought before the major a Horse back, who was att the End of the bridge, & many people wth: him.

The major Asked vs, Why wee Travailed on the Sabbath day.

Edw: Bourne Answered that the Law did allow there of, it being to the worship of God.

The major said, A sabbath dayes Journey, wch: hee would have to bee about 2 mile.

But it was 12 from Worcester, & Hee accounted that more then a Sabbath dayes Journy.

Edw: Bourne Askt Him whether that was the Sabbath day, & desired him to prove that to bee the Sabbath day.

The major being att a stand aboute it, a young man who was by, & had been att the meeting, as it was believed, said the major did not know how to Answer vs or E: B:, & smiled.

The major Askt him there vpon who he was.

The young man said hee might choose whether Hee would tell him.

Then the mayor Commanded an officer to take him into Custody.

Then Edw: Bourne told the major, Tho wee had done nothing but wt. the Law did allow, yet wee had a warrant for our Travaileing that day.

Wch the major desired to see, soe E : B: shewed it him, wch the major Read, & then would see vs all who were therein mentioned, wch, when hee saw, hee said wee might goe, & Hee was very quiet. And friends after wards went Homewards, who came from Tewxbury & else where to that meeting, not much if att all mollested. Now this falling out, & the order soone after in favour of friends of Evesham, who had been psecuted, wth the broad seale to it, from Crumwell, was a great mortification to the Evesham psecutors.

When Major Generall before mentioned came to Worcester, wch was not long before Edw : Bourne, Robert Smith, & William Pitt went to speake wth : him ; & wee meeting wth Tho : Wells, his Captaine Lieftenant, who was Just come from him, who was a Curtious man, & afterwards a friend, & Long Jmprisoned in the Castle prison in Worcester because Hee could not take the oath of Allegience, This Captaine Told the Major Generall of our being desireous to speake wth him,

who soone came to vs & Led vs to the Major Generall, & when wee were come to him, Hee told vs Hee vnderstood wt manner of men wee were, but wth all said that because wee should Know Hee did not slight vs, Hee sent for vs, & said wee came to him as ambassadors to the great Turk, especially E : B :, saying it was as much as his life was worth to come before him wth his Head uncovered. And wee being willing to Know How they came to the great Turk, Hee said they put of theire shooes when they came to him. To wch : W : P. Answered that they were Heathenish Customes, & wee denied them both, or to that effect. However, Hee discoursed vs Loveingly, & was Curteous to vs in his Carriage, & when wee had Acquainted him wth : the psecution our friends were vnder, att Evesham, Hee told vs Hee would send for the magistrates att Evesham, & to our friends there, & would heare them both, & doe friends right. Soe a day was appointed for it, & when the time was come, many Great men as well as others came to see how things would goe, amongst whom was Mark Grimes,¹⁰ a Justice of the peace & a friend, & one Captan Bowne. The Justice dwelt in Gloucester shire, the Captaine in or neere Vpton in Worcester shire, who was accounted a moderate man. Justice Grimes Acquainted the Major Generall wth the manner of the psecution, How the psecutors had pceeded therein, & amongst the rest How they had put 2 of our friends, who were Honest, peaceable women, in the stocks, where they were in the night many hours, who were set Lowe & theire feet High in the Stocks & wide one from another, in a cold season, wch was the occasion of the sickness & death of one of them, as it was believed, not very long after. Her name was Margaret Newby, the other woman friends name was, as well as may bee remembred, Elizabeth Court or Courts.¹¹ They were West-

¹⁰ Presumably Colonel Grimes, who entertained George Fox. See *Journal*, i. 335, 466.

¹¹ In his *Sufferings . . . of the Saints at Evesham*, Humphry Smith writes, "On the 17th of the 9th Moneth [1656], *Margaret Newby* and *Elizabeth Quorte* came to this town . . . and to the prison to visit us. The mayor [Edmund Young] caused them to be put in the stocks and

moreland women, or whose dwellings were neere those parts, & came forth from thire Homes in the Service of Truth. And Justice Grimes did set before the Major Generall their Cruelty & hardheartednesse towards these 2 friends, before mentioned, & the rest whom the psecutors had psecuted in Evesham, before the Major Generall & the magistrates there p̄sent before them, to Agravate their Crime agst them, who had put some of our friends in a dungion & vsed them hardly. The psecutors said little in their defence, for they could not well doe it.

The mayors name, of Evesham, that was then, who was the Cheif in the psecution, was Edmund Young,¹² soe when Justice Grimes & the rest wth him, Concerned in setting out wt: the psecutors had done, had ended wt they had to say, & the Magistrates, the psecutors, in their owne defence, the Major Generall ordered friends to have their Liberty, & did faire in puting things to an end in favour to our friends of Evesham, & being to goe away & soone to returne againe to Worcester, Hee said, when Hee came again, if there was any thing further then to doe for vs, hee would doe it, for wee should & must bee protected in our Religion, being a peaceable people, or to that effect, but told our friends, who had been psecuted and were

bestly words he used to them . . . and lockt the Prison-door, it being a *freezing night*, in which manner [as described above] they were kept the space of 15 *hours at least*. . . I have thought that *Paul's* forty stripes save one was not so bad." See Besse's *Sufferings*, ii. 58; Brown's *Evesham Friends*, p. 95; and especially Ellis Hookes's MS. *Sufferings*, second volume (THE JOURNAL, i. 15). All these authorities give Elizabeth Court (Courte, Courten, Corte, Coortt, Quorte); Thomas Camm's statement (page 268) is not substantiated.

After having penned above note, and whilst looking for something else, I have turned up an original document, which settles the question of M. Newby's companionship, *viz.*, a letter, signed, "Elizabeth Corte," dated from Tewkesbury, 25th of 9mo., 1655, and addressed to Margaret Fell, giving a description of the sufferings of M. Newby and herself at "Havisham." The writer adds the interesting statement that "the maior charged vs we should not singe, and if we did he would put both our hands in also, nevr the lese we did not forbear being both moued eternaly by ye lord to sing in ye stocks, each of vs both leggs in." A postscript states, "We ar at at p̄sent short of money, and would haue some sent to vs as Sone as conveniently may be." (D. Swarthmore MSS. i. 359.)

¹² Edmund Young was mayor in 1655-6.

present, Hee would not have our friends to disturb the nationall worshippers in their worship. And noe one of them saying any thing in Answer to him therein, as J expected, but went away one after another, till all was with: drawne but mee & Rich: Baxter, the priest of Kiderminster, as J remember, J could not goe from him¹³ satisfied in my minde, till J had spoke to him concerning it, in Answer to the same, Hee comeing first to mee, & taking mee by the Hand, Askt mee how J liked wt. He had done.

J said in Answer therevnto, "Very well." But with all told him, whereas Hee Had said Hee would not have our friends disturb the nationall worshippers in their places of worship when att their worship, J said, "Why should they bee more disturbed or offended att our speaking [No. 78.] more then att the priests? And why might not they who kept the peace for one keep the peace for the other?"

Hee said that was true. But said, Wt. if any of our friends should speake in a market, & there should bee halfe a dozen men killed, who should bee blamed?

J Askt him, "Who?"

Hee Confest it was the wickednesse of the people, but, said hee, "J would not have yor friends to doe soe," said hee, or to this effect. Hee told mee our friends had printed their sufferings, & there was a great Cry aboute the nation aboute their psecution, & Askt why wee did not send a Letter to the pctor aboute it & not to have done soe.

J told him, J questioned whether, if that had been done, it would have come to his Hand.

But hee said it would, & the protectr might have stopt the psecution to have pvented the cry thereof aboute the nation.

Soe J pceived the cry of psecution troubled them, when the nation expected better things vnder that Government, they haveing often in their declarations declared agst. Tyranny & oppression on the account of Religion for Conscience sake.

¹³ *i.e.* from the Major-General.

J expected Richard Baxter,¹⁴ being present in the Roome wth vs when the Major Generall & I discoursed together, would have said something, but Hee did not, only stood by the fire side wth his Hatt over his eyes & said nothing to mee, which was contrary to wt. J expected, for had he disliked wt. J said, hee had an oppertunity for it, but hee was like one dumb whilst J staid wth: the Major Generall.

3dly. Of opposition to Truth.

(1.) *When?* (2.) *Where?* (3.) *By whom?* as before, whether open Adversaryes or false Brethren & apostates. (4.) *How?* by words & writings or deeds & Actings. (5.) *What Judgment. on & Repentance of any such.*

There was opposition to Truth, when the servants of God & Christ Jesus came into Worcester shire, by Henry Osland & priest Trustram,¹⁵ in or neer Chadwitch, before they came to Worcester, in disputeing agst it in or before 1655.

And afterwards att Worcester, att some of our meetings, by William Colbach & Nicholas Baker, & many other professors of Religion, Jn the yeares 1655, 1656.

Where else the Truth was opposed in the begining, except att Evesham, is not well knowne, soe a pfect account cannot be given thereof.

The opposers of Truth were open Adversaryes, & little or not att all by Apostates in those early dayes & false brethren.

The opposition was by words most, wee cannot say much by writings, tho it might bee soe, but can shew little thereof, or by their deeds & Actings then before have herein been declared; & for wt Judgments & repentance of any such, something might bee said, & shall be, if God pmit, if it can well bee done and made forth.

¹⁴ Richard Baxter, the noted author of *The Saint's Rest*, and many other valuable contributions to religious literature, was born in 1615. The principal scene of his ministerial labours was the town of Kidderminster, where he was enabled to do much good. He suffered much in body and estate for his religious views. His death took place in London in 1691.

¹⁵ For Oasland and Tristram see note 9, and Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.*, vol. iii.

Yorkshire.¹

Early Publishers of Truth and Sufferings for the Same.

A Testimony concerning Christopher Knapton, given forth by us who are of his near Relations in the flesh & also had unity & fellowship with him in ye Spirit.

He was Born about the begining of ye first Month, in ye year 1631, And was brought up by his Parents in Shereburne in Yorkshire, Strictly in the Presbyterian Way, & also Educated or Instructed in ye Scriptures of Truth. And when he was grown up into some years, he went to be a Justice Clarke, & in the time of his Clarkship It pleased the Almighty God to make him sencible of his blessed Light, & being made a Witness of this blessed Light, which Shines in the Inward parts, he was made Sencible of what offended the Lord, & was troubled & brought under Condemnation by it. And feeling the Judgment of the Lord laid upon that transgressing nature in him, One time, being alone in his Master's Ground, in great exercise of Mind, It pleased the Lord to appear in his great Love to him to Tender his heart, and being reached at that time, & his heart tendered with the love of God, he was made Willing to Yeild up himself in Obedience to the Lord. And his Parents being then Newly Convinced of the Truth, he left his Clarkshipp & came home to them, And forsook Great Preferment of this world, and Counted all things Loss here below So that he might winn Christ. And it pleased the Lord Almighty that had given him the Knowledge of his blessed Truth, Also to raise him up by his Power to Preach & Declare of it to his Neighbours & friends in their

¹ The following accounts have been copied from early manuscripts belonging to Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting. Benjamin Bealing's list does not contain any documents relating to "First Publishers" in Yorkshire.

Meetings near his Outward being or home, and many had their understandings opened by the Truth that was delivered by him, & Came to be convinced of itt. And the Lord yt is worthy of all honour, when he had proved him a Little, & found him ffaithfull in that Gift or Talent he had bestowed on him, gave him his power, & Sent him forth to publish his Gospell, & to declare the Truth among his ffriends & Bretheren in most parts of England, at times, as he was moved upon by the Lords Spiritt & Power. He was one that was not forward in his Gift, neither did Run, but when he was sent by the Lord to any meeting to visit his Bretheren, or to have meetings amongst them in any Parts of England, the Land of his Nativity, he went in the power of the Lord to doe that Service he required of him ; and it was his care to return again to his outward Habitation, when he felt he had Discharged his Duty, & see that his Service was Ended which he had for to doe at that time. And he went neither for Gold nor Silver, nor for Outward Substance, nor for any Pleasures that this world can afford, But that he might Answer the Lord in his requireings, and to Clear himself of what the Lord was Pleased to Concern him in. And great Jmprisonment did he suffer in his time, sometimes in Prison holes by himself, & other times with the ffriends & Servants of the Lord that were caused to suffer with him for their bearing Witness to the Truth, And also had part of his Outward Substance taken from him, Yet it pleased the Lord to bear him up over all, for the Lord will never forsake them that keep ffaithfull unto him, and are willing to suffer for him & his Righteousness sake. And though he met with many Exercises & Tryalls in his time, Yet he continued ffaithfull to the Lord, and was not Negligent in his Worke nor to goe amongst ffriends, so long as it pleased the Lord to afford him strength & Abillity. The last meeting he was in among ffriends was in his own House, about Seaven Weeks before he Departed this Life, haveing then begun to be Weak of Body, & Continued from that time Weaker and Weaker, untill it pleased the Lord to take him to himself, not Discovering much in the time of his Weakness, only Testified unto us that he had cleared himself of what the Lord had concerned him in, And also concerning his Everlasting Happiness the Lord had sealed it to his

Soule. And having finished his Course & being in Peace with the Lord, he mildly and quietly departed this Life, ye 14th Day of the ffourth month, 1702, Early in the Morning, and was Buryed in ffriends Buryall Place near Shereburne, ye 16th of same Month.

Benjamin Brown, of Lenerton, in ye County of Yorke, was Born in ye Year 1634, of honest Parents, who brought him up strictly in the Presbyterian way, till he came to be Convinced of Gods Blessed Truth. He was convinced by Christopher Knapton, of Shereburne, & received the Truth in the Love of it; & a Little while after, the Lord, whom he often said he sought from his Childhood, ffitted him, & Sent him forth to preach the Everlasting Gospell in England, & Severall times in Ireland & Scotland, & in Severall Plantations in America.² And he was of the Apostles mind, not haveing much Outwardly to Live upon, wrought with his hands in Severall Places when in Travells upon Truths account, that he might not make the Gospell chargeable, which he Signified would be his peace upon a Dyeing Bed. He had a Gift of the Ministry, and an understanding how to divide the word aright, Laying open the Wiles of ye Enemy, haveing a word Suiteable to divers States & Conditions, not forward in offering his Gift, nor one that Loved to Straiten others, but was willing to give way to others that might have a Concern from the Lord, Severall times Incourageing severall which he thought were honest Lest they should straiten themselves. He was much troubled with a Cough, which he thought he got in America with Lyeing in the woods all night and Wadeing in the Rivers, which Continued with him so sore that sometimes he fell to the Ground in danger of hurting himself. He fell sick at the House of John Burleigh, in Weatherby, in the County aforesaid, about the second Day of the Second Month, 1704, and continued till ye 13th of ye same. He was at our Preparative Meeting two days before he fell sick where he Declared Truth to ffriends great satisfaction, & said he was glad he was at ye Meeting. So went Home, & was sore troubled with shortness of Breath. About two Dayes before he Dyed severall

² Little is known of Benjamin Brown's travels. James Bowden's *History* (i. 295) gives no particulars of his visit to America.

ffriends came to see him out of Town, And he was helped up, & sett in a Chaire a Little, then Kneeled Down to Prayer so powerfully that ffriends were greatly comforted, signifieing the Lords Love & Kindness in appearing to him at so needfull a time, so concluded in Praiseing the Lord for his goodness. The next Day, being helped up in Bed, several ffriends being beside him, said, " ffriends, when I am gone Live in Love one with another, & shunn the World's Company," Adding, " Gods despised Truth shall Prosper, whether I Live or Dye," & further said, " Be not troubled for me, for I have perfect^{ly} Peace with the Lord ; but God will cast out the unfaithfull^{ly} from among his People, as well Preachers as hearers," or words to that Effect. He continued very Quiet and Sencible to the Last Moment, desireing the Lord to shorten his passage, adding, " If it be thy will. " The night before he departed severall ffrnds came a great Way to see him, & one was concerned to goe to prayer, & had a few Words at his Bedside. After he signified he was well refreshed & glad of ffriends Visitt. He departed the^{next} Morning betwixt 5 and 6 othe Clock, the 13th of ye second month, 1704, in Unity with ffriends & great Peace with the Lord ; And was Buryed in ffrnds Buryall Place, at Tadcaster, ye 15th of ye same Month.

And as a Witness to the Truth of the abovesaid, I shall subscribe my name.

WILLIAM COCKSHA.³

Selby.

Dear ffriends, unto whom these few Lines may come, It is in my heart to give this Small Testimony concerning the breaking forth of this blessed Light & Truth in this our Town of Selby.

Dear John Leake, & Ann, his wife, & Richard Tomlinson, & Elizabeth, his wife (with whom J was then Apprentice), were the first Convinced, & the first ffamilies which received the

³ William Cockshaw, Sen.; of Micklethwaite, near Wetherby; died on the 4th of Second Month; 1726.

Lords blessed Messengers in the Towne at that Day. And William Dewsbery was one of the first that came with a Publick Testimony into the said Towne, who Lodged at our House. And then the said Elizabeth Tomlinson was made to goe Out into the Streets in the mighty power of ye Lord, which carryed her almost of her feet, and her Testimony was, "Repent ! Repent ! for the day of the Lord is at hand ; Woe to the Crown of Pride ; Woe to the Coveteous Professors ; Woe to the Drunkards of Ephraim," & struck a great Astonishment in the People. And William Dewsbery was then a Blessed Instrument in the Lords hand, of my Convincement, who was Wild and Wanton at that Day, tho not Outwardly profane, but without God in the World, as too many are at this Day ; and the Power of God was mightily upon William, & fixing his Eyes upon me, Declared what the Lord putt into his mouth to me in particular, and J did truly Witness the Word of the Lord to be Quick and Powerfull, which cut me to the heart, that J fell Down in the House ffloor as Dead to all Appearance as any Clogg or Stone. When J came to sence again, he had got me up in his Armes (it was about the year 1652) ; so that J can truly say J was smitten down to the Ground by the Liveing Power of the Lord, as sure as ever Saul was, in his way to Damascus, and my Beastiall Will at that time got a deadly wound that through the Loveing Kindness of the Lord was never healed to this Day. Although J had a time of Halting betwixt God & the world, Yet a Cry was raised (almost continually) in my heart, "Oh ! that Men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and magnifie him for his wonders amongst the Sons of Men ; What is man that thou art so mindfull of him, or the Sons of Men that thou visitest them," and J can truly say that the Lords time was a time of Love, for his Love was soe shed abroad in the hearts of his gathered, that overcame all the Love of this World, and made a Clear seperation (as people of another Nation), not only from the ffriendships, ffashions, & customs, & worships of the world, But in a large measure from the Spirit of it. And although at that Day we were Scoffed and Scorned, and not only so, but beaten, & stoned, & haled to Prisons, the Lord did administer a suteable support, which carried over all with

Chearfullness in what Exercise soever. And J can further Testifie that the holy Ghost was Showered Down upon the Meetings of the Lords people at that day, as sure as ever it was at Jerusalem when the Cloven Tongues did appear, & many were made to utter things in a Wonderful manner that they were altogether Strangers to, & some there were that did things by Jmitation, which J have seen to fall away as untimely ffuite.

And now haveing a Liveing Sence of those things upon my heart, and being both and Eye & Ear Witness of them, J was desirous to Comitt them to Writeing, Although with a Shakeing Hand, and Leave the perusall and disposall of them as in the Wisdome of God you may see meet. And it is the desire of my heart that the Lord may have the Glory of his own Workes, who alone is worthy forever, and remain

your Loveing ffriend in a measure of Truth,

GEORGE CANBY.⁴

Selby, ye 8th day of ye 7th month, 1704.

Brigthouse Monthly Meeting.

It appears by ye Accounts within our Monthly Meeting belonging Brigthouse, as ffolloweth.

That about ye yeare 1651, George Fox came to a Place cald Wood Kirke, near Leeds (accompanied with Willm. Dewsbury), & preacht Truth in the Steeple House (whereat the Priest Raged, & threatned putting them in the Stocks). Ye same Day, Richd ffarnsworth Preacht Truth amongst some high pfessors at Tong. Severall were convinced by the above sd ffriends. Willm also preached Truth at Leeds, and Meetings were settled thereabouts; Willm also Preacht Truth at Hallifax; & a Meeting was settled there. Also yt Wm Dewsbury and Thomas Taylor severally, about ye years 1652 or 1653, came to Christopher Taylor, a Priest of a Chappell, called Chappell in the Byers, betwixt Brigthouse and Hallifax, who was convinced of

⁴ George Canby, of Selby; died in Fifth Month; 1705.

the Truth, & bore Testimony to it, and was Instrumentall in Settleing a Meeting at Bradford ; also one was Settled at Brighthouse. And that Tho: Goodayre and Thomas Taylor Preache Truth about Mankinholes, where a meeting is settled. In yr 1657, We find yt Danl Thackra, of Holdbeck, was by Jno Dawson & Martin Jles, of Leeds, Aldrm, Sent to ye House of Correction in Wakefield for Witnessing ye Kingdom of Heavn is Within, and was at Leeds Sessions fined Ten Shills, and afterwards sent by Wm Fenton, & Jno Payton, Jno Davison, & sd Martin Jles, to York Goal.

In Luke ye 17th & 21st may be seen ye blindness of those Leeds Magistrates.

The 9th of ye 11th mo : 1704.

Knaresborough Monthly Meeting.

Severall of the Antient ffriends & Bretheren that first received the Truth, And the Publishers of it, being departed this Life, those remaining find it very difficult to give any Certain account of the prticulars mentioned in the Paper Sent from our friends at London, But what as are brought in, are as ffolloweth.

Thomas Taylor was one of ye first in these LatterDayes that Published the Gospell of Christ Jesus our Lord in its Purity, Glory, & Excellency in & about Netherdale, And Willm Settle recd him.

Christopher Taylor was also concerned in the Same Message in Hartwith, Dacre, and ffenceliffe ; And Peter Hardcastle, Miles Oddy, And John Halliday received him.

Richd ffarnsworth was the first that came with the Same Message to Steeton, and Henry Ambler received him.

William Dewsbury, Christopher Taylor, & Gervase Benson were some of the first that published the Gospell of Christ about Bolton in Craven, And Anthony Myers was the first that received their Message thereabouts, and entertained 'em, And

kept Meetings at his House at Heskett in Bolton, and a Meeting came to be settled thereabouts, now cald ffarfeild Meeting.

Willm Dewsbury and Thomas Stubbs was the first yt preached the Glad tydeings of the Everlasting Gospell thereabouts, as att Stanberry, and Christopher Smith received them & their Message, and also near Keighley, and Settled a Meeting there, where there Remains a Meeting to this day, cald Kighley Meeting. Anthony Moore Received them & their Message. They also had a Meeting at Kildwick in the Steeple House.

Kelk Monthly Meeting.

In ye Year 1651, George ffox was ordered first into these parts, And came to Cranswick, where Richd Pursglove Received him.⁵ There he abode some time, and Preached the Gospell unto the People. Afterwards, in the first month, cald March, 1651/2, he came to Ouram, & was received by George Hartas,⁵ and Tarryed about 6 Dayes, Preaching the Truth & Publishing the Gospell of glad Tideings to many that came to see & hear him; & many were Convinced of the Truth while he was there, and was made to bless the Lord who sent his servant & ffaithfull Labourer to turn the minds of People from Darkness to Light & from the power of Satan to the true & Liveing God. ffrom thence he passed towards the East parts of Holderness.

Now though many were Convinced & did believe the Truth, & Divers did no longer Joyne with the priests of the world in their publick Worshipp, Yet we had no Settled or Appoynted Meetings, But on the first dayes of the week it was the manner of some of us to goe to some Town where were ffriendly people, and there sit together, & sometimes conferr one with another of the Dealings of the Lord with us.

In the Latter End of ye 8th month of the same Year, William Dewsbury was moved to come into these parts, & Travelled much from Town to Town, Sounding the Trumpett of

⁵ Captain *Pursloe*, of Cranswick, is mentioned in G. Fox's *Journal* (i. 81-83, 95), and also George Hartas, of Ulrome (i. 96).

the Lord. His Testimony was Peirceing and very powerfull, so as the Earth Shoke before him, The Mountains did melt at the power of the Lord, which exceedingly, in a Wonderfull manner, broke forth in these Dayes in our holy Assemblies, to the Renting of many hearts, & bringing Divers to Witness the same state, Measureably, as the Prophet or servant of the Lord did in Antient times, whose Lipps Quivered & Belly shook, that he might rest in the day of trouble. Oh! It was a Glorious Day, in which the Lord Wonderfully appeared for the bringing down the Lofty and high minded, and Exalting that of Low degree. Many faces did gather Paleness, and the Stout hearted were made to Bow, and strong Oakes to bend before the Lord.

William was principally received, at his first Comeing, by John Leaper, at Bridlington Key, whose wife was a Tender hearted woman, & he also received the Truth in the Love of it, and both Continued stedfast therein all their Dayes. William Thomson, of Killam, did also receive him, & William Drape, of Harpham; and about two months after, Robt Barwick, of Kelke, & his wife received the Truth, and their house was made a Receptacle for Travelling ffrriends for many Years; their Hearts were truly given up to serve the Lord and his People, counting nothing too dear to part with for the Truth sake. So many of the Lords Servants were greatly Comforted & refreshed under their Roofe.⁶

After W. D. had been 3 or 4 times on this Edge of ye Wolds & North Parts of Holderness, And many flocked to hear ye Truth, he Exhorted to Meet & assemble together to wait

⁶ Robert and Grace Barwick, of Kelk, were well-known receivers of Friends. In an address to "John Lambert and the rest of the Officers," printed in 1659, Grace Barwick describes herself as "wife of Robert Barwick, once a Cornit under Generall Lambert." In *The Memory of the Faithful Revived* (in MS. in D.), the cause of Robert Barwick's death is given thus: "Robert Barwick, of Kelk, in Yorkshire, on the 20th of the Month called January, 1660, was taken out of a meeting at Harpham, and carried before one Justice Baynton, who committed him to the care of one of his servants for that night. Next Morning, he received a Letter from the Justices Wife, wherein she desired him to take the Oath to prevent his going to prison: But he answered, 'It is no light thing that is required of me in denying this Oath; there is no less in it than the giving up of my Life: But I must keep my Peace with God.'" He died in gaol after nine weeks' imprisonment. George Fox attended a general meeting at Grace Barwick's house in 1666. I have not discovered the place or date of her death.

upon ye Lord ; and in ye Tenth Month of ye same year, He, with the Consent of ffriends, Settled a Meeting for friends in Generall hereaways, to be kept on ye 3rd Day of ye Weeke, and to Continue for a generall meeting once in 3 weeks, wch is kept still by Friends. By these two servants of ye Lord, ffriends here-away were Gathered in the Beginning, And though afterwards divers of ye Lords Worthies came amongst us, & had Good Service for ye settlement & establishing ffriends in ye Truth, yet the Planting or Gathering is to be Attributed to them as Instruments in ye Hand of ye Lord.

ffrom Kelke Monthly Meeting, held att Harpam, ye 6th of ye 7th mo : 1704.

Signed in Behalfe of ye Said Meeting By

THO : THOMSON,
CHARLES CANNABY,⁷
CHRISTO : OLIVER.

Elloughton Monthly Meeting.

A Memorial of the Manifestation of the Truth in ye Eastern Parts of Yorkshir in these lattr Times, being a Sumary acct of ye first Publishers & receivers thereof within sevl Mo Meetings. Taken from ye Mon: Meet: books.

The first Messenger of God yt came amongst us was yt beloved and faithfull Servant of God, George ffox, who gave a Testimony to ye approaching day of God, and Exhorted to Repentence, and to believe in ye Light ; and his words were wth Power & Mixed wh faith in some yt heard ym. For in and about Malton, a remnant was gathered in ye Light to waite upon

⁷ Charles Cannaby, of Bridlington, is thus referred to in John Richardson's *Life*, " He was convinced early, lived to a great age, and was a man of great service in those parts where he lived." His niece, Priscilla, daughter of James Cannaby, became J. R.'s wife. Charles Cannaby died in 1713, aged 87 years. See Robson MSS. T.R. 2, in D.

God, Namely John Ratcliffe, Roger Hebden,⁸ Christo Hallyday,⁹ William Dent, Robt Thompson, wth severall others, and in ye Country thereabout, William Pearson, Isaac Linley, Richard Pursglove, Geo : Hartas, &c. And about ye Staythes and Liver-ton, a People was also gathered to wait upon ye Lord in his Light ; the names of some of them was Wilim Ratcliff, Phillip Scarth, Robt Porritt, and several of the Tipladies, Christo : Pearson, &c.

About ye year 1652, William Dewsbury, who doubtless was the messenger of God unto many of us, Came also amongst us, Exhorting to Repentance & to believe in ye Light, wch did shine in our hearts & convinced us of sin, yt we might receive ye remission of Sins, And have an Inheritance among ym yt are Sanctified, and ye Presence & Power of God was with him ; &

⁸ In *A Plain Account of . . . Roger Hebden*, 1700, the author describes himself as "son of John Hebden, late of Appleton in the Street, then using the Calling of a Woollen Draper, and Dwelling in New Malton." He was convinced in 1651. In 1654 he was committed to York Castle by "Robert Barwicke, called Justice." (I do not know whether this is the same person as mentioned above.) He was also some time in Aylesbury jail, and a second time in York Castle. From these places of detention, Roger Hebden wrote several letters, which are given in his *Account*, and one to George Fox, which is preserved in D (A.R.B. MSS. 22). He laboured in the Gospel in various parts of England, and also accompanied Samuel Watson on a religious visit to Scotland. He died in 1695. See F. A. Budge's *Barclays of Ury*, etc.

⁹ The Hackness Parish Register contains the following entries :—
1653. "Richard Cockerill dyed on Wednesday, the xiii. day of September, and was buried the next day, being Thursday. And there was many of them they call Quakers at his buryell. And Mr. Prowde did exhorte and argue with them at the grave; and they held out that that worke wch they had in them was not wrought by the worde, wch I was sorry to heare ; but they said they made use of the worde only to try whether it were right or noe."

1655. "Robert, the sonne of John Robson dyed the same day (January 21st); and was buried the next morning. And that morninge there was a Quaker called Halliday, who formerly lived at Malton, and Mr. Prowde (who is a learned divine and a good man), went to Jaine Cockerill's house, late wyffe of Richard Cockerill's of Hackness ; but this Halliday was quarellsome and contentious and troublesome [?] in his questions, that it tyred Mr. Prowde to answer him, and wearyed me to heare the sayd Halliday's Divinity, wch was very erroneus. I will not set down all, but some principall, as his denyenge Bapt.; The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, The Eternal word without ye Letter of the word; That Christ or the seed is in every man, and is covered or buried under our flesh and corrupt hearte. Upon that sayeing, I could staye noe longer, but told some of their disciples that they were Deluded." See *The Friend* (Lond.), 1903, p. 748 ; *John Wilhelm Rowntree : Essays and Addresses*, 1905, p. 16.

he Loved not his Life unto Death, but was willing to Hazerd it for ye word of his Testimony, wch he faithfully Bore through severall Marketts, & in Steeple Houses, & in other Places, where People were together. And many Meetings he was Instrumentall to Gather. And in those Daysye Lord Powred forth his Spiritt upon many Sons & Daughters, and we mett often together in his name, and began to speake forth the wonderfull workes of God. And those about Malton, Liverton, Staithes, and Egton-Bridge, &c., wch had recd Geo: ffox, did also Gladly receive him & were Confirmed in ye Truth. And he was an Instrument by which many others also believed, who would be too many to name in particular, but some of ye first fruites was [? Francis] Story, in ye Marishes, Joseph Allatson, in Harwood-dale, Richard Cockerill, at Hackness, & Roger Cass, of Heaton Bushell; And at Scarbrough Castle, John Whitehead,¹⁰ and Elizabeth, his wife, John Graham, George Musgrave, John Cary, Samll Hobman; And in yt Town, Christo: Hedley, & Jonas, his Brother, Thomas Sedman, Jonathan Wasson, & Elliner Weller; And on ye Woulds, Gregory Milner, of Cottam, Robert Mainford, & Susanna, his Wife; at Harpam, Lancelott Menson, & Christopher Ogle; At Kelke, Robt Barwick, and Grace, his Wife; at Olrome or Oreham, George Hartas, & Clare, his Wife; And att Bridlington Key, Robert fowler, & Thomasin Leaper, Mary Coulson, and others; In Holderness, Marmaduke Storr, & Joseph, his Brother, & Dorothy, Marmadukes Wife,¹¹ John

¹⁰ John Whitehead was convinced when a soldier at Scarborough Castle. He resided in Holderness till 1683, when he removed to the neighbourhood of Lincoln. His labours and sufferings in various parts of the country were many. He died at Fiskerton, near Lincoln, in 1696. Thomas Chalk published an interesting *Life of John Whitehead* in 1852; based on *The Written Gospel Labours of . . . John Whitehead, 1704*; (to which William Penn wrote a Preface); but containing also the results of original research.

¹¹ There are many references to the Storr family, of Holderness, in the early records of Quakerism, and in later days. A six-page pamphlet addressed *To Friends of Truth in London and elsewhere*, from Beeford in Holderness, in 1663, and containing a warning against John Harwood, is signed by Marmaduke Storr, George Hartas, Tho. Thompson, Francis Story, Robert Prudome, William Stringer, Charles Cannabie, Richard Pursglove, Michaell Simpson, Robert Miller, and Robert Fowler, who are described as "a first-fruits unto God in the East parts of York-shire."

See *Notes on the Families of Storr, of Hilston and Owstwick, with Pedigrees*, etc., by A. B. Wilson-Barkworth, 1890.

Nicholson, & Ann, his Wife ; And in Hull, Richard Emmerson, Jno Hoames ; And on ye West Woulds, Willm Padley, Willm Bradford, Christo : Hutton, & their Wives, Sebastyan Ellythorpe, &c. ; And att Crake, Valentine Johnson, Thomas Wedall.

Those, wh many others, Gladly Received ye Word of Life, in ye year 1652, And mett often together in great fear & Dread, & ye Power of ye Lord wrought mightily in us, & made ye Strong man Bowe himselfe, and the Keepers of ye House to Tremble. And those yt were Patient, and staid in ye Light & Power of God, Jncreased their faith, and Loved one another fervently out of a Pure Heart, soe yt nothing was Lacking to any ; for selfe denyall, the true simplicity of ye Gospell, and Charity which thinketh no evill, flowed amongst us. And ye wiles of Satan was manifest, And a way to Escape his snares seen in ye Light, for ye Lord Anoynted us with his holy Spiritt, and yt Led us into Truth and Righteousness, and some were fitted to Labour in his Vineyard, One of which was Roger Hebden, a man of good report & true Discerning, who was a very precious Instrument and witness for God amongst us, and, through ye power and presence of ye Lord wch was with him, did Convince & Confirm many in ye Blessed truth, And helped to Gather & settle severall meetings. And John Whitehead, aforesaid, was another serviceable Instrument, and was first yt gave a Publick testimony unto ye Truth in ye Steeple Houses at Scarbrough and Hull ; And through ye Grace yt was Given unto him, was made Instrumentall both to Convince and Confirme many, And was ye first yt through ye Power of ye Lord Prevailed to gather & settle a meeting in Whitby, where Zachariah Smales, and Dorothy, his wife, Ellice Green, Margrett Grainge, Thomas Linskill, and Henry Adder, with severall others, received ye Truth ; And in Cleaveland, ye sd John Whitehead was Instrumentall to gather & settle meetings, for he declared ye Truth through their Marketts, and many believed, [as] George Robinson, ye Elder, of Lasenby, and his household, John Enock, and Barbara Joucy, And Alice Soula ; Att Guisbrough, with severall others, Thomas Jackson, and ffrancis Rountree ; att Stouseley, Richard Harpson ; & att Osmotherley, Cutbert Tireman, James

Hildred, and others ; at Burroby, Thomas ffoster, Rose Snadon, and others ; these with many others were turned from Darkness to Light, and brought to waite upon ye Lord in great Humility and fear. Thus ye Lord blessed ye Poor in spirit, and begun and Carried on his own worke, Chooseing ye weake and Despised things of this world to confound the strong and Honourable. And in ye mouth of Babes he hath ordained strength, that noe flesh might Glory in his sight, therefore unto him be all ye Praise and Glory, for it is his Due of right, throughout all Ages & Generations.

If anything more Concerning this Matter that Antient friends Can Remember, it may be Added to this Memorial above written.

Christopher Hutton, of Warter, on Yorke-Shire Wolds, was Convinced and Received ye Truth early, and Chearfully suffered great spoiling of his Goods and many years Imprisonment in York-Castle, his wife and he being nobly given up, bearing faithfull Testimonyes for ye Truth in their Day. He was a farmer many years Under one John Stapilton, cald Esqr, who was moderate towards friends Once, but soon Grew worse, and turned Christopher of ye farme, aud told him he would turn him out while he had something, saying, His father had left him a Little, but in yt way he would waste it. Three years afterwards, his Landlord sent for him to take it again. Christo : did take ye farme again, kept it severall years (often threatned to be turned out but was not), untill he was minded to give over farming & goe to his own. William Wilson, a friend and Kinsman of ye sd Christo, being afflicted with ye Palsey that he could not express himself alwayes Intelligibly, desired to be with his Uncle, having a Competency to Live on. Tho some of Wm Relations (not ffrids) would have him removed, and together with John Stapilton did Endeavour it, but could not, Yet what outward Subsistence he had they Got, which was a greate trouble to Willm. Altho he wanted nothing, a time was appointed for agreemt, but it fell out they did not make an End, which Willm perceiveing,

and fearing he should never enjoy it with his hand, he smote upon his Breast, and said, It Hurt him just there. The Next Day he begun to spit blood, & within two or three Days after Dyed. John Stapilton, understanding there had been an Evening Meeting at Christophers House, was much enraged, threatned to fine the neighbourhood there (not ffrids). He prevail'd with some to Informe; they Levyed 30*li* of Christo: for the same, and ye Justice, his Landlord, told him he was but beginning with him, he would not Leave him worth a Groat.

Christo: Replyed, "Thou will never be suffered to doe that."

"How doe you know yt?" said ye Justice.

"Thou knows," said Christopher, "thou can Goe no further than God pmitts, and J know he will never suffer thee to doe that."

He asked Christopher, at another time, What he would take for his Estate.

"J have no need," said he, "to sell it."

"J know you have noe need, but J would give you 20*li* more than it is worth to Ridd ye Town of You."

"Jf thou would give me 100*li* more than it's worth, J will not sell it."

Now before this, Chr: had thoughts of Removing out of Town, but afterwards Durst not, but said to his family, "J find J must seale my Testimony here."

Some few weekes before his Death, he desired to speake with his Landlord, who Promised to Come but Delayed.

Jane Taylor, sister in Law to Chr: being wth ye Justice about yt time, he enquired how her Brother was, & whether he talked of Heavenly things.

"Yes, Sr," said she, "all is Discourse is about heavenly things; if ever man went to Heaven J believe he will." Drawing towards his Death, he said, he believed his Landlord Durst hardly appear. Therefore sent his man servnt, Willm Turner, for him, saying, "He Hinders me of my Rest, J must see him before J Dye."

Being sent for, he came Jmmediately, to whom Christo: said; "J have desired to see thee, J have something to say unto thee."

"Speake wt you please, Christopher," said ye Justice.

"Time was," said Chr: "Thou would not hear me, but thrust me out of thy House, & bad me be gone."

"That was when upon Justice ; but now, Christo: speake what You please."

Then he Laid before him wherein he had wronged him & friends, and his Cruelty towards ym upon Truths Account, But said, for what he had done to him he freely forgave him, And further said he, "I have this to tell thee, yt except thou repents, ye Judgemts of God will overtake thee."

"J have done nothing, J hope," sd ye Justice, "but God will Accept or in his mercy forgive."

"J know," said Christopher, "God is Mercifull and of Long forbearance, but I tell thee again, Except thou Repent, the Judgmts of God will overtake thee."

The next Day, about 10 at night, Christopher Departed this Life, being ye 28th of 4th mo, 1687.

Now this John Stapilton, altho he had formerly an Estate of some Hundreds in ye year, yet before his death was turn'd out of all, only had Granted him 60^l per Annum Dureing his Life, and was brought into a very sad Condition as to ye outward man, Afflicted with the Palsye, as was ye aforesaid Willm Wilson but much worse, and was made to Confess with Tears, that he believed it was the Judgements of God yt was fallen upon him, for that he had Done to Christopher Hutton & Willm Wilson.

Settle Monthly Meeting.

From our Monthly Meeting held att Settle ye 22d of ye 10th Month, 1704 ; to ye Quarterly Meeting att Yorke. These.

Dear friends.

According to ye request of ye 2d Days Morning Meeting in London, we have had under our Consideration the most Remarkable Passages wch we can Remember, touching ye faithfull Labourers in ye Gospel of Christ, & ye Effectuall Services of ym yt were first Instrumentall both in gathering & settleing ye Meetings now belonging to Settle Mo: Meeting, which take as followeth.

Before the Testimony of Truth, or ye way of Worshipping God in spirit, was Published or Declared in this Latter Age, by ye Messengers & Servants of ye Lord in these parts of the Country, there was much Talke & Discourseing of a People yt were scattered up & Down ye Country, & more Especially in ye West & Northern Parts there of, that Differed fr^o other People in their Beleife Concerning the Principles of Religion and Worshipping of God, and for the most Part they were Slandered, Villified, & evill spoken of, saying yt ye false Prophetts were now comeing wch were spoken of in ye Scriptures. But there were some who Pondered these Sayings, and were desirous to know ye certainty thereof.

Settle.

And in Process of time, in or about ye Years 1652 or 1653, It was so ordered yt one of ye Servants & Messengers of Jesux Xt, Namely William Dewsbury, Came to a Town cald Settle, in ye West Part of Yorkeshire, on a Markett Day, & Stood upon ye Cross & Proclaimed ye Terrible Day of ye Lord, that was hastening & Comeing upon ye ungodly & Workers of Iniquity, but he was soon Pulled Down. And a Great Tumult was made, & he was much beaten & Abused, but after some time, being taken notice of by a young man, whose name was John Armistead, who is Yet Liveing, was Jnvited to goe with him to his Mothers House, whose name was Alice Armistead, being a Widdow, whither he went & Lodged there. And in ye Evening, divers People were gathered to yt house, it being in ye sd Town, unto whom he fervently Bore Testimony against ye fruitless Profession of Religion yt was amongst People at yt time, and Directed People to yt measure of Grace & Gift of Gods Holy Spirit in their own hearts, whereby they might be taught how to Worship God acceptably in his own Spirit.

And not Long after this, it was so ordered yt another Servnt & Minister of ye Lord Jesus Christ, called John Camm, Came into ye sd Town, on a Markett Day, & in ye Market Place began to Preach ye Doctrine of Repentance & ye way of Life &

Salvation unto the People, but they soon fell upon him with Violence, & did beat & abuse him very much, so yt he received many stroaks, Yet there were some yt Jndeavoured to bear of some Blows, & to Ridd him out of their Hands. And after some time, he was Conducted to the House of John Kidd, in Upper Settle, where there was a meeting in ye Evening, and the things relating to ye Kingdom of God were Plainly Laid Down by him.

Now these Servnts of the Lord did not go away without Leaving Some Impressions upon ye Soules & Spirits of some of ye Jnhabitants of ye sd Town, so yt they were Convinced & Came to witness ye Day of Gods Power, wch Broak forth more & more amongst ym, Notwithstanding all ye Cruelty yt was Used against the Servants of ye Lord, so that there was a People Gathered from the worlds Ways & Worships to Worship God in Spirit, who for yt end & purpose mett often together for Divers Years from House to House ; & many were convinced of ye Blessed Truth & Added to them who at first Believed, so yt their number encreased considerably. And in Process of time a Publick Meeting House was Builded by ye sd People in ye Town of Settle, where a Meeting is settled & kept, known by ye Name of Settle Meeting at this Day.

Selside.

More over by a Part of ye said Meeting, there is now an other Meeting settled some few Miles frō Settle, Known by ye name of Selside Meeting, so yt the truth hath wonderfully Prevailed, & doth Prevaill, blessed be ye name of ye Lord.

Scalehouse.

Also in or about ye aforesaid years 1652 or 1653 came severall of ye servants and ministers of Jesus Christ, (*viz.*) Willm Dewsbury, Richard ffarnsworth, Thomas Stubbs, Miles Hallhead, & James Naylor, & Preached ye Everlasting Gospell, by wch many were turned from Darkness to Light & from ye Power of Satan to ye Power of God. And by their ministry a

meeting was Gathered and Settled at Scale-House, near Skipton in Craven, in Yorkshire, & truth Gained Ground greatly, so yt severall were raised to Preach ye Day of ye Lord & Salvation to mankind through ye Revelation of ye Spirit of his son Jesus Christ in their Hearts, of whom Richard Scosterop was one, who was born ye 15 of ye 4th mo, 1628, and was a Persecutor of ffriends, but the Hand of ye Lord was heavy upon him, so yt he Sought to those whom he had sorely abused & made Confession to repentance, & after Received mercy frō ye Hand of God. And ye Lords Power Grew Strong in him, so yt he was made to declare ye favour of God to Mankind, & became an Able Minister of ye Gospell, & travelled into Scotland, & many other Places in this Nation, to Turn men from Darkness to Light, & though he was borne to some Estate, yet, for his Love to ye Lord Jesus Xt, Lost it all, & spent his Day in his Service, & Dyed in his Travell beyond ye Seas ; & his memory is Sweet this Day amongst his Brethren.

Rilstone.

Also, John Hill was brought into ye worke of ye Ministry, who Travelled through the most of this nation, & Jreland, & some Parts of Germany, Exhorting friends to faithfulness, & to waite for ye opening of Life in them ; & Great Zeal was upon him to stirr friends up to meet together on ye weeke Days, declaring how God could sanctifye mean things to friends yt gives themselves up to serve him in their meetings. He Lived to a Good Old Age, and Dyed ye 15th of 12 mo, 1684, in Unity wth his brethren. And ye sd Meeting, that was Gathered & Settled by those faithfull Labourers aforementioned, now known by ye name of Rilstone Meeting, doth Remain, & ye same Power by wch it hath been settled is ye Strength & uphold thereof unto this Day.

Salterforth.

Likewise, near about ye same time, they, ye sd William Dewsbury & James Naylor, had some Meetings in some Places, some miles Distant frō Scalehouse, att wch severall were

Convinced, who for some time met with friends at Scalehouse aforesd, but truth getting Ground, and ye number of friends Increasing about where they Lived, they settled a Meeting near a Village Town, called Salterforth, wch is now become a Meeting of a Considerable number of ffriends, and is Called by the name of Salterforth Meeting.

Bentham.

Also, about ye aforesd year 1652 or 1653, it was so ordered that some of ye servants, messengers, and ministers of Jesus Xt were Drawn to visit a People att or near unto a Town Called Bentham, in ye west parts of Yorkeshire, namely William Dewsbury, Richard ffarnsworth, Robert ffell,¹² & John Sneadon,¹³ by whose ministry divers of ye said People were Convinced of ye Truth, & were turned unto Christ their Teacher, on whom they often mett together to waite, who gave them to witness ye making Good of his Antient promise yt where two or three were gathered in his name his Presence should be in ye midst of ym, by wch they were strenthned and Encouraged to continue their Christian practice of meeting together. And their number since yt time hath much encreased, so yt now they are become a meeting of a considerable number of ffriends, wch is called Bentham Meeting. Note, yt ye aforesaid Robert ffell, having a Concern upon him to Goe to ye Steeplehouse at Bentham aforesd, was sorely Beaten and Bruised in such sort yt he Dyed in a short time after.

Scarhouse.

ffurthermore, Geo: ffox, at his first comeing into ye North, wch was in ye year 1652, was Directed to ye house of James Tennant, called Scarhouse, in Langstroth Dale, where he Preached ye Truth in yt family, & by ye powerfull Vertue of it, ye sd James Tennant and his Wife were Reached, so as to

¹² I have not found any other reference to this Friend; he does not appear to be mentioned by Besse.

¹³ Probably the same as John *Snowden* or *Snaudon*.

receive ye Truth in the Love of it, where a mee was soon after settled, & is continued to this Day, bearing the name of Scarhouse Meeting. Now ye sd James Tennant became a Serviceable Man to friends & truth in his Day, wch was not long, after the time of his convincemt, being taken Prisoner for his Testimony against Tythes, frō which he did not decline, but Patiently Endured Close Jmprisonment untill Death.¹⁴

Bolland.

In ye year 1653, about ye 6th mo, there came two friends out of ye North, whose names were Thomas Vears & Christopher Atkinson, to a Little Town called Newton, not far from Slaidburne in Bolland, on a 7th Day at night, & was Received by James Bond, a Poor Man, & had a meeting in ye Day following, where severall People were convinced; and ye 2d Day of ye weeke had another meeting, att Cutbert Hayhurst, in Essington, where they were well received. And a little after, came Willm Dewsbury to ye House of John Crosedale, & had some meetings thereabouts, & so came down to ye House of Richard Leigh, & stayed there 3 days, & writt some Books,¹⁵ & afterwards came to Essington, to Cutbert Hayhurst House, & had a meeting at Slaidburne, & was pulled Downe; & ye town was all on an Uproar, but there were some who were convinced by him. Not Long after, John Audland come & had a Meeting at Richd Leighs, & Alexander Parker,¹⁶ being come to his fathers House frō Lavaster where he was convinced, & Cutbert Hayhurst

¹⁴ George Fox writes (*Journal*, i. 111), under date 1652, "As I travelled through the Dales, I came to a man's house whose name was Tennant." The reference is doubtless to *James Tennant*, of Scarhouse. His death took place in 1674.

¹⁵ The list of William Dewsbury's writings given in Smith's *Catalogue* contains only one item prior to 1654; this was written in 1653. He must have possessed the pen of a ready writer, if he "writt some Books" in "3 days"!

¹⁶ There are abundant materials extant for a biography of Alexander Parker, but, so far as my knowledge goes, none has ever been published. John Whiting gives a short sketch of his life in *Persecution Exposed*, 1715; p. 184.

also being convinced, & both of them being Called to the ministry, with those others who were Convinced by ye friends aforesaid, began to keep a meeting near unto Newton, where there hath been a meeting continued ever since, & is called Bolland Meeting. Note, yt ye sd Cuthbert Hayhurst afterwards became an Able minister of ye Gospell, & traveled in ye service thereof in Divers Parts of this Nation, & some Parts beyond ye seas, as Jamaica, & Afterward, with ye unity & Consent of his Brethren, Removed himselfe & his family into Pensilvania, where he Dyed in full Unity wth ffriends.¹⁷

Richmond Monthly Meeting.

About ye Latter part of ye year 1652, Did Richard Hubberthorn, frō Yealand in Lancashire, in ye Drowing of ye Love of God, Come to Countersett, in Wensladale, to ye house of Richard Robinson, who gladly received him, being already Convinced of ye Blessed Truth, for he had been under Deep Travell of Spirit after ye Substance of Religion some years before, & hearing (at a Distance) what G. ffox Preached for Doctrine, he joynd wh it in his mind, & went abroad to some meetings, where he heard the truth Declared, & was fully satisfied, tho, yt we know of, there was none Else soe Convinced of ye Truth thereabouts, till ye comeing of ye aforesaid Richard Hubberthorne, who staid some weekes & had severall meetings thereabouts, as att Bainbridge, & at a marktett town calld Askrigg, where many of ye People were Exceeding Rude, yet ye Lords Power Prevailed and Severall People was convinced of ye Truth, and a meeting was Settled about this time here, wch has Continued ever since & Considerably Jncreased & is called Wensladale Meeting.

¹⁷ Cuthbert Hayhurst was born at Easington about the year 1633. He, his wife, and family emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1682, in company with other Friends of Settle Monthly Meeting. He died in 1683.

See *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 27 (1853), p. 116, and vol. 28 (1855); p. 364; Bowden's *History*, ii. 106; *Memorials of Ministers* . . . *Pennsylvania*.

Wensleydale.

And after this time, ye aforesaid Richd Robinson (who had now given up his house freely to receive ye Messengers & servants of ye Lord, both for entertainmt & to keep meetings in), Travelling in Spiritt Deeply and Secretly before ye Lord, who was fitting him for his service, Came under a Concern (in ye requirings of ye Lord) to goe to many Steeple Houses & Markett Places, unto which exercise he gave up & went (as ye Lord drew him) into many Parts of ye North Country especially, & some in ye South, Preaching Repentance, & Calling to Priests & People to forsake their Evill doing, & turn to ye Lord, & sometimes almost Naked as a Sign to ye People. And great was his Sufferings & hardships in that Day, being often Cruelly beaten & Sorely Bruised at severall Places, yet ye Lord was his Helper, & supported him through all, and made him a very serviceable Instrument in ye meeting whereunto he belonged, & to many more where he was concerned to Travaile both in Verball Testimony bearing (wch was Living & Comfortable), and in Labouring for ye Establishing of Men & Womens Meetings, and was a good example in a Sober Conversation, & also was truly Valiant in bearing his Testimony for ye Truth, both under ye Conventicle Act & against Tythes & Steeplehouse Assessmts, &c, and also for not Paying as sending to ye Malitia, for wch faithfulness upon these Accounts he suffered Deeply & Chearfully both by Imprisonmt & Spoiling of Goods for ye Lords sake, who was his Rich rewarder. And Growing Infirm of Body by Reason of Age & his many sore travails and sufferings, he one time signified to a Friend yt he thought his time here was much over ; and after some time, at a Meeting at his own house, he was Zealously Concerned to Exhort friends to faithfulness & diligence in Preparing to Meet the Lord, & when yt his service was over, he Desired to Lay down upon a Bed (wch he did), & in a Little time he Quietly departed this Life, Stedfast in ye faith for wch he had Earnestly Contended, ye 31st Day of ye 10th mo, 1693, aged about Sixty-five Years.

Bainbridge.

There was also a Woman, named Elizabeth Routh, Lived at Bainbridge aforesd, who did Early receive the truth in ye Love of it, whom ye Lord did concern to goe to severall Steeple-houses in Severall Places to Testifye against ye Evill Practices & Darke Ways of ye Priests & People, for wch Testimony she sometimes suffered great Hardships & abuse, and she was made very serviceable in ye 'Womens Meetings & in severall other Respects, being a Zealous woman (according to her Measure) for ye propagating of Truth & Righteousness for many Years together, even till (by Death) she was Removed frō us, wch was on ye 8th Day of ye 1st mo, 1699, about ye 70th Year of her Age.

Swaledale.

In or about ye year 1653, did ye Lord move upon ye hearts of James Naylor & Robert Withers to come into Swaledale to Preach ye everlasting truth, being ye first yt we know of yt came there with yt Testimony in this Latter Age, & severall were Convinced there abouts, & Nicholas Row received them. And soon after, did ye same James Naylor, & Robert Withers, & Thomas Taylor, pretty near one another, come to Healay in Swaledale aforesaid, & Preached ye Truth, & James Alderson received them ; and we believe soon after there was a Meeting Settled there abouts which has Continued ever since & is called Swaledale Meeting. We thinke fitt also to signifie yt ye aforesaid Nichlas Raw stood a faithfull man to ye Truth till his Death, wch was in Prison at Yorke, for his Testimony against yt antichristian Yoke of Tythes.¹⁸

¹⁸ " Nicholas Raw was committed to prison in the Castle at York, by warrant of two justices, grounded on a Certificate of Contumacy out of the Ecclesiastical Court, in a Cause of Tithes at the Suit of Tobias West, Vicar of Grinton. After above four years and three months close confinement, he died a prisoner in the said Castle, on the 11th day of the month called February, 1678."—*Memory of the Faithful Revived.*

Coverdale.

And about ye above sd year, 1653 (as far as can be Remembred), did one Richard Lancaster, frō about Countersett in Wensladale, (occasionally) come to Carleton in Coverdale, being the first (called a Quaker) yt came there, to ye house of Richard Geldart, who, through some Discourse or agreement about the Principles of Truth, both he and his wife was Convinced of it. And then abouts did Gervise Benson and John Blaykling, both fro about Sedbergh, in the Drawings of Truth come (tho not Just together, or at one time) to the aforesd Ri: Gelderts House, who Gladly received them. And they had Some Meetings thereabouts, & Preached ye everlasting Gospell, & severall were Convinced ; & in some short time after, there was a meeting sattled thereabouts, which has continued ever since, & is called Coverdale Meeting.

Carperby.

And about five or six years after, was Richard Robinson, frō Countersett above mentioned, Concerned to Preach the Truth in the Street of a Neighbouring Town (Caled) Carperby, & suffered great Abuse by ye People, yet some years after, he had a meeting or meetings here again, & about that time or near then abouts, there was severall ffamilies Convinced of ye truth, & Joyned themselves to ye above said Coverdale Meeting.

The aforementioned Richard Geldart (in ye strength & virtue of ye Truth) did grow up a Zealous, serviceable Man, & bore a faithfull Testimony for ye Truth in it's several Branches, wch he fully Demonstrated by suffering, for he Dyed a Prisoner in Yorke Castle, because for Conscience sake he could not Pay Tythes.¹⁹

¹⁹ This is the conclusion of the first portion of the Yorkshire account, which portion comprises eleven and a half folio pages of ancient handwriting.

Richmond Monthly Meeting.²⁰

A Brief Account of the Breakings forth and spreadings of Gods blessed Truth within the Compas of Richmond Monthly Meeting in the North Rideing of the County of York, now in the Latter Ages of the world after the long and dark night of Apostacy, as namely in Wenslaydale, Bishopdale, Coverdale, Swaledale, Richmond, and the Ajacent places, Masham, & the ajacent places, as followeth.

The first man that came into those parts to preach the Gospel was that Eminent servant of Christ, George ffox, who, as he passed thorrow Wenslaydale, advised the people, as he met or passed by them, To fear God, which, together with his grave Look or Countenance, did much Alarum the people, it being a time that many people were filled with Zeall ; but doss not find that at that time he had any Service at the Steeple-houses or Market places in the said dale, Neither stayed he overnight in that dale that is remembered. But Richard Robinson, of Countersett in Wenslaydale, who was born at Preston, in the said dale, in the year 1628, was the first person that was convinced, and made open proffession of the blessed Truth in those parts (as appears by a little Booke Left by him in Manuscript for the benefitt of his Children). The Lord in mercy was pleased to Visitt him in his youth, & made him very senceable of the frequent Reproofs and striveings of his holy Spirit with him even from his Childhood. His Parentage was but of a pretty Low degree, Especially of the father side, his Mother an Heiris, a Consientious & Tender Spirited woman, & he their only Child, who was brought up a Scholr (but not at the Univrsities). And when he heard further of George ffox, and of the principles & Doctrine which he held forth, *viz.*, of the free Gift and Grace of God unto man-kind in Generall (for he did not see George

²⁰ Here commences a separate sheet in the same handwriting as the first portion.

Most of the account given in this sheet appeared in *The British Friend*, vol. 17 (1859), p. 198.

ffox at his first coming into those parts), he freely Embraced it, for untill then It had not Entered into his Undrstanding that Every man had received from the Lord such a Gift of saving Grace. This report of George ffox's Doctrine was given to him when in Company wth one Thomas Taylor, a Priest, who after was Convinced & had a publick Testimoney, & proved an Honest, worthy friend. This hapened in the year 1652, at which time the sd Richard Robinson had much done with the priests & all other professions then practised in this Nation, haveing Inspected them all, & was at astand where to find a people to Joyn himselve too, for he could find no true satisfaction amongst any of them. So after a while he went into Westmoorland, & was at a Meeting of some friends at ffrancis Howgills house, & after that he was att anothr Meeting in that County, at a place called Hutton, where were John Audlin & John Snowdon, and who were concerned in Testimony bearing, & where the power of the Lord did seize upon the sd Richard Robinson, so that after that time he was made willing to bear the Chross of Christ more fully, & so became afollower of him through many and various Exercises.

Then was his house freely given up for the Entertainment of friends & also for a meeting house (which so continued untill his dying day); and haveing obtained a part in the Ministry, was very much Concerned to preach the Gospel at many Steeplehouses, & in Markit places, and some courts of Judicature, as namely at Askrigg, often at Richmond, several times at Midleham, often at Beedall, Thirsk, North-allerton, Barnard Castle, Bishop-Aukland, Darlington, Yarm, Easingwood, Ripon, Setle, Kirby-lonsdale, Kirby Stephen, Masham, York, Notingham, & in London in sevrall places & Streets, as Cheapside, Leadenhall-market, Pauls Yard, & the Courts at West-minster, York Assises & Quarter Sessions, York Minstr, Grinton, Marick, Mask, Easby, Gilling, Wensley, Aisgarth, Hubbram, & many other places, where the Concourse of people were, Bearing his Testimony at the aforesd places for the Liveing god and his truth, and against the Vanities of the times & the Superstitious & Empty professions and worships then practised; in which service he suffered many beatings,

buffetings, scoffings, scornings, & revileings, Especially from the Ruder Sort, to whom, by reason of his service at such publick places as aforesd, he was much & often exposed for severall Years. In which time he Traveled much on foot, being a lusty, strong man of body, & likewise finding it to be more agreeable to his service in those publick places, the roughness of the people in those times considered, for he was forced to lay sometimes out of doors in the fields, & to Travel in the night as well as the day, & in winter seasons as well as Sumbr, without shrinking from the violence of wether. And after this manner the Lord led him on his way throug many rough and untrodden paths, but the Lords power was with him and suported him through them all, and not withstanding the many blows & stroaks he gott by staves and Clubs, several of which were broaken upon him with such violence that peices thereof flew up into the aire, yett, through the Lords mercy & Goodness to him, he never was disabled for Travelling, neither was he Ever upon these occasions comit to prison but once, & then not very long detained.

But after his Service in such like places was much over, and many convinced by him & other faithful frds who Travelled up and down in those places, & severall Meetings were gathered and setled thereabouts, he Suffered much by Imprisonment, as at York Castle in the time of the Great Imprisonment there. The Goal being filled mostly with friends, He & Henry Jackson were forced to Lay in a great Oven which stood in the Castle yard wall. He was also aprisoner at Richmond Goal in the year 1678, and some more friends with him ; he was prosecuted by one Joseph Craddock, or his Emesaries, then Commisary at Richmond, under the Bishop of Chester, upon a writt of Excom̄. Capiendo for not payin the Steeplehouse Rate, their demand being 10d. Thomas Craddock, Joseph son, being a member of Parliament for the Town of Richmond, & one Wharton, of Gilling Wood Hall, the other Member for Richmond, & Knowing that the said Craddocks were bad, corrupt, psecuting men, the said Wharton moved the said Richard Robinsons Case in the parliamt-house, against Tho : Craddock as being a psecutor, whereupon the said Craddock being ashamed, & Richd.

Robinson lying the matter close upon him by Letter, the said Craddock made way for Richd. Robinson Releasemt soon after, he haveing been a prisoner about three years. But their Mallice Ended not there, for in the year 1684, the said Richd Robinson was Comit to the said Richmond Goal againe, being prosecuted by one Wm. Drummon, one of the proctrs of the same Court of Richmond, upon the writt Qui Tam for 20ⁿ \bar{p} Month, where he continued a Strait prisoner for about other three years, and then Sett at Liberty, the prosecutr Loosing all their charges of prosecution.

He Likewise Bare a faithfull Testimony against the paymt of Tythes, and Bearing or finding a man to the Militia, for he was all along Charged with finding a man, But allways kept very Clear and never after his convincement would pay anything directly or Indirectly, but suffered for the same by fines & distresses, frequently Jncourraging other friends to stand faithfull in their Testimony for Truth. He Likewise was much concerned in the Setleing of Monthly & Quarterly Meetings, & in attending the same, wherein he was very servicable ; And in the Latter part of his time, his service in the Ministry (in which he was very dilligent) Lay Much in the Northern Countys of this Nation. He was a man of a large Understanding, & was very Servicable in his Country upon divers accounts, & much beloved, being a good Example in Conversation. And upon the 31st day of the 10th Mo, 1693, the Meeting being at his house²¹ at Countersett aforsd, he Bare a Living & powerfull Testimony of the Lords appearance in that Meeting, to the admiration of many good friends there p̄sent, and in the Latter part of the Meeting, finding himself somewhat to decline, he desired to Lye down upon abedd, severall friends accompaning him there, where after he had lain still a while, departed this Life in much peace & Quietness, without the least apearance of pain, and upon the

²¹ A house, still standing in the village of Countersett, near to the Meeting House, is said to have been the abode of Richard Robinson. The date, 1650, is plainly seen on it. It overlooks the beautiful lake of Semerwater.

Richard Robinson, of Brigflatts, who is mentioned in the Westmorland account, is another Friend, though I have, unfortunately, placed the two together in my index to the bi-centenary edition of George Fox's *Journal*. He died in 1673, and was buried at Brigflatts.

second day of the 11 mo : following, was buried in frds burying place at Bainbridg, many friends & others Accompanying him to the Grave, being aged 65 years.

Robert Lodge, of Masham, by Traid a Butcher, was pretty early convinced of the blesed Truth, & being called to the Ministry was a faithfull labourer therein ; he Travelled much in England, Scotland, & Ireland. His Testimony was Liveing & powerfull, and Tended much to gather peoples minds to an Inward Acquaintance with God in Spirit ; and to settle them upon the living Rock, Christ Jesus, for he has been heard say that when he went the second time into Ireland, when he came to some litle meetings of friends where he had been before (and probably been Instrumentall to their Convincement), and sitting amongst them in a considerable degree of Silence, Except now & then dropping a few words in the flowings of life (or words to like purpose), Thereby Exampleing them to have a more Inward dependance of the life & Vertue of Truth in them selves then of outward Testimonies, tho never so powerfully declared, by which it clearly appears he had a Godly care upon him to bring the Convinced to the most Substanciale pt of Religion. But as to his Sufferings and other Exercises cannot give so pticulr account of them as could be Desired, not yett meeting with any Journall of his Travels,²² but no doubt he mett with many crosses, & rough winds, & much Exercises, Especially in Scotland, as he hath been heard Relate himselfe in discourse with some friends.

²² Testimonies respecting Robert Lodge, written by his friends, Peter Hardcastle, Sen., Thomas Whitton, Miles Oddy, Sen., Thomas Hardcastle, Sen., Katherine Winn, Christopher Blackburne, Rebecca Blackburne, Ann Blackburne, Alice Clarke, and George Fox were published in 1691. The first-named writes, " This our Friend and Brother, I was acquainted with before we were gathered to be a Meeting, to sit down in silence to wait upon God in his Light ; for he then lived near me, with one related to me, and we had much discourse about Religious matters, and he saw the Errors of the Priests more clearly than I did. I loved him before we were gathered, and much more since." George Fox writes, " He travelled up and down in many places in England, freely preaching the Everlasting Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and did turn many to it, being a man indued with the Gifts of God, and being an Elder and Pillar in the Church of Christ." Robert Lodge died in 1690, and was buried at Low Ellington.

See *Several Living Testimonies*, 1691 ; *G. Fox's Journal* ; *Whiting's Persecution Exposed*, pp. 193, 202.

Swaledale.

Note, That the first man that came into Swaledale to preach the Gospel was one Robert Wethers (so farr as can be maid out), & being at a place called Healey alone, James Aldersons had a minde the Townspeople should have notice to come togethr, & being mett, he preached to them Repentance & amendment of Life, & said that the ax was laid to the Root of the tree, & that every Tree that did not bring forth Good fruit was to be hewen down & cast into the fire, with more to like purpose, so that one Widdow Longstafe was convinced, and after had meetings at her house, which hath continued there in cours ever Since, *viz.*, in her Sons, James Longstafe, time, & now her Grand Daughter Judiths time.

Low Row.

The said Robert Wethers was Likewise at a place calle Lowrow, in the Same dale, where the people gathring together, he preached among them, & severall were convinced, as namely James Raw, who continued in the faith untill his death.

In the year 1660, There Arose a very sharp and cruell psecution in those pts first above mentioned, mostly acted by wicked ferce Jnformers, the Cheif of which were one Wm. Thornaby, of Richmond, and his Son, Willm, who were much Jncouraged by two men in the Comission of peace, Namely James Metcalfe, of Nappy, in Wenslaydale aforsd, and the sd Joseph Craddock, of Richmond, before named. Their proceedings were mostly upon ptence of the Act, called the Conventicle Act. But for an Exact & pticular acct of the sufferings of friends in those times, wch continued upon them for severall years, Wee Reffer to a booke, Jntitled, *A BLAST blown out of the NORTH & Ecchoing up towards the SOUTH, to meet the CRY of the[ir] Oppressed Brethren*, Jn case the same Acct may be thought necessary for the psent work. The Compiler of the said Book was the aforsd Richard Robinson, & may now be had from the

hand of his son, John Robinson, of Countersett aforse, if need be. In which Book there is not only an account of the sufferings of frds And by whom, But also an Acct of the Just Judgments of God which fell upon Severall of the psecutr, who no doubt Intended by the Spoyles they gott from frds to have Enriched themselves, yet proved they miserably mistaken therein, for the Lord regarded the Inocent Sufferings of his afflicted people for his names sake, with his Blessings Repair'd their losses outwardly, & also Inwardly did sustain & suport them, whereas on the other hand the sd Thornabys, & several of the other psecuters, dyed poor & Miserable, & Instead of suppressing the Growth of Truth by their oppression & Cruelty, the Lord in Mercy caused his Truth & people to Increase & flourish the more. And after this manr, through many Sufferings, Scornings, Reproches, & Revilings of wicked & ungodly men, hath the Lord god omnipotent carried on his own work in these daleish places, & Northeren pts of the County of York, so that there have been and yet are five Meetings of frds settled there, comprehended under the name of Richmond Monthly Meeting, To the praise, Glory, & Renown of his own Great & worthy Name & power ; for it hath been his own work & doings, for which he alone is worthy thereof both now and forever more. Amen.²³

York Monthly Meeting.²⁴

In the year 1651, when yt Faithfull Ministr & servt of Christ, G Fox, had Visited Balby & some of ye South parts of Yorkshr, he came on to Selby, where we dont find he had any Publick Service at yt time. From thence, he past into ye South East parts of this County, where sevl hearts were opened to receive his Testimony for ye Truth, & from thence he came to ye City of York, where he was Moved to go to ye great Cathedrl, so

²³ This concludes the second portion of the account.

²⁴ Here commences the third and last portion of the manuscript. It is in a less-educated handwriting, and has undergone some correction.

called, & there to Declare ye Truth to Priest & People, &, as himself Relates, several were Convinced at yt Time, tho' finds no acct of Names.

York.

Abt ye same Time, Wm Deswsbury had a Meeting at York, in the Orchard of one, Richd Smith, a Tannr, whose wife was Convinced, & himself a friendly man. He had a sister, called Mary, who Received ye Truth and a share in the Ministry, & was afterwards married to Thomas Waite, of ye sd City, whose heart & House were open to Receive & Entertain friends, & his sd wife was a Valiant Woman, and laboured much in the Ministry, & in laying frds sufferings before such as were in Authority, *viz.*, before King C : 2d, & the Judges at ye Assizes, & Magistrates of this City, sevl Times, and was very serviceable in yt Respect. She also was Imprisoned on acct of her Testimony in Divers places, and Continued Faithfull to ye end.²⁵

Abt ye yeare 1653 & 54, Truth began to Spread, and effectually wrought on many, & some frds were much Exercised in going to Steeple houses, &ct., & undrwent grt Sufferings yt acct, as Boswell Midleton, for going to a Steeple house in York to speak to Priest Bowles,²⁶ was Imprisoned in Ousebridge goal one

²⁵ The name of Thomas Waite (Wayt, Wayte) appears in the list of Yorkshire Friends, anno 1668 (*THE JOURNAL*, ii. 32), and Mary Waite signed the Yorkshire women's *Testimony* of 1688 (*THE JOURNAL*, ii. 42). Thomas Waite was a bookseller and publisher, and acted as local agent for Friends' publications; I have noticed his imprint, "Printed for Tho. Wayt at his house in the Pavement in York," on several tracts, all dated 1653, written by George Fox, Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler and William Tomlinson. He died in 1695, six years after his wife.

²⁶ There is an informing article on "Priest Bowles," from the pen of John S. Rowntree, in *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, vol. 28 (1894), p. 119. Edward Bowles was born in Bedfordshire, in 1613, and was educated at Cambridge. He settled in York shortly before the execution of Charles I., and in the time of the Commonwealth was appointed one of the preachers at the Minster. He was also chaplain to Lord Fairfax. "He was the leader of the Nonconformists in the North, and the friend and patron of all good men." (Canon Raine, quoted by J. S. Rowntree.) He died in 1662.

See article by Alexander Gordon in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Neale's *Puritans; Noncon. Mem.*, vol. iii.; etc.

year, & Mary Fisher,²⁷ of Selby, for going to Steeple houses, was sent to York Castle, & Sevl others wer Imprisoned on yt acct, as Agnes Wilkinson, & Barbara Pattison, & Henry Fowle [r], of York, also Rogr Hebden, for speaking to a priest at ye Steeple house at Newton, near Tadcaster, was sent to York Goal by Robt Barwick, called Justice, who commanded Tho Procter, of sd Newton, to convey ye body of R. Hebden Thithr, but he denied, & sd he wo'd be a sufferer rather than a Persecutr, who for Refusing was Committed to ye Goal wth sd R. Hebden, & there Remained some time.

Abt this Time, Christo : Bramley, of Whixley, & Richard Blythmn, of ye Parsh of Litle Usburne, received the Truth, &, in ye year 1657, were persecuted & set in ye Stocks by Tho Dickinson, for going to Meetings on first days, & ye sd persecutr, Dickinson, calling it, in the blindness of his heart, Sabbath breaking.

In the year 1659, Stephen Crisp²⁸ came into these parts to visit frds in ye Service of ye Ministry, & had a meeting amongst frds at York, & while ye sd S Crisp was praying to the Lord, Leonard Thompson, yn Mayr, Chris Topham, Bryan Dawson, & Geo Lampley, Aldrm, Came into ye Meeting, being held in frds Hired House, & Instead of seing ye Peace kept, & doing justice on ye Rude Citizens then abusing of frds before yr

²⁷ Mary Fisher, so well known through the account of her visit to the Sultan of Turkey, became, as already stated, the wife of William Bayly, of Poole. In 1678, she married John Cross of London, and emigrated with her husband to South Carolina. During her second widowhood, Robert Barrow, after his liberation by the Indians, was lovingly cared for by her at Charleston, for a short time.

²⁸ Stephen Crisp was born at Colchester in 1628. He was convinced by James Parnell, and soon became one of the leaders of early Quakerism. He travelled extensively in England, and paid many visits to the Continent of Europe. The prominent part which Crisp took in the controversy with those who had seceded from Friends on the question of the Discipline roused their enmity, and it is to be hoped that the charges of immorality made by these seceders were founded on animosity, rather than on fact. (*Saul's Errand to Damascus*, 1728, p. 30; etc.) Crisp died in 1692. His sermons have been reprinted many times, and other writings of his, in English and Dutch, have passed through several editions.

See C. Fell Smith's *Steven Crisp*, 1892, a most interesting book; *A Memorable Account of . . . Stephen Crisp*, edited by John Field, 1694; *Memoirs . . . of Stephen Crisp*, by Samuel Tuke, 1824.

faces, did Violently pull ye sd St Crisp, & Haled him & many more out wth yr own hands into ye Streets ; & there was one Ann Bell, a Citizan's Wife, was by ym Trayled on ye Ground & Abused ; & also at same Time, Leonard Thompson, Mayr, & sd Topham, Aldm, did put yr hands into Simn Riders Pockets, & by force took out ye key of ye Meeting house Door, & Caused ye Door to be Nailed up, & did refuse to restore ye Key when it was Demanded.

In this year, John Whitehead Visited frds at York, & was also haled out of meeting, & beat & abused, & many more frds.

Abt this Time, & in 1660, the Enmity was so great in ye Magistrates of ye City agst Truth & frds, that ye Meeting house Doore was Guarded by Musqueteers to keep frds out, & they beat & Abused many frds, & one of ym did knock down Geo Preston, a Zealous frd, who had a Gift in the Ministry, & the Rage of ye Magistrates was so great that Chris : Topham, then Mayr, did give Ordrs to ye Citizens who watched at ye Gates not to suffer any called Quakers to come into City, & if any came on their Outward Occasions they were had before him, & he sent them out at another Gate, to yr Great prejudice. Simon Ryder, being warned by the Mayr to watch for yt purpose, & refusing, was therefore comitted to prison. These were some of ye ffruits that the Magistrates brought forth agst the Truth & Jnnocent People of God at yt Time.²⁹

²⁹ See *Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting of Friends, 1650-1900*, by John S. Rowntree ; *John Wilhelm Rowntree : Essays and Addresses*, 1905, pp. 1-76, 419-430 ; *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, vol. 26 (1892), p. 167 ; vol. 33 (1899), p. 27, vol. 37 (1903), p. 353 ; *The Friend* (London), vol. 37 (1897), pp. 783, 801 ; *The British Friend*, vol. 6 (1897), pp. 43, 67.

In *Essays and Addresses*, there is an excellent Map of the Monthly and Particular Meetings and the towns attached to each Meeting, belonging to the Quarterly Meeting of York, in the year 1669. There are also brief biographies of the following Friends, "Founders of Quakerism in Yorkshire," viz., George Fox, Thomas Aldam, John Blaykling, Gervase Benson, John Camm, Stephen Crisp, William Dewsbury, Richard Farnsworth, Thomas Goodyear, Richard Hubberthorne, Roger Hebden, James Nayler, Richard Robinson, Thomas and Christopher Taylor, Thomas Thompson, John Whitehead, and Robert Wedders.

North Wales.¹

¹ Benjamin Bealing's list of the counties to which he wrote by request of the Meeting for Sufferings in 1720 (Portfolio 7.1) contains both North Wales and South Wales. No account appears, however, to have been received from North Wales, though there is a local reference to the request having been made.

No. 74.]

South Wales.

Pont pool, 21st 8mo, 1720.

Lo frds.

J recd a letter from ye Meeting for Sufferings, dated 2d of 7mo, Signifyng yt our County was wanting in sending up an accot. of the first Travailing ffriend yt came into our County, &c. J have laid it before ye Quarterly & monthly meetings, & J cant find any Record, nor any frds now living yt can give any accot, but wt we have gathered from some who heard an old servant to Walter Jenkins (mentioned below) say, that John ap John¹

¹ John Ap John lived at Trevor, near Wrexham. He was a member of Morgan Lloyd's congregation at Wrexham, and was sent by him, with another member, on a visit of inquiry into the principles of Friends, during which visit he met George Fox at Swarthmore, and was convinced. He accompanied George Fox on several missionary journeys in Wales, and his knowledge of Welsh was very helpful to his companion. His own work was largely confined to the Principality. In 1692/3, the Yearly Meeting for Wales was held at "Coed Epionaidd [? Coed y Pionaidd=pigeons' wood] the house of John Ap John, in Denbighshire." According to a return sent up from Staffordshire in 1698 (D. Portfolio 7.70), John Ap John died on the 16th of Ninth Month, 1697, at the house of his son-in-law, John Mellor, of Whitehough, and was buried at Basford.

In 1712, and again in 1713, London Yearly Meeting desired the "Friends of North and South Wales to collect together such memorials, books, and manuscripts as they can find, relating to . . . John Ap John, and send them up to the 2d Days Morning Meeting," but I have not found any records, on the books of the latter Meeting, of the receipt of the desired information.

The fullest account of John Ap John, which is known to me, is in a manuscript belonging to William Gregory Norris, of Coalbrookdale. For printed references see G. Fox's *Journal*; Besse's *Coll. Suff.*; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, vol. 36 (1902), p. 265; *Account of . . . Richard Davies*, 7th edition, pp. 20, 78, 84, 97; Preface to Ellis Pugh's *Salutation*, 1732, etc.; *John Burnyeat*, 1691; J. J. Levick's *Early Welsh Quakers, and their Emigration to Pennsylvania*, 1894.

was the first yt Preach'd Truth in this County ; and in the Town of Usk, for going to ye Steeplehouse, he was put in Prison ; but my Grandfather, Walter Jenkins abovesd², a Justice of ye Peace, being there, was yn Convinc't by him, and was allso a means in the Lords hand to procure his liberty, and not only so, but he afterwards became a minister of ye Gospell himself, & for his Testimony to ye Truth he was driven along ye lane, like a Beast to a fayer, to Monmouth Jayle. Dureing his Confinement there, he writt a small Treatise, called, *The LAW given forth out of SION, and the Commandments of the Lord of Life made known unto men*, anō 1660³, printed in '63, wch book J translated into Welch, anō 1699, intending to have it printed, and to yt end J shewed it to frds at our Yearly meeting in Wales⁴, & they did not think it proper yn to have it published, so I never since offer'd it. This is the best accot we can gather.

I am, wth true Love, thy Loving ffrd,

ELISHA BEADLES.⁵

Please to Remember our Loves to Jsaac Pickerill, & yt we should be glad to hear from him once more, as soon as he can conveniently.

[Endorsed :] To Thomas Maileygh, at the black Swan and Plough, in Graceous street, London, wth Care.

² George Fox writes in his *Journal*, under date, 1655, "There were at that meeting [at Whetstone] two justices of the peace, that came out of Wales, whose names were Peter Price and Walter Jenkin ; who came to be ministers of Christ." The former resided at Presteign.

³ Edward Bourne wrote a Postscript to this tract.

⁴ It was also submitted for the approval of the Morning Meeting, at its sitting on the 10th of Second Month, 1701, but, apparently, without success.

⁵ Elisha Beadles was the son of John Beadles, of Kempston; Beds., and of Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Jenkins, of Llanvihangell. In 1699, when about twenty, he married Anne Handley. With other Friends, E. Beadles entered into controversy with Thomas Andrews, M.A., Vicar of Llanover, and wrote a Preface to Theodor Eccleston's replies to Andrews's letters to a parishioner of Pontypool respecting Friends. Family bereavements fell heavily upon Elisha and Anne Beadles; two sons in early manhood being taken away by death within six months—one, Handley, lost his life on the coast of Ireland, on his return from Philadelphia in Tenth Month, 1728, and his brother, Robert, died in Jamaica early in the following year. E. B. died in 1733/4, and his wife very shortly afterwards.

There is a pedigree of the families of Jenkins and Beadles, of the Pant, in the parish of Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern, in Bradney's *History of Monmouthshire*, pt. i., 1904.

No. 73.]

Pont pool, 10th 12mo, 1720.

Lo frd.

The following accot came to my hand some small time ago from Glamorgan shire, & least it should not be sent up before, J thought it convenient to send it now, wch take as follows. Wth dear Love to self & wife, rests thy Lo: Friend,

E. BEADLES.

The names of those yt first brot ye message of truth into these p̄ts of Glamorgan shire, near Cardiff, in So: Wales, viz.

1st. John ap John, from Denbigh shire in Nō Wales, came, anō 1655, whose service hath been very effectually to ye Convincent. of Many; and soon after him, came Thos Holmes, & Eliz, his wife, from ye North of England, who also hath been instrumentally to ye Convincent. of many, and to strengthen in ye Truth those yt were convinc't before. After ym, Came Edward Edwards,⁶ & some time after, came James Adamson, Tho Ellis,⁷ Peter Price, & Richard Walter, into ye parts of Treverygg, who also have been of good service to Convince,

⁶ Edward Edwards was a native of Denbighshire. George Whitehead writes of him, 1654 (*Christian Progress*; pp. 21, 22), "He was then a young Man, and lived at Gervace Benson's, near Coatley Cragg, above Sedbergh." E. Edwards and G. Whitehead travelled together from Westmorland, southward, and met George Fox at Captain Bradford's, in Yorkshire. E. Edwards lived for many years in Gloucestershire. He married Mary Surman, of that county. Both husband and wife were much occupied in "industrious Travels and Pains for the Name and Power of the Lord, and Promotion of His holy Truth." The former departed this life at Treddington in 1706, and the latter in 1715. A copy of George Fox's *Journal* is in existence, which was given to Edward Edwards by the bequest of the author. [For a similar bequest, see THE JOURNAL, ii. 43.]

See *Some Brief Epistles . . . by . . . Mary Edwards*; with a Preface by George Whitehead, 1720.

⁷ Prior to his attachment to Quakerism, Thomas Ellis was a member of one of Vavasor Powell's congregations. It is said that on one occasion two women Friends attended one of the meetings of this congregation, and spoke to those assembled, but on their attempt to address them again, they were requested to withdraw, Powell saying to Ellis, "Brother Ellis, take them away." The latter did not stir till the Friends had ceased speaking, and then conducted them into an adjoining room. He then spoke to them, as follows, in substance, "Friends, you see how we are met together here. We are like the prodigal who was spending his portion. We have a little yet unspent. When we have spent all, we must return to our Heavenly Father, and come to you and your way." T.

& to Establish the Convinced in the Blessed Truth.

2dly. *What sufferings befell some of ym, viz.*

John ap John was comitted twice to ye County Goal of Cardiff (for entering into a steeplehouse there to declare agt ye Priest yt deceived ye People), and there detained for severall months. Tho: Holmes, and Eliz, his wife, were in Like manner there kept a long time ; then Thomas Ellis & ffrancis Lea were (by a warrant from Dr. Bassett & another Justice) brought from a meeting at Treverygg before ym, & tender'd ye Oath of Allegiance & Supremacy, but they, refuseing to take it, were Comitted to Cardiff Goal aforesd, & there detained abot 15 weeks, because they would not break Christ's Comand.

3ly. *The names of some of those yt recd ye Messengers of ye Lord, were*

In & abot Cardiff, ffrancis Gawler,⁸ Jno Mayo, & Eliz, his wife,

Ellis travelled in his native land, on Gospel work, in company with Richard Davies, John Burnyeat, and others. In 1683, Thomas Ellis removed to Pennsylvania, and became one of William Penn's commissioners. He paid a visit to his native land in 1685. His death took place in 1688 and he was buried at Haverford, Pa. There is a very interesting letter from Thomas Ellis, addressed to George Fox from Dublin (Ireland), 13th of Fourth Month, [16]85, preserved in D. (A.R.B. MSS. 108), which gives a lively account of his new home across the Atlantic.

See memoirs of Richard Davies and of John Burnyeat; *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 27 (1854), pp. 179, 188.

⁸ In a letter from Francis Gawler to George Fox, dated "Cardiff, 26th of Eleventh month, [16]59," occurs the following interesting passage, "J was disired by my brother, who is a Jestes, John Gawler, who hath Receued a Commision Come Downen from fletwoode, to bee Lefteniente Cornell to one Boushey Mancell of this Cunty, who is to raise a Regemente of malisa foote, and if thow sesete aney thing in the theinge that hee should not medell with it, if soe it is very Licke hee will hardly medell with it; and if thow arte free, it will be very much vnte him to vnderstand a word from thee. His Corenell is a Louinge man to frinds, and is very disierus to haue frinds in his Regemente, and my brother is verey Redy and willing to prefer frinds to offeces verey much, bute frinds are not free to medell with it, only Mathew Gibon hath partly Jngaged to bee A Captan (and A nother a privat souldger), of whom wee are tender, knowing hee hath noe bade ende in it, but thinkes hee may be sarvesabell for truth in it. . . —FRANCES GAWLER." (D. Swarthmore MSS. iv. 219.)

On the same sheet as the letter, in the handwriting of the addressee, are the words:—"which gf for bad, & said it was Contraye to over prensables, for ovr wepenes ar spiritall & not Carnall."

[Bussey Mansel, of Briton Ferry, was High-Sheriff of Glamorgan, 1677-8. He was one of six members for Wales returned to Parliament in 1653. He was also a member for the county of Glamorgan and for Glamorgan Boroughs. He is described as "friend of Cromwell, and zealous promoter of his cause in the county of Glamorgan." See Nicholas's *County Families of Wales*; Clark's *Genealogies of Glamorgan*.]

James Thomas, Walter William & his wife, Jno David & his wife, Tho Roberts & his wife, & Eliz Lewis ; at Ellan, Wm Lewis & his wife, Edward Howell & his wife, & Gwenllian Lewis ; at Treverygg, Jno Bevan, & Barbarah, his wife,⁹ Thomas Howell David, Howell Thomas, Lewis Richard,¹⁰ Merick David & Ann his wife, Watkin Thomas, & Jno Richard, &c.

As to Judgments on persecutors

We have not much to say concerning ye same, in regard of their outward man, but hardness of heart & blindness of mind have been clearly seen as a Judgmt upon ym, so yt many ended their days in misery.

[Endorsed :] For Thomas Raylton,¹¹ at the Bible in George yard in Lumbard Street, London.¹²

⁹ John and Barbara Bevan, of Treverygg, removed to Pennsylvania about the year 1683, shortly after the birth of their youngest daughter, Barbara. In 1704, J. and B. Bevan returned to Wales, accompanied by their daughter, Barbara, and leaving several married children in the New World. Parents and daughter appear to have engaged in the work of the ministry on both sides of the Atlantic. Barbara, the younger, died in 1705, her mother in 1710, and her father about 1724.

See Elisha Beadles's Testimony concerning B. Bevan, Jun., in his own handwriting, preserved in **D.** ; **D.** Robson MSS. T.R.2 ; *Piety Promoted* ; *Collection of Memorials, Pennsylvania*, 1824 ; *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 28 (1855), p. 45.

¹⁰ I have followed the punctuation of the original, but I am not sure that the names are divided correctly.

¹¹ Thomas Raylton was born at Bowes, Yorkshire, in 1671, and was convinced at the age of fourteen years. Ten years later he became a minister, and travelled extensively in the service of his Lord. About the year 1705, he settled in London, and in 1706 married Tace Sowle, daughter of Andrew Sowle, printer, and herself a printer. [The Raylton and Sowle marriage certificate is in **D.**] Thomas Raylton died in 1723; after some years' illness, his widow surviving him twenty-six years. T. R.'s brother, John Raylton, innkeeper, of Bowes, was the ancestor of numerous north country Friends including myself.

For Thomas Raylton, see *Piety Promoted* ; *Antiquarian Researches among the Early Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books*, 1844 ; Benjamin Holme's *Works*, 1735, p. 38 ; White's *Warwickshire*, 1894, p. 115 ; Preface to Bugg's *Picture of Quakerism*, 1697 ; *Quakeriana*, ii. 135.

For John Raylton, see *Account of Jonathan Burnyeat*, 1857, p. 10 ; Dr. Longstaff's *Pedigrees of Dixon of Raby*, etc., 1899 ; Dinsdale's edition of David Mallet's *Ballads and Songs*, 1857 ; *Genealogical Chart of the Family of Penney, of Darlington*, etc., 1888.

¹² Further information respecting early Friends in Wales may be found in :—*A Record of Some Persecutions in South Wales*, by Francis Gawler, 1659 ; *For the King : Declaration of Cruelty in Merionyth shire*, etc., 1660 ; Howard M. Jenkins's *Historical Collections of Gwynedd*. 1897.



Addenda.



Westmorland.¹

Dent.²

A true and perfect account concerning the beginning and progress of the holy and blessed truth in our age, day, and generation, within Dent, &c.

In the year 1652, came George Fox to Stonehouses in Dent, and had a meeting with and amongst a company of great professors in the Independent way, but none of the greatest accounted did own his testimony, nevertheless some of lower note did believe, own, and accept thereof, *viz.*, Thos. and George Mason, &c.

Afterwards, George Fox went into Garsdale, and met with some great professors, as Major Bousfield, but little or no reception or acceptance of his testimony ; yet, with James Guy, and some else, Thos. Winn, of Grisedale, and some few others, the same was owned.

Then he went into Sedbergh, and met with the most noted professors, *viz.*, Jervas Benson, who owned and received his testimony with all gladness of heart. Afterwards, upon the day called Whitsun Wednesday, Geo. had a meeting with several of the most noted professors at R. Parrott's house, in Sedbergh town, and immediately from thence went into the steeple house yard at Sedbergh, and George, refusing to go into the Steeple house as was prepared at that time for him, rather chose, and accepted, and did stand up upon a bench, made under the Yew tree there, and there preached to a great auditory his testimony concerning the new way of the Light of Christ Jesus leading to

¹ The district comprising the late Sedbergh Monthly Meeting belongs to Westmorland Quarterly Meeting, though within the county of York.

² This has been taken from a copy of an old manuscript lent by Robert Rennison, of Sedbergh, to William Thistlethwaite in 1858. The copy is now in the Thistlethwaite collection previously referred to. Additions to this account have been made from other manuscripts.

the Kingdom of Heaven, more clearly than heretofore had been preached. At hearing whereof, many were convinced and became followers. Immediately after, were meetings agreed upon to be observed, as, I think, first at the house of Richd. Robinson, of Briggflatts, and also divers other places within Sedbergh, Killington, Middleton, Dent, Garsdale, and Grisedale, meetings were from house to house for twenty years and more, sometimes in a house and sometimes without doors.

Above the hall Gill on Risle side, against Dent's town, was two meetings; at one of them, Thos. Taylor ministered, upon Holmes Knot Hill was one Meeting, where Jervase Benson ministered. At and about Gawthorp in Dent, in the grounds of one James Capstack, were two meetings, where Gervas Benson ministered at one, and Thos. Taylor at the other.

At Chapel houses in Dent were some meetings by means of Alexander Hebblethwaite.³

At Stonehouses in Dent, at Willm Mason's, were several meetings.

At Thos and Jas Greenwood's at Gaile Garth, were several meetings.

Vpon ye 15th Day of the 4mo, Ano Dmj, 1679, was a Meeting at Leayeat in Dent. Also againe that day month was another meeting there, all 3 meetings without Doores in the Comon there. Then after that did Anthony Mason offerr his house for ffriends to meet in once a month vpon the first days, wch continued for sevrall years.

Also a meeting came to be setled every first day of the weeke within Dent, about Ano 1680, wch Continued for about 20 years, viz., at Antho Masons house, Willm Masons house, Richard Harrisons house, John Huggonsons house, some times at Mason bank, then at George Capstack's house, at the High, and at Robt Willans house at East banke in Dent.

In the year 1700, was the Meeting house at Loneing in Dent built, mostly at the charge of Richard Harrison. Afterwards, within one or two years, was the Meeting house at Leayeat in

³ Alexander Hebblethwaite, of Gate, in Dent, was cousin of Sir John Otway, of Ingmire Hall, Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. See THE JOURNAL, ii. 23n.

Dent built, at the charge mostly of friends within Kirthwait. John Dent, of Sedbergh, Gaue towards the Charge of building both Meeting houses aforesaid £20, Conditionally, that is to say, paying him yearly Interest for the same during his natural life and no more, nor any after his Death, so friends of Dent did yearly collect so much as to pay the same.

Dent.⁴

To all my Beloved friends, neighbours, & Countrymen, well wishing you from me, Richard Harrison, of Dent, in the County of York.

It is my desire, will, & mind in the Love & freedom of our ever blessed Lord & Gracious Saviour, & Redeemer, healer, & Restorer, who is the dear Son of God & Lord Jesus Christ, to declare my true and perfect knowledge concerning the Dawning or breaking of the Day of the Sun of Righteousness & Truth in this Age wherein I now live. In wch it pleased God in mercy & of great Loueing Kindness to vissitt us, in & by sending of his good and faithfull Servant, George ffox, to declare & publish the Gospell of Light, Life, Grace, Truth, & way of Salvation & Restoration to God Againe. How lost & degennerate man might Come to be Saued, & Restored, by turning inwards to the Light of Christ Jesus, which God had caused to shine in the heart, & manifest to everyone their estate & Condition, what it was, & what it ought to be, before they were meet & fitt for ye Kingdom of heaven. This was to search ye wound to ye bottom Caused by sin & transgression. Then did God in mercy, & of great loueing kindness, Reveal what he had ordained, even a fountain set open for sin and uncleanness to wash in, by sending of his Dear Son, who offered up to God an acceptable Sacrifice for lost man, in & by ye offering up himself to Dye upon ye Cross, where his most pretious blood was shed for

⁴ This account has been copied from MSS. belonging to Westmorland Quarterly Meeting by Emily J. Hart, of Scalby, Yorkshire.

Remission of the Sins of Men, by whose Stripes, as it is written, we are heal[ed], who owns, beleives in, & follows him, in the way of Regeneration, wch many did accept of, and came to be made prtakers of Salvation, Restoration, & Reconslason, & peace with God to their great Desire, Comfort, & Satisfaction. And thus by the Dawning or breaking out of the holy and blessed day, & Riseing & Shineing light of the Sun of Righteous[ness], Did the night of Darkness & Ignorance fly away; and the work of the Lord was sett about, for many was turned from Satan to God by takeing heed to the Light of Christ Jesus, wch God caused to shine in their hearts, and to his word, and power, and Spirit; by yeilding obedience thereunto, they were made new Creatures, even because Created, & formed, & fitted to work good works for the glorifying of God in their mortall bodies, as many came to be. Glory to God for ever & ever.

In the year 1652, did George ffox Come unto Dent, & had a Meeting at Stonehouses in Dent wth & amongst several that were in a great p̄fession of Religion, as Independants or the like, but they, being rich & full of knowledg in their own Conseit, were not sensible of want of Information or need of a phisician, so they mostly opposed & Rejected his offerrs, & Testimony Concerning the Light, & Manifestation of Christ, in the hearts & Consciences of peopl, to be Come in power to Restore into p̄fect health, happyness, & peace wth God againe. Nay, they did believe any such Condition was not attainable in this life, Altho some of them said they had sought after such an estate but obtained not, And so gave up to sitt down short, and thought it the best estate to acknowledge an estate of owning & Confessing to be a misserable sinner, and could not otherwise be while in this life, and who p̄ssed more was deceiued & deluded, etc. Nevertheless, at same time, there were some who were not so high in p̄fession that was convinced, & owned the Testimony born by Geo. ffox, who lived and dyed in the same Truth testified off, viz., Thomas Mason, & George Mason, his brother, near Cowgill in Dent, & some others.

This was a litle before ye time Called Whittsuntide, in the said year 1652. From & after this, Georg went over into Garsdale & Sedbergh to and amongst the p̄fessors there, and upon the day called Whit Sun Wedensday, being the ffaire time at Sedbergh, Georg ffox preached a Sermon, Standing on ye bench under the yew tree in Sedber Steeplehouse garth,⁵ where he had a very great Auditory. That day, was I at Sedbur, but did not know of that meeting till afterward.

Then immediately was many Convinced, of Sedbur, & of Dent, as Alex. Heblethwaite & his wife, Thomas Greenwood & his wife, and divers others below in Dent, as well as above, as before mentioned, & in Garsdale was James Guy & his wife, wth divers othrs, also in Grisedale as Thomas Winn & his wife & family, & divers others; So that a meeting was settled in Sedber forthwith, and went from house to house, sometime in Sedber, sometime at Miles Walker's House, in Midleton, & oth'r houses there away, & sometime in ffirbank, and sometimes in Dent, at the said Thomas & Geo: Masons, and sometime in Garsdale & Grisdale; thus for most of Twenty years & vpwards, from plac to place, and many times without Doores.

In Dent, about in the yeare 1655, ffriends came from Sedber, and mett wth ffriends of Dent vpon Risell side, above the Hall gill, in Dent, being a comon, vpon one ffirst Day of the week, whre was a great meeting, but very Rude and abusie were many of Dent people that came there. Afterwards, ffriends, another time, had a meeting there, but not without trouble. At which meetings aforesaid were Thomas Taylor, who formerly had been a priest, also one Georg Harrison, & other publick ffriends there.

Afterwards, the said Thomas Taylor had a meeting wth out Doors in James Capstacke parroock at Gawthropp in Dent, and at other places in Dent, as once in a year, etc.

⁵ John Handley, of Brigflatts, writes me, "The Whitsun Wednesday fair of that day was a very important occasion, in which young people gathered to enjoy one another's company, and their elders to buy articles for summer use. The fairs were held in the church-yard until removed to the village green by Act of Parliament in the fourteenth century." A reproduction of a photograph of the yew tree may be seen in *Francis Howgill*, "Friends Ancient and Modern" series, recently published.

Also Gervas Benson had severall meetings wth ffriends in Dent, time after time, & year after year, one meeting on top of Helms Knott hill, another on the Riggs towards Sedber, another in James Capstack low feild below Gawthropp, another at Chappell fould or parrock⁶ or barn in Dent, and some time at Wm Maso[n] house at Stonehouses in Dent. So had John Wilkinson, who formerly had been a priest, a great meeting in Wm Mason Barn, at Stonehouse in Dent, at another time, Besides Diverse other ffriends had meetings in Dent, at sewerall times, as at Alex. Heblethwait's house, also at Tho : or James Greenwoods house, also at Willm Masons house, also at Robt Lunds house, etc. Yet for all that there was very few owned, and Received, or gave vp to Truth for many years.

Cumberland.¹

⁶ *Fould* means a farm-yard ; *parrock* is a small fold, from the Saxon *parruc*, meaning a croft, now corrupted into *paddock*.

¹ The condition of religious life in the Episcopalian Church in Cumberland may be seen in Bishop Nicholson's *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle*, 1703; published 1877. There are several references to Friends in this book, *e.g.* under Kirkclinton, "In the Churchyard (which is pretty well fenced) there is a great Store of Graves; notwithstanding the mighty Swarms of Quakers in the parish, who have also a Sepulchre of their own within View." In the churchyard is a tombstone to the Rector, Robert Priestman, who died 1679, having been rector there thirty-eight years.

Lancashire.¹

A Record for ye meetings of Marsden, Rossendale, Sawley, and Oldham (the mans meeting) of these six particulars following.

Marsden.

1st. First Messengers.

The first yt brought ye message of glad tydings amongst us was William Dewsbury, & soon after, with him, came Thomas Stubbs² & Christopher Taylor, in ye summer, 1653.

2nd. Their Sufferings.

William Dewsbury & Chrstopher Taylor, being in ye high way, one Calld Colonel Nowell, of Read, & his man, overtaking them, ye sd Nowell drew forth his rapier, & gave his scabbard to his man, & they followed them a great way striking them, & ye said Nowell stabbed Chrstopher Taylor into ye back untill blood came.

William Dewsbury being moved to go to Colne on ye 21th of 10th month, 1653, & coming into ye Market place, declared ye word of ye Lord to ye people, untill one James ffoster, of Colne, came behind him, & fell vpon him, & so smote him down, & so they hurried him out of ye Towne.

Thomas Taylor (though not ye first yt brought ye message of glad tydings, yet being an early labourer in ye gospel) Coming to Colne vpon ye 4th day of week, in ye 5th month, 1655,

¹ This additional account from Lancashire has been copied from a MS. book belonging to Marsden Monthly Meeting.

For a record of sufferings in Manchester, Blackburn, Bury, and other places, see *The Persecution of them People They call Quakers in several Places in Lancashire*, written by William Adamson, William Simpson, Leonard Addison, John Branthwaite, Isaac Yeats, Leonard Fell, and Thomas Holmes, 1656.

² Thomas Stubbs was one of the earliest converts to Quakerism in Cumberland. He had been a soldier. The records of his life are scanty. In his *Call into the Way of the Kingdom*, 1656, he refers at some length to the imprisonment of Peter Head, John Head, and himself at Carlisle, in 1654. He died in 1673. See *Biographical Memoirs*, 1854.

& being with a friend in ye Market place, many people came about him, & he, being speaking of some Texts of scriptures, drew forth a book call'd a Testament out of his pocket, which Testament one Gyles Hamond, of Catlow, pluckt out of Thomas Taylor hands, & did not Restore it again; And as ye sd Thomas Taylor was rideing out ye street to pass out of the Town, The said Gyles Hamond said, "Strike him down," Whereupon one William Huet, as a watchman in ye Town, stroke Tho: Taylor on ye head with a pike, so that his mare reeled under him, which stroak made a great wound in his head, & drew much blood.

3dly. What friends first Received them & their Message.

James Smithson, Anne Wilkinson, James Wilkinson, Richard Hargreaves, of Edge-end, & Henry Robinson, first received those first messengers & their message.

4th. The names & travells, faithfulness, & vnblymeable Conversations of ye publick Laborers in these sd meetings, yt are deceased.

John Moore,³ a faithfull Laborer in ye work of ye ministry amongst us, who travelled severall times in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, & part of Lecestershire, in ye ministry, & was an innocent harmless man in his time, who was as to his outward sight blind, though inwardly as a guide to them that were blinde, as directing to Christ Jesus, ye true guide, being an Instructor of them that were out of ye way, A strengthener of them that were weak, & a Comfort to all them that Loved ye truth, Who had a good Testimony for God & his truth wherever he was ordered, unto which he was faithfull unto ye time of his departure, which was in ye first month, 167 $\frac{7}{8}$. And though he be taken away, yet ye memoriall of him still remaineth fresh in our hearts.

And also our dear brother, William Whalley, who was a faithfull labourer in ye Gospel, who travelled through many parts of this nation in ye service of ye Lord to ye Comfort of those yt truly fear God & Love truth; & he sealed to his testimony by much suffering, & was faithfull vnto ye end, &

³ John Moore is described in the Lancashire Burial Register as "of Ball house." He was buried at Foulridge.

John Moore lived at Ball House, now an old farm-house, near Foulridge.

was never overcome by his Enemyes yt had a hand in persecuting him, but overcame; And often blessed God that he had Counted him worthy to suffer for his Testimony; Yea, & greatly rejoyced very often amongst friends & praised God for ye rich recompense of Reward he had Returned into his bosom, in ye midst of great sufferings. And ye Remembrance of his constant Labour & fervent travell for ye strengthening & edifying of friends of our meeting, unto wch he belonged, even near before his Death, doth Live fresh and weighty vpon our hearts, in much brokenness of spirit ever desireing ye good of our meeting in particular, & Crying to God for us very often in our meetings, a little before his death, with much fervency of spirit. Oh! we cannot but Remember him, & wee may truly say he was a man of God amongst us, & his works follow him. And this our dear brother, when he was visited with sickness nigh vnto death, was preserved in much patience & Contentedness, though his disease was very sharpe; & made a sweet & Comfortable end, in a heavenly frame of spirit, & often Testified, Though his outward body was weak, yet his inward man was strong. And ye time of his departure⁴

5th. What Judgements fell vpon persecutors.

The aforesd James ffoster, of Colne, who had been so bitter against William Dewsbury, & was also a bailiff yt had taken much goods from friends upon ye Account of Tythes, as he was in their bell-house, a great log of wood fell vpon him, & slew him suddainly, & so he dyed. And ye afore named Willm Huett, that did wound Tho: Taylor in ye market in Colne, with a stroke with a pike, as before mençoned, dyed very miserably.

Rossendale.⁵

1st. The first that brought ye message of glad tydings of ye blessed truth amongst us were

William Dewsbury, & with him Thomas Stubbs.

⁴ The account breaks off here, and space appears to have been left for some addition. William Whalley died in 1682, and was buried at Heyhead. The Burial Ground is close to the Meeting House at Marsden, and is still in the possession of Friends, though long closed for burials.

⁵ Rossendale corresponds with the Meeting now called Crawshaw-booth.

2d. *Their Sufferings.*

There was no sufferings inflicted on them, but many gladly received them, yea, ye then priest of Rossendale, Thomas Sommerton, received them, & William Dewsbury had a large time of ministring in ye steeplehouse, & afterwards ye priest Confirmed by words ye Testimony delivered.

3d. *The first that received them & their message were*
Susan Heyworth, widdow, & Mary Birtwisle, widdow.

4th. *A testimony concerning a publick Labourer, deceased.*

Thomas Lorimer, in his Childhood, came Apprentice to Abraham Heyworth,⁶ performed it justly, & dwelt with him afterwards, a servant, then Removed to John ffeildens,⁷ where he abode, a faithfull Servant & a good Example, haveing a Testimony in meetings. And in ye year 1669, he travelled in ye service of ye Lord in Cheshire, Darby-shire, Nottinghamshire, & so along to Huntingtongshire, where he was imprisoned. He visited ye people of God in Jreland, & severall times in ye Eastern parts of England, And returning to Rossendal meeting, being not in health, Abode with Alice Radcliff about eleaven weekes ; departed this Life ye 8th day of ye 3d mo, 1678, & was buried ye 10th day of ye same, in Rossendal burying place.

5th. *Judgements upon a persecutor.*

Edmund Mills, of Hall Carr, in ye parish of Bury (a great Jnformer and persecutour of ffriends in Rossendal, by means whereof friends suffered about 120*li.*, about 2 years before he dyed), he fell sick & was distracted, but Recovering for a season, seemed greatly to Repent, declareing to severall his great trouble for what he had done, saying yt ye goods he took from our friends never did him good, but went, & took his with them. He became very poore. When he dyed, all yt he had would not near pay his debt ; because of his poverty, he was layd naked in his Coffin.

⁶ The family of Heyworth (Haworth), of Rossendale, was a large one ; Abraham's name appears in THE JOURNAL, ii. 138.

⁷ John Fielding lived at Hartley Royd in Stansfield, and was a member of Mankinholes Meeting, Yorkshire (see THE JOURNAL, ii. 34). The Fielding and Heyworth families were connected by marriage.

Being helped up out of his Chaire by some present, he sware that he could not have risen up but for their help, & so dyed in their Armes, as he had Lived, in Swearing.

Oldham.

1st. The first that brought ye glad-tydings of ye gospel of salvation to us were

James Taylor, Richard Roper,⁸ John Braithwait, & Thomas Briggs.

2d. Their sufferings.

These messengers was struck, & haled out of ye steeple-house-yard, at Oldham, by John Tetlaw,⁹ who thrust them over ye wall. At Ashton under Line, one Priest Harrison gave Charge they should not Entertain them into their houses, whose Enmity was so great against ye Appearance of Truth.

witness hereof, JAMES SYKES.

⁸ George Fox writes, under date, 1653, " Amongst the priests' hearers [at Cartmel] was one Richard Roper, one of the bitterest professors the priest had ; but afterwards he came to be convinced, became a minister, and continued faithful to his death." D. possesses two letters written by Richard Roper and Richard Waller, presumably in the handwriting of the former, from the city of Waterford, Ireland, and addressed to Margaret Fell. One is dated " ffrom the Cittie Gaoll," 4th of Seventh Month, 1657, and commences, " Dearly beeloued in the Lord. . . Thou art Cloathed with the pure Roobe [of] thy beauty, and thy comlynes shines through Countries and nations ; and thy fame spreads through the earth." The letter refers, among other things, to Lettish Shaine, who had come from Dublin to visit them, and who was at one time in the household of Oliver Cromwell. [There had been a considerable conviction in the Protector's household. See G. Fox's *Journal*, i. 215, 332.] The second letter was written ten days later, when the writers were free again. They acknowledge the kindness of Irish Friends ; George Lathom, of Dublin, brought them ten shillings " from the publique stock," James Sicklemore gave them four shillings and sixpence, and a woman Friend of the city provided " a waystcoat " for each, " or else wee should haue sent to England for somthing." Their thankful acknowledgement of the receipt of three letters from M. Fell gives us a glimpse of the large correspondence between M. F. and Friends in all parts. Both letters are endorsed by George Fox. The Cumberland Burial Registers record the burial of Richard Roper, of Woodbroughton (presumably the same Friend), at Height, in 1658. [James Sicklemore, of Youghal, had been a captain. He wrote *To all the Inhabitants of the Town of Youghall who are under the Teachings of James Wood*, 1657.]

⁹ Tetlow.

3d. *The first yt Entertained them & their message were James Sykes,¹⁰ & Joshua Ogden.*

5th. *Judgmts upon persecutors.*

The aforesd Priest Harrison, whose Enmity was great against them, Afterwards ye use of ye one side he had taken from him. And John Tetlaw, aforesd, who thrust them over ye wall, & did strike some of them, The hand of ye Lord was seen against him, & soon after he sold up that he had, & went into Ireland, where he dyed suddenly.

Witness, ISAAC WILD.

Hardshaw.¹¹

¹⁰ James Sykes was "of Lingards in Slaighwood, Almondsbury, Yorks," at the time of his decease in 1679, but he was buried at Heyside within Marsden Monthly Meeting.

¹¹ There is a reference, on the minutes of the Monthly Meeting in 1706, to the request of the Yearly Meeting, but nothing further on the subject appears to be recorded.

Shropshire.¹

Shrewsbury.

At a Meeting of Men Friends upon the 6th of the 11th Mo., 1680, Wee did by dilligent search find that

Elizabeth Leven and Elizabeth Flasher [Fletcher] weare the first friends that came with the true message of glad tidings to Shrewsbury in or about the year 1654. For which they were examined and committed, but weare garded out of Toune with a Pass towards their own Country, but two Freinds of Shrewsbury, that is to say, William Payne and Katherine Broughton, brought them on their way.

¹ Copied by William Gregory Norris, of Coalbrookdale, from a book belonging to Shropshire Monthly Meeting, containing various early records. Shropshire is the only English county of which the name does not appear in the list of Quarterly Meetings in 1720. This district belonged to North Wales.

Hertfordshire.¹

¹ At a Monthly Meeting at Watford : the 2d of ye 9th mo., 1704.

This day was Read a Paper from ye 2d Days morning Meeting in London, bearing date ye 12th of 4th mo., 1704, Recommended to ye severall Quarterly & monthly Meetings Jn England, &c.—Desireing that ffriends would take care to Collect all such remarkable & Effectuall Labours & Services of our deceased friends as are not allready in print, And their severall Births, Ages, & Deaths, and ye Times when & wheare, together with their Christian Testimonys, & faithfull sayeings on their sick & Dying beds and before their Departure, as also what Publick ffriends ffirst Came into your Respective Countys to publish ye Everlasting Gospell, & who received them, & what Suckcess attended their Labours, and what sufferings they mett with, and what meetings they Gathered & Settled.

And it was thereupon desired that ffriends of Each perticuler meeting belonging to this mo : Meeting Do Take Care as much as in them Lyeth to gather up whatsoever of this Nature they Can & Present them to this Meeting.

At a Monthly Meeting at Hempsted, ye 1st of 10th mo, 1704.

This meeting haveing under their consideration the Contents of A minnuitt made at ye Last meeting Concerning Gathering up any thing remarkable relateing to Publick ffrriends in ye first breakeing forth of Truth which are not allready in print, Jn order thereunto dò apoint the ffrriends undernamed to Take Care of the same :—

Phillip Tompson,	John Edmonds, Senr.
Wm. Loddington,	John Edmonds, Junr,
Mickhaele Turpine, Senr,	Joseph Meade,

And that James Stirridg, Junr, Draw up three severall Abstracts of what they are to Jnquire about, and send them to the ffrriends nomina- ted ffor the Respective meetings.

At a Monthly Meeting at Hertford, ye 2d of ye 1st mo : 1705.

The ffrriends Appointed to make Jnquiry concerning any thing remarkable relateing to Ancient ffrriends in ye first breakings forth of Truth, &c. Report to this meeting that they Cannot ffinde anything material but what is allready in print.

At a Mo. Meeting at Watford, 4 9 mo. 1720.

This Meeting having considered ye Matter relating to what Ministring friends came first into this County, &c., finds, upon Examination, that there was a like Recommendation to the sevrall Quarterly & Mo : Meetings from ye Morning Meeting at London, 12th 4 mo, 1704, whereupon divers friends were then Appointed to make Enquiry, and they Reported that they could not find any thing more than wt was then already in Print ; neither do we know of any thing Material since.

At a Monthly Meeting at Hertford, ye 6th 9 mo, 1704 :

Agreed at this meeting that Richard Thomas, Henry Sweeting, and John Thurston doe collect an account . . . what friends first came into our Respective Towne[s] to publish the everlasting Gospell, & who received them, what Success attended their labours, what Sufferings they mett with, & what Meetings they gathered & Settled thereby.

4th of 10 mo. 1704 :

Henry Sweeting acquainted this meeting that James Naylor was the first Publick friend that came into Hertford, and he received him first, & the said James Naylor had a meeting at Henry Sweetings house, and Henry Sweeting was convinced at the same time.

31 10.

Henry Sweeting did (at this meeting) further give an Account that his wife and two daughters were convinced at ye same time he himself was.

The Penal Laws affecting Early Friends in England.

The Editor asked me to furnish some notes on the legal terms used in "The First Publishers of Truth."¹ On consideration it seemed best to put the information required in a systematic form in order to give a general view of the Penal Laws as they affected Early Friends in England, illustrating the statement mainly from references in F.P.T. No attempt is made to give a history of the persecutions to which Friends were subjected—for this would mean writing the external history of the Society for the first forty years of its life—and I have further confined myself to English law.

WILLIAM CHARLES BRAITHWAITE.

¹ This book may be briefly described as F.P.T.

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Commonwealth Period.

Sect. 1.—Introductory.

“*The First Publishers of Truth*” deals primarily with the rise of the Society in the Commonwealth period, although it includes isolated documents about events in London in 1683 and at Norwich 1682-1683, and contains many scattered references to post-Restoration days. It was the earnest temper of the Commonwealth period, and its atmosphere of qualified religious liberty, that gave the Quaker message its opportunity. The army of “Publishers” that issued from the North was indeed greatly harassed by the magistrates, but there is little evidence of any settled policy of persecution on the part of the central authorities at Whitehall, and, apart from the proceedings against James Nayler, there was no special legislation directed against Friends.

During the Commonwealth period, the “First Publishers” came into conflict with the law mainly in the following ways:—

Sect. 2.—Charges of plotting against the Government.

I find no direct references in *F.P.T.* to such charges, but George Fox was carried up to London in February, 1655, on a charge of this kind, and there were other cases.

Sect. 3.—Proceedings under the Blasphemy Act, 1650.

This Act² was milder than the blasphemy ordinance of 1648. It was passed 9th August, 1650, and enabled a Justice for a first offence to commit to prison or the House of Correction for six

² 1650, cap. 22. Scobell's *Collection of Acts and Ordinances*, London, 1658, pt. 2, p. 124.

months, and, until a surety for good behaviour be given, up to a year. For a second offence, the penalties were incurred of imprisonment till the Assizes, and, if convicted there, of banishment under pain of death. The offence took place where any person (1) affirmed himself or any other mere creature to be very God or to be infinite or almighty or equal with God, or that the true God or the eternal Majesty dwells in the creature and nowhere else; or (2) affirmed that acts of gross immorality were indifferent or even positively religious. George Fox was imprisoned a year at Derby under the first branch of this Act, 30th October, 1650-1651; proceedings were threatened against him at Lancaster Quarter Sessions, October, 1652; and at Carlisle in 1653 he was imprisoned presumably as a second offender, with a view to his conviction at the Assizes. There were several prosecutions against other Friends under this Act. Again we have no direct references in *F.P.T.*, but see pp. 34, 248.

Sect. 4.—Refusing the Oath of Abjuration.

According to George Fox (*Journal*, i. 246), this came out in 1655. In April, 1655, after the Royalist insurrection, a proclamation was issued announcing that the law would be enforced which required persons suspected of Roman Catholicism to take an oath abjuring the Papal authority and the doctrine of transubstantiation.³ An Act of 1656, cap. 16,⁴ provided a more searching form of oath. The wide-spread idea that Quakers were Jesuits in disguise led to some persecution under this head. See the imprisonment of Ambrose Rigge and Thomas Robertson at Basingstoke, 1655 (p. 112; Besse's *Sufferings*, i. 228), and of Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse at Exeter, 1655 (p. 78; Besse's *Sufferings*, i. 146).

Sect. 5.—Vagrancy.

This was the readiest means of punishing travelling Friends, and is abundantly illustrated in *F.P.T.* By St. 39 Eliz. cap. 4,

³ See S. R. Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, vol. iv., p. 18, and the Ordinance of 1643, cap. 15.

⁴ Scobell's *Collection*, pt. 2, p. 443.

“an act for punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggers,” continued from time to time, any person taken begging, vagrant, wandering, or misordering themselves might be ordered by any Justice to be “stripped naked from the middle upward,” and “openly whipped until his or her body be bloody.” The Justice was then to make out a Testimonial or Pass, which Michael Dalton⁵ gives in the following form:—“John at Stile, a sturdy, vagrant beggar, of low personage, red-haired, and having the nail of his right thumb cloven, aged, &c., was this 6th day of April, &c., openly whipped at, &c., according to the law, for a wandering rogue, and is now assigned to pass forthwith from parish to parish by the officers thereof the next straight way to P., where, as he confesseth, he was born; and he is limited to be at P. aforesaid, within ten days now next ensuing, at his peril.” Dalton says it is needful to specify expressly “some assured marks of the party, as his stature, colour of haire, complexion, or (if it may be) some apparent scar or other note.” Any passes for Friends that have been preserved might accordingly contain interesting particulars of their personal appearance. The Pass for himself which George Whitehead gives (*The Christian Progress*, &c., ed. 1725, p. 104) simply describes him as “a young man about twenty years of age.”

The Vagrancy Act needed some stretching to cover the itinerating Publishers of Truth. Its definition clause included “all wandring persons and common labourers, being persons able in body, using loytering, and refusing to work for such reasonable wages as is taxed or commonly given in such parts where such persons do, or shall happen to dwell or abide, not having living otherwise to maintain themselves.”

In 1657, it was extended to all persons wandering without sufficient cause, although not taken begging.⁶ By St. 7 Jac. 1, cap. 4. a House of Correction was to be provided in every county, to which vagabonds could be sent. The governor of this house was to set them to work and labour, and had power to punish them “by putting fetters or gyves upon them and by moderate

⁵ *The Countrey Justice*, 6th ed., 1643, p. 464.

⁶ Act 1656, cap. 21, coming into operation, 1st July, 1657. Scobell's *Collection*, pt. 2, p. 477.

whipping of them." At every Quarter Sessions he was to render an account of all persons committed to his custody.

For charges of vagrancy in *F.P.T.*, see pp. 136-141 (William Caton and John Stubbs at Maidstone), also pp. 18 (Richard Hubberthorne at Chester), 80-87 (Dorset), 97 (George Whitehead's case already referred to), 209-211, 258-260 (Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Leavens at Oxford), 213 (William Simpson at Oxford).

"Going naked as a sign" appears less extravagant when we remember that it belonged to an age which was familiar with the brutal practice of openly stripping and whipping Friends as vagrants.

Sect. 6.—Travelling on the Lord's Day.

The ordinance of 1644, cap. 37,⁷ forbade travel on the Lord's Day without reasonable cause, under a fine of five shillings or, for failure to pay fine, three hours in the stocks. The Act 1650, cap. 9,⁸ was fuller, and extended to days of public humiliation and thanksgiving, while the fine was increased to ten shillings or six hours in the stocks. No person was to travel on the Lord's Day, &c., except to or from some place for the service of God, or upon other extraordinary occasion to be allowed by a Justice. The Act 1656, cap. 15,⁹ extended the offence to all persons vainly and profanely walking on the Lord's Day. For cases under these laws, see pp. 280 (Evesham), 319 (York); Thomas Ellwood's *Life* (under year 1659).

Sect. 7.—Disturbing Ministers and Refusing Honour to Magistrates.

By the Act 1 Mar. st. 2, cap. 3, the malicious disturbance of a preacher in his sermon or when celebrating divine service made the offender liable to three months' imprisonment. Friends

⁷ Scobell's *Collection*, pt. 1, p. 68.

⁸ Scobell's *Collection*, pt. 2, p. 119.

⁹ Scobell's *Collection*, pt. 2, p. 438.

generally waited till the sermon was over and so avoided breaking this law. (See, e.g., pp. 83, 85, 87, 92, 157.) In *The Perfect Pharise under Monkish Holinesse, &c.*, by Thomas Welde and others, ministers in Newcastle (London, 1653, p. 47),¹⁰ it is made a charge against Quakers that "they can now of late forbear till our public worship and exercise be concluded. At their first breaking forth it was otherwise, but since they have found that their speaking in the time of our public work is punishable by law, they can now be silent till we have closed up the work." The account of George Fox's service in 1653 at Bootle, Cumberland, given in the MS. "Short Journal," preserved at Devonshire House, shows the legal position clearly as it was understood by Friends. He visited the "steeple-house" both in the morning and in the afternoon. In the morning, he says, "I was moved to speak in his time, he uttered such wicked things, and therefore, for the truth's sake, I was moved to speak to him, if I had been imprisoned for it." In the afternoon, he writes, "I sat me down and heard till he had done, though several friends spoke to him in his time. So, when he had done, I began to speak to him. . . . and he began to oppose me. I told him his glass was gone, his time was out; the place was as free for me as for him; and he accused me that I had broken the law in speaking to him in his time in the morning, and I told him he had broken the law then in speaking in my time." The Lord's Day Act, 1656, cap. 15,¹¹ required attendance at worship under a fine of 2s. 6d. and provided that if any person, after 1st August, 1656, should wilfully disturb a minister in the doing the duty of his place, or in his going to or returning from such place, or should cause any public disturbance on the Lord's day in any such place, he might be committed to prison till the next Quarter Sessions, and be there fined £5, or sent to the House of Correction or workhouse for not more than six months, to be there set to hard labour with such moderate correction as should be thought fit. Apart however from express law, judges and justices would regard themselves as having a

¹⁰ I cite from Barclay's *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, p. 286.

¹¹ Scobell's *Collection*, pt. 2, p. 438.

general authority to punish cases where contempt either of the ministry or the magistracy was shown. Cases are frequent in *F.P.T.* See, especially, pp. 24 (keeping on hats when a proclamation was read), 69 (abusing the Mayor of Carlisle), 79-87 (Dorset cases, chiefly for speaking in churches),¹² 147, 148 (Lancashire, a case under the 1656 Act), 202 (speaking to the Mayor of Berwick), 277 (Worcestershire), 283 (Edward Bourne's conversation with Major-General Berry, the officer charged by Cromwell with the care of Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, and North Wales), 318 (York cases), 322, 324 (South Wales).

Sect. 8.—Tithes and Ecclesiastical Demands.

(See under Restoration Period, Sect. 16.)

Sect. 9.—General Policy of Authorities during the Commonwealth Period.

Under the several heads above referred to, a great amount of persecution took place; 3,170 Friends suffering for conscience sake prior to the Restoration. (George Fox, *Journal*, i. 522.)

So far as the central authorities were concerned, it was as persons causing disturbance that the Quakers suffered and not because of their religion. Their denunciations of ministers as hirelings, deceivers, and false prophets were especially provocative of disorder. A proclamation announcing the Protector's intention to enforce the law was accordingly issued on February 15th, 1655, which Gardiner¹³ gives at length, and says "may justly be regarded as the charter of religious freedom under the Protectorate." It rejoices in the "free and uninterrupted passage of the Gospel running through the midst of us . . . without any interruption from the powers God hath set over this Commonwealth . . . a mercy that is the price of much blood,

¹² These Dorset cases are illustrated by a document in *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1656-57, p. 123, "List of Justices in County Dorset who have persecuted Quakers."

¹³ *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, vol. iii. p. 260.

and till of late years denied to this nation," and assures the continuance of this liberty. But the Protector holds himself equally obliged "to take care that on no pretence whatsoever such freedom given should be extended by any beyond those bounds which the royal law of love and Christian moderation have set us in our walking one towards another, or . . . to the disturbance or disquiet of any of their brethren in the same free exercise of their faith and worship." Then comes a reference to the disturbances occasioned "by divers men lately risen up under the names of Quakers, Ranters, and others, who do daily both reproach and disturb the assemblies and congregations of Christians in their public and private meetings, and interrupt the preachers in dispensing the word, and others in their worship, contrary to just liberty, and to the disturbance of the public peace." The proclamation accordingly closes by strictly requiring "that they forbear henceforth all such irregular and disorderly practices; and if in contempt hereof any persons shall presume to offend as aforesaid, we shall esteem them disturbers of the civil peace, and shall expect and do require all officers and ministers of justice to proceed against them accordingly."

This proclamation fairly represents the general attitude of the Government, and is well illustrated by Major-General Berry's conduct at Worcester, 1656 (p. 284), though it will of course be understood that an active, persecuting spirit was often shown by the county magistrates. In justice to these, however, it should be remembered that the stiffness of Friends in refusing to pay prison-fees (*e.g.*, p. 138), or to give hat-honour or the accustomed phrases of respect to the Court, or to find surety for good behaviour often entailed imprisonment far in excess of what was originally intended against them. The authorities at Whitehall issued many orders releasing specified Friends; one of these is referred to, p. 280; and on the 10th November, 1657, a general letter was sent down to the justices,¹⁴ "His Highness and Council have received several addresses on behalf of Quakers imprisoned for not pulling off their hats, and for not finding sureties for good

¹⁴ *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1657-58, p. 156.

behaviour. Some have long lain in prison and are not likely to get out by conformity. Though his Highness and Council are far from countenancing their mistaken principles or practices, especially in disturbing godly ministers and affronting magistrates, yet as they mostly proceed rather from a spirit of error than a malicious opposition to authority, they are to be pitied and dealt with as persons under a strong delusion, who will rather suffer and perish than do anything contrary to their ungrounded and corrupt principles. Therefore his Highness and Council recommend them to your prudence to discharge such as are in prison in your County (though discountenancing the miscarriages), so that their lives may be preserved, divers having died in prison. From tenderness to them, you are, by causing their hats to be pulled off, to prevent their running into contempt by not giving respect to magistrates, as those whose miscarriages arise from defect of understanding should not be treated too severely." Much suffering however continued, and in 1659 (see *Besse*, Preface, pp. iv.-vi.; *Letters etc., of Early Friends* by A. R. Barclay, pp. 62-69), 164 Friends attended in Westminster Hall and tried to get Parliament to accept of them as prisoners in place of the 140 Friends then lying in gaols and houses of correction. At the Restoration, 700 Friends, imprisoned for contempts, were set at liberty. (George Fox, *Journal*, i. 490.)

Restoration Period.

Sect. 10.—Royalist Policy.

With the Restoration a period of deliberate persecution against all Nonconformists began. In the Declaration of Breda, 4th April, 1660, the king had declared "a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence." This, no doubt, expressed the disposition of the tolerant and pleasure-loving king, at heart a Roman Catholic, and, although the rising of the Fifth Monarchy Men in January, 1661 (referred to pp. 118, 163, 164), embittered the authorities, an act of grace, issued on the king's coronation, 23rd April, 1661, discharged a number of Friends who had been imprisoned on scruples of conscience for not taking oaths, etc. (See the proclamation, dated 11th of May, 1661,¹⁵ referred to in *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, p. 96, and *F.P.T.*, p. 127.) But the full grant of religious liberty was a matter properly reserved for Parliament, and the Parliament, elected amid the fever of Restoration loyalty, was intolerant and bigoted, with nine-tenths of its members churchmen and cavaliers. With the zealous support of the county magistrates, it addressed itself to the suppression of dissent, and carried out a deliberate policy of persecution, tempered by occasional interferences on the part of the king, and varying in severity according to the degrees of local zeal. It will, of course, be remembered that, upon the Restoration, all ordinances and laws passed by Parliament after 1642 ceased to have any legal force.

¹⁵ *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1660-61.

The principal charges on which Friends were imprisoned were the following :—

Refusing the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

Offences as Popish recusants for non-attendance at church.

Offences against the Quaker Act, 1662, and the Conventicle Acts, 1664 and 1670.

The Act 35 Eliz. cap. 1, and the common law offence of causing a riot.

Failing to find a man for the Militia.

Refusing tithes and other ecclesiastical demands.

There is a good summary of the persecuting laws in the statement made by Friends to James II. and Parliament in 1685 (see *Besse*, Preface, pp. xxxix-xliv). There were then 1,500 Friends in prison.

Sect. II.—Refusing the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance.

By St. 5 Eliz. cap. 1, the refusal by persons within the Act of the oath of the King's *supremacy* was punishable as *praemunire* for the first refusal and as high treason for the second. By St. 7 Jac. 1, cap. 6, a complex oath of *allegiance* to the king and *denial of the pope's authority* was dealt with. The refusal of this involved imprisonment till the next Assizes or Quarter Sessions, when the oath was again to be tendered, and, if refused, the penalty of *praemunire* was incurred. Married women, however, were only to be imprisoned without bail until they should take the oath. Two Justices, often one Justice alone, could require any person of eighteen or more, under the degree of baron, to take the oath. We need to know what was meant by *praemunire* before we can understand the effect of these laws. The word was taken from the beginning of the writ, "*praemunire facias A B, &c.*" "cause A B to be forewarned, &c.," and denoted the punishment devised in the fourteenth century for use against persons who supported the pretensions of the papacy against the king.¹⁶ After conviction, the defendant was out of the king's

¹⁶ See St. 16 Rich. 2, cap. 5.

protection, and lands and goods were forfeited to the king, and he remained a prisoner at the king's pleasure. Throughout the Restoration period cases were frequent. See pp. 44, 109, 118, 119, 126, 149, 158, 175, 217, 281, 324. The oath was often tendered at the Assizes when other charges failed, a perversion of justice which brought every Friend who was in custody under the risk of a *praemunire*.

Edward Christian, in a note to Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, book iv., chap. 8, says, "The terrible penalties of a *praemunire* are denounced by a great variety of statutes, yet prosecutions upon a *praemunire* are unheard of in our courts. There is only one instance of such a prosecution in the State Trials, in which case the penalties of a *praemunire* were inflicted upon some persons for refusing to take the oath of allegiance in the reign of Charles the Second." He cites Hargrave's *State Trials*, vol. ii., p. 463, where the trial of John Crook and other Friends at the Old Bailey, 1662, is given. See *The Cry of the Innocent for Justice*, etc., 1662, small 4to.¹⁷ The weapon forged for use against the pretensions of Rome rusted in idleness until the malignant spirit of intolerance sharpened it for use against the Quakers. In Francis Howgill's trial at Appleby, 22nd and 23rd of August, 1664 (see *Besse*, ii. 14-17), Howgill asked Judge Turner if any Papists had been proceeded against by the Act, and the Judge, when faced with the question, had to answer, "No." George Fox's last imprisonment at Worcester was on a *praemunire*, but the conviction was finally quashed on errors in the indictment after Counsellor Corbet, on George Fox's behalf, had forcibly argued that they could not imprison on a *praemunire*. The result of Chief Justice Hale's discouragement of *praemunires* on this occasion was, according to Richard Davies (see the full account in his *Journal* under date 1674), that "that trial put an end to all the *praemunires* in the nation."

¹⁷ The account in *Besse*, i. 369-379, is taken from this.

Sect. 12.—Offences as Popish Recusants for Non-attendance at Church.

The words of the oath of allegiance were contained in an Act 3 Jac. 1, cap. 4, which had been made against "Popish recusants," after the Gunpowder Plot. By sect. 27 of this Act (in extension of St. 1 Eliz. cap. 2, sect. 14), any person not resorting every Sunday to church could be fined 12d by a Justice for every default, the fine to be distrained for by the churchwarden, and, in default of distress, the offender might be imprisoned until payment. These fines, which went to the poor, are the "Sunday shillings," referred to p. 65. The same Act (taken with St. 23 Eliz. cap. 1, sect. 5 and St. 29 Eliz. cap. 6, sects. 3, 4) enacted that every person over sixteen not attending church should on conviction forfeit £20 for every month of non-attendance, except where the king chose to take two parts of the offender's lands till he came to church, leaving the offender one third for his maintenance. For cases under this harsh law, see pp. 65, 69, 101, 102, 123, 314. Besse (i. 68-70) gives particulars of fines at Bristol in 1683, reaching the enormous total of £16,660, charged on 191 persons. John Whiting, in his *Memoirs*, under this year, gives this total, but says that he cannot say how many distrains were made nor how much was seized.

Sect. 13.—The Quaker Act, 1662, and the Conventicle Acts, 1664 and 1670.

These three Acts comprised the persecuting legislation specially enacted against Friends, and may conveniently be treated together. The other persecuting Acts—the Corporation Act, 1661, the Act of Uniformity, 1662, and the Five-mile Act, 1665—hardly affected Friends. The Quaker Act, St. 13 and 14 Car. 2, cap. 1, was passed in May, 1662, but had been taken in hand a year earlier. For the efforts of Friends respecting it, see *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, pp. 95-114. This Act and the two Conventicle Acts are printed in *Besse* (Preface).

The Quaker Act was directed against (1) any person maintaining "that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever (although before a lawful magistrate) is altogether unlawful and contrary to the word of God," and either wilfully refusing an oath duly tendered, or endeavouring to persuade any other person to refuse such oath, or, by printing, &c., going about to maintain that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever was altogether unlawful, and (2) Quakers who left their habitations and assembled to the number of five or more persons, sixteen years old or upwards, at any one time in any one place under pretence of joining in a religious worship not authorised by law. The Act provided that in either case on conviction by a jury, or confession, or the notorious evidence of the fact, the offender, for the first offence, incurred a fine not exceeding £5, for the second a fine not exceeding £10, and for the third was to abjure the realm or otherwise be transported to any of his Majesty's plantations beyond the seas. The fines were distrainable, and for want of distress or payment within a week three months' imprisonment with hard labour was incurred for a first offence, and six months for a second. For cases under this Act, see pp. 159-162 (London cases). It was soon superseded for practical purposes by the precise wording and more effectual provisions of the Conventicle Acts, 1664 and 1670, although still occasionally resorted to. Besse (ii. 154) has a case in 1683, and the imprisonment and threat of banishment in the Norwich cases, 1683 (see p. 178), depended upon the provisions of this Act. It will be noticed that as regards the first branch of the Act the wording made it difficult to prove a breach of the Act unless the person charged gave evidence against himself.

The Conventicle Act, 1664 (St. 16 Car. 2, cap. 4, "an Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles"), was in force from 1st July, 1664, to 1st July, 1667, and was directed against all seditious sectaries. After declaring that the St. 35 Eliz. cap. 1 (to be referred to later), was still in force, it enacted that if any person sixteen years old should be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour of religion in other manner than allowed by the Liturgy, at which there should be five or

more persons beyond the household, then two Justices (the Quaker Act required a jury), within three months, could convict and imprison on a first and second offence for three and six months, unless fines of £5 and £10 were paid down (the Quaker Act allowed a week for payment). For a third offence elaborate provisions for transportation were devised. An indictment was to be made at the Assizes, and on conviction a sentence was to be passed of seven years' transportation to any of his Majesty's foreign plantations, except Virginia and New England, unless £100 fine were paid; married women whose husbands were not under sentence being liable instead to twelve months' imprisonment. The cost of transportation was to be recovered out of the offender's lands and goods, and if these failed, the sheriff could contract with the shipmaster to detain and employ the offender as his labourer for five years. The Act also dealt with Quakers refusing oaths, in terms more effectual than those used in the Quaker Act. Where any person refused a *judicial* oath, having no legal plea to justify or excuse such refusal, the mere refusal was to be recorded as a conviction, and the person offending should, for every such offence, incur the judgment and punishment of transportation; provided that, where such conviction did not take place at the Court of King's Bench or the Assizes, the offender was to be committed to the Assizes, where, if he refused the oath, sentence of transportation was to be passed.

The Conventicle Act, not quite three years after its expiration, was renewed, with milder penalties, but with encouragement to Informers, by St. 22 Car. 2, cap. 1, which came into force 10th May, 1670. A single Justice could convict, and fines of five shillings and ten shillings were imposed for the first and second offence, to be distrained for, and, in case of any offender's poverty, the distress up to ten pounds for any one meeting might be levied on any other person convicted of the like offence at the same meeting. The fines went one-third to the king, one-third to the poor, and one-third to the Informer, and to such persons as the Justice should appoint, having regard to their diligence in discovering and punishing the said conventicle. The punishment of transportation, which had broken down in practice, was omitted,

and no imprisonment was provided for, and the provisions as to judicial oaths were dropped, but the following new offences were created, which could be tried by a single Justice, with appeal to a jury at Quarter Sessions :—

(a) A person preaching or teaching in any such conventicle was to be fined £20 for the first offence, to be distrained for on his goods, or if a stranger or poor on the goods up to £10 of any person convicted of being present at such conventicle, and for a further offence was to be fined £40, to be distrained for in the same way, the fines going in thirds as aforesaid.

(b) Every person wittingly and willingly allowing a conventicle to be held on his premises was to be fined £20, to be distrained for in the same way, the fines going in thirds as aforesaid.

For references to these Acts, see pp. 164 (cases Sept., Oct., 1664, many of which resulted in sentences of transportation), 32 (£20 fine), 41, 53, 64, 65, 95, 101, 114, 122, 170, 227, 271, 300, 308, 316 (date should be 1670; see the proceedings set out at length by Besse, ii. 120-129, who gives a total of £2,000 of fines upon William Thornaby's information in about fourteen months' time).

Sec. 14.—The Act 35 Eliz. cap. 1, and the Common Law Offence of Causing a Riot.

As already mentioned, the Conventicle Act, 1664, had specially revived the St. 35 Eliz. cap. 1. This Act was originally a temporary one, and provided that if any person over 16 who refused to come to church should persuade any other person to abstain from coming to church or to be present at any unlawful conventicle, or should himself be present at any such conventicle, he should, on conviction, be imprisoned until he conform, and, in default of conforming within three months of conviction, should forfeit his goods and lands during his life to the king, and by oath abjure and depart the realm, and for refusal to abjure should be adjudged a felon, and should suffer as in case of a felony without benefit of clergy.

As a Friend could not swear, this severe law, if applied to him, meant sentence of death. At Margaret Fell's first examination, 14th March, 1664 (*Collected Works*, p. 279), the sheriff suggested to Judge Twisden to proceed on this statute, but the Judge refused, saying to Margaret Fell, "I could tell you of a Law, but it is too penal for you, for it might cost you your life." Besse (i. 690, 691) gives a Surrey case in 1662, when twenty-seven Friends were brought in guilty on this statute and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, "after which time, if they recanted not, they must abjure the realm or be proceeded against as felons." I suppose no actual sentence of death was passed in these cases, but in 1683, under the same statute, the savage sentence was actually passed on Richard Vickris, of Bristol (*Besse*, i. 71, 72), "that he should conform, or abjure the realm in three months, or suffer death as a felon without benefit of clergy." By the influence of the Duke of York, he was, however, legally discharged upon errors in the indictment. A full account of this most important case is given by John Whiting (*Memoirs*, for years 1683, 1684). I believe it is the only case where sentence of death was passed upon a Friend in the mother country. Many Friends of course died in the loathsome prisons of the seventeenth century, but, except in this case, it is fair to acquit English judges and juries of any direct intention to cause their deaths. There is an interesting passage in Richard Davies's *Journal*, under the year 1677, which shows that at that time the idea of sentencing Friends to death was repudiated by those in authority. According to this account, it was due to the exertions of Thomas Lloyd and Counsellor Corbet that Parliament in this year passed the Act 29 Car. 2, cap. 9, which abolished the writ for burning heretics, "and all punishment by death in pursuance of any ecclesiastical censures."

The St. 35 Eliz. cap. 1, was however used against Friends in another way. When a violent persecuting spirit was abroad, the authorities were impatient of the punishment by fine alone, provided by the Conventicle Act of 1670, and chafed against its stipulation that no person punished by it should be punished for the same offence by virtue of any act or law whatsoever.

They accordingly devised a way of punishing Friends for meeting together, without having any recourse to the Act of 1670. The assembly was treated as unlawful under the Act 35 Eliz. cap. 1, and then the gathering together at the meeting became punishable under the common law as a riot or rout or unlawful assembling, entailing fine or imprisonment on conviction by a jury. By our common law, where three or more assemble to do an unlawful act and part without doing it or attempting to do it, it is an unlawful assembly; where they make some advances towards doing it, a rout; where they actually do an unlawful act with violence, or do a lawful act in a violent and tumultuous manner, it is a riot.

The London case, 1683 (pp. 153-157), illustrates this branch of the subject. The unlawfulness of the assembly was based on the St. 35 Eliz. and not on the Conventicle Act, because if this Act had been used, only its penalties, as I have shown, could have been enforced. For this reason, Thomas Jewkes, for whom the fine imposed by the Lord Mayor had been tendered, did not hold himself obliged to appear (p. 155). The importance of proving the actual doing of an unlawful act with violence explains the argument of Thomas Barker (p. 156) that an overt act, "overtackt," must be committed, and the Recorder's desire to get evidence that the meeting was tumultuous. I suggest that the word "intempts" (p. 156), although clearly so written in the MS., must be intended for "interrupts" spelt "interupts."

In the Norwich case, 1683 (pp. 169-193), most of the prisoners were charged with an unlawful assembly. The reference to the other Act against conventicles not extending to imprisonment (p. 178) is of course to the Conventicle Act, 1670. The threat of banishment seems to refer to the Quaker Act, 1662, while "the oath" is no doubt the oath of allegiance, refusal of which involved a *praemunire*. P. 65 has another reference to proceedings under this branch of the subject.

Sect. 15.—Finding a Man for the Militia.

There are two references to fines for refusing to find a man for the militia. See pp. 308, 314. This would be under the elaborate Militia Act, 14 Car. 2, cap. 3.

Sect. 16.—Refusing Tithes and other Ecclesiastical Demands.

I have left this complicated subject till the last. Its importance is considerable, since the refusal of Friends to pay tithes and church rates entailed much suffering in both the Commonwealth and the Restoration periods, and when the Toleration Act, 1 W. & M., st. 1, cap. 18, put an end to the persecution of Protestant Dissenters, it was expressly provided that nothing therein contained should exempt Dissenters from paying tithe or other parochial dues, nor from any prosecution in any ecclesiastical court, or elsewhere, for the same.

Contumacious refusal to pay tithe according to the sentence of the ecclesiastical judge enabled him to complain to two Justices of the Peace, who could commit to prison until surety was given to obey the sentence of the ecclesiastical judge.¹⁸

St. 2 & 3 Edw. 6, cap. 13, provided further for the payment of tithes, offerings, and dues, and enabled the ecclesiastical judge to excommunicate a person disobeying his sentence, and, after publication of the excommunication for forty days in the parish church, he could require process *de excommunicato capiendo*¹⁹ to be issued from the temporal courts. Under the provisions of St. 5 Eliz. cap. 23, this writ enabled the offender to be imprisoned until the sentence was obeyed. The same St. 2 & 3 Edw. 6, cap. 13, gave the courts power to decree certain penalties and forfeitures in cases of detention or subtraction of tithes (extending in some cases to treble value). For cases under these heads, see pp. 51, 53 (the "impropriator" was the lay-owner of tithes who often "farmed" them to some other person), 54, 60, 69 (Besse, i. 128, says that Francis Howard, at the Assizes, obtained judgment against the Friends for treble damages, whereupon, to satisfy demands of £3 4s., goods worth £39 5s. were taken), 73, 98, 114 ("small tithes" are such things as plants, herbs, flax, hemp), 122, 123, 224, 225, 270, 306, 308, 309 (a case of contumacy), 310, 313, 314.

¹⁸ See St. 27 Hen. 8, cap. 20, and 32 Hen. 8, cap. 7.

¹⁹ *i.e.*, for apprehending an excommunicated person.

Although the Toleration Act gave no protection against ecclesiastical demands, some relief was afforded in 1696 by St. 7 & 8 W. 3, cap. 34, and following Acts of similar tenor, which, in the case of Quakers refusing to pay tithes or church-rate, authorised two Justices to ascertain what was due, and levy the same by distress. This summary method of recovery practically superseded the tedious and oppressive proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts.

The various enactments relating to the recovery of tithes are conveniently given in *A Digest of Legislative Enactments relating to the Society of Friends*, by Joseph Davis, 2nd ed., pp. 56-67.

Sect. 17.—The Toleration Act.

By the Act 1 W. & M., st. 1, cap. 18, entitled "An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws," the operation of the persecuting laws against Nonconformists was suspended, provided they attended an assembly certified as the Act required, and took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or in the case of dissenters who scrupled the taking of an oath, subscribed the declarations thereby provided. Nonconformist disabilities in several directions still continued, but substantial toleration was henceforth secured. The Act is given in *Besse*, Preface, pp. xlvi.-lii.

“Going Naked a Sign.”

BY THE EDITOR.

Although often charged by their opponents with neglect of the Scriptures, the early Friends were great students of the Bible, and they were diligent in carrying out its precepts in word as also in deed.

As they read of the doings of the Hebrew prophets in Israel—how, in obedience to the command of God, Isaiah removed sackcloth and shoe and walked naked and bare-foot three years for a sign and a wonder, and how Ezekiel was set for a sign unto the house of Israel,¹ their souls were fired with a desire to repeat the sign in their day.

The form taken by these sermons-in-action varied considerably.

Robert Barclay, the learned author of *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, believed it right “to pass through three of the principal streets of Aberdeen, clothed in sackcloth,” and when this was accomplished, he wrote *A Seasonable Warning to the Inhabitants of Aberdeen* (1672), in which occur the words, “The Command of the Lord concerning this thing came unto me that very Morning as I awakened, and the Burden thereof was very Great; yea, seemed almost insupportable unto me (for such a thing, until that very moment, had never entered me before, not in the most remote Consideration). And some, whom I called to declare to them this thing, can bear witness how great was the Agony of my Spirit, how I besought the Lord with tears, that this Cup might pass away from me! And this was the end, to call you to Repentance by this signal and singular Step, which I,

¹ Isa. viii. 18; xx; Ezek. xii. 6; xxiv. 24; Micah i. 8.

as to my own Will and Inclination, was as *unwilling* to be found in, as the *worst* and the *wickedest* of you can be averse from receiving, or laying it to heart.”²

Similar instances occur not infrequently in early Quaker literature. We read of Thomas Aldam tearing his cap into pieces before Oliver Cromwell, of a woman breaking a jug in the sight of the Parliament, of Robert Huntington appearing in a Carlisle church with a white sheet and halter round him, of Richard Sale with lantern and candle in another church, of Thomas Ibbits loosing his clothes and scattering his money in the streets of London, of Solomon Eccles with a pan of burning coals and brimstone on his head, and of George Fox himself, without sight or hearing, “as a sign to such as would not see, and such as would not hear the truth.”³

But the most noticeable symbolic action some of the early Friends felt called upon to take was the partial or entire uncovering of the body. As this action has been the subject of much criticism, it is important to ascertain how it was viewed by the leaders of the Quaker movement and to what extent it was practised.

In his *Journal*, George Fox has several references to nudity, the first as early as 1652, and in no case does he appear to condemn the action.⁴ In *A Short Relation Concerning the Life and Death of . . . William Simpson* (1671), there is a brief testimony by George Fox, which is here presented to the reader in a slightly condensed form:—

“This *William Simpson* was a faithful Servant and Prophet of the Lord to the Nations . . . He went three years *Naked* and in *Sackcloth*, in the days of *Oliver* and his *Parliament*, as a Sign to *them*, and to the *Priests*, shewing how God would *Strip* them of their *Power*, and that they should be as *Naked as he was*,

² *Truth Triumphant*, 1692, p. 105. At the close of this paper there is a reply by R. Barclay to some queries on the subject of the sign, sent by some person to a Friend, of Aberdeen. See also *Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, pt. ii., chap. v.

³ *The Journal of George Fox*, i. 446, 503; ii. 55, 71, 131; Sewel's *History*.

⁴ *Journal*, i. 153, 469, 502; ii. 71.

and should *be stript* of their *Benifices*. All which came to pass after King *Charles* the Second came in. And moreover he was made oftentimes to colour his face *black*, and so *black* they should be and appear so to people, for all their great profession. And then when it came to pass, he was made to *put on his clothes again*, who was made before many times to go through *Markets*, to *preists-houses*, and to *great Mens-houses*, and *Magistrates-houses*, and to *Cambridge*, *stark naked*. And the *Mayor of Cambridge* put his Gown about him, being sensible there was something in the thing. And he was made to go through *London naked*, and he was obedient unto the heavenly command, and often ventured his *Life* and it was *given up* : who many times did receive *many stripes upon his naked body* with Thorn Bushes, so that when his *service was done*, Freinds were forst to pluck the Thorns out of his flesh : But he was caried over all by the *mighty power of God*."

We cannot believe that George Fox would have written of his friend and fellow-traveller in this way, if he had disapproved of that for which Simpson was specially noted, and about which the latter wrote in his tract, *Going Naked a Sign* ; and, as has been pointed out in THE JOURNAL (ii. 85), Simpson continued active in the service of Truth.

James Nayler mentions this subject in a paper inserted between two pieces by Francis Howgill, in *A Woe against the Magistrates, Priests and People of Kendall*, 1654. He says, " You take occasion to Preach and Print against the truth, because the Lord hath caused some of his servants to go naked along your streets, as in *Kendal* and *Kirkby-stephen* . . . who act such things contrary to their own wils."⁵

Solomon Eccles expressed himself thus, " I can truly say this, That I have strove much, and besought the Lord, that this going naked might be taken from me, before ever I went a Sign at all."⁶ This Friend was one of George Fox's companions on his American journey, and must, therefore, as pointed out by John W. Graham in THE JOURNAL (ii. 86), have been in unity and good esteem.

⁵ See also his *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 1655, p. 48.

⁶ *Signes are from the Lord*, 1663, broadside, which gives a full account of his experiences in Smithfield and elsewhere. See Pepys's *Diary*.

Richard Farnsworth discussed with Priest Chester, of Wetherley, whether Isaiah's words were to be taken literally or not, and strongly asserted that they implied action not vision.⁷

When Walter Ellwood “began to reckon up a Bead-Roll of Faults against the *Quakers*, telling me [his son, Thomas] *that they were an immodest, shameless People, and that one of them stript himself stark-naked, and went in that unseemly manner about the Streets,*” Thomas Ellwood does not attempt to dissociate himself from these people, but refers to the example of Isaiah, adding, “‘How know we but that this *Quaker* may be a Prophet too, and might be commanded to do as he did, for some Reason which we understand not.’”⁸

The cases given in *F.P.T.* pp. 71 (John Watson in Carlisle), 213 (William Simpson in Oxford), 259 (Elizabeth Fletcher in Oxford),⁹ 308 (Richard Robinson), are not adversely commented upon by the writers, though the period at which they wrote was long after the events recorded.

George Whitehead, at a still later date, writes, “*As to going Naked*; it has been no general Practice among the People called *Quakers*; ’twas but very few, who many Years since were concerned therein, as Signs to those Hypocrites who covered themselves under an empty Profession of Religion, *and not of the Spirit of the Lord, that they might add Sin to Sin*, Isa. xxx. i. The Shame of whose Nakedness, the *Lord's Truth* made more and more appear, even in those Days; and therefore I believe he set some as Signs and Wonders against them; altho’ I cannot excuse every one in that Case, to have a Divine Call, to make themselves such Spectacles to the World; Yet I believe some were called to be such Signs and Wonders to the World, both of old, and since Apostacy prevailed. 1 *Sam.* xix. 24; *Isa.* xx. 2, 3, 4; *Micah* i. 8.”¹⁰

Possibly George Whitehead under-estimated the number

⁷ *Spiritual Man*, 1655, p. 25.

⁸ *History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*. See notes in the Crump and Graveson editions.

⁹ See THE JOURNAL, iii. 58.

¹⁰ *Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 226.

of those who "made themselves spectacles." In 1661, William Lowther writes from Swillington, Yorks, to Sir E. Nicholas, Secretary of State, "In all the great towns, Quakers go naked on market-days through the town, crying, 'Woe to Yorkshire,' and declare strange doctrine against the Government, some officers being amongst them."¹¹

I have just turned up the following in a letter from Thomas Holme to Margaret Fell, dated "from the palas of Chester, 28 day 6 mo" [1655]:—¹²

"Vpon the 15th day of the 6 month, the word of the lord came vnto mee, & said J shuld goe A signe in this Cittie; & as J was comanded soe J did. J went to the hy way naked, & great dread fell vpon many harts. J sufered sum percutation, stripes, stones, & durt cast vpon mee, but by the mighty power of the lord J was keep from harme. Sence that time they iniquety of this Cittie J haue borne, which borthen was hevey, but J am clear in my obedience to the lord, & ther blood bee vpon ther owen head. Edward Morgan was put in they dungen for goeing Along they street with mee, when J was A signe."

Other similar instances will doubtless be brought to light, as research proceeds.

Living in other and different times, it is very difficult to estimate such actions as these in their true light. We shall, I think, agree with the words of Samuel M. Janney,¹³ "It would be extremely unjust to apply to all the actions of former generations the standard of propriety now adopted in enlightened nations; for, although the cardinal principles of morality have been nearly the same among good people in all ages, there has been a vast difference in their manners and their ideas of decorum. The few instances of indecorum among the Early Friends may well be pardoned, when we reflect that they lived in an age when, by order of the public authorities, and for no other offence than religious dissent, worthy men and virtuous women were stripped to the waist, and cruelly scourged in the public streets, both in England and America."

¹¹ *State Papers, Domestic, 1660-61*, p. 472.

¹² *D. Swarthmore MSS.* iv.

¹³ *History of Friends*, i. 476.

Other references to this subject may be found in:—

Higginson's *Brief Relation*, 1653; *The Querers and Quakers Cause*, 1652, 1653; Welde's *Perfect Pharise*, 1654; *The Quacking Mountebanck*, 1655; Blome's *Questions Propounded*, 1659, and *Fanatick History*, 1660; Smith's *Gag for the Quakers*, 1659; Danson's *Quakers Wisdom*, 1659; Hubberthorne and Nayler, *Short Answer to Fanatic History*, 1660; *Hell Broke Loose*, 1660; *Snake in the Grass*; *Birds of a Feather*, 17..; *Saul's Errand to Damascus*, 1728; Fuller's *Church History*, chap. viii.; Greer's *Quakerism*, 1851; Marsden's *Churches and Sects*, i. 431; Stoughton's *William Penn*, 1882; Bickley's *George Fox*, 1884; Hallowell's *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, 1887; Taylor's *Cameos from the Life of George Fox*, 1907.

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Note.

In the General Index the names of Friends introduced in the preceding pages as First Publishers are inserted in capitals, as ALLEN, JOHN.¹

The names of those who received the Publishers and their message are given in small capitals, as ADAMSON, GEORGE.¹

Other Friends mentioned appear in ordinary type.

Non-Friends are distinguished, so far as possible, by such description as "constable," "mayor," and the like.

References in heavy-faced type denote pages on which some biographical details are given, as 37, **38**, 109n.

A full *index rerum* has not been attempted, but some subjects of importance have been introduced.

For references to religious subjects, and including Friends' views, see under Baptism; Bible, The; Grace before Meals; Honour; Light Within; Ministers; Music; Oaths; Prayer; Silence in Worship; Singing; Sermons; Theological Passages; Tithes; War; Week-day Meetings; Women's Meetings.

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¹ It has not been always easy to determine the position of the Friends referred to, especially where references are slight. Fuller knowledge may require some adjustment of description.

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