

so often ministered
for God's sake: but is a good
spirit: he is the good of his
a few lines to him: for I love
him: & of eternal rest of
and ~~with~~ with it in the family whom he hath
self to walk faithfully in the same way on in your measure to his
great & glory to whom be all honor & glory for ever & ever
Amen

Thy Son & friend of good

It was moved to him with this

He sent: when Thomas: ran but:

he was found away: & only after

it was come to me)

Salut me in it I love to all & fear
love in the family: thy husband: &
all friends there abide: I know not
but I shall see your favor in it
I hope before I go to the end of this
Century

Wm Dewsbury

LETTERS TO
WILLIAM DEWSBURY
AND OTHERS

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY
HENRY J. CADBURY

Supplement No. 22 to the
Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

LONDON : THE BANNISDALE PRESS
Published for the
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1
and for the
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA, U.S.A.

1948

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY HEADLEY BROTHERS
109 KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C.2 ; AND ASHFORD, KENT

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
INTRODUCTION	5
LIST OF LETTERS	II
TEXT OF THE LETTERS	13
INDEX	67

Introduction

THOUGH much is known and is available in print about the early Quaker movement in England, the following letters may be a welcome addition. They are a sample of what must have been a vast interchange of personal notes among the heralds of the new Quaker message as they travelled about England in the middle 1650's. Such a group of early original letters of Friends would be quite unique were it not for the great collection once housed at Swarthmoor Hall,¹ but now somewhat divided, which may be called the Swarthmore documents. See my *Swarthmore Documents in America*, 1940, pp. 5-7. Hundreds of letters from the Commonwealth period alone have come down to us from this source. Other early letters are known to us from copies rather than in the original. The Dewsbury Correspondence is therefore of some interest, even though the letters do not deal with world-stirring events. They introduce us to some less well known figures of early Quakerism and they mention as well the more important. They dovetail into many scenes of Quaker history very neatly. They give us insight not only into the preaching and suffering of the Friends, but into their warm inner fellowship. They have the authentic flavour of the dawn of a new enthusiasm.

They are all connected with William Dewsbury, a Yorkshire Quaker leader who in ability and in success as well as in sweetness of character was second to none. They include messages about James Nayler and George Fox, other leaders of prominence at the time. Their authors include Margaret Fell, James Parnell shortly before his death in Colchester Gaol, Thomas Stubbs of Cumberland, and John Stubbs also from the North, as well as Dewsbury's fellow Yorkshiremen, Richard Farnsworth, Thomas Goodaire, Roger Hebden, John Whitehead, and Mary Smith, the wife of Richard Smith, tanner at York. No principle of selection is evident in this sheaf of letters, nor can one say how they came to be

¹ There are about 1,400 of these in Friends House Library, London.

preserved. Apparently for at least a century they have been at York, though little known or used.

The letters here published are now in a small portfolio in the Record Room of the Friends Meeting House, Clifford Street, York, where various Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting minute books are housed. Their catalogue label reads "Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting Strong Room. Shelf VI. No. 15". On the spine of the portfolio is stamped in gilt letters: "Correspondence of William Dewsbury. 1650-1679." By another cataloguing this item was listed as L 91. Most of the letters are now mounted, one each, on pages numbered 2-32. There is no page 1. They are given each a heading based upon the contents of the letter and sometimes fuller notes about the writer. These and, in fact, the whole construction of the portfolio are, as will be seen, later than 1840 in date. Twenty-six of the mounted letters are endorsed with other numbers, 1 to 26. They have also received in addition to any original address an endorsement in a hand uniform throughout, but earlier than the numbers. These older numbers will be found in the second column in the chart of contents. The endorsements mentioned have not been transcribed. Correspondence included in the end of the portfolio shows that twenty-six letters, certainly these twenty-six, were lent as a bundle to Abram Rawlinson Barclay by William Alexander of York from the Quarterly Meeting Closet on the 5th of 8 mo., 1840, and returned from Sandgate, Kent, on the 17th of the same month.

The letters between William Dewsbury and Mary Smith (XXVI-XXX) lack these numbers and evidently were not included in the same collection in 1840. Two other letters (XXXIII, XXXIV) are neither endorsed nor mounted in the portfolio, but are appropriately included with the larger collection. A third document also laid in is a long epistle to Friends in the northern counties and elsewhere by Thomas Camm, "from Appleby the place of my confinement for truth's testimony the 11th of the 9th month 1680". It is in a contemporary hand, torn in spots and faded in others and has not been numbered in this collection or here transcribed.

The letters are apparently originals. They have generally original folding, address on the outside. In many cases the seals still show and the tears produced by opening them.

Some of the few letters that show no sign of a seal (VI, X, XI, XII, XVI, XVII, XXI, XXXIII) may have been enclosures or delivered by hand.

No. XXXII has no seal, and was more a certificate than a letter. The handwriting and signature is not that of Titus Oates as may be seen by comparing it with the facsimile of a subscription of a letter by Oates of March 1st, 1693/4, published in the *Catalogue of the Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents found between 1865 and 1882*, by Alfred Morrison, vol. V, 1891, p. 40. Yet in 1840, on the basis of a tracing sent to him, William Upcott, the largest collector of autographs in England at the time, wrote to A. R. Barclay, who preserved the reply with the document, that he had no hesitation in declaring the signature genuine. The writing of other pieces, being by Friends, can mostly be compared with other letters written by them. I have verified with such MSS. the handwriting here of Dewsbury (as in Swarth. MSS., iii, 22, 24), Farnsworth (*ibid.*, ii, 53), Hebden (A.R.B. MSS., 22), Parnell (*ibid.*, 29), Ann Sherwood (Swarth. MSS., iv, 53-57), John Stubbs (*ibid.*, iii, 127a, iv, 24-27), Thomas Stubbs (Benjamin Grubb MSS. at Friends House). While the signature of John Whitehead in No. XXXIII agrees with that in Swarth. MSS., iv, 60, his signature and the handwriting in XIX and XX differ. The two letters from Margaret Fell (XIV, XXV) differ in handwriting from each other. Her own actual hand has always been hard to determine. She had plenty of daughters and other amanuenses available. There is no reason to suppose that either here or in the case of other writers whose hands I have not verified the letters are not originals, even if not holograph.

The letters are many of them dated and for others with the help of internal evidence and external parallels the year can sometimes be determined. In doing this I have had the help of Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall, who has achieved a facility in this art through preparing a calendar of the Swarthmore MSS. of this period. The earliest is probably 1654 and, except for the Titus Oates certificate of 1678/9, the latest is probably 1662 (XXX), or of the original group of twenty-six letters, 1659 (XXV).

Their preservation must be due to William Dewsbury himself to whom most of them were addressed, along with

his wife Ann, who, however, long predeceased him. Just how both parts of the correspondence between him and Mary Smith of York came to be preserved together, though not in the original twenty-six, one cannot easily conjecture. Nor can one tell what was the history of either part up to 1840 when William Alexander lent the twenty-six to A. R. Barclay. In 1824 Alexander himself published *Collectitia*, volume I, but the many early Quaker letters that he included are none of them from this Dewsbury collection, but rather from the Colchester Collection. A life of Dewsbury written by Edward Smith of London, who died in 1834, and carefully edited and published by John Barclay in 1836, shows no knowledge of this collection. A. R. Barclay published in 1841 (preface dated Leytonstone, near London, 11th month, 1840), one hundred and forty *Letters, &c., of Early Friends*. The letters were mostly derived from the Swarthmore MSS., marked "From the original" or from copies in "W. Caton's MSS. Collection". He included, however, on pages 224 and 225, part of one of the present letters, No. XVIII in this collection. It is misnumbered LXXXVI and corrected to LXXXVIII in his collection, is marked "From the Original apparently", and is James Parnell's letter from Colchester Castle to William Dewsbury in Northampton Gaol. Except for this imperfect transcription and its reprinting, none of the present letters have so far as I can learn been published except one.

In 1852 Thomas Chalk published in London a small volume entitled *The Life and Writings of John Whitehead*. He printed two letters of John Whitehead derived, he says, from the "Records of York Quarterly Meeting". The first (pp. 53-55) is the letter to William Dewsbury given below as No. XX. The second (pp. 201-204) was "found among the Records at York". It is addressed to Friends, and dated from the common gaol at Hull, 13.v.1663, but it is no longer with this collection of original letters. It belonged to Silvanus Thompson of York whose granddaughter, Elisabeth Brockbank, in 1918 presented it to the Mount School there. Beside these the certificate of Titus Oates was included on page 343 in the works of William Dewsbury when they were published, probably in 1689, under the title *The Faithful Testimony of that Ancient Servant of the Lord*, etc. But the copy there is independent and in

some respects inferior to this one. Nor is there much evidence that the collection has been used or even known before or since. I find three exceptions. No. II was assigned in the portfolio to 1650, but William Charles Braithwaite has correctly changed this to 1656 in a pencil note with the initials WCB. He also summarized the contents of the various letters in his notes, now in the Friends House Library, on Yorkshire Q.M. Records. In *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, xi, 1914, p. 146, the writer (presumably Norman Penney) discussing Abraham MSS. 2, a letter of William Dewsbury to Margaret Fell written from Northampton Gaol, 5.vi.1655, says, "M. Fell's reply dated 14. vi mo., is among York MSS. Dewsbury correspondence, fol. 14". This is of course our No. XIV.

Although I have no evidence that John Wilhelm Rowntree knew the collection—it is not quoted in his published writings—he made or had made for him a copy of the Catalogue of York Quarterly Meeting Records. This is now at Woodbrooke. Late in August, 1947, I noted there under the letter L an entry "91. Original Letters to William Dewsbury &c 1650-1679", and made a resolve to examine it when shortly after I should be at York. This I did, and recognizing the value of the letters, I asked the Custodians for permission to have them microfilmed, partly as a precaution against loss of the originals, and partly that their contents might hereafter be available to students outside of York. This they kindly permitted me to do and I took the same opportunity to copy out the letters by hand directly from the originals. Film copies may be seen at the Libraries at Harvard and Haverford.

As is now usual in printing early writings of this sort, the abbreviations have been filled out and punctuation and capitals added. Otherwise the transcription aims to be verbatim and literatim. A few words defied decipherment. The notes might have been made more elaborate. I hope they are useful as far as they go. For many of the persons mentioned I have been able to refer the reader to the notes of Norman Penney in the *Cambridge Journal of George Fox*.

My grateful thanks go to John Nickalls, librarian of Friends House Library, London, for preparing my MS. for the printer and seeing the book through the press, to

Muriel Hicks, assistant librarian, whose answers to my enquiries have helped in building up the notes and to the Bannisdale Press, whose generosity has made possible the publication of these letters.

HENRY J. CADBURY

Cambridge,
Massachusetts, U.S.A.

ABBREVIATIONS

Works cited as authorities are abbreviated as follows :

- Besse, Sufferings.* " A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers ", from 1680 to 1689. By Joseph Besse. London, 1753. 2 vols.
- Braithwaite, Beginnings.* " The Beginnings of Quakerism ". By Wm. C. Braithwaite. London, 1912.
- Camb. Jnl.* " The Journal of George Fox." Edited by Norman Penney. Cambridge University Press, 1911. 2 vols.
- D.N.B.* " Dictionary of National Biography".
- E.S.P.* " Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends, 1654-1672 ". London, 1913.
- F.P.T.* " The First Publishers of Truth ". Early records of the introduction of Quakerism. London, 1907.
- J.F.H.S.* Journal of the Friends Historical Society. London, begun 1903.
- Piety Promoted.* (. . . dying sayings and brief accounts of many of the . . . Quakers). Edited by Wm. and Thos. Evans. Philadelphia, 1854. 4 vols. There are many earlier editions.
- Short Jnl.* " The Short and Itinerary Journals of George Fox ". Edited by Norman Penney. Cambridge University Press, 1925.

LIST OF LETTERS

MS. Page No.	Old No.	Writer.	Addressee.	Place of Writing.	Day.	Mo.	Year.	Page.
2	9	T[homas] S[tubbs]	Ann Dewsbury	Northampton	4	5	56	13
3	7	R[ichard] F[arnsworth]	Wm. "					15
4	4	J H	Ann "					17
5	19	T[homas] S[tubbs]	Wm. "	Normanton	27	10		18
6	2	Tho: Goodaire	Wm. "				[55]	20
7	10	Thos. Forrester		London	7	4	55	22
8	11	M T	Wm. "	London	13	4	[57]	23
		R[oger] H[ebden]	Wm. "					
9	3	Chris: Fell	Wm. "	Beckring	4		[55]	26
10	5	Elish: Hunt	Wm. "	Wellingborough			[55]	28
11	12	T[homas] S[tubbs]	Wm. "	Northampton	16	5	[55]	29
12	13	T[homas] S[tubbs]	Wm. "	Northampton	25	5	[55]	31
13	14	T[homas] S[tubbs]	Wm. "		14	6	[55]	32
14	15	M[arg.] F[ell]	Wm. "	Swarthmore	14	6	[55]	34
15	18	T[homas] S[tubbs]	Ann "	Northampton	13	9	55	36
16	17	T[homas] S[tubbs]	Ann "	Northampton	3	9	55	37
17	16	T[homas] S[tubbs]	Wm. "		15	7	55	38

MS. Page No.	Old No.	Writer.	Addressee.	Place of Writing.	Day.	Mo.	Year.	Page.
18	8	James Parnell	Wm. Dewsbury	Colchester	16	10	[55]	40
19	20	J[ohn] W[hitehead]	Wm. "	Newport	28	11	55[6]	43
20	21	J[ohn] W[hitehead]	Wm. "	Newport	25	12	55[6]	45
21	1	Ann Sherwood	Wm. "					48
22	22	Katharine Bull	Wm. "		30	4	56	49
23	23	John Stubbs	Wm. "	W. Brab[ourne]	25	4	57	51
24	24	John Whitehead	Ann "	London	17	2	58	52
25	25	M[arg.] F[ell]	Wm. "		8	3	59	53
26		M[ary] S[mith]	Wm. "		9	1	[61/2]	54
27		W[m.] D[ewsbury]	Mary Smith	Newgate, Lond.	14	9	1661	56
28		W[m.] D[ewsbury]	[]					57
29		M[ary] S[mith]	Wm. Dewsbury	York	4	"last"	[61/2]	58
30		W[m.] D[ewsbury]	Mary Smith	Newgate, Lond.	1	2	1662	60
31	6	W[m.] D[ewsbury]	[Mary Smith]					61
32	26	Titus Oates	Whitfield		13	March	78/9	62
[33]		John Whitehead	W[m.] D[ewsbury]	Beesthorpe	28	10	1657	63
[34]		A[nn] S[herwood]	Wm. Dewsbury					65

[There is no letter I.]

II

THOMAS STUBBS¹ to ANN DEWSBURY,² *Northampton*,
4.v.1656.

[One folio side two-thirds covered in the hand of Thomas Stubbs.]

DEARE sister An: D,
Deare daughter of Sion I salute thee in the pure
eternall Light, Love, & Life in Christ, through the ever-
lasting mercies of the Liveing Lord our God, who haith
predestenated & called us in him before the foundation of the
world was to serve him which is seene in the Light, & manifest
in due time to bee conformable to his deare onely begotten
Son, in Sufferings, persecutions passing through, & reproaches
of the heathen endureing & hated of the world for his name
sake; but in thes things we are made to reioyce in the
everlasting covenant in our Lord Jesus Xt through the power
of God to whom belongs prayse & glory for ever & ever.
Deare heart in the pure word of Life dwell & there I am
with the in that which faides not &c, fairwell, in the Lord.
I remaine A brother in the eternall,

T: S:

And my fellow prisoners salutes thee & thy husband W: d.³
& friends.

J: S & T: G.⁴ is with mee

¹ Thomas Stubbs (-1673), see *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 420. For his imprisonments in Northamptonshire in 1655-56 see Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 528 f.

² Ann Dewsbury, the first wife of William Dewsbury, died in 1658. William Dewsbury had been a prisoner "fifteen months" in this prison, being released in January 1655/6.

³ William Dewsbury (1622-1688) of Wakefield. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 399, and the life by Edward Smith (1836).

⁴ John Samm (-1664), of Clifton or Houghton-Conquest, Bedfordshire. Later the son-in-law of William Dewsbury. See *A True and Faithful Testimony concerning John Samm* by John Crook and Thomas Green, 1664. With William Lovell, Thomas Stubbs and John Crook

John Crooke⁵ was Let goe from us the 2th of this Instant, 5. month 56 & Jo: Sam at present detained for fees as the Jayler said ; hee said hee might keepe mee, though upon the same account committed, & the Jayler hinders friends from comeing to us ; but upon the Lord we waite from whence our strength & freedome comes as he makes way. The vaine & lustfull men's rage & envy is much against us ; but deare beloved in the name & power of the Lord pray for us that victory & dominion may be given to all his saints, in the Son of God by his wisdom & power.

And let me heare from thee as way is made conveniently.

Northam: the 4th day of the 5 month 56.

[Addressed in the same hand] To Ann Duesbury/ at Waikelfield in/ Yorkshire this/ ddd.

he had been arrested on May 26th at Hardingstone and committed to Northampton Gaol. Lovell was released first. See Besse, *loc. cit.*, who does not refer to the release of the others. T.G. is Thomas Goodaire. See Swarth. MSS., i, 120.

⁵ John Crook (1617-1699), of Beckerings Park, Bedfordshire. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 428, and *Publications of Bedfordshire Historical Society*, vol. 25, 1947, pp. 110-128.

III

RICHARD FARNSWORTH¹ to WILLIAM DEWSBURY,
without place or date.

[One page quarto and four lines on back in handwriting of Richard Farnsworth.]

DEARE Brother my dear love to thee, and to my Brother Will: Hooton² and to all frends in the truth of God ; all be faithful to the Lord and bould in teasting against the deceits of the world ; have noe unyon with any thing but that which is pure and all walk worthe of the Lord in all well pleasing in life and conversation ; and be faithfull, everie one Improveing your talent, that the Lord may be glorified by you.

All Frends heare awayes is well & growes in the truth & the work of the Lord goes on mightilie ; to him alone be praise honour & glorie for ever more.

My deare Love with the freinds at Balbie & Warnsworth Remembereth there Love in the one sperit of love to you all.

I know not but that I shall goe to Wakefeild side & soe to Geo: Foxe to see them. Frends is much stablished heare & in Darbshire & other places where the Lord hath brought forth many. All minde your growth and grow in grace and strength that ye may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the height & bredth & depth of the love of God, & the Lord God of Power be with you all & keepe you in faithfullness everie one, that his name may be glorified by you. Farewell,

your brother in the truth of God, R: F:

¹ Richard Farnsworth (-1666), of Tickhill, Yorks. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 398. At the time of writing he was evidently in touch with Friends of Balby and Warnsworth. He had won converts to Quakerism at Malton as early as 1652. In spite of considerable material his biography appears never to have been attempted.

² The reading is not quite certain, nor therefore the identification with a William Hooton, a Friend of Derby, who died in December 1700.

[Postscript on verso] Remember my love to Friends at Malton side & bidd them be faithfull to the Lord, and take heed of the world that it steale not in againe & soe polute & stain them.

Farewell, R: F:

[Addressed in same hand] For my Brother/ Will Dousberie/ & Friends that way/ this is.

IV

J. H.¹ to ANN DEWSBURY, without place or date.

[One quarto side partly covered in a neat and unidentified hand.]

MY Dear frend I salut thee in Jesus Christ and thy famelye.

My Love is with in the unseparable; my tender father hath caryed mee his weake servant in this jorney in the Armes of his tender Love far beeyond reason's expectation, prayses to him for ever.

My dear, salut mee to William and tel him ther is great need if he find fredom when hee is called tourds the North that he com by us at Wellingborow and there away. Som frends are exercised under Afflicktions in the inward others in the body; som things ther hath falen out that burthens the seed in mee, but I wayt upon the Lord who worketh all things for the best to them that Love and feare his name. Let this be privat with thee til thou heare further.

Thy frend in the unchangable J H
My deare saluts to all frends in the Lord.

[Addressed] For Ann Dewesbrie att/ Weakfeilld in Yorke shier.

¹ Though the writer and the date are not established, the following facts suggest John Hutchin, and 1656 or later. The reference to Wellingborough, to which Dewsbury brought Quakerism in 1654, suggests that the letter was written there. In 1655 John Hutchin was in prison at Northampton, part of the time with William Dewsbury. Both were released in January 1655/6. See Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 524-8, and Dewsbury, *Works*, 79 ff.

V

THOMAS STUBBS to WILLIAM DEWSBURY,
Normanton, 27.x.¹

[One side folio in the handwriting of Thomas Stubbs.]

LOVEING & deare brother in the everlasting free love & covenant of God our father in our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ, my love runs much forth towards the, & with the I often have sweate unitie thorow the free love of God shed abroad in our hearts, which unites us as one though absent in body yit present in spirit. Dear bro: I know there haith beene desires in the towards mee, so haith there also beene many in me towards the, but waiteing in the will of the Lord is our peace & unitie. I did recave some letters from the when I was in Cumberland wherein I did much reioyce to heare of the large love of the Lord given the. I did write a letter to the from neare Newcastle when I was in that country, which did declare of some of my passages but I know not whether thou haist recaved that because since I did not hear from the. So I came up into Yorkshire as soune as was my fredome; I came be Wakefield away and thy wife came with me to George² at Balby, & then G: wishet me—because some friends being come to the I then was not hastened & the work is great every where³—to be at some meetings in that country as at Sheffill & Rotheram & that awayse and also at certaine meetings in Darbshire where at the writeing herof I remaine & am to be ther a while and among friends; so I waite in my father's will his appointed time to see thy face in the flesh, & in

¹ The year is not given, nor can the time of this visit of Stubbs to Derbyshire be determined with certainty. The following points suggest 1654 as the probable year. The writer has come south with Peter Head, his companion in Carlisle gaol in 1654 (see note 5 below). George Fox was at Balby towards the close of 1654 (see note 2 and *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 149).

² Probably George Fox.

³ The words "because . . . everywhere" have been inserted and disturb the sentence.

the mean while my love runs forth to the. Dear brother let me hear from the as often as thou finds fredom in the Lord & canst conveniently ; oh thou hast been more than a brother to me, for thou hast been as a nourishing & a chirishing Father to me in our heavenly Father's love who haith chosen the, & so deare brother pray for me that I may dayly be preserved with my Father's lambs faithfull to the end. So fairwell in the Lord. I remaine thy dear brother in the eternall truth, T: S:

And into the will of my heavenly Father I commit the whose power is with the.

Salute me to my dear bro: John Whitehead & to Joseph Stor if he be with the. I was with Marmaduke⁴ & many friends of that side at Balby. Great is my love to the seed of God in that country and also many friends in Cumberland & elsewhere, their deare love runs forth to the, wileth me to remember them to the, whose names all I shall not her write with paper & inke, but they are written in the heart in the spirit of the liveing God. Oh great is my care for the seed of God in Cumberland, & many friends is now come out of that country & greate is their tryall. And pray that all his may be preserved in his fear, faithfull to the end, to have unitie in the pure w[hich] changes not at present. My dear bro: Peter Head⁵ is with me, whose love salutes [thee].

From Normanton in Darbshire, 27.10 month.

And dear brother let me hear from the as often as the Lord gives opertunitie, if many or few words, wher ever thou or I art.

[Addressed in the same hand] To William Dewsbury/ this deliver with care/ & spead in Laistershire/ or els wher hee is.

⁴ On John Whitehead, Joseph and Marmaduke Storr, see Letter XIII.

⁵ Peter Head of Pardshaw, Cumberland, was convinced in 1653, and the first meeting in Cumberland was settled at his home. In 1654 both he and Thomas Stubbs were imprisoned at Carlisle.

VI

THOMAS GOODAIRE to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, without place or date.¹

[One side quarto in the hand of Thomas Goodaire.]

DEARE brethren
 My deare love in that which never changeth salutes you all, I have received severall letters which came from my deare brother Richard Farnworth, one is for the Jayler where you are.² He writt unto me concerninge severall passages since he went from this towne, the effect of it is this, att the meetinge ab[ou]t Wellingborow there came in a Ranter,³ the most wickedest one that ever he meet with, he leaped on him, and threw him against the wall, and stopt his mouth with his napkin. And he Came again the next day to the meetinge at Oney⁴ with a sword about him, and struck feare into some of the people, and then he broke forth into rage and used many threatninge words, but Justice Croke Caused him to be put out of the yeard where the meetinge was, and afterward there came a Brownist thither and an Independent,⁵ as they are called, and they did oppose the truth but the Lord did confound them. The next night he had a meetinge att Newport,⁶ and many people Came in, and one⁷ young preist, but not one did oppose, and the 4th

¹ For Thomas Goodaire (-1693) of Selby, Yorks., see *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 399. He was at Swannington in December 1654, as was Farnsworth, and they had a dispute with Jacob Bauthumley the Ranter. This letter probably belongs shortly afterwards.

² Throughout 1655 Dewsbury was in Northampton Gaol. The words "I have sent it to you see that it be delivered" were originally written at this point and later were crossed through.

³ Beside Jacob Bauthumley other Friends refer to disputes with another ranter [John] Flower, and with Nicholas Greaton.

⁴ Olney.

⁵ Perhaps John Gibbs, Vicar of Newport Pagnell, who was a Congregationalist, is one of these. See *Calamy Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews.

⁶ Here and elsewhere this is Newport Pagnell.

⁷ "very" was written here and then crossed through.

day he had a meetinge at Crowley,⁸ and the 5th day he was to be at a meetinge at Justice Crookes,⁹ and James Nayler intended to be there that day, but I know no further of his proceedings.

He Remembered his deare love to you all.

Tho: Goodaire

[Addressed by writer] For my deare brother William/
Dousbery these deliver.

⁸ Either Husborne Crawley near Justice Crook's, or North Crawley nearer Newport.

⁹ " where intended " was written here and then crossed through.

VII

THOMAS FOSTER ;¹ without address, *London*, 7.iv.1655.

[One side folio of which the bottom has been torn off with a postscript and presumably the address.]

DEARE friend
 My love in the Lord Jesus is Endeavored to thee,
 more then words can Express. I have cause to bless the
 Eternall God that Ever I did see thy face, for what thou hast
 spoken to me is Life Eternall, And hath raised the Witness
 which hath been slaine in poluted Sodome in my heart, in
 measure I see that Witness Raised that never Gives rest day
 nor night to that in me that Worshippes the beast. The
 Righteous Law of God is Rendered in fury & vengeance
 upon the transgressor in me. A secret hope the Liveing God
 hath Raised up that Babalon's Children shall be dashed all
 to pieces in me. Deare friend supplicat the Lord God that I
 may be kept to wait upon him in his Judgment.

Thine in dearest affection,

London: on the Back of St.
 Clements at the signe of the
 Angell the 4 mo: 7th day 1655.

Thomas Forester

[Postscript and presumably address have been torn off.]

¹ In *Piety Promoted*, i, 48, where there is an account of Thomas Forster, it is said that he was convinced about 1658 and gave up his profession of the civil law. He died in 1660 and Mary Foster his widow wrote a testimony to him. Daughters named Mary, who married Michael Russell, and Elizabeth, who married Henry Gouldney, are known. This family lived later at White Hart Court. See *Short Jnl.*, pp. 301, 324, 334.

VIII

M. T.¹ and ROGER HEBDEN² to WILLIAM DEWSBURY,
London, 13.iv.

[Two quarto pages and the margin in an unidentified hand, part of the third page in the handwriting of Roger Hebden.]

MY dearly beloved
father, pray for me that I may be kept in the
faith over all contrary to the moanings of the life in
me my dear. Roger and I were with J: N: and truly I was
much refrest to heare him and feele him in such a sweet
Condition, bowles of love rouns out from him to all the deare
people of God, we had a fyne season with him, Roger spoke
to him consarning those filthy spiritts and³ tould him it was
the desire of him and all freinds in the truth, that he would
testify agaynst that disorderly spiritt and he replyd againe,
that all along he hath testified against that spiritt that led
into strife, devision, and made Rente amongst the people of
God and he wayted and his desire was that he might have but
liberty one day to come out amongst friends and that rude
company, to beare his testimony against them in the sight
of all and to denye them.

He tould us that ther had been some of them with

¹ M.T. is not certainly identified. Could it be Margaret Thomas of Bristol, with whom Dorcas Erbury had stayed? Or Michael Thompson who with William Dewsbury visited the *Woodhouse* at the Downs on June 1st, 1657 (*J.F.H.S.*, xxvii, 1930, p. 17)?

² Roger Hebden (c. 1620-1695) was a woollen draper of New Malton, Yorks, later of Appleton-le-Street nearby. He travelled widely as a publisher of Truth. See *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 464. Slight biographical information about him can be gleaned from *A Plain Account of . . . Roger Hebden*, 1700. At the time of this letter he may have been unmarried for he married Lucy Davison at Malton, 9th mo. 2, 1658. The time of writing can be determined as probably June 1657, from our full knowledge of Nayler's fall and its sequel. His imprisonment continued more than two years longer, until September 1659. Dewsbury had been in London and visited Nayler there early in 1657, but by spring he was already in Kent where this letter was addressed to him.

³ "did desire" was written here and then crossed through.

him since we were with him before, and he disowned them. He desired that freinds might testifie against them by his consent, he bid us tell freinds soe, and lik wyse he desires that what any freinds seese and it be not cleare to him conserning those people, that freinds may come and informe his mynd of it and he should bear a testimoney against them, for he saith he hath and doth beare a great burthen by them till he hath cleared himselfe of them. He desires all freinds to pray for him his deare love is to you, there is no hopes of getting a letter to him. He saith Rog[er] hath cleared the same to him and he is cleare in it ; he said he had rather suffer more then could be exprest then any of the people of God should suffer by him. He said they were gotten into the renting, tearing, exalted spiritt and into pryde, truly he is an honest true heart.

I tould him it was my desire, if it stood with his freedom, to se his outward man out of the window and he was very free and that deare heart came like a lamb and stood before the window. My deare pray for him, pray for him, that he may be presarved ; the love that rouns to him I cannot expresse. He bid us remember his dear love to all freinds in the north. I asked him if he would any thing to thee and he said nothing but bowels of love. He continewes week in the outward and hath taken littill, but the other day he said he took something, he saith he dare not will anything, but what the Lord opens to him he is made willing to obey. It were of great service if the Lord God should bring thee hither, in my measure I see it, soe I am free to lay it before thee. I know thy care in healing up the breaches, Ed: B:⁴ tels me that those filthy beasts that came from Wayles⁵ and the rest is very frontoward in sturing up the rude multitude, Martha is quiett, she hath as E: B: tould me, red the letter thou sent her in the meetting publickly. What her end was in doe doing I know not. As way is made lett me heare from the ; my love is with Thee. Remember me to the faithfull ther away, From London the 13th of the 4th month. M: T

⁴ Edward Burrough (1634-1662) was in London most of the period of his freedom while a Friend. "J.N." was originally written and then altered to "Ed B."

⁵ Of the women involved in the Nayler extravaganza Dorcas Erbury at least came from Wales. Martha is Martha, wife of Thomas Simmonds.

[In another hand on other half sheet inverted.]

Dear Bro:

I spoke unto E: B: conserning what had been spoken to J: N: and his answers, and desires, part therof being in this paper mentioned, the which hee seemed to Reioyce in, but said to this purpose, that hee must owne condemnation upon some things done, then I told him what Ja: said that he see it his place to lie under the feet of all,⁶ both the world and freinds and that hee was willing to take the shame to himselfe of what was showne him to be evill or words to that purpose. I desired E: B:, as he found freedome, for to goe & speak to Ja: and that the spirrit meeknes unto mee seamed to way for to recover him, then E: B: of himselfe said that some young freinds had beene to Rash; or words to that purpose, soe I spoke some thing to him of T: L:⁷ what I see & heard. Thy being at London might be of great service if the Lord soe order it: I am well satisfied concerning my comeing thither; pray for mee my deare brother as the Lord thee moves.

R: H:

[Addressed in hand of first letter] For Will: Dewsburey/
this with Care.

[Added in hand of first or second letter] leave this at Dover/
with Luike Howard⁸/ shoemaker neere the/ Flying Horse/
this with/ Care.

⁶ Strikingly similar is the phrase used just a year later by Alexander Parker reporting that James Nayler "is made willing to lie under all". Barclay, *Letters &c. of Early Friends*, 1841, p. 57.

⁷ T.L. not identified.

⁸ For Luke Howard (1621-1699) see *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 430, and L. V. Hodgkin, *The Shoemaker of Dover*, 1943. From this letter we learn for the first time his address.

IX

CHRISTOPHER FELL¹ to WILLIAM DEWSBURY and others, *Beckerings*, no date.

[A narrow strip from the top of a folio page.]

DEARE friends & brethren in that which the world cannot receive but stumbles at, my love in the measure of life doth salute you everie one. Will Duseberie: this is to acquaint thee that I have seene Thy & our brethren at Bedford since I was with the ; & they are verie well kept amongst a tirannious generation ; & yesterday I heard from them: & they remember their deare loves to thee & all thy fellow prisoners: And likewise I did see Mary Fisher² at Alesberie at the sessions: it did much reioyce me to see thee love of the Lord to her in providing for her ; for trewly the Lord hath provided more peace for her outwardly then for any prisoner of the Lord that ever I knew: & she is verie well kept in the Lord's love: & the Lord hath subiected the Gaoler & his wife & others under her feate. So with love & in love I take my leave now, waiting in the feare of the Lord, at Beckrinns³ readie to goe to Aspley to meeting and thence to Crowley,³ to meate with Margaret Killam,⁴

¹ For Christopher Fell who travelled widely in the early days of Quakerism, see *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 450-1. No signature or letter by him is available to compare with this handwriting. The date is 1655, the year that Dewsbury was in Northampton gaol, and that Mary Fisher was imprisoned in Buckinghamshire.

² Mary Fisher (c. 1623-1698) from Selby, Yorks. See *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 480. Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 75, gives no details of her arrest and imprisonment. But F. W. Bull's article on Gibbs, in *Congregational Historical Society Transactions*, x, 1927, p. 85, says it was "for speaking to John Gibbs, priest of Newport Pagnell". The Quarter Sessions Records for Bucks are not available before the year 1678.

³ Beckerings Park, Ridgmont, the home of the Quaker Justice, John Crook. Aspley Guise is nearby and Husborne Crawley also. Compare Letter VI, note 8.

⁴ Margaret Killam (-1672), a sister of Thomas Aldam of Warmsworth, and wife of John Killam of Balby, where she was convinced by George Fox in 1651. References to Margaret Killam in this neighbourhood in Swarth. MSS., i, 374, and A.R.B. MSS., 123, are to be assigned to February or March 1654-55.

so I rest waiting, desiring to hear from thee, Will: D or from some of you as sone as may be: H: W:⁵ my love salutes thee.

Beckrinns this 4th Day,

Chris: Fell

[Addressed by the writer] For Willi Dusberie/ at Northampton or any/ of his fellow prisoners.

⁵ Henry Williamson of Cumberland, imprisoned in Northampton gaol from before March 10th, 1654/5 to January 1655/6. See Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 519-28.

X

ELISHA HUNT to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, *Wellingborough*, no date.¹

[A quarto side nearly covered in a neat handwriting.]

DEARE frend, I am moved to write a few lines to thee being much ravisht with the pure light of Christ in thee and hath had much ioy and Comfort since I see thy faice. Oh pray for me that the Lord will be pleased to cause this pure seed of graice to growe up in me more and more, that I may come to see the true light of Christ shine forth in my soule and that I may come to knowe a crrosse to this will that is contrary to the will of God and above selfe denielle of all things heare belowe himselfe, which I see in sum measure to be but vanitie and vexcation of² the spirit. I praise his holly name for it all though I be absent in body yett I am present in spirit with thee and all thy fellowe prissnors, desiering to have a few lines from thee if the Lord orders it. So with my love remembered to thee and thy wife and John Whitehead and all thy fellowe prissnners in the Lord, I love you all ; my sister remembers her tender love unexpre[ss]able [?] to thee and John Whitehead and all Thy fellowe prissonors, so I rest called by name in the world

Elisha Hunt
at Wellingbrow in Ould
Ovestoner Pearkes [?]³
house

[Addressed in same hand] For William Deues/bery imprisoned for/ the truth saike in nor/thampton.

¹ Perhaps the Elisha Hunt mentioned in Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 3, as a sufferer in Bedfordshire (Riseley ?) in 1658. The date of this letter is again 1655, the time of Dewsbury's imprisonment in Northampton.

² " spirit " was written and then crossed through.

³ The reading is uncertain, and so the identification. Overstone Park is a seat about half way between Northampton and Wellingborough. Ould also appears as a place name in Northants (Besse, i, 529).

XI

THOMAS STUBBS to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, *Northampton*, 16.v.¹

[Part of a folio side in the hand of Thomas Stubbs.]

DEARE brother,
 In the eternall love life & power of the Liveing God, wherein my love salute thee, I founde moveings & freedome to come into this countye & to be with friends towards Wellingborow one meeting or more if the Lord will. My wife² with whom I am one at present is with me ; shee intends to goe northward if the Lord will shortly, but now mindeing to stay till the Assisses be past. Her deare love salutes ye, so not knowing but in goeing to Wellingborow to night if the Lord will. There is a meeting appoynted to be at Cranfield³ on the first day among friends that awayes, but in that I stand something single, whether to be there or in this country, as is more needfull. Greate service is there in the east & south parts of Bedfordshire. Our: bro: James Nayler⁴ came downe last week and was at the meeting at John rushes⁵ on the first day last, on the Second day went to London. As for friends at present in the ministry I am left much single in the Lord and greate is the worke of the Lord, all over the nations. But I waite for more and as the Lord will. Some is into Ireland⁶ to goe in the appointed

¹ The year 1655 can be supplied from the fact that Dewsbury is a prisoner in Northampton.

² Jane and Thomas Stubbs are mentioned in the next decade in the Registers when children were born to them at Pardshaw. Jane Stubbs died a widow in 1713.

³ Cranfield is in western Bedfordshire. Stubbs, and others, were arrested there in April 1655, and kept prisoners for about six weeks. See Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 3.

⁴ Nayler's brief visit to Bedfordshire from London this second week of July 1655, is not mentioned by his biographers.

⁵ John Rush, Sr. (-1661), of Kempston Hardwick, Beds., about four miles S.W. of Bedford. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 434.

⁶ Burrough and Howgill who shared Nayler's work in London had just left for Ireland, and Stubbs was thinking of following them. Cf. next letter.

time of the Lord. So in his will I waite in the eternall, & waite to heare from yee. Pray for me that the love & power of the Lord may be with me to the end.

written in Northampton.

T: S:

16. day 5. month.

More things would I talk with you of but at present I cannot and waite to see you face to face.

[Addressed in same hand] To Will: Dousbery/ & the rest who are/ prisoners for the truth/ sak at Northampton/ this is.

XII

THOMAS STUBBS to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, *Northampton*, 25.v.¹

[Quarto side in the hand of Thomas Stubbs.]

DEARE brother
 In the eternall unchangeable love of the Liveing God our heavenly Father in Jesus Christ, with you I have unitie which bonds in body cannot Separate, I came from Harborow today intending to be at hAnslop² to morow if the Lord will, where A people of the Lord meet together ; and I finde drawings into Bedfordshire, greate is the worke of the Lord there, and shall goe elsewhere among friends as the Lord moves if the Lord will. My wife today went []³ She haith her deare love remembered to the & thy fellow prisoners and wishes gladly to hear from the or them & as the Lord pleases to dispose of ye. So pray for me in the eternall that I may be kept faithfull with all my fathers lambes & his unto the end. So fair the wel and God almighty guide the in his pure single counsell.
 Amen T: S:

I remaine your brother in the eternall truth,
 in Northampton the 25th of the 5. month.
 Thy companions my love salutes.

As for Ireland at present I am not much burdened, for the worke of the Lord at present here is greate which I am in, but Ireland I see a seed of God in, & lately I see Edw. Berow & Francis Howgill to be for[e]runers ther in the ministry, and in that I waite in the will of God which is out of time & hath no end.

[Addressed in the same hand.]

To William Deusbery/ prisoner for the truth/ sake in
 Northampton/ thes are/ d d d.

¹ This letter was written nine days after the preceding one.

² Hanslope (apparently first written, as probably pronounced, without the h) is in northern Bucks., Market Harborough is in south Leicestershire Thomas Stubbs evidently was moving rapidly.

³ Two or three words have been blurred.

XIII

THOMAS STUBBS to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, *Olney*,
14.vi.¹

[One side folio in the handwriting of Thomas Stubbs.]

DEARE brother in the love and power of the Lord God with the I have unitie and do salute the and thy fellow prisoners who is sufferers for the truth sake, and is armed to stand in the day of tryall, who the pure liveing wittness & walk in. With yee I am, in that which cannot be seperated, on[e] in the will of the Lord. Waite in the pure which is out of time and pray therein according to his will, and the sacrifice of his sonne is accepted. Lo, therin I am with you to the end through his free love ; and pray that I may be kept faithfull with his elect. In these parts, viz: in Bedfordshire Buckinghamshire Hartfordshire & up and downe, is the worke of the Lord greate ; many meetings is desired of people in certaine places. And in the will of the Lord I waite and walke in his worke by his power to bring to pass and perfect in due time & season his worke, who is our strength and hideing place. From the and bretheren with the I would as often heare as the Lord will, according to his good pleasure, & as hee disposes of yee from whence releasement and fredom is, & is to be looked at for. He is our strength, health and hideing place and wee have none other to fly unto but him, from whom wee recave every good thing, so God almighty be with the my dear bro and keepe yee single in his counsell, and me with all his elect: T: S.

W: D

thy wife to day went to Buckingham from Newport to see or heare of Mary Fisher & J: L:² and I came to Owney,³ ther

¹ This letter was written three weeks after the preceding ; the writer has been in still other counties. His recent or planned itinerary is Newport Pagnell, Olney, Newport Pagnell, Wellingborough, Beckerings Park.

² James Lancaster (-1699) lived on Walney Island. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 408. His imprisonment in Buckinghamshire, like that of Mary Fisher, is mentioned in Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 75, without any detail.

³ Olney.

some friends meet: and A meeting is to be at Newport this 4. day of this weeke wher I shall be with thy wife againe if the Lord will, and it may be I may come with her to Wellingborow meeting on the 5 day of this week [if the] Lord will, and A generall meeting is to be at [Justice] Crooke on the first day for friends theraw[ay],

[Farew]ell

Writ: 14. 6 month

J: W:⁴ J: S:⁵ Ma: S:⁶ H.W:⁷ T: C:⁸
f: e:⁹ &c

[Addressed in the same hand] To William Dousbery and/ prisoners of the Lord/ for the truth sake at/ Northampton this/ deliver.

[Tear, as indicated above in text, from removing seal.]

⁴ John Whitehead. See below Letter XIX, note 1. With the list of prisoners of Besse's *Sufferings*, i, 518-28, who gives account of the trial. Cf. Dewsbury's *Works*, 1689, pp. 67-79.

⁵ Joseph Storr, of Holderness, was one of Dewsbury's fellow prisoners in Northampton. Like his brother Marmaduke he was one of Dewsbury's early converts.

⁶ Marmaduke Storr (-1678) of Owstwick, Yorks., was one of Dewsbury's fellow prisoners at the time. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 426.

⁷ Henry Williamson. See Letter IX, note 5.

⁸ Thomas Cockett of Dingley is mentioned among the Quaker prisoners at Northampton at the time.

⁹ Francis Ellington, upholsterer, was the leading Friend of Wellingborough, and a large employer of workers in wool. He was convinced by William Dewsbury in 1654 at Harborough Fair in Leicestershire, according to *F.P.T.*, p. 194.

XIV

MARGARET FELL to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, *Swarthmore*, 14.vi.¹

[Most of two quarto sides in an unidentified handwriting.]

MY deare brother,
 My deare everlastinge love & life in the everlastinge fountain is to thee, whom my heavenly Father hath called elect & chosen forth of the world for his owne service & worke & to suffer for the Testimony of Jesus. Oh my Deare brother, Thy faithfulness & service & sufferinge for the Lord makes thee smell sweete ; oh blessed art thou & happy shal thou bee, Thy reward is with thee, Thy worke is before thee. In the everlastinge Fountaine of life, where the Covenant stands I am one with thee, where there is fullness of ioy & peace for evermore, And verily my love to thee is inexpressable Neither can pen write, but where the Spiritt of the liveing God unites, where there is noe separation, but presence one with Another, there tread my dear brother, where noe persecution touches, where no vulerous eye nor venomous beast shall ever come, oh here, here dwells my owne deare heart, where the Redemption is ; And the assention above all the earthly wills of man: where the sitting together is in heavenly places, in Christ Jesus, where the perfect freedome & liberty is, which noe man can take

¹ Margaret Fell (1614-1702), *née* Askew, wife of Thomas Fell of Swarthmore Hall, and later the wife of George Fox. The handwriting is probably not her own (see p. 7). The address fixes the year as 1655. As the postscript suggests, she was a clearing house for relieving the financial needs of prisoners everywhere. For a letter of Dewsbury to her nine days earlier see above, p. 8. What may well be an answer to this letter and to its postscript is the letter to her of Dewsbury from Northampton Gaol on the 3rd of the following month (Swarth. MSS., iv, 139) describing that he has not accepted any help from local Friends. "We have all things we need in the outward. Three in bonds with me maintain themselves, as two (?) brothers Marmaduke and Joseph Storr and one Francis Ellington who is by trade called upholsterer. Thomas Goodaire is in the town gaol and maintains himself." Again on the 15th of 8th month he writes to her (*ibid.*, iv, 141): "So here is nine in bonds. Thomas Goodaire is out of bonds. But here is not the want of anything."

from us, purchased by the Sonne of God, glory, glory to the Liveing God for ever. My deare love is to all thy fellowe prisoners: My deare Brethren stand fast in the liberty where-with Christ hath made you free, Nott onely to beeleeve on him but alsoe to suffer for his sake, And doe not bend nor bow to the yoake of bondage of man's will: But a fast unto the Lord God keepe, which yee are now called unto ; which is to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undoe the heavy burden & to lett the oppressed goe free & to breake every yoake, which the Lord God of power is doing in this his day. Soe my deare brethren bee faithfull to the worke of the Lord, for by him is all the power of Darkness limited. And now is the time that the man of sin & the sonne of perdition is revealed ; which hath soe long betrayed & crucyfied the Lord of glory: butt he is risen, who rules with a rodd of Iron, who dashes to peices all his enemyes, whose scepter is a scepter of Righteousness, of whose Kingdome there is no end, to whom bee everlastinge glory & praise forevermore. My deare brother let me heare from thee. Truly my love runs forth to thee exceedingly. The presence of my heavenly Father is with thee. Oh stand bold & faithful unto the end ; And in his Armes lye downe my deare one, Thee everlastinge strength & power of the everlastinge God bee with you all & keep you firme & sure, in obedience to his will, & faithfull to his everlastinge praise & glory.

Your deare sister in the
unchangable Truth

Deare brother lett me Know how yee are provided for in the outward. M: F:
Swarthmore 14th day
of the 6 moneth

[Endorsed in the hand of the writer] For/ My deare brother/
William Dewsberrye/ prisoner of the Lord/ att Northampton/
these deliver.

[Seal cut in half but otherwise intact.]

XV

THOMAS STUBBS to ANN DEWSBURY, *Northampton*,
13.ix.1655.¹

[One side quarto in the hand of Thomas Stubbs.]

DEARE heart An: D
 Againe & Againe I doe dearly salute thee & I delite
 in the pure unitie with thee in the riches of our eternall
 father[']s free Love. Also I have seene the greate tryells
 thou hast had for the exercise of thee faith, & I in measure
 have suffered with thee and also reioyce seeing that the Lord
 who haith delivered out of six troubles delivers also out of
 seaven & many more. All prayses & thankes giveing bee
 unto the Liveing Lord our God, to whom all power & prayse
 belongs for evermore, for his eternall Love. Therefore
 consult not, committ thy cause into his will, stand in his
 counsell who is worthy and Lye downe thy head in p[ea]ce].
 So I rest & fair the well & I remaine [in] unchangeable Love,
 T. S.

and salute mee to friends as thee findes freedome.
 From Northampton Jayle the 13th of the 9 month 55.

Also I would have thee to send these or my Letters into
 Cumberland carefully, either by any true friends, or caryers
 that goes to Kendall to George Taylor,² to bee delivered as
 directed, or this friend if no other be ther. it may be these
 may be sent by him to bee given as above [written.]

[Endorsed in same hand] for Anne Dousbery/ at Wakefield/
 this dd.

¹ Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 528 f., explains that Thomas Stubbs was imprisoned for 13 weeks in 1655 for preaching repentance to the people of Daventry and released at the sessions. This letter and the next were written from Northampton gaol in November 1655. But letter XVII shows that he was not yet imprisoned in mid-September.

² George Taylor, ironmonger of Kendal, was active in transmitting funds and, as here, letters between Friends in the North and elsewhere. See *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 468. This letter was evidently one of a packet delivered to Ann Dewsbury by an unnamed Friend. Holes have been burned in the paper where the words "peace" and "written" have been conjecturally restored in brackets.

XVI

THOMAS STUBBS to ANN DEWSBURY, *Northampton*,
3.ix.1655.

[One side quarto in the handwriting of Thomas Stubbs.]

DEAR sister in the fountaine of love & Life, wherein I am refreshed, I doe dearly salute thee. And I behold the Love and tenderness in thee, the pure plants & refreshment which keep greane & floorishing with the Liveing One & food from above, wherein I delight, & that thou art bound up with mee in the covenant of love & Life for ever. All prayes and thanksgiving be given unto him for evermore, who is worthy, for his endless Love ; so fairwell in the unitie.

	I remaine A brother
Northampton Jayle	in the eternall truth
the 3. day of 9. month 55.	T: S

Salute me to friends as the art free.

I would have thee as way is made to goe or inquire of Thamas Thackeryes¹ at Holdbecke for a shirt &c that I left there & if thee will Thee may send itt to mee at Northampton, if convently thee can. thou neades not be haisty in it ; but if the or some friends comes that rides on &c & it be convenient, so I rest.

[Addressed in same hand] To Anne Duesberye/ in Wakefield,/ this deliver & is/ with care.

¹ Thomas Thackery, of Holbeck, Yorks., was a member of Brighthouse Monthly Meeting. His home is given in the Friends' registers as Roumas. For his sufferings see Besse, *op. cit.*, Yorkshire, 1656 and 1660.

XVII

THOMAS STUBBS to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, 15.vii.1655,
without place.¹

[One side quarto including margin in the hand of Thomas Stubbs.]

DEARE brother, to let the know of some pasages now, my deare brother James Nayler is gone up to London he is to be a while there & then to be at certaine mettings about too weekes hereafter &c, that is appoynted near London in Hartfordshire & that away. Richard. F:² is to be at Bedford on the first day, & the next first day following ether he or Anthony Pattrickson³ is to be near Winslow in Buckinghamshire, wher I was lately. The other weeke G: F:⁴ sent for mee to have gone to London, ther was then a service for me, but I recaved not that letter till too late, but I was with G: F: this weeke. And it is now so ordered of the Lord & as I see it is in greate service that I must goe into Laistershire G: F: much wished me so to do. We were together in Hartfordshire, so if the Lord will I shall goe into Lastershire shortly to Harborow,⁵ Captaine Ellits,⁶ Whetstone &c ; & whether I shall goe more northward or no from thence I waite in the will of the Lord. G: F: is to be at Lincolne this first day & he will come into

¹ Written in Northampton, where Dewsbury was a prisoner but accessible by letter. John Crook attended Northampton assizes in January 1655/6, as the postscript to this letter forecasts. See *Bedfordshire Hist. Record Soc.*, xxv, 112. Swarth. MSS., iv, 139, William Dewsbury to Margaret Fell, also implies the presence of Stubbs in Northampton at this time.

² Richard Farnsworth. See Letter III, note 1.

³ Anthony Patrickson (-1660), of Stockbow in Cumberland, and a member of Pardshaw Monthly Meeting. A few references to his travels and sufferings will be found in *Piety Promoted*, Besse, or in *Biographical Memoirs* (by E. and T. J. Backhouse and T. Mounsey, i, 1854).

⁴ George Fox. This letter gives details of Fox's movements in September 1655, not found in his *Journal*.

⁵ Market Harborough.

⁶ Captain Ellis (?) is not identified.

Laistershire soone after. captaine Stoddert⁷ shiriff of Lincolne⁸ & Alexander Parker⁹ was with him: I shall be at Wellingborow or that away at the meeting on this first day for ought I know as yit. So fair well brother. In the eternall I remaine

T: S:

Justice Crooke & many friends from other places intendes to be at this towne at sessions if the Lord will. And certaine friends has their love remembered to thee And my salutes [to] the [&] to thy fellow prisoners who feare the Lord I have unitie in the pure which cannot be separated.

let me hear from the dear brother as often as the Lord moves & makes thee free as way is made

15.day 7.month 55.

[Addressed in the same hand] For William/ Duesbery this/ is, with care/ d d d.

⁷ Amor Stoddart (-1670). Fox mentions him frequently as in his company during this year. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 431. His home was in London, see postscript of next letter.

⁸ Understand a comma after Stoddert. Robert Craven (-1676) was the Quaker Sheriff of Lincoln. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 423. Sheriff of Lincoln is distinct from High Sheriff of Lincolnshire.

⁹ Alexander Parker (1628-1688/9), a prominent missionary, often travelling with Fox. See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 427.

XVIII

JAMES PARNELL to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, *Colchester Castle, 16.x.*¹

[One side folio holograph of James Parnell.]

DEARE & pretious Brother in the eternall unchangeable Truth of God I doe in my measure Dearely salute thee with the same Love wherewith I am beloved of the which doth abound in thee to all the Children of the Light. The Faythfulness I know, & Thy strength is above the world & thy ministry is Glorious & blessed are they that Reseive it & are not offended in thee but woe unto them that bind the, the Lord will perfecte his praise in thy Bondes, & then confound thy persecutors. For as the Aple of his eie doth he Tender thee, & thou art the blessed of the Lord. Dear Brother thy Fatherly care over mee doe I owne, thy voyce is Comfort to mee & in thy Life am I Kept & nourished in the midst of mine enimyees. Glory bee to God the highest who hath counted mee worthy to Beare the Bondes of the Gospel. Deare Brother, glad am I to heare from thee,² & my Deare Brother Thos Stubbes with thee, whom I doe love in the Lord and the Rest of thy Fellow prisoners. The Lord hath set A Father over them, I know thy Burdane is greate, for the worke Lyes upon thee but thy joy is in thy Childeren. Truly here is A greate appearance in these parts, but much want of ministers since I was Cast in Bondes, but A pretty Liberty I had among them before they was suffered to Lay hold on mee, & greate was the worke of the Lord & mightely

¹ On James Parnell (1636-1656), of Retford, Notts., see *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 419. The year is 1655. He had been a prisoner several months. Less than four months after this letter was written he died in Colchester a prisoner. For earlier use of this letter see above, p. 8. It was used also in the lives of Parnell by Callaway (1846, pp. 107-8), and C. Fell Smith (1906, p. 76).

² Apparently Dewsbury had written Parnell a letter which is not preserved.

did it spread, to my great Comfort, & the Terror & Confounding of the Heathen. I was much carryed amongst their steeplehouses, yet they had not power to bind mee untill they was suffered & now these Bondes have been very serviceable to the pearceing of the hearts of many & the discovering of the spirits of my persecutors & the Confirming of these in the Truth that were convinced & by my Fayth & patience in the same. They that know not God are much confounded, for they have Laboured to make my Bondes grievous; but my strength the phillistine knowes not.

Friends are much barred from mee, yet not all for it is onely the mallitiousnes of the keepers but it is not in vayne. Our tender sister Martha Simmonds³ is heare in Bondes in the Towne prison; shee was put in the last evening for speakeing to a priest; she hath beene in twice before this within a weeke but they had not power to keepe her in & I believe now they will bee Tormented. The Lord hath shown his power much by her since she came here, she is A faythful hearte in her measure. Shee was moved to walke in sack cloth barefoote with her hayre sprred & ashes upon her head, in the Toune, in the frosty weather, to the astonishment of many.⁴ So the same power that keepes thee keepe mee, & let thy prayers be for mee, I rest with thee in the Brotherly unity, thy Tender Brother

Jam^s Parnell

from Colchester Castle ye 16: of ye 10th month.

I have here sent thee Copy of a Letter I was moved to write to Freinds,⁵ as thou art free let it be sent amongst Friends in Wellingbrough side, & Newport & to Justice Crookes.

³ On Martha Simmonds see above, Letter VIII, note 5. Besse, who tells of Parnell's experiences (*Sufferings*, i, 190-2), mentions a four months' imprisonment of Martha in Essex, but that was probably later (*F.P.T.*, 94).

⁴ Such symbolic costume was frequently adopted by early Friends in imitation of Biblical signs of mourning. The most famous instance was perhaps when Margaret Brewster of Barbados came so attired into the South Church, Boston, Massachusetts, in July 1677.

⁵ Three letters of Parnell to Friends are included in his published works (*A Collection of the Several Writings*, 1675, pp. 438, 445, 453) the first two dated in the 9th month, 1655.

If thou Receive this let mee heare from thee, send thy Letters to Simond Dring⁶ or Amor Stoddart at Londond for mee, & from thence I can have them, at pressent I know not A readyer way.

[Addressed in the same hand] For my Deare Brother/
William Dusbery in the Common/ Gaole at Northampton/
These are d d d.

⁶ Simon Dring's house at the Harrow in Watling Street was used as an address for extant Quaker letters (e.g. Swarthmore MSS., i, 67). It was also an early place of meeting for Friends. See *J.F.H.S.*, xxxvi, 1939, p. 54. His brother's address is Robert Dring, Linen Draper at the White Horse in Watling Street (*ibid.*, xi, 1914, p. 150).

XIX

JOHN WHITEHEAD¹ to WILLIAM DEWSBURY,
Newport, 28.xi.1655.

[Most of a folio side in the hand of John Whitehead.]

DEARE brother, in the Light and love that never changeth wher no seperation is, I am with thee and salutes thee. Since I passed from Wellingburow I had on the 6 day A meeting at Moulton² and another at Northampton that night and on the next day after I had showed my selfe to the people and beene at the prisson door I came to Ony³ and had A meeteing ther that night. (If thou beest free to stay there A night as thou comst up it may be in servisse), & hearè was A very Large meeteing at this town yester day, at An Inne, wher many of the world came in and the word of the Lord went forth in much dread and power to the raiseing of the wittnesse which stopped all mouths. And I was desired to be at a meeteing at Stratford⁴ to morrow and shall bee there if God permitt ; and on the fourth day of this week, acording to thy derections, there is A generall meeteing for frends heare awayse Apointed at Thomas Glidewells⁵ at which Thou art expected to bee: and on the same day there is Another at Joh: Crooks which is ther ordinary weeke meeteing And could not well be

¹ On John Whitehead (1630-1696), see *D.N.B.* and *Camb. Jnl.*, ii, 400. According to a certificate of his neighbours he and his family lived between 1653 and 1669 in the constablewick of Owstwick and Hilston, Yorks. In 1682 their home was at Swine Grange (Chalk's, *Life*, pp. 220 and 214). The date must be January 1655/6 in which month Dewsbury was released from Northampton gaol. John Whitehead's release had been at the same time, I think, though Thomas Chalk's *Life and Writings of John Whitehead*, 1852, p. 53, dates it in twelfth month, 1655 (i.e. February 1656). This letter describes his return to visit the place of his imprisonment.

² Moulton is four miles north of Northampton.

³ Olney is eleven miles south-east of Northampton.

⁴ Stony Stratford may be meant, on the River Ouse, or perhaps Old Stratford opposite in Northants.

⁵ Thomas Glidwell is mentioned in Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 76, as arrested in Bucks. in 1660, but his place of residence is not defined.

disappointed. So I shall bee there at it, if the Lord will, and at A meeteing at Aspley⁶ on the 5 day. And then I know not but to come to thee, and if thou wouldst have any generall meeteing Apointed for thee on the next first day about Joh: Crookes Thou mayest send mee word thither on the 5 day morning beefore I goe to Aspley, so I can give notice of it and the bret[h]er[en] know how to Apoint A meeteing for mee the same day as may bee most in servise, for the garden is Large heare awayes. Deare beloved pray that the continewed pressence and power of our God may goe allong with mee to his glory. J W

Newport 28 day of the 11 month 55.

My deare love salutes Jos[eph]⁷ and frends Ther awaye. Ther is A yong woman at Sherington⁸ in much destresse and distraction of spirit nigh to bee over whelmed with desperation. I was there yester night and the wittnesse was touched in measure to stay her mind. If thou hast opertunitie it may bee in servise to see her.

[Addressed in the same hand] To my deare bro:/ William Dewsbury/ give this with care/ and speed at/ Welling burow/ or else where.

⁶ Aspley Guise.

⁷ Joseph Storr may be meant, with whom Dewsbury often travelled. See the postscript to the next letter.

⁸ Sherington, Bucks., is only 2 miles from Newport Pagnell where Whitehead was writing. The vocabulary and the hope of helpfulness applied to this woman agrees with those in Fox's *Book of Miracles*.

XX

JOHN WHITEHEAD to WILLIAM DEWSBURY,
*Newport, 25.xii.1655.*¹

[One side folio in the handwriting of John Whitehead.]

DEARE brother in the pure unchangeable Love I doe salute thee and have unitie with that which is eternall and changes not in thee acording to my measure of it recaived. Since I was with thee in the body I have had certaine meeteings in Buckinghamshire at Buckingham and Captaine Drapers² house, which are neare together. A small remnant is there confirmed and came to gether when I was with them at 3 meetings. The wittnesse was raised and they perswaded to meete in silence. And having cleared my conscience to them I passed to Winslow, where not any would meete at all but onely one familie which is convinced. Yet neare that towne I had A meeteing at A baptist's house where About 12 of that people came to gether. Some of them was tender, but the greater part gaine said the truth, and from thence I passed Wingreav³ where a generall meeteing was Apointed on the first day bee fore this. And much people came to gether and was all silent before the truth. And the meeteing being ended the baptized people who mett

¹ This letter is from the same to the same as in the preceding letter but a month later. This letter, but only this letter, of several of John Whitehead in the present collection is quoted in Thomas Chalk's biography, pp. 53-5. See Letter XIX, note 1. The variations in wording have been checked and the readings here given have been confirmed against the original MS.

² Captain Draper is not mentioned in other Quaker records. It may be only a coincidence that there is one Quaker sufferer of this surname in Bucks, Matthew Draper (Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 76, in the year 1661) and that a "Captain Matthew Draper and his soldiers" are mentioned in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1656-7, p. 4. Or he may be an addition to the list of soldiers who became Friends. See M. E. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*. According to the Quaker registers Matthew Draper, maltster of the town and county of Buckingham, was married in London in 1662 to Lettice Millsopp. Besse, i, 429, tells of Matthew Draper's arrest in London in 1670.

³ Wingrave.

at the same towne sent to chalenge mee to meet them on the next day, to discourse of things in defference bee tweene them and us, which for the truth sake I consented unto, that they might not bost against it. And many people both Babtists and others came to heare this dispute, which was caried on with moderation, and the deepest subtiltie that ever ever I mett with on their part, yett out of their snares in the power of truth I was preserved over them and it cleared it selfe to the single eye. After that I had three meeteings amongs frends about Alisbery⁴ the Last weeke, and havinge received thy note I Apointed A meeteing att Strattford⁵ this day where certaine frends mett. And after wee had beene to getther about 4 houres wee parted in peace and I with certaine staid frends went to the Babtist meeteing where Hartley⁶ and I spoke much face to face and the truth stood cleare over him and his people did moderately heare. And on their heads I Left it and parted in peace ; and from thence came to Newport wher I have had A precious meeteing this night, and shall now if God parmitt passe towards those frends about Alisbery againe and have certaine meeteings amongst them this weeke, and at Hempstead on the next first day. And then shall I leave them to the Lord, who alone is able to perfect his worke in them. And so [I] shall passe towards London and on ward in the worke of the Lord (which I have tould thee of) as hee Leads mee, that so I may bee eased of the burthen that Lies upon mee continually pressing untill I goe on in it. My deare beeloved, cease not to pray for mee that I may goe on in the dread and power of the Living God who is over all and causes the heathen to fall beefore him to his owne praise and glory.

J. W.

As the art free Lett me heare from thee what way thou movest and if Joseph Storr bee with thee salute mee to him

⁴ Aylesbury.

⁵ Stony Stratford.

⁶ William Hartley (-1698), of Stony Stratford, later of Newport Pagnell, was an apothecary and a lay Baptist preacher. His viewpoint is indicated by the titles of such tracts as *The Priests Patent Cancelled*, *Infant Baptism None of Christs* (both in 1649), and *The Prerogative Priests Passing Bell, Shewing the Usefulness of Private Persons to take upon them Preaching of the Scriptures* (1651). His funeral sermon was preached by John Gibbs (cf. Letter vi, note 5). [Information kindly supplied by Prof. R. E. E. Harkness.] See also *Baptist Bibliography*, ed. W. T. Whitley, vol. I.

and to Sebastin Elthorp⁷ whom I heare is come up to the.
I shall bee about Henery Reaves⁸ on the next fifth day.

Newport 24 of the Anne Sherwood⁹ dearly salutes
12 month 1655. thee in the Lord.

[Addressed in the same hand] To William/ Dewbery at/
Baldock or else/ where hee is/ this d d.

⁷ Sebastian Ellythorpe (-1695), like John Whitehead himself, was an early convert of William Dewsbury. He is described as from the West Wolds, or from Sandyholm, Yorks.

⁸ Henry Reeve is not identified.

⁹ Ann Sherwood, see the next letter.

XXI

ANN SHERWOOD to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, without
place or date.¹

[One side quarto in the hand of Ann Sherwood.]

MY dere freind, I still finding the unspeakabell Love of the Lord continue toward me, though I have had hard thouats and feres that I should not ataine to that mesuher of witch I find. For thourogh his free Love, I witnes him to bee a God of judgment and marcey and doo wait upon him to find the dethe of all that is contrarey to him in me, witch is my soles desire. I am movethed to rit thes few words to thee ; wee being at a miting the Last 3 night at the Lasmans houce where ware some that had not bene at a silent meting before, hee began to speke and was so high in his one wisdome wich I am afrayd will be a weeking to some. Now I would have thee as thou art movethed to wish us all to be silent becace not him in pertickler it hath been such a burding to mee thatt I cold not but write so I Remane

With thee An: Sherwood

[Addressed in the same hand] for hur deare freind/ Will Dewcberay.

¹ Ann Sherwood, of Newport Pagnell, is the writer of several letters to George Fox in Swarthmore MSS., iv. But she is hardly named in printed Quaker records. Like this and XXXIV her other letters have little reference to externals. Only one has an indication of year (1659) though five of them give the place of writing (Newport). The unorthodox spelling has some consistency with her other letters. For "thought" (though), cf. Swarthmore MSS., iv, 57; for "thourought" (through), cf. below XXXIV "thoroght".

XXII

KATHERINE BULL to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, without
place, 30.iv.1656.¹

[One side quarto and margin. Handwriting not identified.]

DEARE Frind
and the truly beloved obiecte of my soule for a large blessing hath the Lord God made thee to mee & hath tresured up that in mee that hath bin of much use to mee. And now [it] was much Rafriching to mee to Recafe thos livfing instructions from thee which did much Refresh that of God in mee, for the wilds of the Enemy are many & decept lyeth nere & much Rumers of wars & plaigs & Jugements thretened in the land. But I am made to see there is nothinge for me to doe but to stand stel in the obedience to the light that doth decover & Judge; as I fathfull on my wach stand I am made so far sensesabell that there is no want in God but in my not abiding at home in my tent, wich is poisst in the lo vally where the slater is to be, & nothing I see Requiered of mee but true obedience for my Re Covery out of that Condesion wich dissobedeence hath brought upon mee. For God hath clered himsilf of my blod & hath set before mee life & deth, light & darknes, & I power in my self Recefed to c[h]use Ether, while I fathful to it keep. And as for Friends thay abid in the professon of truth; but the old man died as thou left him & they wold let no friends come at him; I did not here he spak against the truth. As for the woman she is preti stad but at a los; & all friends desires ther der love shold be to thee presented with our harts desier thy fase to see. Our frinds at Berry² are in hilth; I came from them that day I Recefed thy leter.

¹ Katharine Bull died at Lynn, 8 mo. 31, 1666. A woman of the name is among the 7,000 women who signed *These Several Papers . . . against Tithes*, 1659, p. 36, from the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge and Huntingdonshire.

² Bury St. Edmunds, West Suffolk.

At this time I am oprest with in, but there is that stering
that is wiling to be what the Lord will in al things ; but
I see A Enemy ner but with the light he is Judged. So I
Rest beter knone to thee then to my selfe,

Katherine Bull

from Linn³ the 30 d 4 mo 56.

[Addressed in the same hand] For my hily Estemed/ Friend
William Dewsbury/ with love this/ d d.

³ King's Lynn, Norfolk, but the original writing is obscure.

XXIII

JOHN STUBBS¹ to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, *West
Brabourne, 25.iv.1657.*

[Part of folio side in the cultivated handwriting of John Stubbs.]

DEARLY Beloved in the Lord, who in him makes glad the hearts of many weary soule in this his day of refreshing and everlasting kindnes to poore man kind. I doe att present make the acquainted that Thomas Pickells² was not att Canterbury, neither did the Generall Meeting hold in regard to Generall Meeting att Ashford, and for that day Called Mid sommer day, it was yesterday, notwithstanding. Its likely that man thou spoke of which desired a Meeting hath word sent by this tyme ; and soe to morrow, if the Lord will I intend to bee there. I have [~~sent~~] spoken to a friend to send to Feversham³ against the next first day for a meeting theire. Here is much enquireing after meettings, where few or none hath been. But when I see the I hope to give the a particular account thereof. Farewell,

from one who waites to be
a dilligent servaunt to him
that hath called him into his worke,
John Stubbs

From William Bean's house
att West Brabant⁴ the 25th day
4 mo (57)

[Addressed in the same hand] For /William Duesbury:/ This.

¹ John Stubbs (c. 1618-1674). See *Camb. Jnl.*, i, 418. He had been in Kent also in 1655 with William Caton establishing Quaker groups. His home at this time was probably in Lancaster.

² Thomas Pickle was a sufferer in Kent in 1672 at the hands of Herbert Richards, "priest" of Allington (Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 295).

³ Faversham.

⁴ West Brabourne is in East Kent, 4½ miles from Ashford. William Beane of "Brayburne, near Ashford", later apostatized from Quakerism. See *F.P.T.*, p. 146, Besse, *Sufferings*, s.v. Kent, 1656 and 1659, Swarth. MSS., iv, 256 and 272 (1660).

XXIV

JOHN WHITEHEAD to ANN DEWSBURY, *London*,
17.ii.1658.

[Six lines at top of folio sheet, in the handwriting of John Whitehead.]

DEARE friend, doe thy dilligence to send the inclosed to thy beloved husband by a safe hand & with what speed thou canst. Friends here be generally well, soe is J. M,¹ I am at present in some weakness as to the outward man, but the spirit which sustaines the infirmity I feele, Renewing strength in the inward, praised be the Lord for ever. Noe more at present, but I rest with my deare Love to thee & thy Little ones,

John Whitehead

London, the 17th day of the
Second month/ (58).

[Addressed in the same hand] To Ann Dewsbery/ A seller of Linin Cloath,/ at her house in Cirke Gate,²/ this with Speed Deliver/ Att Wakefield /pd Yorkesheire.

¹ J.M. not identified.

² Now spelled Kirkgate.

XXV

MARGARET FELL to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, 8.iii.1659,
without place.

[One quarto side in unidentified handwriting.]

MY deare Brother, in the Bowels of deare love doe I
remember thee and wright unto thee in the life
etarnell as A testimony of my deare Love and unyty
with the same Life in thee, which chaingheth not but
indureth for ever, not knowing whether thy wife be yett in
the Earthly Tabernacle ; but a member of the boddy of
Christ I know she is, which boddy is made perfect Thorow
Tryels and Sufferings, and he a man A Sorows for the boddys
sake, who is blessed for ever, Soe my deare brother, my deere
love in the Lord is to thee and Remaines with thee,

The 8th of the 3^d month /(59). Thy sister in the
Life etarnall, m: F:

[Addressed in the hand of the writer] For/ My Deere Brother/
William Dewsbery/ This is.

XXVI

MARY SMITH to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, 9.i, without year or place.¹

[One quarto side with a few lines on margin and back.]

DEARE frend,
 The hand of the Lord is upon our familie ; both my brother & sisteer hath been sick, my sister is averie weake woman & the eniemie, verie stronge in hir, keeps the seed of God in bondage ; the Lord breake thorow hit by his eternall power if it be His will & raise hir up in the obeidence. My exercise have been much since they began, but I ame yet car[ri]ed above it & desires that I may be kept in the faith & patience, frely resineing & giveing up my will to the will of the Lord to dispose of them as he pleaseth, who workes all his workes in wisdom. And thinges coming thus to pas hath prevented the accomplishment of my desires as to seeing of the ; & now whether ever I shall, yea ore nay, the will of the Lord be done. I desire I may not stir anie way but that I may feele his presence going alonge with me, that there may be noe withstanding in me that may greve his holy spirit or cause him to withdraw his presence from me. My sister hir love is to the & Henrie Jakson ;² Marie Monke³ desires hir love remembred to you Elisebeth Linlay famly⁴

¹ This is probably Mary, wife of Richard Smith, tanner, of York. She was convinced by William Dewsbury about 1651. Her husband was "a friendly man", but apparently no Friend. On the other hand Richard's sister Mary and her husband, Thomas Waite of York, were active Friends. The month is March. The year 1661/2 is determined by the fact that Dewsbury was imprisoned in Newgate from October 1661 to the next spring.

² There was a Friend, Henry Jackson, who lived at Meal Hill, a few years later than the time of this letter. According to Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 366, and index, he was a fellow prisoner with Dewsbury at Newgate in 1661-2. In 1663 Henry Jackson of Wooldale, Yorks, came to see William Dewsbury at Warwick, was arrested and imprisoned. Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 764, wrongly dates this in 1661. See *E.S.P.*, pp. 248-55.

³ Mary Monk, of York, married Samuel Watson, of Knight Stainforth, in 1664. S. Watson, *Works*, 1712, p. 254, has a testimony to her.

⁴ Isaac Lindley was an important Yorkshire Friend. Cf. P.S. to Letter XXX.

is but weake att present. I should desire to heare from the
as often as thou hast fredom since the Lord hath denied me
other libertie.

My deare love is with the. I need not say much, I know
thou canst feell me closely united unto thee in the unseprable
unione.

M S

first month 9 day, first/ ouer att night.

Michaell Pratt⁵ desires to have his deare love to the.

[Addressed in the same hand] These/ For Williame/ Dusbrie
att/ Newgatt⁶/ London.

⁵ Michael Pratt is described in the Quaker registers in 1666 at the time of his marriage as of Melmerby in Coverdale, Yorks.

⁶ How William Dewsbury came to be in Newgate, Edward Smith in his *Life* says he had been unable to discover. But he was one of the 280 persons committed to Newgate by Richard Brown, Lord Mayor of London, in December, January or February 1660-61, according to Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 366. A more circumstantial account is given in his own letter of 14.vi. 1661, in Swarth. MSS., iv, 148. This and other evidence suggests his imprisonment began later.

XXVII

WILLIAM DEWSBURY to MARY SMITH, *London*,
14.ix.1661.

[Small piece of paper in small writing, hand of William Dewsbury.]

DEAR Mary, hold fast thy confidence in the name of the Lord. Judg out all douts and Inbelevfe and stay thy hart in the Lord God: the Lov of the Lord will fill thy hart with gladnes, thou blesed daughter of Sion ; the Lord is with thee ; and all will be For thy good ; be staid in his Light thou shall Riagne For ever in the Life of God &c This to thy dear sister.

Oh my Frind look not so much at thy self for it begetts Inbelevfe. Judg doon all Inbelevfe with the light and stay thy hart on the Lord God and wait and beleav in the nam of the Lord ; the Lord God will Reffreesh thee with his Lovin kindnes for ever. Even so be it with you as is declared saith my soul in the name of the Lord God.

Farewell

W D

Newgat prison London

14 day 9 mo 1661.

Mary if thou see my childeren¹ [it] will Refresh mee I know thou will Inform them in that which is good

[Addressed in the same hand] For Mary/ Smith this/ is with Care.

¹ William Dewsbury had several small children at this time. Their mother had died in 1658.

XXVIII

WILLIAM DEWSBURY to [—————], without address,
date, or place.¹

[Quarto side partly filled in handwriting of William
Dewsbury.]

DEARE handmaid of the Lord, with thy housband,
Lift up your heads in this day of your tryall under the
hand of God, and with the light of Christ Judg all
Inbelevf and douts concarnin the tender marcys of God
to you both, Resinin up your souls & bodys Freely into his
will in all Faith full nes accordin to the abilitty given you
of God. Oh dear handmaid of the Lord lett not any a
pearanc of Inbeleef Entter thy hart, For thou is accepted
of the Lord in the Covenant of his Light For ever, therfor
in obeadenc wait and trust in the Nam of the Lord, he will
seal to the what I wriet and to thy housband ; being Fauth-
full accordin to the Stringth Restors to you.

Even so be it with you saith my soul
in the Nam of the Lord, W D

This to thy sister with her housband.

¹ This is presumably addressed not to Mary Smith herself, but was an enclosure for her to pass on to her sister and the sister's husband. They are mentioned elsewhere in this correspondence.

XXIX

MARY SMITH to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, *York*, 4.xii?
without year.¹

[Folio side & margin in same hand as XXVI.]

DEARE York 4 day the last munt
frend, I shall give the some acounte of my condition
how it is with me & how it is the intent of my hart, if
the Lord will, to come to see the & frends att London. I ame
at my brother att present but not clered, the jaller being to
leave his place prevailed with the stuarde of the court that I
might have my libirtie till the next sestions, which was
granted, biding him be sure to make me promis him that I
would apaire befor the sesions. Thou was much upon my
spirit & librtie was desired by me if the Lord saw it good for
noe other end but that I might come to see the & if that
failed I did intend to trie the jaller, with hopes not to
be denied for soe much time ; & the same earnest desire is
in Marie Munke,² soe we are both waiting to see the Lord
making way for us & then the fear of hardshipes in our
iornay will be done away. If she could had³ fredome to come
in the couhe [coach] she had come with this London frend
but both our freedom is to come one our feet but how it
will be performed I know not by reason of the wetnes of
the sease ; & I ame not willing to defer time much longer
least the eniemie of our peace should be suffered soe to
prevaile & strike att ous that we might never see the fases
one of another more ; soe to me time is verie precious
though I know we are in that which never dies. I received
thy lines that weare swete to me but thar was but a few of
them & many reasons thar might be why my soule was bowed

¹ If the last month means February, the year must be 1661/2, for only in that February was William Dewsbury in Newgate. Mary Smith's own sufferings do not appear to be recorded elsewhere.

² Mary Monk. See above, Letter XXVI, note 3.

³ " could " has been inserted.

doune in me. Evrie one [w]home the Lord loves he chastiseth & in all his chastismen his tender love hath bene over me & though sowrow have bene in the night yet ioy doth come in the morning ; he hath maid the mountaines scip lick Rames & the littell hiles like yonge lambes. O that my soule may never forget to praise his name for his wonderfull works that he hath done for me. Who can declare the nobell actes that he doth for the childred of men ? The remembranc of them even meltes my hart befor him & often makes me ofer up the sacrificis of a broken & contrite spirit to him, b[r]eathing & desireing dayly that I may be kept low in his feare & my hart closely united to my beloved, that noe created thing may be able to cause my hart to run ahworing after other lovers, & my hopes is in my God that he will keep me from being insnared with anie of those low begrly faidinge perishing trancetorie momentarie thinges, for I ame not seeking my selfe but that my God may be glorified by me for it will be more ioy to me to doe the will of my God though it weare throug hunger could & nakednes then to posees all thinges that is desirable in this world. And for that end hath he asuredly begoten me to him selfe & gennerated his owne life in me that when the refiner fire hath don his worke thar may come forth a vessel fitt for the masters use. Soe my deare frend my desire is that thy soule may breath to my Father for me that I may be continyally in his feare & wisdom that I may ly doune with the & all the upright in hart.

Mairie Smith

My dear sister lov & mine to the & Heenrie Jackson,⁴ Grace Hebton⁵ & hir famlie love to the & Henrie Jackson. [Addressed in the same hand] For William Dusberie/ in Newgatt prison/ these/ deliver/ London.

⁴ Henry Jackson. See above, Letter XXVI, note 2.

⁵ Grace Hebden, of York, is mentioned by Besse, *Sufferings*, ii, 135, in 1671. She is frequently mentioned in Yorkshire Q.M. as being paid for caring for Friends' horses. She died a widow, 7 mo. 16, 1677.

XXX

WILLIAM DEWSBURY to MARY SMITH, *Newgate*,
I.ii.1662.

[Quarto side in the handwriting of William Dewsbury.]

MARY Smith,
Dear handmaid of the Lord, Lift up thy head and
stay thy hart upon the Lord and Judg doon what ever
would dwill From the Lord that in his Light thou stand
parffect in his Lov. Thou shalt praics the nam of the Lord
For ever over all the power of hell and dea[th] and as the life
ordrains be Faithfful in the contritt spiritt to obay the Lord.
His presence rest with the For
ever. W D

Henry Jacson
Remembers his love to thee, thy brother and sister, with my
Love to Elizabeth linlay and her husband and freinds as
thou art Freed.

Newg¹ 1 d 2 mo 62.

[Addressed] These/ for my very deare/ Frennd Richard/
Smyth² a Tanner liveing/in North Streete in Yorke/with care
& speed/ Yorke/ sh.

¹ i.e. Newgate.

² Richard Smith, a tanner of York, is mentioned in *F.P.T.*, 318. While his wife, and his sister, Mary Waite, were Friends he is described as a friendly man. See Letter XXVI, note 1.

XXXI

WILLIAM DEWSBURY to [MARY SMITH], without
address, date or place.¹

[Folio side more than half covered in hand of William
Dewsbury.]

DEAR Sister

My hart & life is with the in the etternall love of my
Father who hath given me to beleav thou seest much of
his lov in thy condittion, whear my soul haith Unyon with
the in his lov & with thy tender childeren & all with the
that walk in the fear of the Lord. My dear sester, the Lord
haith opened som thing to me of thy housband condition,
that the seed, which lys in prison & haith been so often
ministered to by eternall word, now in measur yearns for
deleveranc, but is pressed doon with a earthly & carles
spirit ; with which seed I sufer & was moved of the Lord
to writ a fue lins to him. For the Lord will doe good to his
soul, wach over him ; & the etternall God of power arm
the with wisdom & power, and all with the in thy famally,
whom he haith called up to him self to walk faithfully
with him, every on in your measur to his fear & glory, to
whom be all honor & glory for ever & ever.

farwell

thy Bro: in the truth of God
Will Dousbery

I was moved to have writ this fue lins when Thomas cam,
but he weas comd away Sudanly, after the word come to me.

Salut me in the Lord to all that fear the
Lord in thy famally : thy husband & all
frends ther abouts. I know not but I
shall see your faces in the flesh befor I go
forth of this country.

[No address, but on verso five characters of shorthand.]

¹ This is the most indeterminate of all these letters. Only its association with others justifies us in guessing that it was written to Mary Smith. The postscript does not indicate which "country" (i.e. county) William Dewsbury was in. Could Thomas be Thomas Waite, the husband of Mary Smith's sister ?

XXXII

TITUS OATES to Mr. WHITFIELD, March 13th, 1678/9,
without place.¹

[Part of folio side neatly written and signed but not in
the hand of Titus Oates.]

MR Whitfield
Yours I received in which you mention one Dues-
bury. His name is Will: Duesbury, a Quaker whom you
would do well to discharge. He is noe Jesuite nor like one.
I looke upon it to be our discretion not to meddle with any
Protestant Dissenters, in this day but to bend our forces
against the common enemy of Protestants Religion (The
Papists) & to endeavour to winne by argument those that are
dissenters from us. Sir there is a Certificate from some
that have known him this 20 yeares, & upwards, who are
men of repute in their generations, & Protestants. And I
pray did you ever know that there was ever any Correspon-
dency betwixt Jesuits & Quakers, as may render them sus-
picious. Or did you ever know any Jesuits or Priests in their
Meetings, or there suffered to preach? For I know the
Jesuits and the Quakers, & there is such vast difference in
point of religion, that it is as possible to reconcile Light &
darkness as to reconcile them. Though they may appear
different from us, yet I think they are no murderers, as the
Papists have been & are. I have no more, but that I am
Youres though unknowne,

Titus Oates

March the 13 $\frac{78}{9}$

[Endorsed in a different hand] Titus Oates/ testimonie
concer/ning Wm: Dewsbu/ry &c.

¹ This document is a copy, in slightly different wording from the copy printed in Dewsbury's *Works*. See above, p. 7. The strong statement distinguishing Quakers and Papists might be useful to other Friends beside William Dewsbury since it was only too common to regard them as in alliance.

For Titus Oates, see *D.N.B.*, etc.

John Whitfield (c. 1631-1705), rector of Bugbrooke in Northamptonshire. See H. I. Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy*, vol. XV, 1943, pp. 43-5.

XXXIII

JOHN WHITEHEAD to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, *Beesthorpe*,¹ 28.x.1657.

[One folio side in the hand of Nos. XIX and XX.]

DEARE brother,
 In spirit I have beene much with the in thy travell for the seed with which I have been refreshed in the, yea and I am refreshed to hear of thy prosperous returne² and many souls deliverances out of the snares of the wicked. The glory and praises bee unto our God and king for ever who alone gives dominion and victory over all the principallities and powers and rulers of darknesse which makes war against us and the Lambe who is our head and strength, as I can witness in my measure who have been accompanied with his presence dayly, and supported and strengthened according to my need in all my exercises, travells and burthens for the seed's sake, which have been great both in the east and in this countie, which hath beene like a barren wilderness. But praised be the Lord who hath given mee strength and power to reach to the seed in all to whom I have beene sent, with which I have left the savour of Life, that it may spring to the refreshing God vineyard to which he is adding dayly in his name as called by him. I am passing southward into Northampton shire and the counties that wayes as far as London and so into the eastern counties, if the dore be kept open, as well to seeke the scattered ones

¹ Beesthorpe or Besthorpe, Notts., is described by the writer as not far from Beccingham. It was the home of William Smith (-1672), a prominent man of the community and prolific Quaker writer. He was not, however, convinced until 1658 after this letter was written.

² William Dewsbury's "return" cannot be exactly traced. Since his release in January 1656, from Northampton gaol, he had been in Yorkshire, Essex, Northampton, etc. His experiences in the Western counties in September and October 1657, are narrated in a letter in his *Works*, pp. 172-4. Then he went into Wales. For the next twelve months his whereabouts are hard to trace. See W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 362-3. Nor have we much information about John Whitehead at this time to compare with data in this letter.

as vissit the plants. Deare beeloved pray for mee that satan may not hinder but that in God's power I may be kept over all with out which thou knows I can doe nothing exeptable to him. And deare Lett me heare from thee as thou hast opertuntie and moved of God, in whose will I desire to rest for ever mor.

When I came from Amongst frends in the east which is about 6 weekes agoe they was in A good order and well, save onely in body. How bee it I know the seed breath for thee and thy servisse will bee great Amongst them I am to bee not very far on this side Oukom³ on the next 1 day and so God willin shall passe on to Oukom and into Lestershire &c on as the Lord Leads.

Joh Whitehead

From Bestthorpe not far
from Beckingam, the 28
of the 10 month 1657.

[Addressed in same hand] for W D this/ is.

³ Oakham in Rutland seems to be intended.

XXXIV

ANN SHERWOOD to WILLIAM DEWSBURY, without
place or date.

[Eighteen lines in the hand of Ann Sherwood.]

DEARLEY Beloved in the Lord, I having some movings
concerning a generall meting that all freinds in North-
hamton Bedford and Buckingham sheare mit see
onanothers faces, it having laine upon myspiret this 3 weekes,
but I fearing it might bee something in the will was not free
to writ to thee but now I cannot but Lett thee know ; and
if thou in the wisdome of God see that it may bee for the
glore of God and the florshing of the truth I should Reioyse
in it, if not, content in the will of the Lord, so I leave it to
thee.

Dere hart pray that the Lord would Acompelich his worke in
me, for I see the warfare begun wich must be pased thorough
both with in and with out, wich made me all most faint.
But the Lord in his eternall Love made maney fest to my
soule that thorough Christ I should doe all things and that
nothing is too hard for the Lord, in whose treuth I now waite
in my meaesher to see the end of my hope ; eternall prayses
bee unto the Lord God of Life who is worthy.

A S

[Addressed] William/Dewesbry.

INDEX

ALEXANDER, William, 6, 8
 Ashford, Kent, 51
 Aspley, 26, 44
 Aylesbury, 26, 46

BALBY, 15, 18
 Baldock, 47
 Baptists, 45, 46
 Barclay, Abram Rawlinson, 6, 7, 8
 Beckerings Park, 26
 Bedford, 26, 38
 Bedfordshire, 29, 32, 65
 Besthorpe, Notts., 63
 Braithwaite, William C., 9
 Buckingham, 32, 45, 65
 Buckinghamshire, 32, 38
 Bull, Catherine, 49
 Burrough, Edward, 24, 25, 31
 Bury St. Edmunds, 49

CADBURY, Henry J. *Swarthmore*
Documents in America, 5
 Chalk, Thomas. *John Whitehead*, 8
 Cockett, Thomas, 33
 Colchester, 40
 Craven, Robert, 39
 Crook, John, 14, 20, 21, 39, 43
 Cumberland, 19, 36

DERBYSHIRE, 18
 Dewsbury, Ann, 8, 13, 17, 36, 37
 Dewsbury, William. See List of
 letters, 11, 12; also Introduction,
 5-8
 Draper, Matthew (Capt.), 45
 Dring, Simon, 42

ELLINGTON, Francis, 33
 Ellythorpe, Sebastian, 47

FARNSWORTH, Richard, 5, 15,
 20, 38
 Faversham, 51
 Fell, Christopher, 26
 Fell, Margaret, 7, 34, 53
 Fisher, Mary, 26
 Foster, Thomas, 22
 Fox, George, 15, 18, 38

GLIDEWELL, Thomas, 43
 Goodaire, Thomas, 20
 Green, Thomas, 13

HARTLEY, William, 46
 Head, Peter, 19
 Hebden, Grace, 59
 Hebden, Roger, 5, 23
 Hertfordshire, 32, 38
 Holbeck, 37
 Hooton, William, 15
 Howard, Luke, 25
 Howgill, Francis, 31
 Hunt, Elisha, 28
 Hutchin, John, 17

IRELAND, 29, 31

JACKSON, Henry, 54, 59

KENDAL, 36
 Killam, Margaret, 26

LEICESTERSHIRE, 38, 64
 Lincoln, 38, 39
 Lindley, Elizabeth, 54
 London, 22, 23, 42, 56
 Lynn, 49, 50

MARKET HARBOROUGH, 31,
 33, 38
 Monk, Mary, 54, 58
 Moulton, 43

NAYLER, James, 21, 23, 25, 29, 38
 Newport Pagnell, 20, 32, 43, 45, 48
 Normanton, 18, 19
 Northampton, 13, 29, 31, 34, 36,
 37, 43, 65
 Nuttall, Dr. Geoffrey, 7

OATES, Titus, 7, 8, 62
 Oakham, 64
 Olney, 20, 32, 43

PARKER, Alexander, 39
 Parnell, James, 5, 8, 40
 Patrickson, Anthony, 38
 Pickle, Thomas, 51

RANTERS, 20
 Reeve, Henry, 47
 Rotherham, 18
 Rush, John, 29

SAMM, John, 13, 14
 Sheffield, 18
 Sherrington, 44
 Sherwood, Ann, 7, 47, 48, 65
 Simmonds, Martha, 24, 41
 Smith, Edward. *William Dewsbury*,
 8
 Smith, Mary, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61
 Smith, Richard, 54, 60
 Stoddart, Amor, 39, 42
 Stony Stratford, 43
 Storr, Joseph 19, 33, 46
 Storr, Marmaduke, 33

Stubbs, John, 5, 51
 Stubbs, Thomas, 5, 13, 18, 29, 31,
 32, 36, 37, 38, 40
 Swarthmore MSS., 5, 8
 Swarthmoor, 5, 34

TAYLOR, George, 36
 Thackery, Thomas, 37
 Thompson, Silvanus, 8

WAITE, Thomas, 61
 Wakefield, 15 18
 Wales, 24, 63
 Warmsworth, 15
 Wellingborough, 17, 20, 28, 29, 33, 39
 West Brabourne, 51
 Whitehead, John, 8, 19, 28, 33, 43,
 45, 52, 63
 Whitfield, John, 62
 Williamson, Henry, 27, 33
 Winslow, 45

YORK, 58
 Yorkshire, 18
 Yorkshire Q.M. Records, 6, 8, 9