

Frontispiece.

SKEGBY VILLAGE.

[See p. vi.]

ELIZABETH HOOTON

FIRST QUAKER WOMAN PREACHER

(1600-1672)

BY

EMILY MANNERS

WITH NOTES, ETC., BY

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London :

HEADLEY BROTHERS, Bishopsgate, E.C.

American Agents :

DAVID S. TABER, 144 East 20th Street, New York.

VINCENT D. NICHOLSON, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.

GRACE W. BLAIR, Media, Pa.

1914.

**This volume is issued
as Supplement 12 to
THE JOURNAL OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

Preface

THE Notes collected by the late Mary Radley, of Warwick, for her contemplated "Life of Elizabeth Hooton" seem to indicate a work of much wider scope than I have attempted. Since her research commenced many notable works on the rise of the Society of Friends have been issued which cover the investigations made by her. I have therefore endeavoured to bring together in a collected form the scattered fragments of Elizabeth Hooton's history, which are to be found up and down, together with many of her letters, or extracts from them, which I believe have never before been published.

Many kind friends have materially assisted in the work, and I desire gratefully to acknowledge their services here: to Norman Penney, F.S.A., and the staff at Devonshire House, London, without whose invaluable help I could not have compiled the little history; to Mrs. Dodsley of Skegby Hall, for her search of the Skegby Manor Rolls, and the Church Registers, also for the illustration of the village which she kindly lent for reproduction; to A. S. Buxton, Esq., for various notes connected with the history of the district and for his unfailing help and interest in the work; to Mrs. Mary G. Swift, of Millbrook, New York, for notes of various authorities; to my cousin, Ethel Barringer, for her sketch of Lincoln Castle Gateway; and to my daughter, Rachel L. Manners, for her photograph of Beckingham Church and her suggestions and advice generally.

For New England History I have drawn largely on Dr. Rufus M. Jones's recent book, *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, and for the account of the Quaker persecution in that country my authority has been *New England Judged*, 1703 edition.

Edenbank,
Mansfield.

EMILY MANNERS.

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This, with some fragments of the old wall, and a small, strongly-built structure, supposed to have been a dungeon and known as Cobb's Hall, is all that remains of the old Castle. The area of the fortress is now occupied by the County Hall and a building now disused, which was the County Gaol.

Key to Abbreviations

D.==The Friends' Reference Library, at Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

A.R.B. MSS.==A collection of two hundred and fifty Letters of early Friends, 1654 to 1688, so named because worked over by Abram Rawlinson Barclay in 1841. In **D.**

Camb. Jnl.==*The Journal of George Fox*, Cambridge ed., 1911.

D.N.B.==*Dictionary of National Biography*, 68 vols., 1885-1904.

F.P.T.==“*The First Publishers of Truth*,” being early Records (now first printed) of the Introduction of Quakerism into the Counties of England and Wales. Edited for the Friends Historical Society by Norman Penney, with Introduction by Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L., D.Litt., 1907.

Jnl. F.H.S.==The quarterly Journal of the Friends Historical Society, commencing 1903.

Spence MSS.==A collection of seventeenth century MSS. belonging to Robert Spence, of London. 3 vols. Deposited in **D.**

Swarth. MSS.==A Collection of about fourteen hundred letters, papers, etc. of the seventeenth century. In **D.**

CHAPTER I

Early Service in England

Travelling on through some parts of Leicestershire and into Nottinghamshire, I met with a tender people, and a very tender woman whose name was Elizabeth Hooton.

Journal of George Fox.

SUCH is our introduction to the earliest convert of George Fox : one who was destined to travel far in the service of Truth and whose steadfastness, determination, fearlessness and patience are unconsciously revealed in the numerous letters which she wrote. No insignificant place was hers in the long and bitter struggle for religious liberty, and her life's story has left an indelible mark on the history of the beginnings of the Society of Friends.

Little is known of her early life. Crœse says :¹

In this same Fiftieth Year, Elizabeth Hooton, born and living in Nottingham, a Woman pretty far advanced in Years, was the first of her Sex among the Quakers who attempted to imitate Men and Preach, which she now (in this year) commenced.

After her Example, many of her Sex had the confidence to undertake the same Office.

This woman afterwards went with George Fox into New-England, where she wholly devoted her self to this Work; and after having suffered many Affronts from that People, went into Jamaica, and there finished her Life.

An exhaustive examination of the Nottinghamshire Parish Registers shows that the name of Hooton is not an uncommon one and appears in many different places.

¹ *The General History of the Quakers*, by Gerard Crœse, 1696, pt. 1, p. 37.

Ollerton, however, a village situated about eight miles north of Mansfield, seems to have been the home of the family, and here we find definite traces of Elizabeth Hooton. Amongst the names of the owners of Ollerton in 1612, given by Robert Thoroton,¹ an early Nottinghamshire historian, is Robert Hooton, and in 1631 the Parish Register shows that "Robert Hooton Paterfamilias" died. On 11th May, 1628, a certain Oliver Hooton married Elizabeth Carrier; it is uncertain whether this Elizabeth was the convert to Quakerism, for from further entries in the record of Baptisms and Burials it seems probable that there were two men of the same name living in the parish at that time, and in 1629 the wife of one whose name was Elizabeth died: it is clear, however, that later on an Oliver and Elizabeth Hooton were living in Ollerton, for there on 4th May, 1633, "Samuell s. of Oliver and Elizabeth Hooton" was baptized.

Hardly a trace of the seventeenth century village of Ollerton remains except the ancient churchyard; in 1797 Throsby² describes Ollerton as follows:

This lordship belongs to the hon. Lumley Savile of Rufford Abbey. It contains about 1,300 acres of land enclosed. Many hops are grown hereabouts. This place has a little market on Friday, and two fairs, one on May day, and the other the 26th of September for hops; in which month there is a kind of market or hop club every Tuesday. The town contains about 600 inhabitants. The bridge here like many others was thrown down (or blown up as it is called) in the flood of 1795. The church, or rather chapel, is small and is newly built, consequently no food there for the mind of the antiquary; but at the Hop-pole, near the church, I have more than once after journeying from village to village completely tired, found comfortable refreshment for the body.

The principal inn still bears the name of "The Hop-pole"—all that remains to tell of the vanished industry,

¹ Dr. Robert Thoroton, J.P. (1623-1678), published his *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* in 1677. He appears in Besse's *Sufferings* as a persecutor of Friends in Notts.

D.N.B.; Cropper, *Sufferings*, 1892, quoting Brown's *Worthies of Nottinghamshire*.

² John Throsby (1740-1803) republished Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, with additions, in 1790. He wrote also on Leicestershire.

but the ancient forest still surrounds the village, and the quiet stream flows gently on as in the time long past.

Between the years 1633 and 1636 Oliver and Elizabeth Hooton appear to have migrated to Skegby, a village about four miles west of Mansfield. The Parish Registers there show that in 1636 "Thomas [?] ye sonne of Olive Hooton and Elizabeth" was baptized, and in the years 1639 and 1641 the names of John and Josiah appear. There is no entry of the births of her two children, Oliver and Elizabeth, so possibly they were born at Ollerton between the years 1633 and 1636, when no entries appear in those Registers.

The owners of the village of Skegby in 1612 were stated by Thoroton to be "William Lyndley Gent : Lord of the Mannor, Roger Swinstone, Clark, Richard Tomlinson, William Butler, Francis Swinstone, Will. Osborne, James Cowper of Tibshelf, Thomas Jackson of Askham," and as the name of Hooton does not appear on the Manor Rolls it is evident Oliver Hooton did not own the property on which he settled. In 1650 Thomas Lyndley of Skegby was appointed a Commissioner to assess the fines of confiscated Royalist estates. Thomas Lyndley applied for and received a licence for the holding of Divine service in part of his house. This particular building still remains (1914) and is now used as a laundry for Skegby Hall.

Francis Chapman, in his return made in accordance with the order issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury, July 1669, "to enquire after all Conventicles, or unlawful meetings under pretence of religion and the worship of God, by such as separate from the unitie and conformitie of the Church as by law established,"¹ says :

In reply to your worshipful Archdeacon's letter, I know nothing but this : that in Mansfield Woodhouse we have no conventicle but one of Quakers, at the house of Robert Bingham (excommunicated for not comynge to church) but who they are who frequent it I cannot say. At Skegby, alsoe, there is a conventicle of Quakers at the house of Elizabeth Hatton [Hutton]

¹ See *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, compiled by G. Lyon Turner, 1911, iii. 13. See other references to E. Hooton, i. 155, ii. 725, iii. 744. Chapman was Vicar of Mansfield Woodhouse.

widow ; but I cannot learn who they are who frequent them, they being all of other towns. In the same town of Skegby, alsoe, there is another conventicle, reputed Anabaptists and fifth monarchy men, held at Mr. [Mrs.] Lyndley's (excommunicate also) but I know neither their speakers or hearers.

Possibly it was with these last-named people Elizabeth Hooton associated before her meeting with George Fox, for it is evident from the following¹ that she had dissociated herself from the Church before that time and joined a Baptist community :

Oliver Hutton Saith

And my Mother Joyned with y^e Baptists but after some time finding them y^t they were not upright hearted to y^e Lord but did his work negligently and she haveing testified ag^t their deceit Left y^m who in those parts soon after were scatered & gone : about the year 1647 George ffox Came amongst them in Nottinghamshire & then after he went into Lestershire where y^e mighty power of y^e Lord was manifest that startled their former separate meeting & some Came noe more but most y^t were Convinced of y^e truth stood of w^{ch} my mother was one and Jmbraced itt :

Oliver Hutton
writes in his
hystory pag : 46:

Soe here you may see y^t they were Called Baptists and Separates not Children of y^e Light till after G : ff : had preached y^e Light of y^e Gospell to them & they Received itt.

The memorable meeting with George Fox in 1646-7 changed the whole tenour of her life. At first she met with opposition at home.

Her husband (says Fox in his Testimony concerning her)²

being Zealous for y^e Priests much opposed her, in soe much that they had like to have parted but at Last it pleased y^e

¹ MS. in D. This piece is endorsed : " Oliver Huttons Certificate Concerning G : ff : " ; and is among other similar certificates which were read at the Second Day's Meeting, 16 xii. 1686/7. " Oliver Hutton's hystory " does not appear to have survived. See Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 1912, pp. 43, 44.

² MS. in D. entitled : " A Testimony Concerning our Dear ffriend and Sister in y^e Lord Elizabeth Hutton," dated 1690, but not in Fox's writing.

Lord to open his understanding that hee was Convinced alsoe & was faithfull untill Death.

But clearly her faithfulness had its reward, for he further adds:

She had Meetings at her house where y^e Lord by his power wrought many Myracles to y^e Astonishing of y^e world & Confirming People of y^e Truth w^{ch} she there Received about 1646.

During these years Fox appears to have spent much time in Mansfield and the neighbourhood, and in his *Journal* at this period are noted some of his deepest religious experiences. Here was revealed to him that over the sorrow and suffering, the sin and pain, of the world, —“ the ocean of darkness and death,” as he termed it, there for ever flowed the infinite ocean of God’s light and love; and this perception brought added strength, for he tells us, “ I had great openings ”; and who can doubt that this deeper spiritual experience and its resultant strength proved an inspiration to his early disciple?

The rapid development of the Mansfield of to-day has brought many changes, and but little remains to remind one of the seventeenth century town. The “ steeple house ” mentioned by Fox has been restored but its interesting features have been preserved; near it there still stands on old house, a survival of the past in the midst of modern surroundings, which was undoubtedly in existence when he walked “ by the steeple house side in Mansfield.” Hard by lived Elizabeth Heath, that benefactress to the town whose thoughtful charity has brightened the lives of so many aged pensioners. Though it does not appear that she ever openly joined the followers of Fox, she still held their honesty and probity in such high esteem that she appointed all the trustees of her charity from amongst them, and to-day the trust is still administered by members of the Society of Friends.¹

¹ For an illustrated article on Elizabeth Heath (d. 1693) and her charity see *Journal F.H.S.* x.

In the year 1649 George Fox suffered imprisonment at Nottingham and in his "Short Journall"¹ we read: "There came a Woman to mee to the Prison & two wth her and said y^t shee had been possessed two and thirty years." He goes on to describe her symptoms and how "the Priests had kept her, and had kept fasting days about her, and could not do her any good." After his release from prison he bade "friends have her to Mansfield." Her conduct there was apparently so extraordinary that she

would set all friends in a heat and Sweat . . . And so she affrighten'd the World from our meettings; and then they said if that were cast out of her while she were wth us and were made well, Then They would say y^t wee were of God: this said The world. . . . And Then it was upon mee that wee should have a meeting at Skekbey at Elizabeth Huttons house, where wee had her there, and there were many friends almost overcome by her . . . and y^e same day shee was worse then ever shee was.

Another meeting was held and a cure was effected. Then the narrative continues:

Wee kept her about a fortnight in y^e sight of y^e world, and she wrought and did Things and then wee sent her away to her friends. And Then the Worlds Professors Priests & Teachers never could call us any more false prophetts deceivers or witches after but it did a great deal of good in y^e Countrey among People in relaçon to y^e Truth and to y^e stopping the mouths of y^e world & their Slandrous Aspersion.

Shortly after this time Elizabeth Hooton's active ministry commenced and bonds and bitter persecutions awaited her. At Derby in 1651 she suffered imprisonment for "speaking to one of the Priests there, who so resented her Reproof that he applied to the Magistrate to punish her. For it is common with Men who most deserve Reprehension, to be most offended with those who administer it."² Although 1651 is the date given,

¹ MS. in D. endorsed by Fox: "a short jonnall of gff never wer printd," and by another writer: "of Some Short things from ab^t y^e year 1648 to King Charles y^e 2^d Dayes." The MS. is much worn at the edges, but some words have been inserted from a contemporary copy.

² Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, 1753, i. 137.

there is preserved a letter from E. Hooton written from Derby gaol and bearing two endorsements, the first in the handwriting of George Fox: (1) "To the meir of darby from Elliz: hoton 1650." (2) "This was sent to the meir of darby from Goodde hutton." The letter consists entirely of religious exhortations, and is similar to many others bearing her signature. It concludes: "Would you have me put in beale w^{ch} have not trensgrsed your lawe nor mes be haved my selfe—Conseder is this the Good ould way that you was touth [taught?]." It is addressed to "noaH Bullocke of derby in the towne" and is chiefly interesting as the earliest letter of hers known to be in existence, addressed to a public official.¹

There is no record of the length of her imprisonment at Derby but in 1652 she was committed to York Castle for speaking in the Steeple House at Rotherham and remained there for sixteen months. There are interesting allusions to Elizabeth Hooton and her husband in letters from Thomas Aldam² written from York Castle in the above year; he says:³

. . . . We have great friendship and love from y^e governor of the Towne, and many of y^e Souldiers [are very sollid & loveing. Oh his wonderful love and oh the exceeding riches of his grace held forth to vs. to him alone all glorie, honour, and praise, now & for ever; My Sister Elizebeth Hooten remembers her dear love vnto you in y^e lord, and my sister Mary fisher⁴ who was brought to prison from Selbie for speakeing to y^e preist in y^e Steeple house there, she was as servant with Richard Tomlingson of Selbie.

¹ D. (Swarth. MSS. ii. 43)

² The home of Thomas Aldam (c. 1616-1660) was Warmsworth, near Doncaster. His detention in York Castle followed a *contretemps* with the clergyman of this village, Thomas Rookby; he was two and a half years in the Castle. *Short Testimony* by his son, Thomas, 1690; *Piety Promoted*; D.N.B.; Camb. Jnl.

³ D. (Swarth. MSS. i. 373) 1

⁴ Mary Fisher (c. 1623-1698), afterwards Bayly and Cross, became a prominent preacher and traveller. She visited Cambridge and preached to the students, travelled in the West Indies and Eastern Europe, and died in Charlestown, South Carolina. Camb. Jnl.; *Quaker Women*, 1915.

And again :¹

. . . My sister Elizebeth Hooton & I did looke} for
noe Calling to goe before the Judge & Elizabeth husband in the
flesh came to the Assize & went backe againe shortly: the
Justices told him shee might not bee Called here but at their
Sessions : but at the end of their Assizes they called vs all together
to goe before them; . . . an inward peace & rejoicing was
given mee in going up. . . I was made to Cry out, Woe to the
partiall Judge. . . My sisters was made to speake in great
bouldnes at the Bench against the deceite of their Corrupt
Lawes & Governements & deceitfull Preists we are Kept all of
vs in greate friedome in these outward bonds, & the Lord is
psent wth vs in power; to him alone bee praises for ever & ever
. . . Your deare Brethren & Sisters in the Lord,

THO: ALDAM ELIZABETH HOOTON
WILL. PEARES² JANE HOLMES³
 MARY FISHER

There are two letters signed by Elizabeth Hooton which were probably written at this period. The first is as follows :⁴

Deare Freind Cap: Stothers⁵ & the wife: my deare and

¹ D. (Swarth, MSS. iii. 36)

² According to a MS. in D. (Swarth, MSS. iii. 91), William Peares died in York Castle. Fox endorses this scrap of paper: "W peres died in presen at York abought 1654." In the MS. we read: "The cause of his Jmprisonment was, because he was moued to stripe himselfe naked. A ffigure off all the nakedness of the world . . . Jt was the naked that suffered for the naked truth."

In *A Declaration of present Sufferings*, printed 1659, recounting six years of persecution, we have a confirmation of G. F.'s statement: under Yorkshire, "William Peers imprisoned till death for Tithes." (p. 20.)

³ Prior to her incarceration in York Castle, Jane Holmes was one of the Friends whose preaching made such an impression on the town of Malton that "some was caused to burne a great deale of riboning of silkes and braueries and such things" (D. Swarth, MSS. i. 373). While in the Castle her health suffered, and this may partly account for the low spiritual condition into which she fell. The MSS. tell us that the "wilde nature was exalted in her, aboue the seede of god" and "the wilde Eyrie spirit was exalted aboue the Crosse" (Swarth, MSS. iii. 40), resulting in her "going out" from her quondam friends into darkness and obscurity. See Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 1912, pp. 72, 73.

⁴ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 35a)

⁵ Amor Stoddard (d. 1670), frequently styled Captain, was one of Fox's companions on various missionary journeys. He lived in London. His wife died in 1665.

Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meeting*, 1869; Camb. Jnl.

tender love to y^a both, my deare freinds I am moved to writ to you my brethren, y^t wee are well, the lord is pleased to recover me and shew me abundance of his mercy, makeing me acquainted with Satans wiles and Cuning devices, to trap the simple Seed, and to ensnare and bondage the people of god, with his subtil bayts Continually, O deare frends, when the lord hath set you free and brought you into joy, then you thinke you have overcome all, but there is a daiely Crosse to bee taken vp, whilst y^t the fleshly will remaineth, if any of y^t stand vncrucified, the Serpent there getts hould and brings into death, & darkenesse, soe y^t there is a continuall Warfare for there is noe thing obtained but throug Death & Suferings, which is by the power of Faith, which Caryes through all troubles, keepeing Close to it the power of darkenes cannot hurt, but lookeing out to satisfie the will of the flesh, there doth the Serpent get in & tells the Creature of ease, & liberty in the flesh. and say thou needest to take vp the Crosse noe longer, for thou art now come to thy rest, thou may eate & drinke and bee merry & I will give thee joy enough, & thus many a pore soule is drowned and runs on in lightnes & wantonnes, tho become odious both in the sight of god and men, & cause Scandalls to arise against y^e Church, & soe through backeslidiers we are rendered odious to the world putting on y^t which was once put of, disobedience is the beginner of these things: O deare frends beeware & exort others, y^t wee may sit doune in the lowest roome, taking vp the Crosse dayely and foloweing Christ & y^t hee may goe before vs & leade vs at his one pleasure, I have experience of the wiles of Satan, the lord hath exercised mee, but there is noe way but sit doune and submitt to his will, & there is rest and peace.

farewell. my love to Richard Hatter & his wife & to Will :
Tomlinson. your frend ELIZABETH HOOTON

The second of the two letters is a plea on behalf of James Halliday,¹ of Northumberland, imprisoned in York Castle :²

Yo^a that sitt on the Bench doe Justice and Equity to those honest hearted people Called Quakers whome yo^a putt in prison and Call them to the Barr & sett them at Liberty for

¹ James Halliday was a weaver of Allartown, in Northumberland. He travelled frequently with Patrick Livingstone. The date of his detention in York is not found.

² MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 15) endorsed: "El: Hooton to y^e Bench, to set James Holydah free & to call others to y^e Bar & set y^m at liberty."

they have done yo^o noe wrong nor hurt the cause is for worshipping of God as hee requires in Sp' & in Truth that they Suffer—James Holliday who hath Laine in Six Months being A North Country freind the Geoler hath very much Abused By Taking away his Victualls & Beateing of him till hee hath been black & Blew & his Skin broake & soe o^r desire is that yo^o would sett this poore man at Liberty whome the Geoler keepeth for his fees

ELIZABETH HOOTON.

In a very vigorous and lengthy letter¹, endorsed by Fox: "e hoten at the gale at yorke to olefer Cromwell 1653," in which she describes herself as a Prisoner of the Lord at York Castle, she reminds the Protector:

The Lord hath beene pleased to make [the] an Instruement of warr and Victorie; hee hath given the power over thy enemies & ours, hee hath given much into thy hand, & thou hast beene Looked vppon, & sett vpp wth many, and wth my selfe.

She denounces in no measured terms the corruptness of Judges, Magistrates, teachers and clergymen and all officers and gaolers and compares them to Herod and Pontius Pilate; and continues:

Your Judges Judge for reward, And at this Yorke many w^{ch} Committed murder escaped throughe frends & money, & pore people for Lesser facts are put to death; many Lighe in prison for fees yet; they Called their Assize a generall Gaole Deliv'ie, but many was but deliv'ed from the psence of the Judges in to the hands of two greate Tirantes viz^t. the Gaoler & the Clearcke of the Assize & these two keepest many pore Creatures still in prison for fees, the Gaoler hee must have Twenty shillinge four pence for his fee; & the Clearcke of the Assize hee must have fifteene shillings eight pence, & this they will have of pore Creatures; or els they must starve in prison, They Lighe worse then doggs for want of strawe, Many beinge in greate want, that they have not to releeve them wth all; yet these Tirants keepe them in this pore Condiçon The Judges & Magistrates they might as well have put them to death at the Assize as put them into the hands of these two tirants who keepest men for money starveing them in a hole till they be ruined [?] or starved to death.

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 3) Although this letter is signed "Elizabeth Hooton," there are evidences that it is in the handwriting of Thomas Aldam, so it is possible that it may have been partly composed or edited by him.

She next complains of the way she and her fellow sufferers for the Truth are treated and tells the Protector: "Wee have not that Libertie that Paull had of the Heathenish Romans." She then appeals to him as follows:

O man what dost thou there except thou stand for the truth which is trampled under foote Who knowes but thou was Called to deliver thy brethren out of bondage & slaverie, & that the Truth may bee set free to speake freely, wthout money or wthout Prize . . . O frend thou must lighe downe in the dust & Cast thy Crowne at the feete of Jesus, how Can you beleeve that seeke honor one of another & seekes not the honor w^{ch} is of god onely; Distribute to the pore, & Denie thy honor, & take up the Crosse & followe Jesus Christ.

Much more follows in the same strain, mingled with warnings of the woes that will come upon him and the nation generally if justice is not done. The whole is a very good example of the epistolary methods of the period, and at the same time throws an interesting light on the condition of prisoners, and the way Justice was administered—or rather not administered—during the Commonwealth.

A Tract entitled, *False Prophets and false Teachers described*, signed by Thomas Aldam, Elizabeth Hooton, William Pears, Benjamin Nicholson,¹ Jane Holmes, and Mary Fisher; "Prisoners of the Lord at York Castle, 1652," is an eloquent testimony to their unceasing activity in Truth's service.²

Another detailed account of this imprisonment is given in a further letter, sealed and directed: "ffor Capt Stodard at his house in Long Aley in more fields this d d d in London." E. Hooton writes:³

¹ As with William Peares, so with Benjamin Nicholson, the rigours of York Castle, though unable to reduce the spirit, proved too strong for the enfeebled body. Benjamin Nicholson died there in 1660. His home was Tickhill near Doncaster.

² Two copies are in D. An interesting and curious production, and badly printed. On page 3 we read: "You do not read in all the Holy Scriptures, that any of the Holy men of God were Cambridge or Oxford Scollers, or Universitie men, or called Masters; but (on the contrary), they were plain men, and laboured with their hands, and taught freely, as they had received it freely from the Lord."

³ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 5)

Deare friends [*paper torn*] unto you Concerning {y^e assise but we 3 sisters were not Called, but they keepe us still in prison, with the Rest of oure brethren, 3 of them was Called, but the corrupt Judge sett fines vpon them, for Comeing wth their hatts on, but they keepe y^e truth murdred, in a whole & will not suffered it to speake in shutting us vp, what y^e truth should be declared, Some of our brethren was bold & did speake freely to them, but my bro: Thomas [Aldam] they would not let him stay nor sufer him to speake, but we are maide to Rest in y^e will of god . . . if we would submitt to their wills, then would they take of our fines, but we dare not deny y^e lord, for at y^e time y^e he hath apointed he will sett vs fre, from vnder y^e bondage of men, but our fredom is wth y^e father & y^e sone, whom y^e sone hath maide fre is fre indeede . . . O noble Captaine y^e lord hath manifested his love to the, & he hath maide the an instrument of good to his people, now it stands y^e vpon to stand vp for the leberly of y^e gospell, y^e them y^e hath frely Received it, may have fredome to preach itt, & hold it out to y^e world, y^e hierlings may be putt downe & have no more hier, for they through there deceits deceives y^e people & Raises vp y^e Magestraites for persecution, for they, y^e Clergy & y^e gentry, hath y^e lande betwixt them, & y^e people of god & y^e power doe they persecute & treade vnder feete, & those Corrupt Magestraits w^{ch} knowes noe true Justice, keepes y^e poore people in bondage & psecutes according to their own will, many of vs are put heare in prison, not ofending their owne way, Consider of these things and as thou art moved soe speake to y^e generall [Cromwell] y^e y^e truth may be sett fre, though we be willing to waite the lords laysure. I did sende some letters to y^e generall, & would know whether they ever was seene, or noe, & one to y^e Parlemt, I would know w^t became of them, whether they were brought to light or noe, any of them.

ELIZABETH HOOTON,
A prisoner of y^e lord in Yorke Castle.

At what period her liberation from York Castle took place is as yet undetermined—on the 11th June, 1653, she wrote from the Castle to George Fox,¹ but when free, undeterred by this imprisonment, she went forward in her religious service. Here follow some glimpses of her further labour and suffering.

¹ See photo reproduction of this letter. Fox has endorsed it: 1655, but we think 1653 must be the date; the Author's unit figure is not very clear.

Margaret Killam¹, writing to George Fox, in 1653, says:²

I was moued of the lord to goe to Cambridge, & I went by Newarke side & was att a meetinge uppon the first day there, & I was moued to goe to the Steeplehouse & I was kept in Silence whilst their teacher had done, & hee gaued ouer in subtilty, a litle, & after began againe, thinkinge to haue ensnred mee, but in the wisdome of god I was pserved, & did not speake untill hee was come downe out of the place. . . His hearers were uery silent & attentiu to heare & did confesse itt was the truth w^{ch} was spoken to them, & was troubled att their Teacher y^t hee fled away. Itt was the same w^{ch} did Imprison Elizabeth Hooton, & did ensnare her by his craft, & hee had told them if any came & spoke in meeknesse hee would heare.

Besse has no record of the above-mentioned imprisonment of Elizabeth Hooton, so possibly it was not of long duration.

In the year 1654 George Fox says: "I came to Balby; from whence several Friends went with me into Lincolnshire; of whom some went to the steeple-houses and some to private meetings."³

From the following interesting entry in an early Lincolnshire minute book⁴ it appears likely that John Whitehead⁵ and Elizabeth Hooton were of this company:

In the beginning of the Ninth Month in the yeare 1654 John Whitehead first came to preach the Light within, & for beareing Testimony in the High Place called the Minster in Lincoln that

¹ Margaret Killam was wife of John Killam, of Balby, Yorks. She was a great traveller and sufferer for the Truth.

² D. Swarth. MSS. i. 2. Margaret Killam, writing to George Fox, in 1654, mentions holding a meeting at "Oliuer Hoottens," also one at "Thomas Brockshaws att Mansfild side," and continues: "And soe as the lord directs to send ouer sum frends it may bee of greate seruice there abouts; and to Mansfild side, for there is much deadnes ther awaies (Swarth. MSS. i. 374). There is mention of another meeting at Oliver Hooton's, at Skegby, in 1653 (D. Swarthmore MSS. iii. 52).

³ *Journal of George Fox*, bi-cent. ed. i. 197.

⁴ This MS. is the property of Broughton, Gainsborough and Spalding Monthly Meeting. See *F.P.T.* 152.

⁵ John Whitehead (1630-1696) was a Yorkshireman in early life and afterwards resided at Fiskerton, near Lincoln. See *Camb. Jnl.*

it is the Light of the Glorious Gospell 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 Walcott who then was in Commission to have kept the peace; but brake it by striking of the said John Whitehead with his owne hands, w^{ch} so encouraged the Rude People, that so far as could be seene they had slaine the said John, but that God stirred some Souldiers to take him by fforce 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. She was Imprisoned againe by procurement of the same priest at Lincoln Castle in Ninth Month 1655 for speaking to him after the Exercise was done, & at that time kept prisoner eleven or twelve weeks.

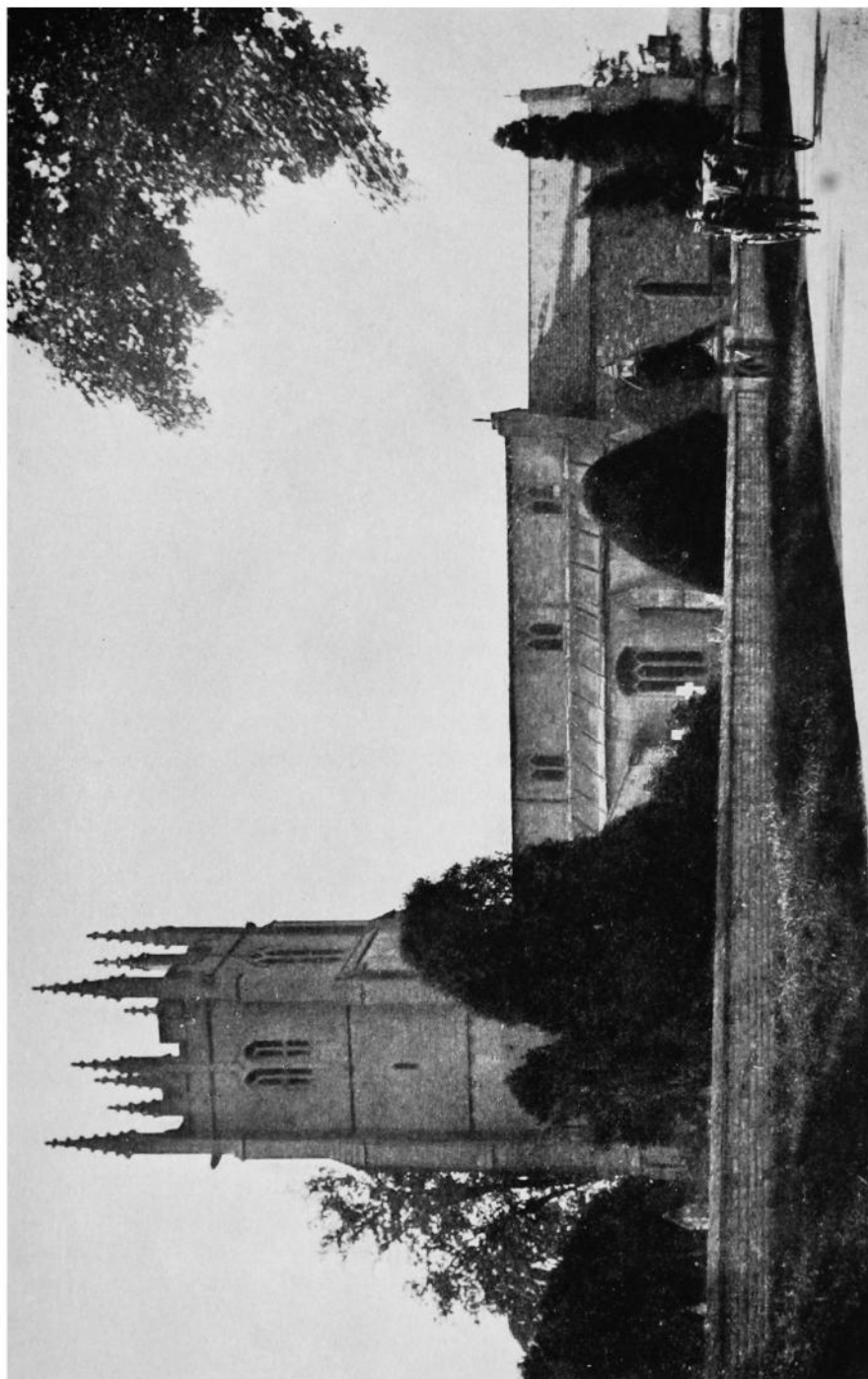
According to Besse, E. Hooton was the first sufferer for the Truth in Lincolnshire.¹

There is an imperfect letter from Elizabeth Hooton in existence, which, though undated, appears to belong to this period and naturally finds a place here. It is endorsed: "E. H. Prisoner in Lincolne Castle, pleads to him in Authority to reforme the abuses of y^e Goal," and contains a striking description of the state of the gaols of the Commonwealth and of the many abuses connected with their management.² Her protests against strong drink, her plea for the separation of the sexes and for the employment of the prisoners reads more like an appeal from Elizabeth Fry two centuries later.

O thou that artt sett in Authority to doe Justice and Judg-
mente, and to lett the oppressed goe free, thease things are required
att thy hands, looke vpon the pore prissonors, heare is that hath
not an[y] [al]lowance all though thear be a greatte sume of mony
comes out of the country suffic[ien]tt to hellpe them all that is
in want, booth theare dew allowance and to sett them aworke
which would labor, And those that are sentt hether for deb[ts]
that theare rates for beds, which is ten grots the weeke may be
taken downe [*paper torn*] at to reasonable raites, And theare
beare which is sould at such an vnreasonab[le] [*paper torn*] thear

¹ *Suff.* i. 346.

² MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 37)



To face p. 14]

BECKINGHAM CHURCH.

[*See* p. vi.]

meseuers being so extreame littell that itt may be amendid [*paper torn*] and equity, for many pore detters is sett in heare for a small dett and [*paper torn*] a great deale of the score fare more then thear dette. And it is [? a place of g]reate disorder and of wickednes, so that for oppression and prophaines J neuer came in such a place, because a milignant woman keeps the gole.

Opprission in meat and in drinke and in feese, and in that which they call garnishes, and in many other thinges, And J my selfe am much abused, booth hir and hir prissonars, and hir houshold, so that J cannott walke quiatly abroad but be abused with those that belonge vnto hir. When a drunken preist comes to reade command praire, or to preach aftar his owne in vention or Jmmaginations, then thay locke me up, and all the rest are comanded to come forth to heare, and so is keptt in blindnes.

And so in drinking and profaines and wantonnes, men and women to gether many times partte of the night, which grefes the spiritt of god in me night and day. This is required of the o man, to reforme this place, as thy power and Authority doth alow, ether remove strong drinke out of this place or remove the Golar, seckondly that theare rates for theare beds may be taken down. That theare garnishes and theare greate fese may be taken of, and thease oppresed prissonors may come to some hearing, such as is wrongfully prissoned, And that theare may be some beter order amongst the men and woman which is prissonars to keepe them assunder and sett them a worke, and sett them att libbirty that is not able to pay the feese, and to take out the dissordred person, which kipeth all in disorder, in carding and dicinge, and many other vaine sportes, and so J leave itt to thy Conscence to redres the disorders in this rewde place, and so have J discharged my Conscence [*paper torn*] much vpon me, that thou mightest know itt and itt redres.

ELIZEBETH HOUTON,
prisonr in linckoln Castell.

George Fox, after his missionary visit into Lincolnshire, accompanied by Robert Craven, the Sheriff of Lincoln (who had been convinced by his preaching) and by Thomas Aldam, passed into Derbyshire and thence into Nottinghamshire to Skegby, "where," he records, "we had a great meeting of divers sorts of people: and the Lord's power went over them and all was quiet. The people were turned to the spirit of God, by which many came to receive his power, and to sit under the teaching of Christ their Saviour. A great people the Lord hath in

these parts."¹ No mention is made of Elizabeth Hooton, possibly she was in Lincolnshire at the time, but it may be that her fostering care of the infant Church and her unwavering steadfastness to the Truth which she had received had been mainly instrumental in raising up "a great people to the Lord." In 1655 we know she was again in Lincolnshire, but the brief entry in the Lincoln Minute Book appears to be the only record of her labours in that county at this period. She was one of the first Quaker preachers to visit Oxfordshire as evidenced by an early Minute which runs: "Also Eliz Hutton, a good ould woman, came and vised us early."²

In 1657 her husband, Oliver Hooton, died. The entry in the digest of Friends' burial registers preserved at Nottingham reads:

Oliver Hooton died 30 4 1657 Seckbie, Mansfield Mo. Meeting Buried 30 4 1657. Seckbie.

This is confirmed by the Parish Register at Skegby where he is described as the Elder, but there is a slight discrepancy as to day and month, the latter stating he was buried 24th July, 1657.³

At an early date Friends acquired a Burial Ground at Skegby where members of the Society from the district were interred. The entries in the Register show that many Mansfield Friends were buried there, for until Elizabeth Heath gave a piece of ground as a burial place in 1693, Friends of Mansfield had no place of sepulture there.

Quite recently, in the course of repairs to the house at Skegby, which up to 1800 was the property of Friends and was known as the Meeting House, and by some was believed to be the house in which Elizabeth Hooton lived, a stone used as a shelf in the pantry was found on which there were remains of an inscription and the date 1687. An old lady of Skegby, aged ninety-eight, states

¹ *Journal*, bi-cent. ed. i. 198.

² *F.P.T.* 219.

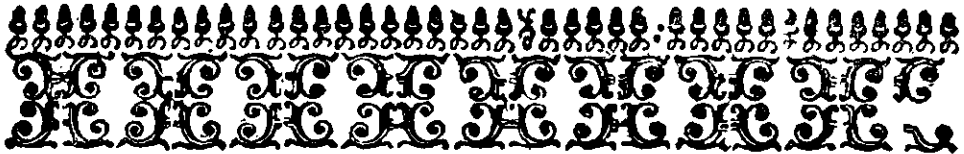
³ It must be remembered that according to the Old Style, the year began with March, which the Quakers designated First Month. Hence Fourth Month was June.

that she fancies she can remember seeing some tombstones in the garden which covers the site of the old graveyard.

No record of Elizabeth Hooton's ministry, or allusion to her, has been found in contemporary documents for the years 1658-1659, but in the early part of the year 1660 she was in Nottinghamshire, and Besse gives the following graphic description of an apparently unprovoked assault on her by Priest Jackson of Selston: "On the 2d of the Month called April, Elizabeth Hooton, passing quietly on the Road, was met by one Jackson, Priest of Selston, who abused her, beat her with many Blows, knockt her down, and afterward put her into the Water."¹

With this incident, the record of her early service in England ends. We next follow her in her perilous journeyings in a distant land.

¹ *Suff.* i. 553.



False Prophets and false Teachers described. 1652.

(see page 11.)

CHAPTER II

First Visit to New England

“Why touch upon such themes?” perhaps some friend
May ask, incredulous; “and to what good end?
Why drag again into the light of day
The errors of an age long passed away?”
I answer: “For the lesson that they teach;
The tolerance of opinion and of speech.
Hope, Faith, and Charity remain—these three;
And greatest of them all is Charity.”

LONGFELLOW, *New England Tragedies*,
Prologue to “Endicott.”

We owe to their heroic devotion the most priceless of our treasures, our perfect liberty of thought and speech; and all who love our country's freedom may well reverence the memory of those martyred Quakers, by whose death and agony the battle in New England has been won.

BROOKE ADAMS, *Emancipation of Massachusetts*.

SIERCE and cruel as was the persecution in England it was far exceeded by the tortures which awaited the first Quaker missionaries in the New World. Barely fifty years earlier the Pilgrim Fathers had left the homeland and gone forth into an unknown wilderness, there to establish freedom of worship; their descendants, by bitter persecution of the Quakers, demonstrated their failure—in spite of their own sufferings—to learn the lesson of religious toleration. The general attitude of those in authority in the Colonies is very well portrayed in the writings of the Rev. Mr. Ward, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1645: “It is said that men ought to have liberty of conscience and that it is *persecution* to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this. It is an astonishment that the brains of a man should be

parboiled in such impious ignorance"; and, further, John Callender, writing in 1739, said that in 1637 "the true Grounds of Liberty of Conscience were not then known or embraced by any Sect or Party of Christians."¹

The early history of the New England Colony shows that, some years before the advent of the Quakers, religious differences had arisen amongst the Colonists, and a certain section of the community had not escaped persecution. Anne Hutchinson, a brave and intrepid woman, had boldly protested against what might almost be termed a purely theological religion and the extreme power which was of necessity vested in the priest, which was the basis of the Puritan faith. Dr. Rufus Jones states the differing points of view very clearly:²

The real issue, as I see it in the fragments that are preserved, was an issue between what we nowadays call "religion of the first-hand type," and "religion of the second-hand type," that is to say, a religion on the one hand which insists on "knowledge of acquaintance" through immediate experience, and a religion on the other hand which magnifies the importance and sufficiency of "knowledge about."

Anne Hutchinson was arraigned before a General Court of all the ministers, held in Boston in 1637. She defended herself with great ability, but without avail, in fact it is very possible that such unusual temerity on the part of a woman may have been largely responsible for the severity of the sentence passed upon her, for she was condemned to banishment and declared excommunicate. As the exiled outcast woman passed sadly down the aisle, one Mary Dyer³ joined her and went forth with her, thus taking the first step on that path of suffering which led, twenty-three years later, to the gallows on Boston

¹ CALLENDER, *Historical Discourse*, Boston, 1739. Both these quotations are taken from *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, by RUFUS M. JONES, London, 1911, p. xxi.

² *Quakers in American Colonies*, p. 8.

³ Mary Dyer (-1660) was the wife of William Dyer, then of Newport, Rhode Island. She was described by George Bishop as "A Comely Grave Woman, and of a goodly Personage, and one of a good Report, having an Husband of an Estate, fearing the Lord, and a Mother of [six] Children (*New England Judged*, 1703, p. 157). Her husband and she emigrated from London to Boston in 1635. See ROGERS, *Mary Dyer*, 1896.

Common. Anne Hutchinson, after sentence of exile had been pronounced, joined her friends. She had a very considerable following in the new Colony of Aquiday, or Aquidneck, now called Rhode Island, which later became for the persecuted Quakers a veritable "little Zoar,"¹ for these early settlers learned the lesson of religious toleration which was reflected in their laws.²

The King's Commissioners, who visited the Colony about 1664, reported that in Rhode Island "all who desire it are admitted freemen. Liberty of conscience and worship is allowed to all who live civilly. They admitted all religions, even Quakers and Generalists, and is generally hated by other Colonies."³

Not only was Rhode Island a city of refuge for the persecuted Quakers, but their message was sympathetically received by many in the Colony. Anne Hutchinson did not live to witness the sufferings of the Quakers, as she and several members of her family were murdered by

¹ CALAMY, *Account of the Ejected Ministers*, i. 481, calls Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, England, a "little Zoar." In the chapel known as the Old Meeting House, in Mansfield, which was built in the year 1702, by the descendants of the congregation which had formerly received the Ejected Ministers, there are two commemorative brasses above the altar, placed there by the late Rev. A. W. Worthington, a former minister, which bear the following inscription: "In memory of the conscientious sacrifice and Christianity of the Rev. Robert Porter, Vicar of Pentrich, the Rev. John Whitlock, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Nottingham, the Rev. William Reynolds, M.A., lecturer at the same church, the Rev. John Billingsley, M.A., Vicar of Chesterfield, Joseph Truman, B.D., Rector of Cromwell, the Rev. Robert Smalley, Vicar of Greasley, and others, who resigned their livings when the Act of Uniformity was passed in 1662.

"Driven from their homes by the Oxford Act, in 1666, they found in Mansfield a little Zoar, a shelter and a sanctuary; and united in hearty love and concord, they worshipped together till the Act of Toleration was passed in 1688, when all who survived the day of persecution returned to their ministry, save the Rev. R. Porter, who remained in charge of this congregation till his death, January 22nd, 1690."

² In 1641, the assembled citizens made the following declaration: "This Body Politick is a Democracie; that is to say, it is in the Power of the Body of Freemen, orderly assembled, or the major part of them, to make Just Lawes by which they will be regulated." Under the same date the following act was passed: "It is ordered that none bee accounted a delinquent for doctrine," and later in the same year this was re-affirmed in these words: the "Law of the last Court made concerning Libertie of Conscience in Point of Doctrine be perpetuated." Quoted from *Rhode Island Colony Records*, by JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³ *Calendar of State Papers Colonial*.

the Indians in the autumn of 1643; her sister Katharine Scot,¹ however, early joined the new sect; she is described as "a Mother of many Children, one that had lived with her Husband, of an Unblameable Conversation, and a Grave, Sober, Ancient Woman, and of good Breeding, as to the Outward, as Men account."² She came from Providence, Rhode Island, to Boston on hearing of the sentence passed on three young men who, for the crime of being Quakers, were condemned each to the loss of an ear; on account of her comments thereon she was cast into prison and received "Ten Cruel Stripes with a three-fold-corded-knotted-Whip," and warned that "if she came thither again they were likely to have a law to hang her," to which she replied: "If God call us, Wo be to us, if we come not; And I question not, but he whom we love, will make us not to count our Lives dear unto our selves for the sake of his Name."³ Truly she and her sister Anne Hutchinson came of heroic stock.

In 1656 the first Quaker preachers in the persons of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin⁴ arrived at Boston. In consequence of the many wild rumours which had reached the Colony of the strange actions and teaching of the Quakers in England, they were detained on shipboard and their luggage searched for Quaker books or tracts. Several were found and these were ordered to be burned by the common executioner, and the women themselves were stripped and examined to see if they bore upon them marks which should prove them to be witches. They were detained in gaol for about five weeks and then deported again to Barbados. Their inhospitable reception did not in the least

¹ Katharine Scott, wife of Richard Scott, was the daughter of (Rev.) Francis Marbury, of London, and her mother was of the family of John Dryden, the poet. Her daughter, Mary, married Christopher Holder, and another daughter, Hannah, married Walter Clarke, once Governor of Rhode Island. Her daughter, Patience (1648-), was specially noted for her early suffering for conscience sake. ROGERS, *Mary Dyer*; SCULL, *Dorothea Scott*, 1882; *Holder of Holderness*, 1902.

² BISHOP, *New England Judged*, 1703, p. 94.

³ *Ibid.* p. 95.

⁴ Of Anne Austin (d. 1665, in London) little is known. She was advanced in years at the time of her American visit. See BOWDEN, *Hist.* i. 30-37, etc

quench the missionary zeal of the early Friends, and very shortly after, eight more arrived on the shores of New England, who, after two days' examination, were sent back to England by the ship on which they came. The authorities of Boston then passed a law inflicting a fine of £100 on any shipmaster who knowingly conveyed a Quaker to the Colonies. This law failed as a deterrent, many Quakers obtaining an entrance to the Colonies, and still fiercer became the persecution. A strengthening of the law was deemed necessary and it was further decreed :

What Quaker so ever shall arrive from foreign Parts or Parts adjacent shall be forth with committed to the House of Correction ; and at their entrance to be severely whipp'd, and by the master thereof to be kept constantly at Work, and none suffered to speak or converse with them.—If any Person shall knowingly Import any Quakers Books or Writings concerning their Devilish opinions, shall pay for every such Book or Writing the Sum of £5. who soever shall disperse or conceal any such Book or Writing and it be found with him or her shall forfeit or pay £5—and that if any Person within this Colony shall take upon them to defend the Heretical opinions of the said Quakers or any of their Books, &c., shall be fined for the first time 40/- If they shall persist in the same and again defend it the second time £4.—If they shall again so defend they shall be committed to the House of Correction till there be convenient Passage to send them out of the Land, being sentenced by the Court of Assistants to Banishment [1656].

This law was proclaimed by beat of drum before the house of Nicholas Upsall¹ who was rightly suspected of sympathy with the hated sect ; he protested against the law and suffered banishment in consequence. In 1657 the law was again strengthened ; and if a male Quaker, after he had once been banished, returned again to New England, he was to suffer the loss of one ear and to be kept in the House of Correction, and every woman was to be severely whipped and consigned to the same place. This law was to apply to " every Quaker arising from amongst ourselves " as well as to " Foreign Quakers." Three men suffered the penalty of loss of their ears at Boston. Further laws were made and

¹ Upsall endeavoured to supply Quaker prisoners with food, but only succeeded by a weekly payment to the gaoler of five shillings (BISHOP, *op. cit.* p. 8). Bishop tells us that he was " a long-liver in Boston, an Ancient Man, and full of Years."

penalties inflicted for meeting together to worship God after the manner of Friends. In 1658, in addition to the penalties already inflicted, any of the "Sect of Quakers," after a trial by a special Jury and conviction by same, were to be sentenced to death.

In spite of, or rather because of these harsh laws and the inhumanity with which they were administered, the Quaker community rapidly increased; thus we are told¹ that

these Violent and Bloody Proceedings so affected the Inhabitants of Salem and so preached unto them, that divers of them could no longer partake with those who mingled Blood with their Sacrifices, but chusing rather Peace with God in their Consciences, whose Witness in them testified against such Worshipps, than to joyn with their persecutors, whatsoever they might therefore suffer, withdrew from the Publick Assemblies, and met together by themselves on the first Days of the Week, Quiet and Peaceable in one anothers Houses waiting on the Lord.

The authorities quickly noticed these abstentions from public worship and warrants were issued under a law of 1646, the offenders being fined for non-attendance 5s. a week; and on a second examination, after the Clerk of the Court had perverted their explanation as to their belief in the doctrine of the Inward Light, three of their number—Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, with Josiah their son² ("all of a Family to terrifie the rest") were sent to Boston, and there in the House of Correction were "caused to be Whipp'd in the coldest Season of the Year with Cords, as those afore, tho' two of them were Aged People."³

Many examples of the ferocity with which the Quakers were treated in the New England Colonies might be cited, yet so inspired were these early pioneers with the deep significance and importance of their message that they were compelled to brave the untried wilderness paths and surmount difficulties which we in these days might be tempted to deem insurmountable, in order to deliver it; women with their babes at the breast would

¹ BISHOP, *op. cit.* p. 54.

² The Southwicks lived at Salem. Other children were Daniel and Provided. Bishop has many notices of the family.

³ BISHOP, *op. cit.* p. 55.

not hesitate to undertake "a very sore Journey, and (according to Man) hardly accomplishable, through a Wilderness above Sixty Miles," knowing that it led inevitably to stripes and bondage and possible death; yet in spite of all, we are told of one such that she was enabled to kneel down and pray in the spirit of the Master for the forgiveness of her cruel persecutors. This "so reached upon a Woman that stood by, and wrought upon her, that she gave Glory to God, and said that surely she could not have done that thing, if it had not been by the Spirit of the Lord."¹

The Quakers still continued boldly to preach, and persecution waxed fiercer and fiercer. The Chronicler says: "Their lives (as men) became worse than Death and as living Burials." The offences for which Friends suffered so severely were of a most trivial character, such as non-attendance at Public Worship for which they had been previously fined, and for not removing their hats. In the event of their refusal to pay any fines which might be imposed they became liable under a law made on accounts of debts, by which it was permissible to sell those persons who refused or were unable to pay their fines "to any of the English Nations as Virginia or Barbadoes to Answer the said Fines."

Worse was to follow—in June, 1659, William Robinson, of London, Merchant, and Marmaduke Stevenson, a country-man from East Yorkshire, under a religious concern, passed from Rhode Island to Boston, where with an aged man named Nicholas Davis² they were speedily imprisoned, Mary Dyer, who came from Rhode Island, sharing the same fate; there they remained until the sitting of the Court of Assistants, when they were sentenced to banishment, and should they be found within the Jurisdiction of the Court after the 14th of September following they were condemned to death. They were kept prisoners till the 12th of September. Mary Dyer and Nicholas Davis "found freedom to depart" out of the Province; but William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson "were constrained in the love and power of God not to depart," so they passed out

¹ BISHOP, *op. cit.* p. 60, in the case of Horred Gardner, of Newport.

² Nicholas Davis was of Plymouth Colony.

of prison to Salem and remained there and at Piscataway and the parts thereabouts in the service of the Lord. On the 13th of October they returned to Boston "that metropolis of Blood" as it was styled, and with them Alice Cowland, "who came to bring Linnen to wrap the dead bodies of them who were to suffer." Several other Friends joined them and the Chronicler tells us: "These all came together in the Moving and Power of the Lord as one, to look your Bloody Laws in the Face," and to accompany those who should suffer by them. Mary Dyer had returned also and on the 19th of the same month she, with William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, was condemned to death. On the 28th of the same month they were led forth to execution, by the back way, we are told, for the authorities were afraid "of the fore way lest it should affect the people too much." Drums, too, were beaten, so that no words from the prisoners might be heard; we are told that they came "to the place of Execution Hand in Hand, all three of them as to a Wedding-day, with great Chearfulness of Heart." The two men were hanged, but Mary Dyer was reprieved at the last moment, by petition of her son, only to suffer the death penalty a few months later.

Yet another martyr was to seal his testimony with his blood—William Leddra, described as of Barbados but a native of Cornwall, was executed at Boston the 14th of March, 1660/61, under the law of banishment, who, before his final trial, had suffered much persecution and grievous cruelty. His beautiful and saintly nature is revealed in a letter written by him "To the Society of the little Flock of Christ," dated from Boston prison the day before his execution; therein is no fierce denunciation of his persecutors, but words of consolation and hope to his sorrowing friends.¹

A contemporary letter, printed in *New England Judged*, is extremely interesting as showing the unbiassed opinion given by an entire stranger of the sentence passed upon this saintly man. So moved was he by the scene at the execution that he was impelled to remonstrate with those in authority. The letter is from Thomas Wilkie to his friend, George Lad, "Master of the *America*, of Dartmouth, now

¹ Printed in *New England Judged*, p. 299.

at Barbados," dated Boston, 26th of March, 1661. It is as follows :¹

On the 14th of this Instant, here was one William Leddra, which was put to Death. The People of the Town told me, He might go away if he would : But when I made further Enquiry I heard the Marshal say, That he was Chained in Prison, from the time he was condemned, to the Day of his Execution. I am not of his Opinion: But yet Truly me thought the Lord did mightily appear in the Man.

I went to one of the Magistrates of Cambridge who had been of the Jury that condemned him (as he told me himself) and I asked him by what Rule he did it? He answered me, That he was a Rogue, a very Rogue. But what is this to the Question (I said) where is your Rule? He said, He had abused Authority. Then I goes after the Man [William Leddra], and asked him, Whether he did not look on it as a Breach of Rule, to slight and undervalue Authority? And I said, That Paul gave Festus the Title of Honour tho' he was a Heathen (I do not say these Magistrates are Heathens) I said then, when the Man was on the Ladder, He looked on me, and called me Friend, and said, Know, that this Day I am willing to offer up my Life, for the Witness of JESUS. Then I desired leave of the Officers to speak, and said, Gentlemen, I am a Stranger, both to your Persons and Country, and yet a Friend to both: And I cried aloud, For the Lord's sake, take not away the Man's Life; but remember Gamaliel's Counsel to the Jews, If this be of Man, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot Overthrow it; But be careful ye be not found Fighters against God. And the Captain said, Why had you not come to the Prison? The Reason was, Because I heard, the Man might go if he would; and therefore I called him down from the Tree and said, Come down, William, you may go away if you will. Then Captain Oliver said, It was no such matter; And asked, What I had to do with it? And besides, Bad me be gone. And I told them, I was willing; for I cannot endure to see this, I said. And when I was in the Town, some did seem to Sympathise with me in my Grief. But I told them, That they had no Warrant from the Word of God, nor President from our Country; nor Power from his Majesty, to Hang the Man. I rest,

Your Friend,

THOMAS WILKIE.

A bold protest, boldly made; the Chronicler, to our regret, is silent as to the fate of the protester.

¹ *New England Judged*, p. 333.

Soon after the Restoration, Charles II., "judging it necessary that so many remote Colonies should be brought under uniform inspection for their future regulation, security and improvement," signed a Commission appointing thirty-five members of Privy Council, the nobility, gentry and merchants, a Council for Foreign Plantations. (*Calendar of State Papers Colonial*). Wide powers were vested in this Council, any five members were empowered to "inform themselves of the condition of Plantations and of the Commissions by which they were governed as well as to require from any Governor an exact account of the constitution of his laws and government, number of inhabitants and any information he was able to give." The Commissioners were also "to provide learned and orthodox ministers to reform debaucheries of planters and servants and instruct natives and slaves in the Christian faith." The first meeting was held 7th of January, 1661, when Committees were appointed for the several Plantations; attention was first directed to the New England Colonies, and information, petitions and relations of those who had been sufferers were laid before the Council. At a subsequent meeting held on 11th of March, 1661, Captain Thomas Breedon, who had returned from New England in 1660, appeared and reported as to conditions in Massachusetts Colony. He presented a book of the Laws of the Colony which were stated to be by patent from the King, but he had never seen the patent and did not know whether they acted in accordance with the same. "Distinctions between freemen and non-freemen, members and non-members, is as famous as Cavaliers and Round-heads was in England, and will shortly become as odious. The grievances of the non-members who are really for the King, and also some of the members, are very many."

In Breedon's report, too, we have symptoms of discontent and disaffection—heralds of the storm which a hundred years later broke, and severed for ever the American Colonies from the mother-land. He continues :

They look on themselves as a free state, they sat in Council December last, a week before they could agree in writing to His Majesty, there being so many against owning the king or having any dependence on England. Has not seen their petition but

questions their allegiance to the King, because they have not proclaimed him, they do not act in his name, and they do not give the act [? oath] of allegiance, but force an oath of fidelity to themselves and their Governor as in the Book of Laws.

That there was considerable doubt in the minds of those in authority in New England as to the manner in which the news of their high-handed and ferocious persecution of the Quakers would be received by the Home Government is evident from a letter written by Captain John Leverett, London Agent for Massachusetts, to Governor Endicott and the General Court, 13th of September, 1660. After some discourse on other matters he continues :

Y^e Quakers I hear have been with y^e King concerning your putting to death those of theyr Fr^d executed at Boston. Y^e general vogue of people is y^t a Gov^r will be sent over. Other rumours y^e are concerning you, but I omit y^m, not knowing how to move & appeare at Court on your behalf. I spoke to L^d Say & Sele to y^e E^l of Manchester &c.

Y^r in all faithfulness to serve you,

JOHN LEVERETT.

Some Quakers say y^t they are promised to have order for y^e liberty of being with you.

News of the sufferings of Friends in New England had indeed reached their Friends in the old country; Edward Burrough¹ had obtained audience of the King and represented in powerful though simple language the story of their inhuman treatment. His appeal resulted in the issue of a Mandamus by the King, dated Whitehall, 9th day of September, 1661, to John Endicott, and the Governors of the other Colonies,² commanding that all Quakers condemned to death or imprisoned should be sent to England for trial; Edward Burrough urged that this order should be sent with all speed, but the King objected, in his usual spirit of procrastination, that he had "no occasion at present to send a ship thither." Burrough, however, was given permission to send the Mandamus by the hand of a messenger of his own choosing;

¹ One of the young and vigorous preachers of early Quakerism (1634-1662). He died in Newgate Jail, London. See *Camb. Jnl.*

² It was spread abroad in N.E. that the Quakers had forged the King's letter and counterfeited his seal (D. Spence MSS. iii. 116).

he at once decided that Samuel Shattuck,¹ of Salem, a Quaker exile from the Colony, should return as the bearer of the King’s message. English Friends at once chartered a vessel belonging to Ralph Goldsmith,² himself a Quaker. After a tempestuous voyage of six weeks the vessel reached the American shore. As she lay anchored in Boston Harbour one Sunday morning in October, 1661, Captain Oliver,³ a Boston official, boarded her, and on his return to the town it is said he reported : “ There is Shattock and the Devil and all.” The Mandamus was delivered in person by Samuel Shattuck to Governor Endicott and the immediate result was that, shortly after, many Quaker prisoners were set at liberty.⁴ Whittier, in his poem, *The King’s Missive*, gives us a beautiful word picture of the incident and its setting ; one can imagine how the weary prisoners “ paused on their way to look on the martyr graves by the Common side,” and how surpassingly lovely the landscape seemed to

¹ The furious attack on the Quaker travellers, Christopher Holder and John Copeland, in 1657, made by the civil and Church authorities of Salem, so affected Samuel Shattuck (c. 1620-1689), a man of good reputation, that he interferred on behalf of the sufferers and as a consequence was imprisoned at Boston, and whipped ; and finally, in May, 1659, he was banished the Colony. Some trouble which arose in the early part of 1665 is referred to later (see p. 50), and it may be that Shattuck, as a consequence, dissociated himself from Friends. His remains were buried in the Charter Street Burying Ground in Salem ; on the tombstone the date is given in non-Quaker style—“ ye sixth day of June.” His intervention on behalf of Christopher Holder is recorded in full. There is a picture of the stone in *The Holders of Holderness*, 1902. A son of Shattuck appears in one of the Salem witch trials (*Witchcraft and Quakerism*, 1908, p. 8). His descendants are still living in Salem (*Holders*, p. 104).

² In a letter from John Philly to George Fox, in 1661 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 158), there is this mention of Ralph Goldsmith : “ There is one Ralph Goldsmith, A friend & master of A ship. his house is in Jacobs street Nere Sauorys Dock, Nere Redrife, whoe hath taken A viag for Venus [Venice].” Little is known of this Quaker shipmaster. Besse notes one of the name among sufferers in Barbados (*Suff.* ii. 279).

³ Captain James Oliver is frequently mentioned in the history of these troublous times. He led forth Robinson and Stevenson to execution, causing drums to beat when they attempted to speak (there is a striking illustration of this scene in *McClures Magazine*, Nov. 1906, from a painting by Howard Pyle) ; and when Edward Wharton intervened in the trial of Leddra, Oliver cried out : “ Knock him on the pate ” (*BISHOP, op. cit.* p. 318).

⁴ *BISHOP, op. cit.* p. 345. There is in D. a MS. account of the voyage of the King’s messenger.

eyes so long accustomed to the gloom of the prison-house for

The autumn haze lay soft and still
On wood and meadow and upland farms,
and

Broad in the sunshine stretched away,
With its capes and islands, the turquoise bay ;
And over water and dusk of pines
Blue hills lifted their faint outlines.

And with awe and deep humility we can enter in some faint degree into their silent yet fervent thanksgiving for "the great deliverance God had wrought," and ah! how vividly we can picture how

Through lane and alley the gazing town
Noisily followed them up and down ;
Some with scoffing and brutal jeer,
Some with pity and words of cheer.

Into the heat of this persecution Elizabeth Hooton with her companion, Joan Brocksopp,¹ had ventured. They suffered imprisonment in Boston prison on account of visiting Friends confined there, and were liberated with twenty-five others, after the receipt of John Leverett's warning letter to Governor Endicott and the General Court.

But we will let Elizabeth Hooton give the story of her call to the service, her journeyings and the hardships she endured on the American Continent, in her own words :²

This is to lay before freinds or all where it may come of the sufferings & persecutions which we suffered in newe England J Elizabeth Hooton have tasted on by the preffessours of Boston & Cambridge, who call themselves Jndependants who fled from the bishops formerly, which have behaved themselves, worse then the bishops did to them by many degries, making the people of God to suffer much more then ever they did by the bishops which causeth their name to stink all over the world becaus of cruelty.

¹ Joan Brocksopp (d. 1681) was the wife of Thomas Brocksopp, of Little Normanton, near Chesterfield, Derbyshire.

² MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 27) This may be the "E. Hootons Manscr" of the margin of Whiting's *Truth and Innocency Defended*, 1702, see pp. 95, 109, etc.

In y^e year 1661 it was upon me from the Lord & my freind Joan Broksopp [*paper rubbed at crease and writing illegible*] for God & his people to those people in the heate of persecution, & if God required us to lay down our lives for the testimony of Jesus & in love to their soules, not knowing but what they might heare & so be saved y^t they might be left without excuse & God might have his glory & we cleare of their bloud if they would not heare: ane old woman above three score yeares old when J went thither & my companion, but they had made a lawe of a hunder pounds fine to evry ship y^t caried a quaker & to cary them back againe, so y^t no ship would cary us from England thither, but we took ship to Virginia, & when we came there many ships denied us, & therefore we knew nothing but to goe by land which was a dangerous voyage, yet God was pleased to order us a way by a Katch to carie us a part of the way, & so we went the rest by land.¹

When we came to Boston after a hard passage then there was no house to receive us as we knewe of by reason of their fines, yet did we venture in the night to a woman friends house where when we were gotten in, it pleased the Lord y^t we stayed y^e night by reason y^t the tyde did rise so speedily as we could not get a way, & so we went away in the morning to prison to visit freinds; but the Jaylour & his wife being filled full of cruelty, they would not let us come neare to to the prison to see our freinds, but haled us away & he went to the Governour Indicot & brought us before him, & many questions he asked us, to which the Lord inabled us to answer, but a mittimus he made to cary us to the Goale; for if any called quakers came into y^t country y^t was crime enough to commit us to prison without any just offence of lawe, & four of our freinds was hanged upon y^t same act of their own making for if they shall

¹ Mary G. Swift, of Millbrook, N.Y., who has made considerable study of Hooton printed literature, suggests that Elizabeth Hooton and Jane Brocksopp were the "two Friends," mentioned in a letter from George Rofe to Richard Hubberthorne (quoted in Bowden's *Hist.* i. 230), and that they accompanied him a part of the journey from Va. to N. E. in his "small boat," and on arrival united with him in appointing the first General Meeting in America, at Newport, R.I., in 1661. He writes: "We appointed a general meeting," etc., the antecedent to *we* being the writer and his two Friends. In her own account of this visit to New England (see p. 32), E. Hooton states: "We did come to Rhod Jland where was appointed by freinds a generall meeting for New England." Bishop tells us of the two women that "the Lord afforded them an opportunity by a Catch, which carried them part of the way" (*New England Judged*, p. 404). Whiting relates that they "got to Rhode Island, where was a General Meeting" (*Truth and Innocency*, p. 109). It would be very interesting if it could be stated with certainty that E. Hooton was concerned in the calling of the first Y.M. in America. See p. 32, n. 2.

ask if they be quaker, & if they own it then y^t was crime enough to hange them : One of them called William Leathry [Leddra] was hanged since the king came to England & he saide y^t he would appeale to the Lawes of Old England, he was hanged ; & another¹ he did appeale to the generall Court of Boston he was rerieved though once condemned with the other y^t was hanged :

Allso they put 29 of us into prison at Boston till the generall Court did sit there, & when they sat in their Court they did call severall Juries upon us, wherby some were condemned to be hanged, some to be whipt at the carts taile, & some to be kept into prison, till they should resolve how to dispose of us ; but another Jury after y^t was called which did condemne us to be banished to the French Jland, but y^t did not hold & after y^t they called another Jury which condemned us all to be driven out of their Jurisdiction by men & horses armed with swords & staffes & weapons of warre who went alonge with us neire two dayes journey in the willdernes, & there they left us towards the night amongst the great rivers & many wild beasts y^t useth to devoure & y^t night we lay in the woods without any victualls, but a fewe biskets y^t we brought with us which we soaked in the water, so did the Lord help & deliver us & one caried another through the waters & we escaped their hands.

And their lawes were broken, & y^t which they intendet against us it may fall upon themselves, & was a deliverance never to be forgotten praises be to the Lord for ever & ever & now their Lawes being broken & we delivered, for the terrour of the Lord did so seise upon them when we were in prison at the time of the Court, they were distressed both night & day as Caen was when he had Slaine his brother & they raised up all their souldiers about in the country to defend themselves against us that intended them no hurt, so did we come to Providence & Rhod Jland where was appointed by freinds a generall meeting² for New England where we were abundantly refreshed one with another for the space of a week, so y^t the persecutors of Boston & professors there were tormented because of innocent blood which they had shed they thought ane army was comming against them w^{ch} was no other then y^e feare y^t surprised y^e hypocrite, y^e wrath of y^e Lord exceedingly seised upon them while we were kept in prison.

So we tooke shipping & went to Barbados & afterwards was moved to returne to New Engl^d againe, through much of this country we went amongst ffriends & then was moved

¹ Margin gives the name—Wenlock Christison.

² This may have been the first General Meeting in America. See p. 31, n. 1, and the account of the 250th Anniversary of the Beginning of New England Yearly Meeting, 1911.

SERVICE IN BARBADOS

to goe to Boston againe & cry through y^e towne, after y^e Lawe was broken, & then y^e Constable tooke hold of us to carry me to y^e ship & y^e wicked officer said it was their delight & could rejoyce to follow us to y^e execution as much as ever they did, in w^{ch} ship we did both of us Returne to England. & y^e bloud-thirsty men stopped in their desires blessed be y^e Lord for ever & for ever.

Two contemporary letters to Margaret Fell¹ give us a glimpse of the travellers in Barbados. Joan Brocksopp, writing from that island, 9th of August, 1661, says:² "We came here about A week since. We expect to Returne thether [Boston] agayne. Elizabeth Houtton dearly saluts thee."

Ann Clayton,³ writing also from Barbados under the same date, says :⁴

I shall pas towards New England as soon as Conuenient opertunity psents, and Jeane Brocksopp hath thoughts of going with mee, for she sayth shee is not yet Cleare of that Place, & its like Elizabeth Houton may Returne againe alsoe. Theyer Law is bad, but y^e Powre of y^e Lord is sufisient, hee alone pserue vs in it to trust that hee may haue y^e whole prayes of his owne worke, and be sanctified in all our Harts Amen.

A. C.

An account of Elizabeth Hooton and her companion's sufferings and the perils they passed through is given in *New England Judged*, but this account somewhat lacks the vivid touches of the autobiographical narrative given above. In the following words the travellers conclude the record of their experiences :⁴

Now ffriends as y^e Lord hath deliv'ed us from y^e first sore travell that y^e hands of those bloud thirsty men could not prevaile to take away o' lives, but we came home againe unlookt for of

¹ Margaret Fell (1614-1702) was the wife and widow of Judge Thomas Fell (1598-1658). In 1669 she married George Fox (1624-1691). She was the nursing mother of the early Quaker Church.

² Swarth. MSS. i. 75.

⁴ Swarth. MSS. i. 76.

³ Ann Clayton held some position of trust in the Swarthmoor household, but she also travelled in the ministry at home and abroad. It was she, or another of the same name, who became the wife of Nicholas Easton of R.I., prior to 1672. See *Camb. Jnl.*

⁵ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 27), close of first portion.

many y^t we should ever returne so safelie because y^e heate of persecution ranged over y^e Nations, & an ill savour & example they set forth w^{ch} strengthened y^e hands of y^e wicked in all those Countries as Virginia & Mariland, & over all y^e Dutch plantations, thinking to have rooted out y^e Truth & its Children.

Joan Brocksopp, too, adds her testimony, and in her *Lamentation for New England* writes :¹

Oh how doth my Soul pity you, ye Rulers of Boston, that ever ye should be so ignorant of your own Salvation, to turn the truth of our God into a ly, and put his Servants to death when he sent them among you to warn you . . . Oh ye Rulers of Boston, my heart is made sad when I remember your condition and your state, how you are found out of the ways of God against your own soules . . . And say not but that you were warned in your Life time by one who is a true Lover of the Seed of God, known unto the World by the Name of

The 4 Month 1662.

JONE BROOKSOP

And so at length after many hairbreadth escapes, "Elizabeth," in the words of the old Chronicler, "having also suffered for her Testimony to the Truth returned to old England and abode some space of time at her own Habitation."²

A perilous journey for two women, neither of them young, to undertake, and one marvels at the high courage and faith, and the deep sense of the guiding hand of God, which sent them forth "looking death in the face" to deliver the message of their Lord.

¹ At the end of her *Invitation of Love*.

² In the voluminous records of the cost of many religious journeys taken by the early Friends, there is no record of any money paid to Elizabeth Hooton. It may be that she met the cost of these extensive travels out of her own pocket. Bowden states that "she was in very sufficient circumstances" (*Hist.* i. 256).

J. Endicott.

CHAPTER III

Second Visit to New England

It is easy for us, at this comfortable distance, in an ordered society in which one believes what he wants to believe—or peradventure believes nothing at all—to say that these Friends walked of their own accord into the lion's den. . . . That is undoubtedly true, but it indicates a superficial acquaintance with the spirit of these Quakers. . . . They would have preferred the life of comfort to the hard prison and the gallows rope if they could have taken the line of least resistance with inward peace, but that was impossible to them. . . . They had learned to obey the visions which they *believed* were heavenly, and they had grown accustomed to go straight ahead where the Voice which they believed to be Divine called them.

RUFUS M. JONES, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, p. 80.

TO one of Elizabeth Hooton's temperament it was obviously impossible that there should be any long period of rest after her arduous journeyings, and we soon find her dauntlessly remonstrating with magistrates, visiting prisoners, and appearing before King Charles II. About this period she rented a farm near Syston or Sileby in Leicestershire, which was worked for her by her son Samuel, its assessable value being £5. In 1662 we find that Samuel was "taken at a meeting" possibly at that place and thrown into Leicester prison, and from him were taken "three mares with geares." This distraint is the subject of many letters to the King, the Lord Chamberlain, and various other people. On reading these epistles one is frequently reminded of the unjust judge and the importunate widow; it is not at all clear that she received reparation, though her numberless

appeals, one would have thought, might have proved sufficiently wearisome.

The following is E. Hooton's own account of one interview with the King, perhaps the first:¹

ffreinds,

My goeing to London hath not beene for my owne ends, but in obedience to the will of god, for it was layed before me, when J were on the sea, and in great danger of my life, that J should goe before the King to witnesse for god, whether he would heare or noe, and to lay downe my life as J did at Boston if it bee required, and the Lord hath giuen me peace in my Journey, and god hath soe ordered that the takeing away of my Cattle hath beene very seruiceable, for by that meanes haue J had great priuiledge to speake to the faces of the great men, they had noe wayes to Couer their deceits, nor send me to prison whatsoever J said, because the oppression was layed before them, and there waited J for Justice, and Judgement, and equity, from day to day, soe did this oppression Ring ouer all the Court, and among the souldiers, and many of the Citisens, and Countrey men and water men that were at the Whitehall and J laboured amonge them both from morning till night, both great men and priests and all sorts of people that there were.

J followed the King with this Cry J waite for Justice of thee o King, for in the Countrey, J can haue noe Justice among the Magistrates, nor Shreiffes, nor Baylyes, for they haue taken away my goods contrary to the Law, soe did J open the grieuances of our freinds all ouer the Nation, the Cry of the Jnnocent is great, for they haue made Lawes to persecute Conscience, and J followed the King wheresoeuer he went with this Cry, the Cry of the innocent regard, J followed him twice to the Tenace Court, and spoke to him when he went vp into his Coach, after he had beene at his sport, and some of them read my Letters openly amongst the rest, the Kings Coachman read one of my Letters aloud, and in some the witnesse of god was raised, to beare witnesse against the scoffers with boldnesse and Courage, and confounded one of the guard that did laugh, and stop the mouthes of the gainesayers, and they Cry they were my disciples, and soe great seruice there were for the lord in these things.

J waited vpon the King which way soeuer he went, J mett him in the Parke, and gaue him two letters, which he tooke at my hand, but the people murmured because J did not Kneele, but J went along by the King and spoke as J went, but J could

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 34)

gett noe answer of my Letters, soe J waited for an answer many dayes, and watch for his going vp into the Coach in the Court, and some souldiers began to be fauourable to me, and soe let me speake to the King, and soe the power of the lord was raised in me, and J spoke freely to the King and Counsell, that J waited for Justice, and looked for an answer of what J had giuen into his hand, and the power of the lord was risen in me, and the witsse of god rose in many that did answer me, and some wicked ones said that it was of the deuill and some present made answer and said they wish they had that spirit, and then they said they were my disiples, because they answered on truths behalfe, and the power of the lord was ouer them all, and J had pretty time to speake what the Lord gaue me to speake, till a souldier Came and tooke me away, and said it was the Kings Court, and J might not preach there, but J declared through both Courts as J went along and they put me forth at the gates, and it Came vpon me to gett a Coat of sackcloath, and it was plaine to me how J should haue it, soe we made that Coat, and the next morning J were moued to goe amongst them againe at Whitehall in sackcloath and ashes, and the people was much strucken, both great men and women was strucken into silence, the witsse of god was raised in many, and a fine time J had amongst them, till a souldier pulled me away, and said J should not preach there, but J was moued to speak all the way J went vp to Westminster hall, and through the pallace yard, a great way of it, declareing against the Lawyers, that were vniust in their places, and warneing all people to repent, soe are they left without excuse, if they had neuer more spoken to them, but the Lord is fitting others for the same purpose, but he made me an instrument to make way, that some others may follow in the same exercise, and as they are filling vp the measure of pride and Costlynesse, and wantonnesse, persecution, lasciuiousnesse, with all manner of sin filling vp their measures, soe is the lord now filling vp his violls of wrath to poure out vpon the throne of the beast, soe that all freinds to be faithfull and bold and valliant to the measure, which god hath manifested to you, for a Crowne of life is laid vp for all that abide faithfull.

ELIZABETH HUTTON.

London the 17th of the 8th Month 1662.

This letter gives sufficient evidence of her determination and the fearlessness of her methods of procedure; an account which reads strangely to-day, when one considers the difficulty of access to the Sovereign and the forces and formalities which guard and hedge him about.

Another letter, undated, addressed "To you y^t are Judges or Magistrates in y^e Court," possibly belongs to this period. Elizabeth, in very plain language, calls attention to the licentiousness of the times.¹

. . . Take heed what you doe Least y^e Lord Arise in y^e feircesse of his anger, and find you Beating yo^r fellow servants, and shamefully abuseing them which doe well, and lett y^e wicked goe free. You haue sett y^e wicked a worke to spoyle vs of our goodes, and putt vs in prison for worshipping god, and turne yo^r sword backward, which y^e higher power cannot doe, soe you make yo^r selues rediculouse to all people who haue sence and reason. . . . god will not be mocked, for such as you sowe such must you reape: for y^e cry of y^e Jnnocent will arise in y^e eares of y^e Lord, and he will terribly shake y^e wicked: then will yo^r dayes of pleasure be turned into mourning, & weepeing and howleing. Oh y^t you would consider this betimes, before it be too late, and instead of pulling downe y^e houses of gods people, pull downe whore houses and play houses, which keepes y^e people in vanitie and wickedness. Every wicked worke is now att Libertie; and vertue Rightiousnesse & holynesse you sett yo^r selues against with all yo^r force. Oh what a nation would this be if you might haue yo^r wills. Goe into Smythfeild & you shall see what store of play houses there is; and what abundance of wicked company resorts to them; which greiues the spirit of y^e Lord in y^e hearts of his people, to see y^e wickednesse of this citty.

After more in the same strain the letter concludes:

J am a Louer of yo^r soules y^t am sent to warne you.

ELIZABETH HOOTON.

Although Charles II. had by his Mandamus issued in 1661 obtained some remission of the cruelties practised against the Quakers in Massachusetts, he appears to have quickly repented his clemency, for in an Order in Council, issued 28th of June, 1662, after acknowledging the receipt of an Address from that Colony and confirming the Patent and Charter granted by his father, he continues:

And as the principal end of their Charter was liberty of conscience His Majesty requires that those who desire to perform their devotions according to the Book of Common Prayer be not

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 10)

denied the exercise thereof nor undergo any prejudice thereby and that all persons of good and honest lives be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Book of Common Prayer and their children to Baptism. We cannot be understood hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of Government, we have found it necessary, by the advice of our Parliament, here to make a sharp Law against them and are well contented that you do the like there.

Undeterred by the prospect of further persecution and the improbability of the King again intervening on behalf of the Quakers, Elizabeth Hooton once more believed herself called of the Lord to visit New England. This time she carried with her a licence from the King "to purchase land in any of his plantations beyond the seas." One cannot help suspecting that King Charles, wearied with her importunities, had hit upon this method of ridding himself of the necessity of an enquiry into the high-handed proceedings of the Leicestershire magistrates, of which she had so vigourously complained, and that it would be a matter of perfect indifference to him whether she succeeded in making good the purchase in the Boston Courts, or not. Fortunately, again, the account of her journey and her sufferings can be given in her own words. She says :¹

Afterwards was J moved of y^e Lord & called by his sp^t to goe to New England againe, & tooke wth me my Daughter to beare there my 2^d Testimony, where when y^e persecuto^r understood J was come they would have fined y^e ships M^r 100^{li}, but y^t he told them J had been wth y^e King & thither was J come to buy an house so stopped them from seizing on his goods, when J had been a while in y^e Country among ffriends, then came J up to Boston to buy an house & went to their Courts 4 times but they denied it me in open Court by James Oliver, who was one of their chief a persecutor, so J told y^m y^t if they denyed me an house y^e King having promised us libertie in any of his plantaçons beyond y^e Sea then might J goe to England & lay it before y^e King if God was pleased.

So when J returned from them J went up Eastward toward Piscatua & there was imprisoned ffor bearing my

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 27), second portion.

testimony against Seaborn Cotton¹ y^e Priest who sent his Man & tooke a (a 2 y^e. Heyfer)² cow from one of o^r friends³ who owed him nothing & his Church Members tooke from 2 poore men (Eliakim Wardill John Hussey⁴)² almost all y^e estate they had, because of a fine they had put on them for absenting from their Worship, y^e one of them they tooke away all y^e fatt kines he had & a fat calfe w^{ch} they feasted themselves wth besides 12 busshes of wheate & provision in his house w^{ch} was for himself & children & threatned to take away his Children & sell them for ten pounds w^{ch} they demanded, where also they imprisoned me, & at Salem Haythorne⁵ y^e ruler whipped foure ffr^d & sought also for me, though afterwards J was moved to cry through y^e towne, but had noe power to hurt me at y^t time, So at Dover in Piscatua there ffor asking Priest Rayner a question when he had done they put me in y^e stocks Rich^d Walden being (deputye)² Magistraite (for Dover) (his wife begged the office in mischeife to friends) & put me in prison 4 dayes in y^e cold of winter but y^e Lord upheld & preserved my life, where my service to y^e Lord was profitable for strengthning of friends & leaving y^e other wthout excuse, So more could Stormes did J endure & more persecution then J can expresse, so afterwards J returned to Cambridg, where they were very thirsty for bloud because none had been there before y^t J knew of & J cryed repentance through some part of y^e towne, So they tooke me & had me early in y^e morning before Thoma^s Danford & Dan^l Goggins 2 of their Magistrates who by their Gailer thrust me in a very dark dungeon for y^e space of 2 dayes & 2 nights wthout helping

¹ Seaborne Cotton was a son of John Cotton (1584-1652), the noted Puritan minister, of Boston. His wife was a daughter of Simon Bradstreet, sometime Governor of Massachusetts Colony. Cotton was minister of Hampton, and as such came into frequent conflict with Quakerism.

² The words within parentheses were added to the MS. by another hand.

³ This was Eliakim Wardell, mentioned two lines below. His home was at Hampton. He was one of those who suffered for entertaining the Quaker travellers. His wife, Lydia, "being a young and tender and chaste Woman . . . as a Sign to them, went in naked among them," on which action Bishop comments: "This might be permitted as a stumbling-block, rather for their Hardening than Conversion, after they had rejected better Examples and Warnings" (*New England Judged*, p. 376).

⁴ John Hussey and Rebecca his wife, *née* Perkins, lived near the Wardells at Hampton.

⁵ Captain William Hathorne was a Salem magistrate. His descendant, Nathaniel Hawthorne, the author (1804-1864), writes of him: "He was a bitter persecutor, as witness the Quakers, who have remembered him in their histories" (*The Custom House*, quoted in *Jnl. F.H.S.* xii). See BISHOP, *op. cit.*; FELT, *Annals of Salem*, 1842.

me to eith^r bread or water but a fr^d (Benanuel Bowre)¹ brought me some milk & they cast him into prison because he entertained a stranger & fined him 5^{li} & at 2 dayes end they fetch me to their Court & asked me who rec^d me J said, if J had come to his House J should have seen if he would have rec^d me for J was much wearied wth my travel & they ought to entertaine strangers so J asked wheth^r he would not receive me w^{ch} he did deny then J said sell me an House or let me one to rent y^t J may entertane strangers & laid y^e Kings promise before them concerning libertie we should enjoy beyond y^e seas, but they regarded it not, but made a Warrant to whip me for a wandring vagabond² Quaker at 3 townes 10 stripes at whipping poast in Cambridg & 10 at Watertowne & 10 stripes at Deddam at y^e Carts tayle wth a 3 corded whip 3 knotts at end, & a handfull of willow rods at Watertown on a cold frosty morning So they put me on a horse & carried me into y^e wilderness many miles, where was many wild beasts both beares & wolves & many deep waters where J waded through very deep but y^e Lord delivered me, though J ware in y^e night to goe 20 miles but he strengthened me over all troubles & feares, though they caried me thither for to have been devoured, Saying they thought they should never see me againe.

So being diliv^{ed} J gott among o^r fr^d through much danger by y^e wat^r & after y^t to Road Jsland whence J tooke my Daughter wth me to fetch my cloathes & oth^r things w^{ch} was about 80 miles, So when we came there for my Cloaths there Thomas Danford made a Warrant for y^e Constable of Charles towne to apprehend us & one of their own Jnhabit^{rs} Sarah Coleman an auntient woman of Scituate where he met us in y^e Woods comeing back & he asked us whether we were Quak^{rs} for he said he was to apprehend Quak^{rs}, So J answrd wilt y^u apprehend thou Knowes not who nor for w^t, so he said J suppose you are Quak^{rs} therefore in his Maj^{ty} name stand, w^t Majesty J asked him he said

¹ Benanuel Bower, of Cambridge, Mass., was originally a Baptist, but later his family and he became Friends. A correspondent quoted in *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1887, p. 243 (copied into *The Friend* (Phila.) for the same year), writes: "Thomas Danforth, who was the county treasurer and magistrate, whenever short of business, was in the habit of persecuting B. Bowers, and then he would enter it at full length upon the records" in the Court House in Cambridge.

² The correspondent referred to in the previous note copied the wording of the warrant as found in the public records of the Cambridge Court House, and it appears in the periodicals named in note ¹. He writes further: "There is this much to be said in the favor of the old Puritans, that they did not treat the Quakers any worse than they did their own members whom they accused of heresy, and in most cases they gave the victim the choice of paying a fine or taking a whipping. I found one case in which they gave a man a second whipping because he invited his friends to come and see him whipped the first time."

y^e Kings, now said J thou hast told a lye for J was later at y^e King then thou & he hath made noe such Lawes, saith he J must take you to Cambridge, but y^e ffriend y^t was inhabiter said she would not goe except he carried her, then he met wth a Cart & he comanded y^m to aid him & set us all upon y^e Cart & caried us away to Cambridg to Daniel Goggings house, but he came not home till night & in y^e night they fetcht us before him & a wicked Crew of Cambridg scollars there were y^t abused me both times, & Goggins said did not we charg you yee should not come hither, so J said we were forced thither in a Cart, J came thither to fetch my Cloaths, because they would not let me take y^m wth me. So he asked the Jnhabiter, if she owned me, she said she owned y^e truth so he wrote her down for a wandring Vagabond Quaker y^t had no dwelling place, & she dwelt but a little way of him, & he knew it & to my daughter he said dost thou own thy Moth^r religion & she said no thing, & he set her downe for a wandring Vagabond Quaker w^{ch} had not a dwelling place, & J Eliz Hooton was set downe for a wandring Vagabond Quaker, who would have bought a House among them, & this was in y^e night, when y^e house was full of Cambridg Scollers being a Cage of uncleane birds¹ y^t gave us many bad languages & y^e Colledg M^r & priests sons, stood mocking of old Sarah Coleman w^{ch} had formerly fed them wth y^e best things w^{ch} she & her husband could get, & told her she should be whipt wth thwangs & wth ends her husband being a Shoemaker, & had given them y^e making of their shoes, & mending, thus was she rewarded evill for good, & so sent us all to y^e House of correction in y^e night, w^{ch} was a cold open place & had nothing but a little dirty straw, & dirty old cloath.

So early in y^e morning before it was light y^e Whipp^r a Member of their Church came up, w^{ch} had said to me before y^t y^e governo^r of Boston was his God & y^e Magistrates were his God, J answered many Gods many Lords blind sottish Men both Priests & people, & asked us whether we would be whipt there or below, J said wilt thou take our bloud in y^e dark before y^e people be rissen to see w^t thou dost, so he tooke me downe & lockt them up, & said J was acquainted wth their whipping because J had been there before. So to y^e whipping post he lockt my hands, having 2 men by to beare him Witnessse y^t J was whipt before it was light, then fetcht he downe Sarah Coleman

¹ This phrase—"a Cage of uncleane birds"—quoted originally from the Bible—"Babylon is become . . . a cage of every unclean and hateful bird," Rev. xviii. 2, was frequently used by early Friends to describe their opponents. Francis Bugg (apostate Quaker) states that George Fox used it "about the year 1662" in reference to "the Church of England" (*Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity*, 1698, p. 130).

being as J thought older then my selfe & whipt her & then my daughter & whipt us each 10 stripes a piece wth a 3 corded whip, & said to my Daughter are you not glad now its yo^r turne she said J am content, so they put her hands in a very streight place w^{ch} pressed her armes very much, & so this Daniel Goggins y^e Magistrate walked out of dore wth my Bible in his hand, for it had y^e Epistle to y^e Laodiceans¹ & other things opening of y^e Corruption of translations then he asked me, wheth^r J would promise him to goe to Scituate, J said J submit to y^e will of y^e Lord wth other words J spake why he should whip us so wthout a Cause, but he ran & made anothe^r warr^t & fetcht y^e Constable to whip us at other two townes, & y^e Constable provided company to goe a long wth us, but Sarah Coleman was not able to goe so they got a horse & y^t day they went with us from towne to towne.

So when they came to Unketty y^e Constable saw it was such a mercillesse thing y^t he tooke y^e warrant away wth him to carrie to Boston, & left one of o^r fr^{ds} to goe wth us. So were we persecuted from place to place till we came to Scituate, so after y^t J returned back to Boston, & there was a youngman out of y^e North of England w^{ch} was moved to goe into their Meeting place & breake 2 bottles before them for a signe how they should be broken whom violently they tooke & whipt at y^e great Gun in Boston 10 or 12 stripes & as many more in y^e house of Correction, & y^e next morn^g they had him away, & J was moved of y^e Lord to goe in sackcloath & ashes upon my head to beare my testimony agst them in Jndicots house & they put me out of dores & set Bellingam in (in y^e place of Jndicote) y^e place of persecution, so J was moved to goe along to Billingams house who was y^e Deputie, & there bare my testimony agst them for shedding Jnoc^t blood, So they fetcht me in & J cleared my Conscience to them & he made a mitting to have me to y^e Goale & whip me at y^e whipping post so they J told they filled up y^e measure of persecution w^{ch} their Bretheren in England left undone, so there Warrant was to whip me at other two townes, at Rocksbury & Deddam at each 10 stripes apiece, & when J came to Rocksbury y^e Constable & y^e oth^r fir^d met us there y^t they might whip him there at the Carts taile where they whipt him & me together, so when they had done wth us J bare my testimony & we met y^e Priest of y^e towne who said he was going to take of our whipping & J asked him his reason he said because we tooke 5^{ti} a time for o^r whipping J asked him where we should have it he answerd in England a Company of Iyers they were J said, & y^e Constable y^t was wth

¹ This is doubtless a reference to an early, undated quarto pamphlet, issued by Friends, entitled *Something concerning Agbarus, Prince of the Edesseans* . . . Also *Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans* . . . As also *how several scriptures are corrupted by the Translators*. Other editions, in octavo, were printed later in the century.

us lost both his Warrants & when he came to Deddam he gott him to anoth' Persecuto^r house y^t he might fulfill y^t w^{ch} y^e oth^r had lost y^e Warrant for, & then they there tyed us both to y^e carts taile y^e youngman & J in y^t cold weather & stript us as usual to y^e middle & there whipt us from whence they had us to Medfield, & would fain have whipt us there also, w^{ch} y^e Priest desired & sought much for o^r bloud but could not obtaine it, So y^e Constable wth his long sword went wth anoth^r man to guard us out of their Jurisdiction, into y^e woods & left us to goe 20 miles in y^e night among y^e Bears & wild beasts & wat^r & yet we were preserved & y^e Constable when he saw me returne lift up his hands & said he never expected to see me againe, And allwayes they drive us toward Road Jsl being a place of liberty to us.

So afterwards J went to one of their Meeting places & spoke to y^e priest when he had done, who sent me to prison, but his wife would never give him rest till he sett me at libertie, so J went up into y^e Country among ffr^{ds} so comeing back againe, J was moved off y^e Lord to goe to y^e oth^r Meeting place where J stood till they had done, in y^e meane time they abused me as J stood, & when he had done J asked y^e priest a question, y^e people violently flew upon me young & old, & flung me downe on y^e ground So J said this was y^e fruit of their Ministry, & their Lawes J did deny & being contrary to y^e Law of God & y^e King & one of their Magistrates had said to me, it was y^e Devils Law if it were contrary to Gods Law to take away a poore Mans Cow, So 2 dayes & 2 nights J was in prison & they fetcht me before Bellingam y^e Deputy, who sentenced me to be whipt from y^e prison dore to y^e townes end at y^e Carts taile & so all along out of their jurisdiction, w^{ch} was between 20 & 30 miles, but they whipt me to y^e towns end & y^e next time J came J was to be hanged, Such a Law had they now made, So when y^e Kings Comission^r came to Boston, they did desire we should Visit them there, So J & oth^r ffr^{ds} rode to Boston & my Horse they tooke away & Windlocks, to carry away y^e Comission^rs out of y^e towne, though we were called wandring Vagabond Quakers & 3 score mile J had to goe w^{ch} was towards Road Jsland & they had no power to execute their Law upon me, w^{ch} was a dangerous voyage not only for me but for one y^t was wth me, neare to be lost J cannot expresse y^e danger J went through in y^t voyage though y^e Lord delivered us both miraculously praises to his holy Name for ever & for ever, for y^e end & purpose of their doing to us was for murder

7 or 8 more ffr^{ds} y^t came out of England did they thus abuse wth horrible whippings & mangling of our bodyes wth whips fining imprisoning & banishing into y^e Wildernesse y^t when y^e snowes were very deep & no tread but w^t Wolves had made

going before me, & my life neare lost many times in y^e cold of y^e winter & y^e hazard of the Journeys, & thus have they used us English people, as Vagabond Rogues & wandring Quak^{rs} w^{ch} had not a dwelling place w^{ch} were true borne English people of their own Nation, yet had y^e Jndians w^{ch} were barbarous savage people, w^{ch} neither knew God nor Christ in any profession have been willing to receive us into their Wigwams, or houses, when these professo^r would murther us, so in comeing back againe from my dangerous Jour[ney] for want of my Horse, w^{ch} y^e Kings Comission^s would not have had if they would have found them any other & so me they put in prison, & tooke me out of prison in y^e night to y^e ship because they heard J was to goe away, but in y^e morning very early they sent their Constables to search for Quakers, & found 4 of o^r ffriends in their beds & had them before their Rulers Bellingam & y^e rest, & asked them w^t they came thither for who said they came to visit y^e Kings Comission^r but they said they would whip y^e Comission^s upon y^e Quak^{rs} backs, & so they whipt us very grievously at 3 towns & out of their Jurisdiction they put us & kept one of y^m w^{ch} was an inhabitant of y^t Country in prison, but y^e Kings Comission^r were grieved at w^t they did unto them, because they knew y^t their enmity was to them as well as to us, but they durst not do y^t to them, w^{ch} they did unto us least y^e Country had risen agst them, ffor o^r Kingdome is not of this world, therefore his serv^{ts} could not fight, but we have comitted o^r Cause to God who hath & wil defend it to his glory: for y^e defence of their ffaith y^t are y^e persecuto^r, were Goales & whips fines & banishm^{ts} & their gallowes on w^{ch} they hanged foure, & their persecuting powers w^{ch} ffaith is at an end, when another power comes over their heads, this was New Englands ffaith, w^{ch} was full of cruelty, more then J can expresse by writing w^{ch} J did receive being an old womⁿ being about 3 score years old, had not y^e Lord been on my side J had utterly failed.

Blessed be y^e Lord for ever & ever y^t hath brought me to England againe to my Native Country & amongst Gods people, where we are refreshed together y^t J may never forget his mercy whose Name is in y^e flesh

ELIZAB. HOOTON.

This w^{ch} J have declared is y^e worke of Cains ofspring part of w^t they have done to y^e Jnnocent. So J end for y^e present.

The story of the help given by Elizabeth Hooton to the King's Commissioners, referred to in the foregoing narration, is told more fully in a letter "To the King and Counsell," written presumably after her return home;

but before quoting this it may be well to consider the reasons for the appointment of the Commissioners as gleaned from the *Calendar of State Papers*. It will be remembered that as early as 1661 evidence was taken respecting alleged grievances in the Colonies, after many delays and recommendations as to the best way of dealing with the disaffection that was rife there; the Lord Chancellor drew up a paper of "Considerations in order to the establishing of His Majesty's interests in New England."

In April, 1663, the King in an Order in Council made a similar Declaration, at the same time promising to preserve the Massachusetts charter though he wished to know how it was maintained on the part of the Province.

Another year elapsed before Charles II. signed Commissions and Instructions, in April, 1664, "for Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright and Samuel Mavericke to visit the Colonies of New England and determine all complaints and appeals for settling their peace and security." An elaborate letter to the Governor and Council was sent by the King explaining his reasons for sending the Commissioners. He commanded that his letter should be communicated to the "Council and to a General Assembly to be called for that purpose, and while desiring their co-operation and assistance he declared that he doubted not they would give his Commissioners proper reception and treatment." Strong opposition, however, awaited them on their arrival in Piscataqua; there was a suspicion abroad that the Colonies were to be taxed for the support of the Crown, and wagers were freely laid that the Commissioners would never sit in Boston. Rather than risk open defiance these gentlemen decided that it would be wiser to visit the other three Colonies first, "as they thought if they had good success there Massachusetts would also give them a good reception." Their visitation extended over two years, when they were recalled. The King expressed his satisfaction with the reception given to his Commissioners except in the case of Massachusetts, and express commands were issued to the "Governor and others of that Colony to

attend the King and answer their proceeding.” These commands were never obeyed, one excuse being that “ Governor Bellingham was nearly eighty years of age and had many infirmities.”

Elizabeth Hooton’s account, as given in the following letter, is an interesting contribution to the history of the controversy. She writes as follows :¹

To the King & Councill

This is to let you understand how J haue beene in service to god & to the King & his Commission^{ers} in New England : My message for the Lord was to beare witness to his Truth against those persecuting people who fled from the Bishops because they would not suffer ; And now in New England are become greater Persecuters then the Bishops were, both in fining imprisoning, Banishing, whipping & hanging some of those that came out of England, for vagabond Quakers, who cald their owne Country people vagabonds : And when the King sent his Commissioners amongst them J was in that Countrey, & oft had beene Jmprisoned, oft whipt, oft driven into the Wildernesse among the wild beasts in the night ; yet did god preserve me, though J had many miles in it to goe amongst the wild beasts and many great waters ; Now the Kings Commission^{ers} comming thither they would not receaue them soe freely as our friends did ; & therefore they durst not trust their lives with them as they did with our friends. And moreover they made a decree against them, to rise in foure & Twenty houres against them, to fight with them ; & when J heard that, J went among severall of their Church-members, & warnd them to take heed what they did, for if they did fight against them they would destroy themselues, for there were enough that would take the Kings Commissioners parts ; And J said to them you had better (as we haue such an example) to suffer rather then fight, or else conforme as some of your brethren in old England doe ; But if you doe fight you will destroy your Country.

And they seemed to looke lightly upon my words, yet they tooke them into Consideration, & George Cartwright they said he was a Papist or a Jesuit ; & they had a purpose to seeke his life, But J told them J believd the man was an honest man, & noe papist, he was my neighbour at Mansfield, & J never heard any such things by him, therefore take heed what you doe, for the lord will giue you into their hands because you haue shed Jnnocent blood, & persecuted the Just & J sent to the Commissioners

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 59)

at New Yorke to bid them beware how they came, & soe they came to the Towne by one at once to read the Kings Packet, & at that time there was a Court & they had their company about them, they sought for our friends very early in the morning & woke them in their beds, & had them before their Court, & Questioned them why they came thither, & one of them answerd, they came to visit the Kings Commission^{ers} & they said they would whip the Kings Commissioners upon the Quakers backs, because our friends were willing to receaue them & had a love to them, soe they whipt them out of their Coast towards Rhode Jsland, where we had liberty of Conscience, & the Kings Commissioners had their liberty too, & for me they had me out of prison to go to the ship to ship me away & soe warned the ship master he should let me come in noe more & brought me away to Barbados but the Kings Commission^{ers} they would not receive neither them nor their Commission, But it was reported they drove them out of the Towne, & once they did whip me, because J owned not their government, but the Kings.

And many more things J would declare, but it would be too much answering the Kings behalfe. And now J am come hither for some Justice & to haue my goods restord againe which were taken away in my absence or else my friends restord out of prison, which never did the King nor the Counsell any harme, And soe in love to all your soules J haue written this paper to let you know that by my going to New England J was made serviceable to the King & his Commission^{ers} Therefore reward not me evil for good, as some do threaten me; & let not our friends be put into the hands of wicked & unreasonable men; Nor into the hands of the Priests who would destroy all that we haue for Tythes; that take Tythes & make aspoyle of their Corne & keepe their bodies in prison many over England. Jf they will haue their Tythes, Let our friends haue their bodies at Liberty to worke for more: for husbandmen are Jmpoverisht much, & ready to throw up their farmes, by reason of Tythes Taxes & Assessments & great Rents. And if Husbandmen cast up their farmes what will ye all doe for there is great oppression in the Country & little money to be had for any thing. the Cattle & Corne will not pay their rents, & Taxes & Assessments, chimney money & excise is a great oppression: for the King J belieue hath not the Tenth part of what is taken for when they are not able to pay their chimney money they take away their Bedding in the Country; And soe consider this all ye that sit in Authority & let Justice & equity be done in the Country: for the Lord he will arise, & he will plead the cause of the Jnnocent.

LETTER TO THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN 49

J am a lover of your Soules who came not hither in my owne will

ELIZABETH HOOTON.

[Endorsed]

To y^e King & Councill Expressing her service to y^e Kings Com^{rs} in New England & thereupon pleading for justice to herselfe & liberty to friends

Further particulars of the seizing of her horse for the use of the King's Commissioners are given in the following fragment; possibly her acquaintance with George Cartwright was largely responsible for the restoration of the animal. She says :¹

. . . . When J came againe [to Boston] with other freinds, the Kings Comission^{rs} being in the Towne, they tooke away my horse J rodd on to cary away the Kings Comission^{rs} on forth of the Towne, into the Country, soe J was necessitated to goe three score Miles through the woods a foote among the wild beasts with a woman freind that was bigg with Child, who was to goe to Barbadoes soe for want of my horse was our Lives hazarded and coming back againe my selfe through the woods, and y^e snow pretty deep, a Company of woalves had gon before mee and made a path J having noe Company with mee. Soe gott J back againe to Boston, and after seaven dayes the Comission^{rs} sent mee my horse, and told them it was a quakers horse, saying J know noe Evill by them, and rid not back on the horse, had not the Comission^{rs} been in the Towne, the Magistrates of Boston purposed to have put me to death and never to have restored my horse againe.

There is another letter to the Lord Chamberlain again recounting her services to the King's Commissioners and on the strength of those services pleading for justice to herself. The letter is endorsed :²

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 43)

² MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 62) The following is taken from the *Calendar of State Papers Colonial*, 1665, i. 292 :

April 10, 1665.

From Captain Breedon's House at Boston.

Col. George Cartwright to Col. Nicholls :

"This day, a Quaker (my country-woman) told me before Captain Breedon, that she had heard several say y^t I was a Papist . . . and that Sir Rob^t. Carr kept a naughty woman; I examined her if I had not kept one too, or if she knew me not to be a Papist." E. Hooton writes : "They said that Cartwright, that was one of the Comission^{rs}, was a papist, or a Jesuit, but hee being my Country man, J did vindicate him, and told them that J knew noe such thinge" (MS. in D. Portfolio iii. 43).

This was deliuered to the Lord Chamberlaine by my selfe upon the 21th day of the 4th month 1667.

It is especially interesting on account of the following certificate which is attached to it and was delivered with it :

These are humbly to certifie that this woman Elizabeth Hooton was very serviceable to his Majestyes Comissioners in new England

Giuen vnder my hand the 6th Decemb' 1666.

GEORGE CARTWRIGHT.

Whilst E. Hooton was in New England some controversy arose respecting Samuel Shattuck, the King's messenger to the authorities of Boston, the echoes of which may be heard in letters of the period. In March, 1664/5, Shattuck is addressed by Ann Richardson¹ in no measured terms²; and at the same time she reports the case to George Fox :³

. . . deare Jane Nicholson⁴ a trew harted freind with me was at Salem & deare Elesebeth Hooton who truly gaue her testimony for y^e truth & against the deceit which was there gotten vp . . . They reported that I was there greatest troubler And writ papers to them & made E H set her hand to it which was false for I writ for her when it lay on her & could frely own what I writ for her.

In March, 1664/5, that stern persecutor of the Quakers, John Endicott,⁵ died at Boston. Bowden states⁶:

¹ Ann Richardson was, by her first marriage, Ann Burden. After some years of married life in Mass., Thomas and Ann Burden returned to England, their native land, and settled at Bristol, where the husband died. His widow crossed the Atlantic again about 1657, and, with Mary Dyer, visited Mass., whence they were both banished. About 1665, as Ann Richardson, she again visited New England.

² Swarth. MSS. iii. 104.

³ Swarth. MSS. iii. 101. Fox adds to the endorsement: "shee died in the trouth."

⁴ Jane Nicholson (d. 1712) was the wife of Joseph Nicholson, of Bootle, Lancs. They visited the New World in 1659, and again, for several years, they were in New England. See *Camb. Jnl.*; *Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall*, 1915.

⁵ John Endicott (c. 1588-1665), first Governor of New England, will go down to the end of time as the arch-opponent of New England Quakerism. See *Annals of Salem*, 1845, where there is a portrait; *Chronicle of the Pilgrim Fathers*; *Jnl. F.H.S.* xii.; etc.

⁶ *Hist.* i. 259.

Elizabeth Hooton was imprisoned for attending the funeral of this notorious bigot; the probability is she attempted to exhort the company against persecution, and to call their attention to the judgment of the Most High upon the deceased, as evinced in the miserable condition in which he died.

In New England as in the old country, we find E. Hooton foremost in championing the cause of the oppressed, and one marvels again and again at her courage and persistency.

The history of her American journey may be fittingly concluded by extracts from her "Lamentation for Boston and Camberig Her Sister :"¹

Oh bosston oh bosston how oft Hast thou been warned by the searvents of the Lord who Have been sent unto the of the Lord. How Hast thou slitted [slighted] the day of thy visitation and Hast Rewarded The Lord euill for good and Hast slain the Just and jnoseant whome the Lord Hath seant to wearn you of all your vngodly wayes which wickednes A boundeth A monst you jn A great measur with cruell whipings and Jmprisiments and banishments A pon pain of death to the Cuting of of the Liues of many. . . . and thy sister Camberig who js one with thee jn thy wicked Act who js the fowntain and Nusery of all decait you are the too eyes of new jngland by whome The rest sees How to doe mischif and pearsecut the just by your vn-righttous decrees hatcht at Cambrig and made at bosston you are the too breasts of new ingland whear all Cruelty js nursed vp, and feeds both preists and professores, and by thes too breasts thay Are blood suckers persecuters and murderers and Robers of the poor jnoseant Harmleas peopull all ouer the Cuntry.

Jn many places Are thy Childrin tearing and scourging the jnoseant and taking a way Thear means as at Hamton and other Places whear the cry of the jnoseant Are eantered jnto the eares of the Lord of sabothes And Hee will rend and teare and deliuor His Littill ones out of your Hands, and shake Tirabully, and put out your two eyes You Are brieres and Thorns that js nigh vnto burning : Ah woo and mi[s]ary [?] js neare you. Howill And weep lest your lawfter be turnd jnto mourning and your Joy jnto Heauines Ah Las How js all your Religion And profession mared and stained with blood you Haue forsakin the Liuing fountain and gotton brookin seastornes that will Hould no water you Haue Hated the Light and pearsecuted jt ; thearfor you Cannot eskeape and so take this jnto considiration, and weigh jt well and doe not sleight

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 36)

jt for jt js to you the word of the Lord whether you will Hear
or forbear.

ELIZABEATH HOTON.

At the close of his summary of E. Hooton's sufferings in N.E., William Sewel (1654-1720) writes:¹ "Since which I have several times seen her in England in a good condition." We can imagine something of the interest the boy in his teens would take at the sight of this ancient warrior of the Cross.

¹ *Hist.* under date 1662.

*E. Hooton at the
gate at yarko to defe
r Cromwell
1673*

ENDORSEMENT BY GEORGE FOX.

See page 10.

CHAPTER IV

Closing Years

And, if they be but faithful to their trust,
Earth will remember them with love and joy ;
And oh, far better, God will not forget.
For he who settles Freedom's principles
Writes the death-warrant of all tyranny ;
Who speaks the truth stabs falsehood to the heart ;
And his mere word makes despots tremble more
Than ever Brutus with his dagger could.—LOWELL, *L'Envoi*.

As to the reason why I write some remarkable Passages of my Sufferings for Truth, and also the great Things which the Lord hath wrought for me, both in supporting me therein, and delivering me out of. I say these Things are wrote, that my Children and others may be encouraged to be faithful to the Lord, and valiant for the Truth upon the Earth ; for for that Cause it came into my Mind, to tell unto others how good the Lord hath been unto me, for which I am deeply engaged to Praise his great Name.—JOHN GRATTON, *Journal*, 1720, p. 119.

SOME TIME during the year 1665-6 Elizabeth Hooton must have returned to England, for again we find her writing to the King a letter bearing this endorsement, which approximately fixes the date, "This was in the abating of y^e Sicknes," thus showing that it was written in the year of the Plague. An extract from it is interesting, confirming the fact that banishment, and that under terrible conditions, was a punishment to which the Quakers were subjected :¹

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 63)

O King,

. . . . What reason is there to carry vs into other lands, and thrust many into an old vissited shipp w^{ch} was rotten, & leaked water, whose blood will be laid to the charge of them that did it, for many of them are dead, and the rest wee know not what is become of them, Except they bee took by the Hollanders, as some of them are. And in three shippes before this was there more carried away into other lands both old and Young from wiues & Children & other relations & their owne Natiue Country. . . .

There are in existence letters from E. Hooton's son Samuel, who about this time believed himself called to pay a religious visit to America, and from one of these we find that although the family had interests in Leicestershire, they still held the farm at Skegby. It is dated: "the 17th day of y^e 3^d Mo: [May] 66. From Samuell Hooton, now on y^e sea goeing for new England" and is addressed: "To Timothy Garland^r in Mansfeild Nottingham shr^r ffor Oliver Hooton in Skegsby, Wth Care."²

The Journal of Samuel Hooton's visit to New England contains the following interesting allusion to his mother. He had held a large meeting in Boston and in consequence had been taken with many others to the house of the Governor.³ In the course of his defence he said:⁴

I had an old mother was here amongst you, & bore many of your stripes, & much cruelty at your hands, & when shee came at the first, I was against her coming; & now shee is returned. Is shee returned? saith Bellingham, Yea, I said, shee is safe returned. And now y^e lord hath laid it vpon mee to come hither

¹ The Nottingham and Mansfield Quarterly Meeting was long held at the house of Timothy Garland. Letters for Friends were at times addressed: "To be left at Timothy Garlands at the Green Dragon in Mansfeild." (LOCKER-LAMPSON, *A Quaker Post-bag*, 1910, pp. 48, 51. See also THE JOURNAL, iv., v.)

² MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 81) The difficulties and delays of travel on land and sea at this period are illustrated by another letter of Samuel Hooton, dated 4th of June, 1666, in which he tells us that the ship on which he sailed—"the royall exchang"—was "staying in the harbar at the Kows for the wind, how long i may staye I know not." MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 82)

³ Richard Bellingham (1592?-1672) was Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts from 1635, and Governor from 1665 to his death.

⁴ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 80). The Journal appears in full in *The Friend* (Phila.), lxxvii. (1904), 204.

to bear witness against your cruelty & hardheartednesse against the lords innocent lambs ; And before I was made willing to give vp to come, I was brought even to deaths doore, if I had not obeyed I had been dead before this day. Therefore I can say with boldnesse, before you all, the lord hath sent mee hither to bear witness against your cruelty.

Truly the son had inherited something of the mother's boldness.

As so many of Elizabeth Hooton's letters are undated, they are of but slight assistance in determining the order of events in her life, but in an account written by Patrick Livingstone,¹ of his service in Leicestershire, and his subsequent imprisonment in Leicester gaol, we get a glimpse of her still engaged about what she conceived to be "her Master's business." Here are extracts from the narrative :²

As I was on my Journy I came into Sison [Syston], it was ordered, that some Friends, and other sober people of the Town came into the house, and the love of God did spring in my heart to the people whom I exhorted . . . There came in a Constable, with one John Lewins, who violently haled me away . . . to a Justices house.

A young man present, having "passed his word," against the prisoner's wishes, for his appearance several days later, he was liberated, and during the time other meetings were held and more Friends imprisoned. At what period Elizabeth Hooton comes on to the scenes we are not told, but while the prisoners were detained in an alehouse she

came in to see the Prisoners, and she prayed among them ; but the wicked man Lewins pulled and drew her, & used her badly, and had like to have hurt her, being an old weak woman, and yet she was not at the Meeting . . .

¹ Patrick Livingstone (-1694) was born at Angus in Scotland, and was convinced in the North of England in 1658. He travelled in the ministry with James Halliday (*F.P.T.* 201). In later years he lived in Nottingham and London. See *Jnl. F.H.S.* vii. 184.

² Given in his *Truth Owned*, 1667, pp. 6ff.

At night they had them to one called Justice Babington,¹ but no justice appeared in him. He gave order to have them the next day to Thumerstone . . . and put us in an Orchard, where many people came, and the everlasting Truth was declared . . . For several hours we kept the Meeting amongst the people . . . and we were at the back of the house where the Justice was, but none had power to stop the declaration of Truth.

These determined and intrepid "publishers of the Truth" were called away from their meeting one after another to stand before two Justices, on the charge of illegal gathering, and after much argument with the Bench they were fined and imprisoned, E. Hooton's share being £1 or three weeks. The narrative concludes as follows (p. 38):

Now we are fully persuaded in our own minds by the Spirit of God that we do not meet out of contempt to Authority but in obedience to Divine commands: we must not forbear our Meeting because they say they fear we will plot. God in his due time will fully clear us; but in the mean time we must do our duty as the Lord requires us . . . and so long as we stand obedient to the will of our God it shall be well with us whatever comes, loss of life or any thing else, our Life in God they cannot touch . . .

Written in Leicester-Prison the sixth day of the fourth month, 1667.

It seems probable that Patrick Livingstone visited Elizabeth Hooton at her home at Skegby; his future wife, Sarah Hyfeild, of Nottingham, appears as one of the Friends named for "publicke service" in the Minute Book of the Women's Quarterly Meeting for Nottinghamshire, which Meeting was "settled" in 1671. The marriage took place in 1676, and the occasion elicited from the Friends of Aberdeen Monthly Meeting a fully-signed liberating certificate, which remains a noble tribute to the bridegroom's Christian character, and a token of the

¹ Justice Matthew Babington lived at Rotherby, Leics. He was an ancestor of Lord Macaulay. Mary Radley states that he was the "Some Justice" addressed by E. Hooton (D. Portfolio iii. 6). He appears in Besse's book of *Sufferings* as a persecutor (i. 335).

high esteem and love of his north country friends ; Robert Barclay and David Barclay are amongst the signatories."¹

Accustomed as we are to the easy tolerance of the present day, the echoes of the fierce controversies waged between opposing religious sects during the seventeenth century sound strangely in our ears ; Elizabeth Hooton, as one would naturally expect, was not behind in engaging in this wordy war. In 1667 we find her writing:²

You bawling Women from y^e Ranters . . . you have said Wee have made an Jdoll of George Fox. . . . You have hunted for Richard Farneworth & others formerly. . . . Therefore misery will come upon you.

About 1668, Elizabeth Hooton came into violent conflict with the sect of the Muggletonians. She appears to have written a letter against Lodowicke Muggleton,³ to which he refers in a letter he sent to her in January, 1668, commencing as follows :⁴

I saw a letter of yours sent to James Brocke ; it is supposed that you are the mother, or some relation to that Samuel Hooton of Nottingham, who was damned to eternity by me in the year 1662. It is no great marvel unto me that he proved such a desperate devil, seeing his mother was such an old she-serpent that brought him forth into this world . . . She hath shot forth her poisonous arrows at me in blasphemy, curses, and words, thinking herself stronger than her brethren. . . . Therefore, in obedience to my commission . . . I do pronounce Elizabeth Hooton, Quaker, . . . cursed and damned, both in soul and body, from the presence of God, elect men and angels, to eternity.

¹ See *Jnl. F.H.S.* v. 140.

² MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 33), dated "13th day of 6th Month 1667," and endorsed : "El. Hooton to some Spirits who were gone out from y^e trueth." At the close of the paper occur the names : "Eliza : Barnes & Rose Atkinson" (see *Camb. Jnl.*).

³ Lodowicke Muggleton (1609-1697/8) and John Reeve (1608-1658) announced themselves the "two witnesses" of Rev. xi. 3. The sect of the Muggletonians was never very numerous, but it still exists, sharing with the Quakers the distinction of being the only survivals of those numerous religious bodies which sprang into existence during Commonwealth times.

⁴ *A Volume of Spiritual Epistles written by John Reeve and Lodowicke Muggleton*, printed 1755, reprinted 1820, p. 227.

It is only fair to state that if the quotations from the letter written by her to Brocke are correct, her denunciations were equally emphatic.

It is with relief we turn from this phase in her career to find her again pleading the cause of the oppressed, and in statesman-like manner pointing out the evils consequent upon oppression. Here is her letter to the King and both Houses of Parliament :¹

ffreinds consider in time w^t you haue done Both in Citty and Countrey by this late Act how haue you ruined hundreds of Antient housekeepers in the Countrey and y^e cry of y^e Jnnocent is entred into the eares of y^e Lord against you y^t haue done it, Consider therefore what you will doe with these poore people you haue Jmpouerished and restore them their goods againe, for they were releiuers of the poore And paid their Rents and Taxes duly.

But the Justices and some of the preists haue Bought their goods for halfe that they were worth and drunkards and swearers runs away with the rest they sweare men are at the meeting when they are not & by false sweareinge the Compasse mens goods into their hands which is theft ; and soe theiues and Robbers haue entered vpon our goods And men weomen and Children are by this meanes driuen to great want ; They haueing within some few months enough & to releiue others Soe if you consider not these things in time it will Bring A ruination both vpon the King and Countrey, Soe its good for you to consider it in time before it be to late And take of this Act and make better Lawes Least you ruinate all.

This is done in the Countrey besides all bodyly Abuses consider what they doe in this citty they pull downe our houses the[y] Batter and bruise men And weomen with their Swords with their guns with their hallbards & with pikes & Staues runing vpon them with horses what may wee expect But y^t many of these are papists and outlandish men y^t doth it. Jf such wicked things as these bee Tollerated to destroy honest people who serues the Lord with all their harts and great companys that follows Mountebancks play houses & other vaine pastimes that are vpheld in this Citty what may wee expect But y^t the hand of y^e Lord may fall sodainely vpon you.

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 67) This is printed at the end of addresses to the King, and to the King and both Houses of Parliament, by Thomas Taylor. The first is dated 1st of December, 1670.

Therefore in time repent and take heed and doe Justice and loue mercy And walke humbly with your god that you may find a place of repentance Least you be shutt out for ever J am a louer of yo' soules who would not haue you to perish,

ELISABETH HOOTON.

Elizabeth Hooton also made a point of informing the King as to what was taking place in Nottinghamshire. In one of these letters, after stating that she, an aged woman, had travelled over a hundred miles, and recounting the "greuieous havock" under the "New Act"¹ caused to Friends in London, she continues:² "I Brought you A Letter from Nottingham shire to the Kings hall; which sett forth how Greate oppresshon one side of the shier had suffered Amounting to a Boue three hundred pounds, beeing att one meeting. . ." Apparently there were only two others present besides the family at whose house the meeting was held, and £12 and £15 were taken from them in fines. "They make noe Conscience what they take," she continues; and she also tells how one magistrate had fined a man twenty pounds for "worshipping of god" and then had ordered his officers to take three or four times as much "because they might Sell good peny worthes, and They Tooke Thirty pownds worth of Goods and sent to the same man for Tittth wooll and Lambe After they had taken away his sheep." She tells also of the loss of her own cows.

In another letter to the King, she writes:³

They have taken to Prisson both Men & Boyes in y^e Country & brought y^m to Nottingham Prisson Contrary to y^e Act & y^e Country is against itt and Jtt brings a Ruination.

And again, to King and Parliament, she writes:⁴

They took from one man for heaueing of 3 meetings in his house 150^l pounds & Ruined him his wife and Children by penniston Whally Justice & Waker y^e informer And Ruined other to younge men at farnsfeild.

¹ The Conventicle Act of 1664. For particulars of its working see *F.P.T.* 357.

² MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 53)

³ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 52)

⁴ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 69)

And we have another letter asking for an order to the Leicestershire magistrates to restore her goods "that J may haue a horse to ride on in my old age."¹ So many of her appeals are on the same theme that it is exceedingly difficult in making selections to avoid reiteration, but the following addressed to the Lord Chamberlain² is so characteristic of her that, in spite of repetition, we hardly like to omit it :³

ffrind.

This J wright that thou maist consider the cause of the innocent, with the cause of the widdow, how it is as yit sleighted by one & another.

J labored on foot to come hither to London, aboue 100 miles being one y^r is aged, & weake, to lay before the King & counsell the greuiances of the innocent, who are imprisoned all ouer the Nation, who haue not wronged the King, nor his Counsell, nor haue not entertained euill in our hearts against him, to doe him any hurt, or wrong in the least, & hither haue J come time after time, for that thinge, & for equity, & Justice, who had my goods taken away contrary to y^r owne law, my goods, for another bodies fine, though he allsoe did fulfill y^r law in suffering the penalty of it, & what could be more required. They took from me 20' worth of goods in time of harvest, namely my teame, which at that time was aboue 100' losse to me, & my ffamily, both as to the losse of my cattle & corne, and putting off my ffarme. This was don at Sileby in Leicester shire by Mathew Babington of Roadby, whome they call Justice, he bearinge Sway aboue the rest to doe mischeife, by setting a Baly of the hundred on worke called William Palmer, who took away my goods, and sold them, and J would haue had a warrant time after time of the Justices to fetch him before them, but they would grant me none, But the hand of the Lord light on that man, and he died a miserable death.

Soe seing J could not be heard there in the Country, nor righted, Therefore J haue appealed and applyed my selfe to the King, who bid me goe to the Lord Chamberlane, and J should haue an answer by him, soe J applyed my selfe to thee, to know an answer from the King, how J might haue my ffriends at liberty, or gett my goods restored, but as yit J haue had noe answer as to either of them, but when J was heare before, thou

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 73)

² Edward Montagu, second Earl of Manchester (1602-1671), was Lord Chamberlain at this time, having been appointed in 1660 (*D.N.B.*).

³ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 11) It is endorsed: "To y^e L^d Chamberlane for Release of Prisoners & justice to her selfe."

writ me a letter to carry to the Earle of Stamford,¹ and sealed it, which J did carry to him accordingly, in a sore journey to the endangering of my life, but had J Knowne what had been in it, J should haue labored more to the King & Duke of Yorke before J went, which then might haue been serviceable to me or my ffrinds, J neuer did desire any Lords favor, for my goods againe, nor deed of Charity, for these were not my words, but onely equity & Justice.

My harts desire is, that you may doe Justice & Judgement, all of you while you haue time, least y^r day goe ouer y^r heads, as to others it hath don before you; and so come to y^r which is true honor, out of all flattering titles, for the true Nobility is to hear the cry of the Jnnocent and to doe Justice & Judgm^t to the widdow, the ffatherlesse, and to Keep y^r selues vnspotted from the world, and this is the true Nobility which is vnchangeable & that man is noble in his place which will hear the cry of the Jnnocent & help them in their distresse but he y^r will not doe it, comes short of the vnjust Judge, whoe though he neither feared God nor regarded man, yit did the widdow Justice, least shee should weary him, Soe ffrind, take these thinges into thy Consideration, for J haue respected thee, more then many because of thy moderation which is noble in itt^s place. . . .

Concerning that letter which the Earle of Stamford sent to thee by me itt being soe coldly handled between you both, noe thinge is don for my satisfaction, and whereas his letter saith, that some men are dead that bought my cattle, and that the rest are vnwilling to contribute any considerable matter, to this, J say, that the Baley of hundred is dead but the men that bought the cattle of him were aliue, when J came, for J was with them, but if any that they sold them to be dead, or noe, that J cannot tell, but he that should restore my goods is Mathew Babington if J may haue my right.

The Earle of Stamford hath been about it, to see what they will doe who had my goods, but seing he hath noe more forceable letter from hence, he could doe nothing but hath left it vnto thee, therefore if thou writest to him againe lett it be effectually that J may haue Justice, for the law is not against me but for me, (though J cannot make vse of it in a way of sute) and this J know you may doe between you, being sett in greater power then many others.

this was deliuered
the 10th day of the
5th month 1667

A louer of your soules
& a frind to all that
are honest harted ,

ELIZABETH HOOTON.

¹ Henry Grey (1599?-1673), created Earl of Stamford in 1628. (D.N.B.) He was a Leicestershire nobleman. His son, John Grey, is mentioned later.

Evidently this letter to the Lord Chamberlain had no effect, for there is a further appeal to the King, mainly interesting as the following names are given as witnesses to the truth of her statement : Thomas Snooden, William Snooden, Timothy Garland, Nicholas House, Nicholas Parsons, Thomas Barradell, Robert Clarke.¹

In the same letter she writes :

The Magistrates which will doe me noe justice—Behman [Beaumont] Dixey, Justice Babington of Rodely [*sic*], Earle of Stamford and John Grey his sonne, with many others in Leicestershire, which some said they would doe me Justice, but did me none.

In the Countrey there is no Justice but Cruelty : they will not heare the Cry of the innocent.

She also appeals to the Duke of York, and in the conclusion of a letter to him, she says :²

Therefore I also apply my selfe to thee, for thy asistance, in this thing, y^t some effectuall meanes may be used for the restoring of my goods . . . The Earle of Stamford who is the Kings freind knowes how my busines is, & may dispatch it, if effectually writ to.

Here is another extract setting forth her opinion of lawyers, and others called upon to administer the law, and also demonstrating her pertinacity in her endeavours to obtain justice. She begins in the customary manner by recounting the history of her visits to the King, and continues :³

. . . The King had put it in to the [hands of the] Justices to [*paper torn*] things and J said J had beene with them and they would [*paper torn*] me no Right but bad me goe to law but the lawyars i said ar corrup as the maiestrats ar that J cannot vse them but they said go to the maiestrats againe and see if they will do Justice if they will not bring there names and som to testify the goods were mine and i should haue Justice.

And so i came to another sessions and let them know what J had done and what they said and hath waited for Justice agen J

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 47)

² MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 17), endorsed : "To y^e Duke of York desiring an Answer to her former papers, & pressing for justice to her selfe."

³ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 44)

went to som of there houses and to the bench and followed them whether they went both day and at nights when they met to gether to know whether they would do me Justice or no Justice to which they hardened there harts and stifened there necks against the widows complaint and Regarded no Just law. . . .

She did not hesitate boldly to warn the King of his errors, as the following passage shows :¹

How oft haue J come to thee in my old age both for thy reformation and safety, for the good of thy soule And for Justice and equity. Oh that thou would not giue thy Kingdome to y^e papists nor thy strength to weomen . . .

In her efforts to obtain Justice for herself she was never unmindful of the interests of her friends, and in one of her numerous letters to the King and Council she mentions that William Dewsbury, Thomas Goodaire and Henry Jackson, three Yorkshire men, were in Warwick Prison, Francis Howgill in Kendal, and Thomas Taylor in Aylesbury.²

In Northampton there are fiteene under the Act of Banishment. J desire that you may set them at libertye besides all the rest that are there. These are all y^e Kings Prisoners.³

In another letter to the King and Council she mentions that there were forty Friends in Reading prison, and that some had been confined there six or seven years.⁴

In yet another letter addressed to the King she makes allusion to the national calamities, and points a lesson therefrom :⁵ "If there be not A speedy repentance judgmts will ensue, as Late hath been in England y^e Pestilence y^e Sword & y^e Fire." It was probably written in the year 1667 or 1668, after the arrival of the Dutch ships in the Thames under De Ruyter. Pepys, under date 11th of June, 1667, in his *Diary*

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 57)

² William Dewsbury (1621-1688), Thomas Goodaire (-1693), and Henry Jackson (-1727), were prominent Friends of the early day. Dewsbury spent nigh twenty years of his life within prison walls.

Francis Howgill (1618-1668/9) was of Westmorland. He died in Appleby Jail. Thomas Taylor (c. 1617-1681/2), a Yorkshireman, spent long years in prison for conscience sake.

³ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 56)

⁴ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 55)

⁵ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 60)

says : " Pett writes us word that Sheerenesse is lost last night, after two or three hours' dispute," and he gives a graphic account of the alarm in the city, consequent on the withdrawal of the soldiers to Chatham and elsewhere : " which looks as if they had a design to ruin the City and give it up to be undone ; which, I hear, makes the sober citizens to think very sadly of things." John Evelyn, too, speaking of the Dutch incursion, says : " The alarme was so greate that it put both Country and Citty into a paniq feare and consternation such as I hope I shall never see more ; every body was flying none knew why or whither."

It is pleasant to turn from sufferings and controversies to events of a domestic character in the strenuous life of Elizabeth Hooton. On 21st September, 1669, her daughter Elizabeth, who had been a sufferer with her mother in New England, was married to Thomas Lambert, of Handsworth, at her mother's house at Skegby. We have more details of this event in the following record :

Thos: Lamberd of Heansworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire & Elizabeth Hooton of Skegby in Nottinghamshire, Daughter of Elizabeth Hooton did take one another to be husband & wife according to the Church order & y^e practice of y^e holy men of God in y^e Scripture in y^e House of Elizabeth Hooton upon y^e 21 of y^e VII mo in y^e year 1669 unto y^e Truth of which we have set to our names—

WILLIAM MALSON
THOMAS COCKRAM
ROBERT STACY
ROBERT HASSEHURST
MAHLON STACY
JOHN FRETWELL
THOMAS BROCKSOPP

JOHN BINGHAM
THOMAS FOUKE
GEORGE COCKRAM
WILLIAM CLAY
GODFREY NEWBOULD
ABRAHAM SENOR
ROBERT GRACE¹

The names of most of the Friends who signed Thomas and Elizabeth Lambert's wedding certificate appear again in the book recording the sufferings of Friends in the Mansfield district, and in the early Minute Book of the Women's Quarterly Meeting for Nottinghamshire.

¹ The copy of this record is amongst the late Mary Radley's notes, but the authority is not stated. The names of witnesses correspond with those given on the certificate obtained from Somerset House.

Fourteen months later, 30th of November, 1670. Elizabeth Hooton's son Samuel was married to Elizabeth Smedley, of Skegby, at his mother's house. There is a very interesting entry in the first Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting Minute Book in reference to this marriage. Elizabeth Hooton, in assuring the Meeting of her consent to this union, writes,¹ 26th of December, 1670 :

This doe I certify concentering my sonne Samuel. I spake to Geo : Fox about taking the young woman to wife, & he asked me what she was, & I told him as near as I could of her behaviour, & he bade me let him take her, & soe that makes me willing that he should take her to wife.—ELIZABETH HOOTON.

As in the case of the daughter's marriage the names of no women appear amongst the witnesses, but as their mother was in England at this time, she was most likely present at both ceremonies.

In the Episcopal Returns for 1669, we find the name of Elizabeth Hooton among those of " Heads & Teachrs " of the Friends' Meeting at Harby, Lincs.²

About this time too we find E. Hooton intervned in the dispute between Margaret Fell and her son and daughter-in-law, George and Hannah Fell. There are two letters in existence, both evidently addressed to Hannah Fell ; one is endorsed : " ffor George ffells widdow at Marsh Grainge in ffurnace," the other : " To a Woman unnamed, who had got a judgmt agt her mother in law."³ From the latter we learn that Elizabeth Hooton must have seen George Fell on the subject of the litigation, for she writes :

Freind.

When J was wth the & thy Husband J hadd some thing on my Sp^t from y^c Lord y^t hee might bee warned from psecuteing y^c Just, or Joyneing wth them y^t did, for he is gon from y^t Truth w^{ch} hee once was in, & had Joyned himselfe wth y^c psecuteing

¹ It will be noticed that this letter is dated a month after the marriage had taken place. Possibly Elizabeth Hooton was travelling when the intention of marriage came before the Meeting, and it was thought well to record her letter of approval when it was obtained.

² See Turner, *Original Records*, 1911, i. 76, ii. 771, iii. 745.

³ MSS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 1, 29)

magistrates & preists, & had been a meanes to Cause his mother to bee psecuted, & imprisoned, & y^m y^t mett at hir howse & this (soe farr as J did heare) was thy Husbands worke, but J was moved of y^e Lord to goe to him, & declare to him hee was gon out from that Truth he was in before ; & now hath hee Joyned him selfe wth y^e psecutors, & was a lover of pleasures & did not at all love y^e Truth, but psecute it ; & was a meanes to keep his Mother in prison, & was a meanes for ought J Could heare to premunire hir, but J was made to tell him y^t if hee did goe on in y^t psecuting way & would not turne to y^e Truth w^{ch} hee once Received, y^e Lord would Cutt him off boath Root & branch, & though his Mother were sett at liberty againe by y^e King, yett did thy Husband goe to y^e King againe, & Gott hir premunired & put into prison againe, (for ought [J] know) & now the lords hand hath Cutt him off & shortened his dayes

And Now it is Reported y^t thou hast Gotten a Judgm^t against thy Syce to Sweep away all y^t shee hath, boath goods, & Land, w^t a Rebellious Daughter in law art thou.

The rest of the letter consists of warnings and predictions of what will befall if such unjust conduct is persisted in. It concludes :

Soe to y^e light of X^t in thy Conscience Returne, w^{ch} will lett the see all thy wayes ; J am a lover of thy Soule

ELIZABETH HOOTEN.

Her intervention did not end here, for we find her writing to the King and Council on behalf of Margaret Fox. In an undated letter, after calling their attention to the great distress caused by the Act " which hath ruined many hundred of famylies which cannot now pay Rents taxes nor sesments which did releiue many poore and now is not able to releiue them selues," she continues:¹

Shee y^t was Judge ffells wife had a rebellious and disobedient sonn which sought the ruination of his own mother the Lord Cutt him of by Death and now her sonnes wife seekes to ruate her mother in Law by getting a Judgm^t against her att this Size at Lancaster to dispossesse her of her proper right and soe both ruate her and her children if shee can : Lett the King and Councill Consider this and holpe the widow and the fatherlesse. That which her husband left her, her daughter in Law seekes

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 75), endorsed : " El. Hooton To y^e King & Councell on behalf of y^e innocent & Judge Fells Widdow." Further mention of this dispute may be found in Maria Webb's *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 1865, pp. 255ff. See also *Jnl. F.H.S.* xi. 181.

to ruinate her of. Soe I beseech you consider it in tyme and send some thing speedily to y^e Judges y^t Justice may be administred.

I am a louer of your Soules
ELIZABETH HOOTON.

Undeterred by age, the perils and discomforts of the voyage, or the prospect of bonds and imprisonment which it was possible would be her portion, Elizabeth Hooton, in a letter written from London in conjunction with Hannah Salter¹ to Margaret Fox, a prisoner in Lancaster Castle, speaks of the call she had received to proceed with George Fox and the party of Friends who were intending to visit their brothers and sisters in the faith beyond the seas :²

Deare Margret who Art faithfull and in the wisdome of god and art A sufferer for god and his Truth and thy sufferings hath been many and great and thou art A Mother in Jsraele god is thy witnese thou hast suffered more then many haue Expected, yet hath y^e Lord deliuered thee, Euerlasting praises to his name for euer, bee thou of good Cumfort y^e Lord will Deliuer thee still and they that seeke to Ruinate thee will y^e Lord Ruinate, Jf they doe not Speedely Repent and Amend : there is no way but to trust in y^e Lord for hee is A true deliuerer.

Hannah Salter hath been with the King and Leighboured much in thy Cause and J haue been prety much with the parliment and haue giuen them prety many Bookes and spoken prety much to them. We haue giuen y^e parliment above 200 of the Reighnment of Popery³ besids many other good Bookes, J beleieue to the worth of 20^l and they tooke them uery well, but what they will do to us more J Know not.

J haue A great desier to see thee Jf thou could but Come to thy husband before hee goe so the Lord giue thee some Liberty

¹ Hannah Salter, as *Hannah Stringer*, the wife of John Stringer, of London, participated in the troubles associated with James Nayler in 1656, but repented thereof, and returned to the Quaker fold. In 1666 she married Henry Salter, of London.

² Swarth. MSS. i. 152, addressed: "Leaue this with Sarah Jfell at Swarthmore Jfor to be sent to her mother In Lancashire." Endorsed by Fox.

³ *The Arraignment of Popery*; being a short Collection, taken out of the Chronicles, and other Books, of the State of the Church in the Primitiue Times; also the State of the Papists . . . by George Fox and Ellis Hookes, 1667, a learned treatise of 140 pages.

that thou may see him, and it would make my hart glad. J know nothing but J may goe with him it hath been much on mee to goe a great while and to doe y^e best that Js Required for him. One Letter haue J written to thy Sons wife and J desire thou may see it ouer, that Jf there bee any thing in it y^t is Amisse thou maist mend it, for it ware much on mee to write it, and so at present J haue no more but my Loue to thee and thy daughters and friends for J am in hast to goe up againe to the parlement and so farwell my dearly beloued friend which art in the Power of Truth, god blessed for euer.

ELIZ: HOOTON.

Hannah Salter hath some hopes y^t the Buisnesse will bee effected shee would not leaue y^e King till he had Granted what was required and his Counscill with him promised her y^t it should be done Soe shee goes to him againe y^e second day to haue it written & sealed soe J hope it will be done in gods tyme, y^t wee may all praise his holy name for his mercy towards thee & towards vs. Soe J end farewell, deare Margrett.

From the above letter we obtain an insight into Elizabeth Hooton's activities in the year 1670. On the 15th January, 1670, Friends in Nottinghamshire appealed to King and Parliament for the relief of their sufferings, and among the Appellants are Elizabeth Hooton and Elizabeth Hooton, Junr.¹ The latter was, probably, the wife of Samuel, become Hooton only a month or two before.

In these days, when we are constantly reminding those outside our Society of the acknowledgment by our early Friends of the spiritual equality of men and women, it is extremely interesting to note that women were frequently engaged in and actually did carry through negotiations of a very delicate and decidedly secular character. This is proved by George Fox's account of his wife's release from Lancaster Castle, which took place in April, 1671; he says :²

I was moved to speak to Martha Fisher³ and another woman Friend, to go to the King about her liberty. They went in faith,

¹ *Extracts from State Papers*, 1913, p. 341.

² *The Journal of George Fox*, bi-cent. ed. ii. 140. The other woman Friend was Hannah Salter; see note to this name in Fox's *Journal*, Camb. ed.

³ Martha Fisher (c. 1631-1687) was a member of the valuable band of London women Friends active in work for the cause of Truth.

and in the Lord's power, who gave them favour with the King, so that he granted a discharge under the broad-seal, to clear both her and her estate, after she had been ten years a prisoner and premunired; the like wherof [of such discharge] was scarcely to be heard in England.

John Rous, writing to his mother-in-law, Margaret Fox, gives a more detailed account of the proceedings attendant on her release, in a letter dated 4th of April, 1671; he says:¹

Last 6th day y^e two women tooke the grant out of the Attourney Generals office, & he gave y^m his fee, w^{ch} should have been 5^{li}, & his clerke tooke but 20^s, wheras his fee was 40^s. Yesterday they went with it to y^e King who signed it in the Counsell & Arlington² also signed it but would take noe fees, wheras his fees would have been 12^{li} or 20^{li}, neither would Williamsons³ man take any thing saying y^t if any religion were true, it is ours, tomorrow it is to passe y^e Signet; & on 6th day, the privy seale, & afterwards the broad Seale w^{ch} may be done on any day. The power of the Lord hath bowed their hearts wonderfully.

Margaret Fox, after her release from Lancaster, returned to Swarthmoor for a brief period; she then joined George Fox in London for the Yearly Meeting of 1671, and afterwards remained with him, until, three months later, 13th August, he and his little company of twelve set sail "towards America and some of the Isles thereunto belonging." Elizabeth Hooton and Elizabeth Miers⁴ were the only women included in the party.

From George Fox and others we have a very full account of the voyage of the "Catch *Industry*, Master Thomas Foster." Margaret Fox and other Friends accompanied the travellers as far as Deal. After these had left the boat her voyage was interrupted by a visit

¹ Swarth. MSS. i. 83. The letter is addressed: "ffor Sarah ffell this at Swarthmore To be left wth Thomas Green grocer in Lancaster," and endorsed by Fox: "j rous to mff 1671 of patin of releas."

² Henry Bennet, first Earl of Arlington (1618-1685), was Secretary of State 1662-1674, and Lord Chamberlain 1674 (*D.N.B.*).

³ Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701) was Clerk of the Council 1672, and afterwards, 1674, Secretary of State to Charles II. (*D.N.B.*)

⁴ Of the previous life of Elizabeth Miers we are yet in ignorance. Apparently she did not proceed further than Barbados, and returned home about 1672 (see WEBB, *Fells*, p. 278).

from the "Presse Master" of one of the two men-of-war which were lying in the Downs. He took off three of their seamen which action might have postponed the voyage indefinitely had not the Captain of the other frigate, "out of Compassion and much Civillity," spared two of his men.

Their vessel was leaky: on the 27th of August this entry appears in the diary of the voyage, kept by John Hull:¹

Our Ship soe leaky ever since wee came to the Downes that Seamen and passengers doe for the most part day and night pumpe. this day wee observed that in two houres she suckt in sixteene Inches of water in the well, some makes it tenne Tunn a day. It is well however for it is good to keepe Seamen and passengers in health.

Travellers of to-day would probably strongly object to this particular form of health-giving exercise, except under the very sternest necessity.

Then the Journal tells of an apparent "Chace" given by a strange ship which "some conjectur'd by her sayles among the Marriners that it was likely a Sally man of warr, standing of the A sores Ilands, which caused a great feare among some of the passengers, dreading to be taken by them, but friends were well satisfied in themselves, having no feare upon their spirrits." George Fox assured the Master when he came "to advise with him and understand his Judgment of it in the power made answer that the life was over all, and the power was betweene them and us." The *Industry* escaped attack and eventually they lost sight of the "Sally man."

Many meetings were also held, some amongst Friends only, and others with the passengers who "seemed to be very attentive."

At length, after nearly two months, this voyage—not lacking in interest and incident—ended, and the *Industry* anchored in Carlisle Bay, Barbados, about nine o'clock at night on the 3rd October.

During his stay, George Fox addressed a letter to the Governor of Barbados, defending the Quakers against gross slanders which had been promulgated against them. We

¹ The account of the voyage is given in detail in the *Journal of George Fox*, Camb. ed.

have also two letters from Elizabeth Hooton. Whether both were written at this period is uncertain. One is addressed "To the Rulers and Magistrats of this Island that ought to Rule for god." After general exhortations and warnings, she continues :¹

J haue seene many ouerturnes, and the Lord will ouerturne Still. Therefore haue a Care in the feare of the Lord that hee may giue a blessing vnto you . . . And soe Consider what is required for in this Jsland. There is Great need of Justice and Judgment, for if one goe vp into the Countrey, there is A great Cry of the Poore being Robbed by Rich mens Negroes, Soe that they cannot with out great Troble, keep any thing from being Stolen ; And if they doe complaine they Cannot get any Sattisfaction ; Now it is the Duty of Euery man to take Care and see there family haue Suffitient food and any thing else the stand in need off ; as Jnstructed in that that is good, that they may bee Kept from Stealeing and doeing any thing that is Euill ; Soe that yo^u may make good Lawes and yo^r People be Kept in good order, according to what is made knowne to them by them that Rule ouer them. And soe yo^u Come . . . to a true Reformation yo^r Selues, first reforming yo^r Selues in yo^r families, and yo^u will see Clearly how to Rule others, for a Reformation god looks for Among yo^u and all People, that god may bless yo^u . . . Therefore to the Light of Christ returne ; that yo^u may see what yo^u should doe and what yo^u should not doe and that all yo^r aãcons may be guided by itt, for hee hath Jnlightened Euery one that Comes in to the World. J am a louer of yo^r Soules and am Come to Warne yo^u

ELIZA: HOOTON.

The second letter² is probably the last she wrote, and was evidently prompted by the same reasons which had influenced George Fox in addressing the Rulers of the Island. It is endorsed : " E. Hooton to some Ruler in Barbado's 7th of ¹⁰/_{mo} 1671 To warne him not to give eare to false reports & y^e Priests suggestions ag^t y^e innocent."

ffrend.

Some thing J haue to thee, Jf thou wilt be noble in thy place, lend not an eare to the wicked nor to persecutors, if thee Prests come about thee aganst the Jnnocent, as they haue all wayes

¹ MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 25) The copyist of this address endorses it: "El. Hooton to y^e Rulers (J suppose) of Barbado's."

² MS. in D. (Portfolio iii. 32)

don, and Cry help magistrats or else our traid will goe downe. Neither giue eare to Any Sett that comes to the wth falce Accusations . . . The Lord hath somtimes Restrained such men as would haue done us mischeefe and oft haue J been wth the Parlement & they haue been very Ciuell to me & J haue giuen them many Boockes & Letters & they haue Rece^d them & haue not done those many bad Things against us as Sum would haue had them to haue done; but let persecution sease, and our Meetings in London ware & are still as wee are informed by y^e Last Shipes peaceable: and the Last Mayor that wos when J wos there never did us hurt nor broke up ouer metings. . . .

Ther fore take heade that thou doe not Joyne with them that would percecute & wrong y^e Jnnocent, for Jf thou doest thou wilt wrong thy one Sole: neither harken thou to such wicked men as will bring thee Storeys & lyes against George ffox, nor anny of Gods people for J haue knone him to be An upright honest harted man as wast in England this twenty fiue years: Soe quit thy selfe well in thy Place & god will bles the but Giue not head to folce accusors nor to the preasts for thos war thay that Crusified Christ & put his Apossells to deth and thay are y^e men y^t now would doe the same thinges if thay had power. J haue knone there Cruelty about this twenty yeares to me & to many others, thouf J haue no Enmyty against them nor noe Revenage Jn my harte but desire that thay Repent and turne to the Lorde as sum of them haue done: Soe Returne to the Light in thy Consciene w^{ch} will not let the doe any Wrong to any if thou be Obedient to Jt:

from one y^t is a louer of thy Sole

ELIZABETH HOOTON.

Barbados this 7th of the 10th month 1671.

*After three months' stay in that island, on the 8th January, 1671/2, George Fox, accompanied by Elizabeth Hooton and others, left for Jamaica and arrived safely on the 18th.

From the Testimony of James Lancaster¹ concerning Elizabeth Hooton we gather particulars of her illness and death. He says:²

¹ James Lancaster (-1699) was of Walney Island, Lancashire. He was one of Fox's fellow-travellers to the Western World.

² MS. in D. The endorsement is in three hands—Fox writes: "a testemony of elesebeth hoton," another adds: "before she dyed," and a third: "by Ja: Lancaster."

Her seruise was to stay at the place called porte royall and alsoe my seruise to be there the next ffirst day and soe comeing in vpon the 7 day of the weeke found her weake in bodie at present though the day before shee had beene among friends in the towne exorting them to faithfullnes in the worke of god and J came vp the staires where shee was and the had newlie taken her out of her bed into a chaire.

She was much swelled and J said let her haue iaire and the opened the windowes and opened her bodies and then her breath came and shee looked vp and see me but could not speake. J said let vs put her into her bed least shee gett cold, and we did and shee looked vpon me and J her my life rose towards her and alsoe her life answered mine again with greate Joy betwixt vs and shee said it is well James thou art come and fastened her arms aboute me and said blessed be the lord god that has made vs partakers of those heuenly mercies and more words to the like effecte and embraced me with a kisse and laid her selfe Downe and turned her selfe on her side and soe her breath went weaker and weaker till it was gone from her and soe passed away as though shee had beene asleep and none knew of her departure but as her breath was gone. . . .

And so, still in the thick of the fight, far from her home in the quiet Nottinghamshire village, she fell on sleep. Though her story is so far removed from our own time, something of that peace enters into our souls in the knowledge that her long and strenuous life ended in a great calm.

George Fox, writing to Friends from Rhode Island, 19th June, 1672, says :¹

Elizabeth Hootton is deceased at Jamaicae . . . James Lancaster was by her and can give an account what words she spoke and of her Testimony concerneing Truth a farther account I shall give concerneing her outward things to her Relations but let her Sonne Oliver gather up all her papers and her sufferings and send them to London that her life and death may bee printed.

To our lasting regret the latter injunction never appears to have been carried out, or at any rate the record has been lost, for no history of her, written by a contemporary, remains, and after the lapse of over two hundred and forty years there are necessarily many

¹ *Journal*, Camb. ed. ii. 213.

blanks which can never be filled. George Fox, in his Testimony concerning her, written in 1690, says :¹

In her Life she was very much Exercised with priests outward Professours Apostates Backsliders and Profane, for she was a Godly Woman & had a Great Care Lay upon her for People to walk in y^e Truth that did Profess itt, and from her Receiving y^e Truth she never turned her Back of itt but was fervent & ffaithfull for it till Death.

This is amply confirmed by the fragments of her history which remain to us, and from these fragments she emerges a heroic figure, one who worthily played her part in the heroic age of the Society of Friends: always valiant for the truth, quick to seize any opportunity that offered to plead the cause of her fellow sufferers, even though her own sufferings made the occasion—fearless in denouncing the evils of the time—far in advance of the age in which she lived in her advocacy of prison and other reforms, and, though her methods may appear strangely uncouth in our politer days, yet her history is eloquent in its lessons for us, conscious, it may be, that, in the words of Whittier,

The spirit's temper grows too soft in this still air.²

Does not the injunction of an earlier writer³ need special emphasis to-day? "May we not now, in a time of ease and liberty, live carelessly and indifferently towards Him, but in deep reverence and fear worship him, our great Deliverer, who powerfully wrought in the King's heart to the setting at freedom and liberty these sons and children of the morning!"

Another age, other problems, and as we consider those which confront us to-day, we ask, with Florence Nightingale, "Was there ever an age in so much need of heroism?" and we recognise too that to solve those problems aright we must approach them in the spirit in which Elizabeth Hooton approached the problems of her time, that spirit which prompted her to say:

¹ MS. in D. Not autograph.

² *My Birthday*, 1871.

³ Joseph Oxley, *Journal*, under date 1771.

All this and much more I have gone thorough and suffered, and much more could I for the Seed's sake which is Buried and Oppressed, and as a Cart is laden with Sheaves and as a Prisoner in an inward Prison-House; Yea, the Love that I bear to the Souls of all Men, making me willing to undergo whatsoever can be inflicted.¹

¹ Bishop, *op. cit.* p. 420.

Samuel Barki —
 John from Auld Robert Mori — } to gather up Sufferings
 Richard Brownlow }
 George Hopkinson }
 A Barkfield Samuel Hooton to Register all Births —
 Burialls & Marriages. William Molton found with
 William Clay his.

FROM THE EARLIEST MINUTE BOOK OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE Q.M.

See p. vii.

Addenda

THE HUSBAND OF ELIZABETH HOOTON (pp. 2, 16)

Several writers on Elizabeth Hooton have stated that her husband was *Samuel*: James Bowden, *Hist.* i. 260; A. C. Bickley in *D.N.B.*; Charlotte Fell Smith in *The British Friend*, 1893.

Mrs. Manners has come to the conclusion that Elizabeth's husband was *Oliver*. She thus states her case:

1. Though an exhaustive search of the Nottinghamshire Parish Registers has been made, I failed to find any marriage of a *Samuel* Hooton to Elizabeth — in any years when it would possibly have occurred.

2. At Ollerton (which village is said by Thoroton to have been partly owned by Hootons) I found that in the year 1628 *Oliver* Hooton married Elizabeth Carrier—and on the 4th of May, 1633, Samuel, son of Oliver and Elizabeth Hooton, was baptized. (Ollerton Parish Registers.)

3. No entries in Ollerton Registers between the years 1633 and 1636.

4. At Skegby in the year 1636 a son was born to *Oliver* and Elizabeth Hooton, and in succeeding years the children born are described as above.

5. In 1657, in the Friends' Digest Register, the death of *Oliver* Hooton is recorded, and under the same year the Skegby Parish Registers record *Oliver* Hooton the elder buried.

6. We learn from a letter written by Thomas Aldam from York Castle, where he and Elizabeth Hooton were imprisoned in 1652, that E. H.'s husband was living at that time.

7. George Fox in his Testimony concerning E. H. says: "Her husband being Zealous for y^e Priests much opposed her, in soe much that they had like to have parted but at Last it pleased y^e Lord to open his understanding that hee was Convinced alsoe & was faithfull untill Death." From this statement I should expect to find the entry of his death in the Friends' Register. The name of *Samuel* does not occur in either Register of deaths.

8. The late Mary Radley also arrived at the conclusion that the husband's name was *Oliver*, and our investigations were conducted entirely independently.

NOAH BULLOCK (p. 7)

The name of Noah Bullock does *not* appear in the list of Mayors of Derby given in William Hutton's *History of Derby*, ed. of 1791, but the following curious allusion to Bullock occurs in the same work, page 236 :

" 1676—We sometimes behold that singularity of character which joyfully steps out of the beaten track for the sake of being ridiculous ; thus the Barber, to excite attention, exhibited in his window green, blue and yellow wigs, and thus Noah Bullock, enraptured with his name, that of the first navigator, and the founder of the largest family upon record, having 3 sons, named them after those of his predecessor, Shem, Ham and Japhet ; and to complete the farce, being a man of property, built an ark, and launched it upon the Derwent, above St. Mary's-bridge ; whether a bullock graced the stern history is silent. Here Noah and his sons enjoyed their abode and the world their laugh. But nothing is more common than for people to deceive each other. The world acts under a mask. If they publicly ridiculed him, he privately laughed at them : for it afterwards appeared he had more sense than honesty ; and more craft than either ; for this disguise and retreat were to be a security to coin money. He knew Justice could not easily overtake him, and if it should, the deep was ready to hide his coins and utensils. Sir Simon Degge, an active magistrate, who resided at Babington-hall, was informed of Noah's proceedings, whom he personally knew : the Knight sent for him and told him, ' he had taken up a new occupation, and desired to see a specimen of his work.' Noah hesitated. The magistrate promised that no evil should ensue, provided that he relinquished the trade. He then pulled out a sixpence and told Sir Simon ' He could make as good work as that.' The Knight smiled ; Noah withdrew, broke up his ark, and escaped the halter."

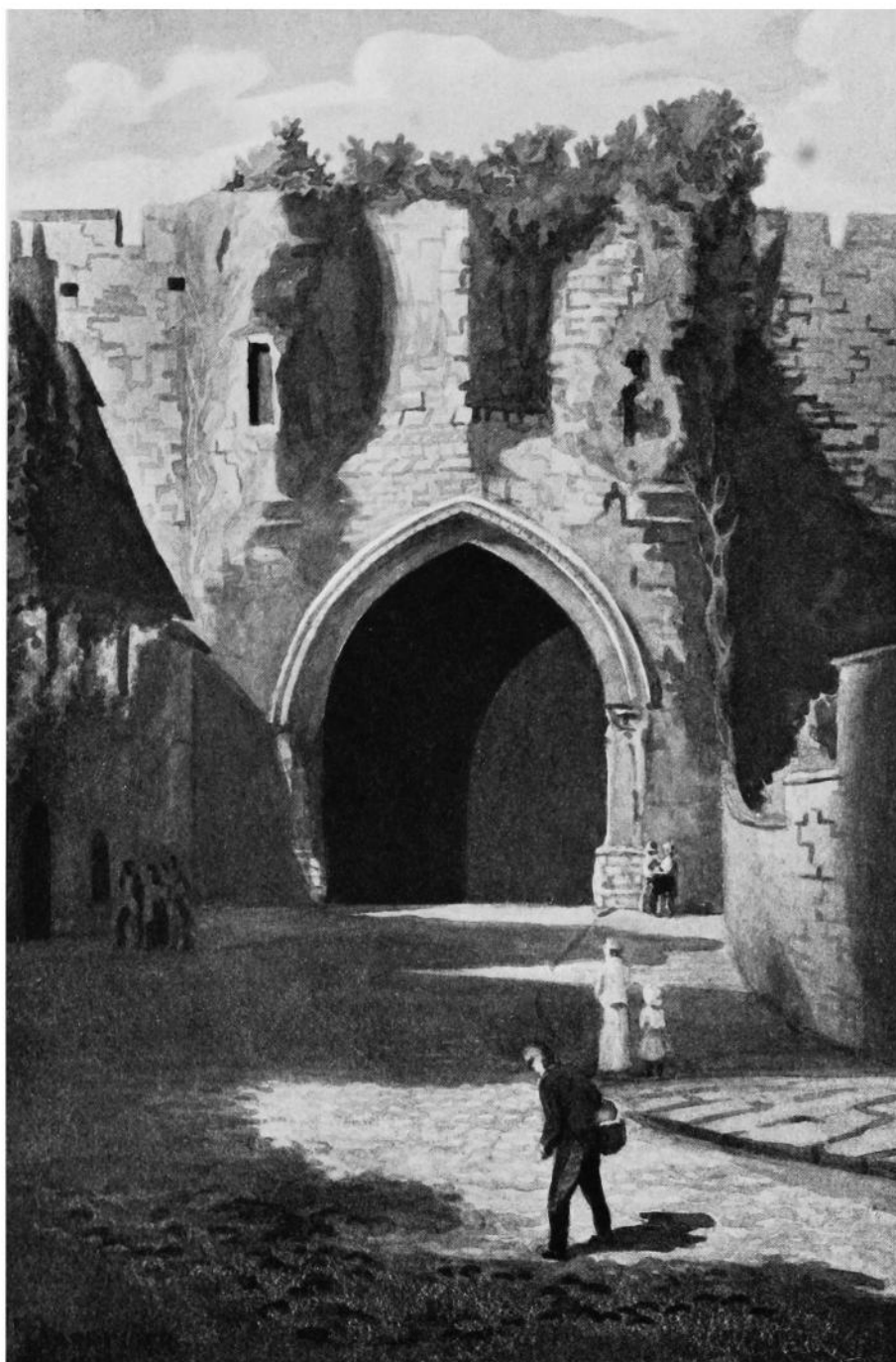
The family is an ancient one ; there are monumental inscriptions in St. Alkmund's church to Bullocks of Darley Abbey. The name is still represented in the town.

Information supplied by Edward Watkins, of Fritchley, Derby.

 COMMITMENT TO LINCOLN CASTLE (p. 14)

Lyncolnshere.

J was gon out of becingham, & was gone to bambe in Nottingham shire, & as J was warneing some to repent in y^e towne, there come a wicked man forth whose name was Atkinson, a proud man, he stroake me unreasonably, then pul'd he me out of my way over a bridge & when J was over he sent



To face p. 78.]

LINCOLN CASTLE GATEWAY.

[See p. vii.

to the Preist of becingham to serve his warrant upon me, & wth his warrant he sent me to the Justice, & the Justice being a wicked man he sent me to prison to Lincoln goal. The same Preist put another Man friend into prison for tithes, & hee dyed, & his house keeper came through the chamber where the Preist lay, & he s^d good morrow Valentine in a vain light condition, & tooke her in his armes to salute her & suddainly the Lord stroak him wth death, though he cryed for his bottle of strong waters but it would not save him, thus the hand of the Lord is ag^t wicked men, both old & young, [they] shall perish if they transgress. Atkinson came to nought alsoe & was taken away suddainly, yet the Lord was with me in prison though J endured a very cold winter, it was God's mercy in preserving me that winter from being starved to death, & this widdow woman that kept y^e goal was full of cruelty towards me & all y^e prisoners.

[Endorsement]

An imperfect paper, yet expressing the Manner of her being sent to Lyncolne Prison: and Gods hand upon y^e Priest & Atkinson that were y^e cause of her Jmprisonm^t there.

MS. in D. (Portfolio i. 136)

UNKETTY (page 43)

An enquiry addressed to Augustine Jones, LL.B., of Newton Highlands, Mass., has brought the following information:

Unquity, or Unquity-quisset was the Indian name for Dorchester, which, in 1662, was incorporated as Milton. It is across the Neponset River from Boston, on the somewhat indirect way from Cambridge to Scituate.

Unquity means "a place at the end of the small tidal stream or creek."

A YOUNG MAN OUT OF THE NORTH OF ENGLAND (p. 43)

This was probably Thomas Newhouse, whose name is included in a list of English Friends visiting N.E., 1661 to 1671 (in the possession of William C. Braithwaite, Banbury, Oxon). The incident is associated with the name of Thomas Newhouse in the histories of Bishop, Besse and Bowden. In Newhouse's own account of the event and its results, given by Bishop (*op. cit.* p. 472), we read:

"Upon a Lecture-day at Boston in New-England, I was much pressed in Spirit to go into their Worship-house amongst them They cryed, Away with him; and some took me by the Throat, and would not suffer me to answer to it, but hurried me down Stairs, to the Carriage of a great Gun, which

stood in the Market place, where I was stripp'd, and tyed to the wheel, and whipp'd with ten Stripes . . . and then . . . whipp'd . . . at Roxbury . . . and at Dedham . . . and then sent into the Woods."

In Bishop's fuller account of this scene, he tells us (*op. cit.* p. 432) that Newhouse, "having two Glass Bottles in his Hands, dash'd them to pieces, saying to this effect, That so they should be dash'd in Pieces"—a very close parallel with the account given by E. Hooton.

William Edmondson states in his *Journal*, under date 1672, that the Friends of Virginia were "stumbled and scatter'd by his [Newhouse's] evil Example . . . who went from Truth into the Filth and Uncleaness of the World." See Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*.

It must have been a sorry spectacle—an old woman and a young man, both half naked, tied side by side to the back of a cart, and lashed with a whip of three knotted cords till blood ran.

HOOTON DESCENDANTS

The materials with which to re-erect the house of Hooton are scattered and difficult to identify; the frequent use of the same fore-name is a source of danger; but we venture to place before our readers such facts as at present see the light, in the hope that later research will be aided thereby.

SAMUEL HOOTON

Samuel, son of Oliver and Elizabeth Hooton, was baptized at Ollerton in 1633.

The hand of persecution rested upon him in early life; we find him in prison in Nottingham in 1660 for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance,¹ and in Leicester in 1662 he was in prison with George Fox and others,² being "cast into y^e Dungeon amongst y^e felons. There was hardeley roome to lye downe they [the prisoners] were soe thronge."³ Before reaching the age of thirty he was the objective of Muggletonian curses,⁴ as was his mother later; and eight years after, in 1670, as recorded by Besse,⁵ restraints were laid upon his goods "for the Cause of religiously Assembling to worship God."

On the 30th of November, 1670, Samuel Hooton married Elizabeth Smedley, both of Skegby, at the home of the bride-

¹ Besse, *Suff.* i. 553.

² *Ibid.* i. 333, 334.

³ *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 15.

⁴ Muggleton, *Spiritual Epistles*, pp. 78, 227.

⁵ *Suff.* i. 555.

groom's mother. There were two children born at Skegby, Oliver¹ in 1671 and Elizabeth in 1673.

Of his religious service we have found nothing before his departure for New England early in 1666, as related *ante*, and the next reference is dated two years later, May, 1668: "one Samuel, son of old Elizabeth Hooten," is mentioned among "those that labour in the work of the ministry."²

Towards the close of 1670, among signatories to An Appeal from Nottinghamshire, occurs the name Samuel Hooten.

In the Minute Book of Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting, at the date, 26 x. (Dec.) 1670, the same date on which his mother wrote the letter given *ante*, the word "backslider" is written beside the name of Samuel Hooten (see photo. facsimile, p. 75). This was probably done a few years later in connection with the passing of the following minutes by the Nottinghamshire Q.M. :

Nine & Twentieth Meeting

At the Quarterly Meeting at Maunsfeild the 29th day of first month 1675.

Exhortation the 1st time

Robert Grace & Thomas ffarnsworth Exhorted Sammuell Hooten for paing of Tyths, as to that he would giue noe Answer but was found very scorefull.

Exhortation the 2nd time.

Georg Cockram, & Mathias Brackney Exhorted Sammuell Hooten for paing of Tyths, his answer was, he was neuer conuenced in his conscience but that they ought to be payed, it was spoken to him as that he did beare his testimoney against them and suffered the spoyling of his goods for his Testimony he said that he did it out of the strength of his owne will.

Agreed that a Testimonie be drawne up Against the Spirit that Leads Sammuell Hooten To pay tythes (& justifie his paying of them) and to be giuen him by Robert Grace and William Malson, a Coppy as followeth :

"A Testimonie from the people of god (in scorne called Quakers) Against Tythes & Tithe takers & all that pay them in Generall (whoe denie Christ Jesus come in the flesh—who hath Ended the Law & the Changable preisthood, and is becom the unchangable high preist over the house of god for Euer) But more Especialy against the Spirit that now acts in & by Sammuell Hooten.

¹ This may be the same as Oliver 3, see page 84.

² T. Salthouse to M. Fell (Swarth. MSS. i. 103), and *Letters of Early Friends*, p. 165.

“Whereas Sammuell Hooten hath Long beene a professor of gods blessed truth and hath borne a Larg verball Testimony thereunto & not onely soe but hath suffered much thereby, by all which according to outward Apearance he was Looked upon by many to be a faithfull wittness for god, but Alass as a flourishing tree which brings forth noe good fruite, soe is a profession without the possession of the truth, & as Euery Tree is knowne by his fruite soe is Euery spirit knowne by its Action, and though the said Sammuell hath walked Long in apearance as aboue said, yet hath he Lately brought forth bad fruit to the dishoner of god in paing Tiths to an Jmpropriator and though he hath beene tenderly dealt withall yet he still persists to manetaine the thing as Lawfull, soe that wee are constrained for the truth sake to giue forth this testimony against that Spirit that Led him to pay tiths (and plead for them) and doe foreuer judg it, & Condemne it in him or in whome-soeuer it is found, being the same Spirit with them that takes Tithes by whome many of our deare friends haue suffered Jmprisonment unto death & sealed there testimoney with there Bloud, and this is to goe forth into the world that truth may be cleared, & all false Reports stopped & Judged, who now say we alow what we formerly declared against, noe more but in true Loue to all people we Reste.”

ffrom the Quarterly Meeting at Maunsfeild, the 29th day of the 1st month 1675.

It is possible that the family emigrated to the Western World. Mrs. Amelia Mott Gummere, of Haverford, Pa., contributes the following, which may refer to the above Samuel :

Elizabeth Hooton, wife of Samuel Hooton, of Shrewsbury, New Jersey, with her daughter Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Hillborne, were appointed guardians of Samuel Hooton, when the latter became insane in 1694. Thomas Hillborne and Elizabeth Hooton, both of Shrewsbury, N.J., were married 12th December, 1688, at the house of her mother, Elizabeth Hooton. The original marriage certificate was in the possession of Thomas Darlington, of Birmingham, Pa., in 1863.”

Of the Hootons of N.J., Mrs. Kate B. Stillé wrote in the *Jnl. F.H.S.* iv. 50 : “Their descendants hold the land near Burlington and Evesham, which was bought from the Indians.”

ELIZABETH HOOTON, JR., AFTERWARDS LAMBERT.

The marriage of the younger Elizabeth with Thomas Lambert, of Tickhill, 21st of September, 1669, is recorded in the Registers of Nottinghamshire, but there is no entry therein of any children or of the deaths of Thomas and Elizabeth Lambert.

We may hazard the suggestion that emigration to the New World removed their names from the Registers of the Old. In the published *New Jersey Archives*, first series, vol. xxiii., p. 236, we read :

“ 1692-3, Feb. 20. Hooton John. Letters of administration on the estate of, formerly granted to Thomas Lambert in behalf of his wife, confirmed, notwithstanding application of Richard & Thomas Hilbourne on behalf of Samuel Hooton for it, based on the order of Gov. Hamilton making Elizabeth, the wife of the said Samuel, Thos. Hilbourne and wife Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel, his guardians during his lunacy (*N.J. Arch.*, vol. xxi., p. 193). John White, attorney for Thos. Lambert, submits the affidavit of John Snowden, to whom John Hooton had said, shortly before his death, he did not intend his brother Samuel should have his plantation, while William Black and John Birch attest that deceased had expressed his intention that John, the son of his brother, Thomas Lambert, should have it. (Burlington Records, p. 18.)”

OLIVER HOOTON

1. Oliver, son of Elizabeth, is mentioned by Fox in his *Journal*, under date 1672, and he was apparently at home in England at the time (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 213).

His “hystry” is referred to on page 4, also his Certificate concerning George Fox.

He was at Skegby in May, 1666 (page 54).

2. Oliver Hooton, living in Barbados, is referred to in sundry places.

He wrote a Testimony concerning William Sympson (dropping into verse at the close), on the 16th of February, 1670, printed in *A Short Relation . . . of William Simpson, 1671*.

In 1674, he was fined 1,592 lbs. of sugar for “not appearing in Arms.”¹

Thomas and Alice Curwen visited him, and wrote a letter from his house, dated the 12th February, 1676.²

In 1677, with other Friends, he signed an Appeal to Governor Atkins on behalf of sufferers for the Truth.³

There is a letter in D.⁴ from O. Hooton to George Fox, dated “Barbados y^e 8 : 2^d m^o 1682.” References to the writer’s personal

¹ Besse, *Suff.* ii. 290.

² *Relation of . . . Alice Curwen, 1680.*

³ Besse, *Suff.* ii. 313.

⁴ A.R.B. MSS. 45.

history are wanting, but he writes as one who knew Fox, "from the begining of y^e apearance of y^t Glorious Day, y^e dawnings wherof (in our dayes) first made knowne its Splendor through thee. . . . I have both loved and honored thee from y^e first." The writer is on the eve of a visit "to see y^e new Countreys of new Jarsey and Pensilvania," but he "cannot say to Setle there."

There does not appear to be sufficient evidence to state that 1 and 2 are the same persons.

3. The Registers of Mansfield Monthly Meeting record the death of Oliver Hooton, son of Samuel and Elizabeth Hooton, 14 xi. 1671, who died at his parents' house at "Seckby" and was buried at "Skegby." See page 81, note 1.

MARTHA HOOTON

The name, Martha Hooton, also appears in the records of Barbados—in 1689 she was fined £4 19s. od. "for Default of sending a Man and a Horse armed in to the Troop,"¹ and there is in **D.** a curious manuscript, being a petition from a slave girl named Mama to obtain the freedom granted by her mistress, Martha Hooton, widow, in her will dated "the third day of the fifth Month . . . 1704," she having died on the 8th September of that year.

THOMAS HOOTON

1. Thomas, son of Oliver and Elizabeth Hooton, was baptized 1636. Of this son, Mrs. Manners writes: "The late Mary Radley thought that Thomas was an older son of Oliver and Elizabeth Hooton, but I think she must have read this name as 'Timothy.' Mrs. Dodsley, who searched the Skegby Parish Registers for me, thinks the name given is 'Thomas,' and as I have found no mention of 'Timothy' in any of the documents I have searched, I am inclined to think Mrs. Dodsley's surmise is correct."

2. According to the Friends' Registers for the County of Lincoln, Thomas Hooton, of Sibsey [? Sibson], Leicestershire, married Mary Sharp of Barnby at the house of John Pidd, at Barnby, Notts, 1662 xii. 15. The Hooton home in Leicestershire was Sileby, and the home of the bride, Barnby, is not far distant from Ollerton, the Notts Hooton home.

3. The following extracts have been taken from the Minutes of Nottinghamshire Q.M. :

¹ Besse, ii. 339.

Thirteth Meeting

At the Quarterly Meeting at Maunsfeild, the 28th day of the 4th month 1675.

Agreed that William Malson Robert Grace Francis Clay, & Mathias Brackney, doe consider with Thomas Hooton about the Repairing of Joseph Roberts house.

One and Thirteth Meeting

At the Quarterly Meeting at Maunsfeild the 27th day of the 7th month 1675

It is Agreed that friends at the monthly meeting belonging to Maunsfeild put an End to the buseniss betwixt Thomas Hooton and friends, About Joseph Roberts house & ground.

Six & Thirteth Meeting

At the Quarterly Meeting at Nottingham the 28th day of the 10th month 1676.

Paid out of the publique Stocke for the Repairing of Joseph Roberts house the sume of £2 : 10 : 6.

4. At a Quarterly Meeting held at Lincoln, 27 x. 1693, the following minute was made: "At this meeting Thomas Hooton sent Twenty Shillings to be disposed of this Meeting received and disposed of at this accordingly."

5. There was a Thomas Hooton of London, of whom more is known. He and his family emigrated to New Jersey. See Besse's *Sufferings*; Clement's *Settlers in West New Jersey*, 1877, p. 301; *The Friend* (Phila.), lxxvii. (1903), p. 52; *New Jersey Archives*.

JOHN HOOTON

The following is from the Minutes of the Nottinghamshire Q.M. :

Seauen Twentith Meeting

At the Quarterly meeting at Maunsfeild, the 28th day of the 7th moth 1674.

Exhortation the first time—

Georg Corkram & Mathias Brackney exhorted John Hooton for paying of Tyths, his answer was that if they take it he would not hinder them and that he had as good pay tythes as pay Rente for them.

Eight and Twentieth Meeting

At the Quarterly Meeting at Maunsfeild, the 28th day of the 10th month 1674.

Exhortation the Second time

Robert Grace & Thomas ffarnsworth Exhorted John Hooton for paing of Tythes, & his Answer was, he was not fully conuined, but that it was the Jmpropriators Right or due after they had set there marke in it and he said if he found anything in himselfe that did oppose it for the time to come he hoped he should be faithfull to it, And he was Lowe & tender.

One and Thirteth Meeting

At the Quarterly Meeting at Maunsfeild the 27th day of the 7th month 1675.

Exhortation the 3rd time.

Francis Clay, and Robert Grace Exhorted John Hooton for paing of tyths, his Answer was that he found that it was not right to be paied, neither did he jntend to pay any more but he said his seruants did Leaue some contrary to his order, and he was found very tender.

For John Hooton, of N.J., see under Elizabeth Hooton, *aft.* Lambert.

JOSIAH HOOTON

Of Josiah Hooton, mentioned on page 3, nothing further appears.

 JUDGE ENDICOTT (p. 50)

“It was not the people of Massachusetts—it was Endicott and the Clergy”—who persecuted the Quakers.—JOHN FISKE, *Beginnings of New England*, 1895.

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II.—In manuscript :—

Hooton MSS. in **D.** (Portfolio iii.) 1653-1671.

This is a collection of seventy-nine MSS., one only, or at most two, in the handwriting of the Author, but all of contemporary date. They are, in the main, addresses to persons in authority or position—Cromwell, the Mayor of London, the Lord Chamberlain, the Bishops of London and Canterbury, the King and the Duke of York, Lieutenant Robinson of the Tower, various “priests” and magistrates, and others.

There is another MS. in **D.** (Portfolio i. 135), being an address respecting persecution in New England, unsigned, but doubtless by E. Hooton, though not in her handwriting.

Letter to the Mayor of Derby. 1650. In **D.** (Swarth. MSS. ii. 43.)

Letter to George Fox, 1651. In **D.** (A.R.B. MSS. 16.)

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