

THE
SWARTHMORE DOCUMENTS
IN AMERICA

EDITED BY
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CONTENTS

NO.			PAGE
		Introduction	5
1	1650	GF to the Mayor of Derby, Etting MSS. 26	11
2	1653	GF to Friends in the Ministry, Etting MSS. 29	12
3	(1654) 1659	GF to Friends, HSP Autograph	16
4	(1655) 1656	GF to Friends, Etting MSS. 28	17
5	1656(?)	GF to the Magistrates of Bath, Chamberlain MSS. F. 7, 10	18
6	(1652) 1656	GF to Friends, Etting MSS. 31	21
7	Bristol, 27.vi.1656	George Bishop to MF, Etting MSS. 29 <i>bis</i>	22
8	Reading, 12.viii.1656	GF to James Nayler, Etting MSS. 32	26
9	London, 21.viii.1656	Francis Howgill to MF, Etting MSS. 30	28
10	Helsby, Cheshire, 28.ii.1658	Thomas Briggs to MF, Etting MSS. 35	31
11		Ambrose Rigge to MF, Swarth. Coll. MSS.	33
12	1659	GF to Lord Pembroke, Etting MSS. 37	36
13	1660	GF "Christ's Sentence on the Wicked", Etting MSS. 43	39
14	London, 1660	James Nayler to GF, Etting MSS. 44	40
15		GF to Anthony Pearson, Etting MSS. 44 <i>verso</i>	41
16	(1657) 1660	GF Paper to Magistrates, Etting MSS. 36	42
17	1660	GF to the King, Hav. Coll. MSS.	47
18	1660	GF "The Quakers' Religion," Hav. Coll. MSS. 862	49
19	Leominster, 25.viii.	Humphrey Bates to GF, Etting MSS. 42	50

NO.			PAGE
20	25.viii.1660	Sir Thomas Mallett, Release for GF, Etting MSS. 42 <i>bis</i>	52
21	1660	GF "The Outside Professors," Etting MSS. 38	53
22	1660	GF "A Distinction between the Fanatick Spirit and the Spirit of God, etc.," Etting MSS. 40	55
23	London, 5.i.1661	MF to Friends, Etting MSS. 46	56
24	At Sea, 1661	Josiah Coale to MF, Etting MSS. 47	57
25	Lower Easton, 2.vi.1662	John Stubbs to MF, Etting MSS. 42	61
26	Leicestershire, 18.vii.1662	GF to Sarah Cheevers & Katherine Evans, Etting MSS. 49	64
27	1663	GF to Dr. Joseph Craddock, C. F. Jenkins MSS.	67
28	Reading, 29.ii.1664	Thomas Curtis to GF, HSP Auto- graph	69
29	1.xi.1669	GF to Friends, Hav. Coll. MSS.	71
30	London, 12.ii.1670	GF Epistles to Friends, Chamber- lain MSS. F. 7, 11	73
31	London, 2.ii.1672	Rebecca Travers to MF, Etting MSS. 51	74
32	Newport, R.I., 14.vi.1672	John Stubbs to MF, R.I. Hist. Soc.	77
33	Worcester, 21.xi.1673	GF to MF, Etting MSS. 57	78
34	London, 7.i.1673/4	Martha Fisher to MF, Etting MSS. 52	80
35	The Cliffs, Maryland, 21.iv.1674	John Gary to GF, Penn-Forbes MSS. ii, 114	82

Swarthmore Documents in America

NOT many movements in their beginnings are marked by an historical instinct. Quakerism's precocity in this respect is attested among other ways by the great collection of original papers, carefully preserved from the first at Swarthmore Hall. This material is well summarized by William C. Braithwaite in Appendix B on Swarthmore Documents in his *Beginnings of Quakerism*. While the printed books at Swarthmore Hall were early dispersed by members of the family,¹ it is supposed that the MSS. were kept intact until 1759 when the Hall was sold.² Fortunately much of the material has been accumulating again at a single centre—Friends' Reference Library, Friends House, London. Here is the largest single section, the Swarthmore MSS. proper, in seven volumes. Here are the Spence MSS. in three volumes, including the text and inserted documents of Fox's journal as printed in 1911. Here are the A. R. Barclay MSS. of which excerpts are appearing in this *Journal*, and here are now other small collections, in fact nearly everything mentioned by Braithwaite. But single pieces appear in scattered places, and there is evidence that many pieces have disappeared entirely, as have also some small collections which were in existence less than a century ago.

The importance of this material has long been recognized. As early as 1660 William Caton prepared from letters by

¹ See letter of John Abraham in *Journal F.H.S.* xi, 1914, 186. For later transfer of old Swarthmore Hall books to other hands see *ibid.*, xxxiv, 1937, 27f.

² This is usually so stated, Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, 538; Penney, *Journal of George Fox*, 1911, i, 393. But in the major collection (iii, 9) is the plain note: "This book is given to Edmond Pickover by John Abraham late of Swarthmore Hall in Lancashire the Grandson of Margret Fox formerly of the same Swarthmore in the year of our Lord 1755." This volume and volumes i and iv came to the Library from the Oxleys, descendants of Edmund Peckover's sister Ann who married John Oxley. It is to be hoped that the history to date of all these volumes so far as it is known at Friends House will be recorded.

himself and others to Margaret Fell a substantial collection of copies in a volume of 515 quarto pages, long lost, but lately happily recovered. George Fox, apparently about 1675-6, when after his release from his last imprisonment he spent a considerable time at Swarthmore, "read over" these papers, sometimes marking through parts which he deemed unsuitable to print, and endorsed them briefly in his unmistakable handwriting, sometimes merely with the year, but more often with a brief notation of writer and recipient. Though the originals are now mounted flat they evidently were then folded—not in two directions as when sent through the post and sealed—but in parallel folds. The endorsement was then made across the end of the outside of each piece like a docket. Since some endorsements include a serial number,¹ and others refer to several papers, there is reason to suppose they were tied in bundles, perhaps arranged by the several writers, and/or by date.

Before Fox's death his own pieces had been copied out into two folio books. One of these was made by Edward Haistwell about 1675-6 and is still extant at Friends House. It is sometimes called *George Fox's Epistles and Queries*. In the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* initiated in 1694 it is referred to as Xx. The other is now lost, but in the same Catalogue it was referred to as N. It must have had copies of several hundred papers, including practically all the 175 originals in Swarthmore MSS., Vol. vii. Perhaps the letters of other early Friends were copied in other volumes.² These books and the originals by himself

¹ See the letter of John Stubbs (XXV below, and note 2).

² For further information about Xx and N see under those rubrics in my introduction to the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*. The relation of Xx and N to the Swarthmore Documents is illustrated by the fact that when the latter collections include two copies of the same piece, there are two references to it in Xx or N. See the *Annual Catalogue* 11A; 19, 16A; 23, 52A; 3, 28D, etc. A good run of 16 pieces in Xx, extant also in Swarthmore MSS. ii begins *ibid.*, 19, 66A. Instructions for copying Swarthmore documents occur in at least three of the originals in the hand of Richard Richardson who died in 1689. Thus on iii, 6: "Jo. Baines to copy over, in half sh^t leaves or in folios above a finger breath or more from y^e side y^t they may be bound up together. & every letter a sufciant space from others. and at y^e begining of every paper the partyes name to whom writt: take them in order as are sett by y^e figures."

or others are probably mentioned in 1688 by George Fox in his testamentary papers.

Though historians have used these materials sporadically, especially James Bowden, Robert Barclay the younger, Maria Webb and William C. Braithwaite, satisfactory publication of the texts or even adequate calendaring of the main collection¹ has long been a desideratum. The only approach to a reasonable publication of part of these papers was A. R. Barclay's *Letters, etc. of Early Friends*, London, 1841. That this material has remained for a century inaccessible to students who work at a distance from London is a recognized inconvenience. As one example may be noted the fact that what is probably the earliest extant reference to the character and sentiments of the great philosopher Spinoza has been hidden in these Swarthmore MSS. until two Americans independently published it in 1938. The present small volume will, it is hoped, set the precedent for equally full publication of the larger collections.

In 1933 I had an opportunity to see some of this material at first hand, so that when I returned to America and examined Quaker MSS. in American collections I was able to identify certain pieces as having originally belonged to this same Swarthmore Hall material. Through a grant from

Similarly on iii, 4: "for J. B. in half sheet bands an inch from y^e sides y^t they may be well bound up together in a booke: every letter a distinct space from other in order as they are sett together and figured out dates as may be found in y^e inner or out side: at y^e begining express to who every paper is directed—" And on iii, 29: "for Richard Haryson (?) to copy over: in halvesheet leaves not neare the side that they may [be] bound up in a booke: every letter dis[tinct] space from other: and first all the [] many & then the other. & take them in order as they beare date such as are dated: & at the beginning of every letter signyfy who it is to: I have put them in order. write them as they lye up & according to the figures 1. 3. 5 &c." Joseph Baines or Baynes of Stangerthwaite in Killington, Westmorland, was convinced by George Fox probably about 1652, became a minister and sufferer for the Truth and died in 1714. The name of the other copyist cannot be made out with certainty. Whether these copies were ever made as directed there seems to be no evidence.

¹ Calendaring was proposed in 1904 in the first volume of *Journal F.H.S.*, p. 120, but never carried further. Theodor Sippel of Marburg has urged it more recently.

the Clarke and Milton funds at Harvard University I was able to secure photostats of all that I recognized and to have these copied in typescript. The cost of printing has been defrayed by a grant of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting from the Rebecca White bequest for printing and distributing the writings of George Fox and Robert Barclay. For these forms of assistance and for the help of John L. Nickalls, Librarian of Friends' Reference Library, and of Muriel Hicks, Assistant Librarian, in preparing the material for the press, the editor wishes to express here his gratitude. Since the American papers are with one exception no longer in private hands, and are not likely to rejoin their former associates in London, and are likely otherwise to be in the future as in the past largely unknown to users of the British collections, it has seemed worth while to assemble them under a single new classification—I suggest as abbreviation "Swarth. MSS. (U.S.A.)"—and to publish them fully. Photostats have been sent to Friends House, where they may be consulted in case verification of handwriting or of the printed text is desired. The contents of some which have appeared in print in substantially identical form I have not reproduced. The simpler abbreviations have been here replaced by the full words, as recommended by the *Report of the Anglo-American Historical Committee on Editing Historical Documents*, 1923.

When and how the MSS. came to America can in few cases be ascertained. Only one or two of them have special American interest (e.g. XVI, XXIV, XXXII and XXXV). A large proportion of them are endorsed by a single modern hand. I cannot certainly identify it and have therefore called it simply YY. I think it belongs to the end of the eighteenth century, and—since it also endorsed many of the early pieces in the Pemberton Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—to Philadelphia and the Pemberton family, perhaps to James Pemberton (1723-1809). The only papers in the English collections recognized as endorsed in the same hand are two in the Abraham MSS. (Nos. 12 and 34), both of which came from Philadelphia as is shown by another identical more recent endorsement: "Sent to me by Henry Pemberton, 1947 Locust Street, Philadelphia September 28th 1876 Emma Clarke Abraham, Grassendale Park, Liverpool." Probably then those endorsed by YY come from a single older American collection.

The largest group of papers, twenty-four in all, is THE ETTING EARLY QUAKER MSS. in the collection made at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Frank M. Etting before 1872, now in the same society's library in the volume entitled *Early Quaker and Penn Family*. Probably Judge Mellen Chamberlain (1821-1900) secured his pieces, THE CHAMBERLAIN MSS., at the same time and from the same source. They are now in the Boston Public Library. The other collections are: the AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION at the HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA; the manuscripts at the RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Providence; the Quaker collections in Pennsylvania in the libraries of HAVERFORD COLLEGE, and of SWARTHMORE COLLEGE, respectively; and the private collection of Quaker manuscripts owned by CHARLES F. JENKINS, Germantown, Pennsylvania. I am grateful to all these owners for permission to secure photostats of their materials.

As there may be some doubt as to what justifies the identification of an early Quaker MS. as a Swarthmore document, I will indicate the clues which I have followed.

1. Original letters sent through the post and addressed either to Margaret Fell or a daughter at Swarthmore Hall or to George Fox.
2. Endorsements in the handwriting of George Fox on such letters or upon contemporary copies of his own epistles or manifestos.
3. A cross near the endorsement—or the word "engrossed" indicating that the paper was copied probably in Xx or N (see above).
4. The occurrence in Xx (*Epistles and Queryes of George Fox*) of a copy of the separate paper.
5. Evidence from the *Annual Catalogue* that the separate paper was included in the lost folio collection N.

The details given below will show which one or more of these five clues seemed to justify me in including each piece. My justification may be questioned with Nos. XX and XXIII.

Other papers in America, which though undoubtedly originals—including Fox holographs—could not be shown to

have the same claims, I have excluded, even when their association with the included items gives them some presumption of identical descent.

Notes are not supplied to Friends respecting whom adequate notes appear in *The Journal of George Fox*, Cambridge edition, 1911, or *The Short and Itinerary Journal*, 1925. These are referred to as *Cambridge Journal* and *Short Journal*. The following abbreviated references are also used : *F.P.T.* for *First Publishers of Truth* (the introduction of Quakerism into the counties of England and Wales), edited by Norman Penney, 1907. *Annual Catalogue* for *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*, edited with omissions and additions by Henry J. Cadbury, 1939. *Sufferings*, or Besse, for *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers, . . .*, by Joseph Besse, 2 vols., 1753. *F.H.S.* for Friends' Historical Society.

I

GEORGE FOX to the MAYOR OF DERBY, 1650.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 26.)

[folio page all in the hand of George Fox.]

Printed, much edited,¹ under 1650 in the *Journal of George Fox* (edit. of 1694, p. 35f.)

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] to the mare of darbe
ferm gF 1650.

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] 1650 ingrosed.

[endorsed by YY] To the Mayor of Derby from George
Fox 1650.

Another copy is in Swarthmore MSS. ii, 43 addressed to "Noah Bullock of derby in the towne" and endorsed by George Fox "to the meir of darby from Elliz: hoton 1650."²

¹ Noteworthy is the correction from "O friend, you are a magistrate," etc., in the manuscript, to the Quaker use of thou to an individual in the printed *Journal*, "O friend, thou art a magistrate," etc.

² A second endorsement of Fox runs "This was sent to the meir of darby from Goodde hutton." See Emily Manners, *Elizabeth Hooton, First Quaker Woman Preacher (1600-1672)*, 1914, p. 7; and on Mayor Bullock, *ibid.*, p. 78.

II

GEORGE FOX to FRIENDS IN THE MINISTRY, 1653.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 29.)

[quarto page written in an unidentified small neat hand.]

Freinds to yow all this is y^e worde of y^e lord god, dwell in y^e life, y^t with it you may see y^e father of life, & dwelling in y^e light with which light y^e world is comprehended & condemned which light comprehends y^e worlds wisdome which light comprehends y^e world & their knowledge & all y^e deceivers which are entered into y^e world turned from y^e light with which light they are comprehended & with it they are all condemned, y^t is y^e world y^t hates y^e light because their deeds are evill & they will not bringe their deeds to y^e light because y^e light will reprove them, & they hate it & them y^t live in it & this light is y^e condemnation of the world, & all the deceivers & AnteChrists they are such as are turned from y^e light, which opposes Christ, to yow all my brethren which dwell in y^e light, which is y^e worlds condemnation y^e light I doe commande yow & charge yow all in y^e presence of the liveing god, to dwell in what yow speake, & none to professe what he doth not dwell in & none to professe what he is a sayer of & not a doer, for it begettis vaine talkers, soe with y^e light yow & all such are to be condemned from y^e life, soe I command yow & charge yow all in y^e presence of y^e liveing god, to dwell in y^e light which is y^e worlds condemnation which hate it, though they may have all y^e words declared from y^e light & proffes all y^e words y^t were declared from them y^t dwel in y^e life, & yett hateing y^e light in y^e particuler, with y^e light which never changes are they & all their profession to be condemned, & woe is y^e end of it from him who is y^e light, therfor to yow freinds who dwell in y^e light, & love it, I speake, y^t yow may be made manifest to y^e light in all consiences of them y^t hate it, which Christ Jesus hath enlightened them with all, which is ye worlds condemnation,

& to yow this is y^e etternall worde of god, in in y^e light all freinds dwell which comprehends y^e word, y^e highest religion to it must bow & bend, & be condemned, which is contrary to it, but all freinds dwell in y^e light which is etternall y^t comprehends y^e world, & condemns y^e world, y^t with it yow may comprehend y^e world, & arisse up & goe on in y^e mighty power of god, in y^e light which comprehends y^e world, & condemns y^e world, [several words obliterated] yee mighty men of warr in y^e power & strength of y^e mighty god of life, y^e lord of hosts who is with yow, your sheild, buckler, defence, & armour who armes yow over all y^e world to raigne, triumph, trample, & tread y^e winepresse alone without y^e citty, god allmighty blesse yow, & prosper his worke, y^t to y^e light in all consciences yee may be made manifest, to y^e measure of god which is pure, which is given to everyone, y^t with it all may see what is contrary to god, & to yow this is y^e worde of god.

G:F:

To goe amonge all freinds in the light & in the warr :

Loe y^e lambe of god which was prepared before y^e world was which taketh away y^e sins of y^e world, him we wittnes which taketh & hath taken away our sins & brought us befor the world was, to raigne above y^e world, he hath which comprehends y^e whole world, which came from above, which is not of y^e earthly, which hath brought us above y^e earth, & redeemed us from y^e earth, y^e second Adam which is from above, which is not of y^e earth, is obedient, y^e first Adam which is of y^e earth earthly, is disobedient, & soe shutt forth & therefore y^e second Adam we wittnes y^e lord from heaven, he y^t brings from beneath out of y^e deepe, & is assended farr above all principalities & powers, which raises up & setts in heavenly places with Christ Jesus & we are in heavenly places, & doe wittnes y^e heavenly, they which hates this light which comes from y^e second Adam, are with y^e light to be condemned, & to such y^e heavens are shutt & upon such y^e curse remaines, from Christ y^e preist who lives for ever, which y^e preists was figures of which was changable, y^t preist we owne which never changes, he y^t was crusified at Jerusalem, which was dead & is alive, & lives for evermore, this Christ we wittnes, & denies y^e changable preisthood, & y^t worde which was in y^e begining

& became flesh & dwelt amonge his disciples, whome y^e Jewes & y^e Gentiles & y^e cheife preists put to death, this Christ we wittnes y^e same yesterday & today & for ever, who cried woe against them y^t had y^e cheifest seates in y^e assemblies & was called of men maister, whome our lord Jesus Christ (which never changeth but is y^e same yesterday & today & for ever) cried woe against soe y^e same woe remains upon all yow y^t have y^e cheife seats in y^e assemblies, stands praying in y^e synagogues & called of men maisters, who are not changed from those places out of y^e pharisses steps, soe y^e woe is upon yow who are in y^e same, for Christ is y^e same yesterday & today & for ever, & changes not, & this Christ we owne & wittnes, who raignes, this man who was made with an oath which is which is [*sic*] y^e oath of god which breakes all bands, oathes, & limitts, & brings to yea & nay, who is y^e covenant of god, & who be in y^e covenant of god knowe y^e lord the second Adam, but who be in y^e first Adam drove into y^e earth, & hates y^e light with it are to be condemned.

G:F:

My babes in Christ Jesus lay hands on noe man sudenly, nor Joyne to them least yow be p[ar]takers of their evill deeds, but in y^e light which comprehends y^e world, which is y^e worlds condemnation whosse deeds are evill, who are turned from y^e light, & of all their wisdome & knowledge who knowes not god with it who are turned from y^e light with it they are comprehended, & darknes comprehended with light comprehends y^e world, & all y^e workes of it, & all y^e thinkers, & all y^e conceivers & all y^e opinions & all y^e sects which be turned from the light, dwelling in y^e light which is according to y^e light in all consciences, here yow are a terror to all y^e world y^t hates y^e light, y^e presence of god is with yow, y^e sworde of y^e allmighty is in your hands, & yow will see what to cutt downe, which is for eternall destruction soe y^e mighty power of y^e lord be with yow, & goe along with yow, y^e children of y^e most high god, & they y^t be out of y^e life, & are full with y^e words which did p[ro]ceed from y^e light they must be fed with Judgment, such are they which are full loathes y^e hony combe, which are to be sent empty away from god, & all y^e children of god, which be in y^e light which light they hate which are full with y^e words which proceeded from y^e light, soe with y^e

light yee are to be condemned ; dwell in y^e light & walke in y^e light, I charge & comande yow all in y^e presence of y^e liveing god of life, y^t to y^e light in all consience yow may be made manifest which is their condemnation, & dwell in y^e light y^t with it they may be judged, take heed of feeding y^e world with words which hates y^e light, least you cast pearles befor swine which hates y^e light, with which light yee must be condemned.

G:F:

[endorsed in the same hand] To goe amonge all freinds in the light & in y^e warr: G:F:
off the first & second Adam from: G:F:
A paper not to Joyne with the wicked from:
G:F:

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] to frinds 1653.

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] the word of the lord to frends in the minestery.

[endorsed by YY] George Fox.

Listed under 1653 in *Annual Catalogue of George Fox* 19, 124A ; 14A, and 11A respectively 49N, 49N, 50N. Other MS. copies in Swarthmore MSS. ii, 49, and elsewhere. The first item also No. III below, and printed somewhat inaccurately in *The Epistles of George Fox*, No. 41.

III

GEORGE FOX to FRIENDS, 1654.

(Autograph Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

[One small quarto page written in a fine sloping hand.]

Printed under 1653 with some editing in *Epistles of George Fox*, No. 41. Other MS. copies in Swarthmore MSS. ii, 59 and elsewhere. See above No. II.

[endorsed by George Fox] GF to goe among all frendes
in the world 1654.

[endorsed] To goe amongst all in the light & in the war.

[endorsed] Geo. Fox's Epistle.

Annual Catalogue of George Fox, 19, 124A, et al. 228N, 49N.

IV

GEORGE FOX to FRIENDS, 1655.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 28.)

[folio sheet less than half covered in the handwriting of
Robert Widders.]

And Friends though yow may have tasted of the power
& beine convinced & have felt the light, etc.

Printed under 1656 in the *Journal of George Fox*, edited
by Thomas Ellwood (edit. of 1694, p. 234f.)

[endorsed by George Fox GF] to frends 1655.

[endorsed] 50.

[endorsed] gf.

[endorsed by YY] George Fox. 1655.

V

GEORGE FOX to the MAGISTRATES of BATH, 1656(?)¹

(Chamberlain MSS. F. 7, 10.)

[in the handwriting of Thomas Lower.]

Friends

A servant of the Lord Thomas Murford² by name, which was of y^e Lord moved to come into your meetingplace, the Steeplehouse, to speake as moved of the Lord, unto you freely, & you taking him forth, & after sending him to Prison, & there having kept him allmost two yeares. Now consider, friends, you that bee Magistrates, Is this a Christians life? & yee that bee Teachers at that place, now had hee beene in the wrong, you should have convinced him, Then had you shewed your selves like unto a Church, in which all may speake, one by one, without a Prison or persecution If one came in among, & had beene unlearned, & you had convinced him, then hee might have said, God was in you of a trueth. Now you may see how you are measured with the Apostles doctrine, to bee quite out of it, And againe you Magistrates & Teachers of Bathe, have you shewed him soe much favour as they did to Jeremy, whoe was sent to crye against them that bare rule by their meanes, & was put in the dungeon: Did not they give him bread & water & meate? Have you

¹ The date of the visit to the steeplehouse by Thomas Murford of Englescomb, near Bath, is given by Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 576 as 7th May, 1655. When his imprisonment for two years less one day began is not related, but if this paper was written after his confinement or near its close, it cannot be dated before 1657. The dates of Fox's endorsements are frequently wrong.

² The *Annual Catalogue* 121B in quoting the beginning of this piece omits the name, doubtless because he "fell away". Cf. *F.P.T.* 228: "Thomas Murford, of Inksbatch, also had part of the ministry and suffered imprisonment at Bath in 1656, but lost his condition, and lived at Norwich in his latter days."

See for an account of his defection A. J. Eddington, *First Fifty Years of Quakerism in Norwich*, Index.

done soe to him that you have kept allmost two yeares from his wife & Children? a cold profession, Christs words come to passe, the love of many shall waxe cold, they shall hale you out of the Synagogues, & persecute you for his names sake, & these things (saith Christ) I have told you of, that when they come to passe you may remember: Soe now wee see Christs words fulfilled, & remember his sayings. Was it not a strange thing, that the Prophet should not speake in the Kings Chappell, Amos & Micah, y^t cryed against Divines And was it not a strange thing, for the Apostle to goe into the Synagogues, & crye against the priesthood, that tooke Tythes, & Temple? Was not Stephen stoned to death for witnessing against the Temple & shadowes and witnessing the substance? Was not the Apostle often in Prison & many of the Apostles? And have you sufferd Thomas Murford to have soe much favour as Paul had, to hire him a house, & dwell in it, & to visite his friends, or his friends & acquaintance to visite him? Have you not restrained him from walking up and downe, & stopt him up in a hole, & given order that his acquaintance should not come at him? Doe you not shewe a worse life than the Heathen did to the Apostle? Soe farre short of a Christian shames a Christian, whome all Christians are ashamed of, of such Teachers, & such fruites. Doth not this shewe you to bee the Congregation of the dead, & not in the living way, but the dead. Did ever Christians persecute any, or the Apostles or Christ give any such command, for going into the Temple or Synagogues, or coming into their meetings, & speake as they were moved of the Lord. But on the contrarie, did not the Apostle bid them, trye all things, & quench not the spirit, you are them that quench it. Was not the Prophet sent to trye against such y^t divined for money, & taught for money, & sought for the gaine from their quarter, & the fleece, and taught for filthie lucre, and that were Covetous, and were called of men Master, stand praying in the Synagogues, have the chiefest place in the assemblie? Were not these cryed against by Christ and the Apostle, which now you are built on, and not on the Prophets, nor Christ, nor the Apostles, whose fruites hath declared it. And you cannot endure they should bee cryed against as they could not in the dayes of the Prophets Christ & the Apostles, therefore came they to bee persecuted,

as yee doe in this age, As you may reade your example, and in whose steps you walke in, without prejudice, & bee not offended at trueth. The Lord is come to looke for fruite, & will not bee mocked with an hypocryticall profession, whoe is come to teach his people himselfe, by his sonne, whoe doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world y^t all men thorough him might believe, whoe saith, Learne of mee, I am the way to the father, Christ Jesus the second Adam, the way from, the first Adam driven from God, & sinne & transgression, the Light lets you see the which comes from Christ Jesus Gods Covenant, whoe saith, Learne of mee. Now here is your Teacher, Christ the Prophet, which Moses spake of, that God hath raised up, whome the people should heare, & not the Priests that held up the Synagogues, Temple & Tythes, but Christ this is my beloved sonne, heare you him, saith God. Now you all that bee come into the world, beeing enlightened, and this is the light which doth let you see your evill deeds you have done, your evill actions you have acted, your ungodly words you have ungodly spoken, which if you love, the light, you love Christ, and believe in it, it will let you see this, But if you hate the light, & doe not bring your deeds to it, that doth convince you, that with it you may see whether your deeds bee wrought in God, this will bee your condemnation, the Light, saith Christ, And to you this is the word of the Lord, whoe is come to bring his Children off all the Worlds wayes, & Teachers, & Churches, into the living way, which is Christ, to the Church which is in God: And God is the Teacher of his people, and feedes them atoppe of the moun-
taines. Ezekiels prophecie is fulfilled Ezeki: 34.

F:G:¹

Deliver this to the hands of the Mayor & Aldermen of the Towne of Bathe.

[endorsed by George Fox] gf to the mare & oldermen
of the toun of bath 1656.

[endorsed] G:F: paper to y^e Magistrates of y^e town of
bathe.

[endorsed] X

Entered in *Annual Catalogue* under 1656 as 121B, 300N.

¹ The inversion of Fox's initials in signatures is not infrequent.

VI

GEORGE FOX to FRIENDS, 1656.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 31.)

[quarto sheet in unidentified hand.]

All deare frendes everie wheare who hath tasted of the everlastinge power & are made pertakers of his devine nature, etc.

Printed in full in *Epistles of George Fox*, No. 18 for 1652.

[endorsed in the same hand] All Deare freinds.

[endorsed further by George Fox, so that whole endorsement reads] 65 to All Dear freinds gf 1656.

VII

GEORGE BISHOP to MARGARET FELL, *Bristol*,
27.vi.1656.¹

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 29 *bis*.)

[Two quarto pages and the margin of the second in the even handwriting of George Bishop.]

Bristoll. 27th 6th Month 1656.

M.F.

Truely Hon^{ble} in the Lord.

The inclosed Packett are Coppies of what I received from G.F.² in chardge to bee sent to the North, and from Friends ther to bee written over, & sent into Scotland, to bee dispersed over the Northerne parts, & Scotland, as hee hath alsoe layd them upon mee to bee sent to the Isle of Man, & to Ireland, & Wales, & London, A: Pearson, & G. Benson were named to take some care as to them which are for the North of Scotland, to whom it may bee signified as Thou art free, to whom I leave it, & the disposeall of them soe, as the End may bee answred for which it is sent. G.F. hath alsoe wrott that Coppies of some things hee gave out; taken in writing from him by A. Pearson, or T. Korker,³ bee sent hither to bee by Us dispatched into France to Our Bristoll Friend⁴ ther, which is all the Direction hee hath

¹ For the events see the pamphlet written by Captain George Bishop himself entitled *West Answering North*. Cf. *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 232ff.

² Doubtless the same as mentioned in Swarthmore MSS. 65, letter of Henry Fell to Margaret Fell, dated Bristol, 14, (month omitted) 1656: "George Bishop hath some papers to send thee, but they are not yet ready. Some are from G.F."

³ The surname, if not the whole name, is met with elsewhere in early Quaker MSS.

⁴ This must be Christopher Birkhead. Besse, *Sufferings*, ii, 395, mentions his being in France in 1656. Cf. *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 336.

sent by which they may bee knowne what they are, which is alsoe left to thee to take Care in, as thou art free.

The Assizes are Over at Exeter, & Lancelton. G.F. is still a Prysoner, & those whoe were Apprehended with him, & all such as have been in Custody ther since, Except one John Ellis lately convinct whos outward being is at the Lands End, somewhat greate in the World ; whoe is set at Libertie, being imprysoned only for not putting off his Hat to a Justice in his house. Gen^l Disbrowe was ther, & sometime hee spent in hearing of the Cruelties of the Gaoler, & heard E. Pyott, & W. Saltas to that, & hee hath sayd the Gaoler shall bee turned out, but as to G.F. & all friends in Pryson, hee tendred their Liberty upon condition that they signe a Paper that they would goe to their Respective Beings if the Lord permitted, which G.F. in writeing answred,¹ & denied, & soe have the rest of the Prysoners, given their Answers in writeing, the same was tendred to about 23 or 24 friends Men & Women in Exeter taken upp by the Watches as they were peaceable passing the Countrie, (which watches the sessions have set over that Countie to take upp all, to the End that Trueth may bee kept out, as they have done in Cornwall, & its like may follow the same in other parts though it is too late, for the Light is come, & the Glory of the People of Israell, & the Day shyneth) whoe have alsoe given their Answer in writeing ; And when that Paper is signed pass they must with their Ticket, wher it is sayd, doeing nothing prejudiciall to the Comonwealth, & to speake to a Preist, or to Reprove him openly, is called a disturbance of the Peace, & G. Disbrow sayth, hee must keep the peace of the Commonwealth, & Gaolers Fees must alsoe bee satisfied. Soe away hee is come, & its like will bee here tomorrow, for the Assizes here is nere beginning, & Judge Steele is come : And soe G.F. & Friends, Bonds, are likely yet to hold. Those at Lancelton which were brought before Judge Nicholas (for steele went not thither though it was his Circuite, but by Agreement stayd at Exeter) were presentlie demaunded to put off their Hatts, & indicted, & return'd to Pryson for not soe doing, though by the Law all of them should have been set at Libertie ; And as for Ann Blackland,² hee would not permit her soe much as to speake, though shee was

¹ For this letter, see *Cambridge Journal of George Fox*, i, 239-41.

² Anne Blaykling (Blackley).

taken upp only in the Countrie, & those Friends at Exeter taken by the Watches, hee indicted, fyned, & sent to Pryson till Payment for their Hatts; wher the Gaoler is become Exceeding Cruell, whoe formerly was very Loveing, & hath put one Friend into Irons, & most of the rest, amongst the Fellons, & John Bolton¹ of London with whom J.N. is in pryson, hath threatned to put downe alsoe, & a woman have they ther lately whip't & sent to the house of Correction; for speakeing to a Preist in the Graveyard at Exeter. The day is passing over, the Night is coming, Iniquitie gathers upp all its powers of Darkness against the seed which is come to Reigne for Ever & Ever, that soe it may bee cut off And as the Trueth hath had an effectuall doore, which none could shutt nor hinder the spreading of it through these Dominions, (& wonderfull hath been & is the day of the Lord, & greate the number of his children, & Dreadfull their Assemblies,) soe now its houre of Tryall is come, which strikes hard within, & without (for tis y^e last houre of Darkness, & struggle it will to keep its standing above all that hath been heretofore) and blessed are they whoe keep their Garments, and abide faythfull to the Death, for they shall have the Crowne of life, and bee made Pillars in the house of Our God. The Powers of the Earth are hardned, & sealing upp, & together will they give a stroake at the Trueth, but their sword shall returne into their Owne Bowells, & their Bow shall bee broken, & over all the Heathen shall the Kingdome of which ther shall bee noe End bee Exalted, the day is at hand, the houre is nere, Glory, & honor & Praises bee unto him who sitteth on the Throne, & to the Lamb for Ever & Ever.

W. Clements² is a Prysoner, as tis like Thou hast heard, Care Is taken for H: Fell,³ his Passage I have gott, wher his useage is like to bee well, & with all necessaries I shall supply him, & then its like send thee an Account. The

¹ In spite of the note, *Cambridge Journal* i, 435, there can be no doubt of this Friend's identity. Cf. *Short Journal*, 370.

² Walter Clement of Olveston in Gloucestershire was imprisoned in 1656 at Gloucester, but released by the influence on Major General Desborough of some friends of Clement who had supported Desborough in the summer election. Nine letters from him to Margaret Fell are among the Swarthmore MSS.

³ Henry Fell was just starting for Barbados.

shipp stayes only for a wind. Thom: Rollison was taken upp by the watches, & is in Pryson at Exeter. H. Fell went with him as farr as Taunton to pass to G:F ; but something was on him to returne. I had thoughts to have taken a Journey to have seen [?] Thee, & visited our friends in the North, the later End of this Summer, but how the Lord will order it, now I know not, for Friends are clapt upp dayly, which makes my service the greater, & I have here as much as I can turne to. My Love is to Thee in the pure, Unchaingable Trueth, & to thy Children, & to Judge Fell, my former acquaintance is my Love, & to all the Children of Light, with whom I have obtayned mercy to witness in measure, the Redeemer of Syon come, whoe comandeth Deliverance for Jacob, & that Kingdome, which is not of this World, for which I have, & doe Joyfully suffer the Loss of all things.

Geo: Bishope.

[addressed in the same hand] For my Deare Friend
Margret Fell at Swarthmore Lancashire.
These.

[endorsed] From Geo: Bishope to M: F: [added by George
Fox] 1656 read over.

[endorsed by YY] George Bishope Bristol 6 mo. 27. 1656
to Margaret Fell Swarthmoore Lancashire.

VIII

GEORGE FOX to JAMES NAYLER, 1656.¹

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 32.)

[Quarto page written in the handwriting of George Bishop.]

James.

Thou must beare thyne Owne Burden, & Thy Companies with Thee ; whose Iniquitie doth increase, & by thee is not cryed against.

Thou has satisfied y^e world, yea their Desires which they looked for ; & thou & Thy Disciples is, & the world is Joyned against the Trueth, it is manifest through your wilfullness & stubbornness ; & this is the word of y^e Lord God to Thee.

Martha Symonds which is called your Mother, shee bid mee bow downe, & sayd I was Lord & King, & then my heart was rotten, & shee sayd shee denyed that which was head in Mee, & One of them sayd shee had stopped F. Howgills Mouth, & silenced him, & turned my words into a Lye, & into a Temptation, & shee came singing in my face inventing words ; And Hannah² boasted & sayd if they' were Divills make them to Tremble, & shee boasted what shee would doe & Crye against.

Many did not Expect y^t Thou would have been an Encourager of such as doe crie against the Power, & life of Trueth, but wouldest have been a Nourisher of Trueth, & not have trayned upp a Company against it.

¹ Another copy of this letter in an unknown hand appears in the Swarthmore MSS. iii, 193, and other copies elsewhere. According to W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 248, note 3, a letter of Geo. Bishop to M. Fell enables us to date this one exactly as Reading, 12.viii.1656. The letter has been printed in Barclay, *Letters, &c., of Early Friends* and elsewhere. Cf. M. R. Brailsford, *A Quaker from Cromwell's Army : James Nayler*, 1927, p. 113.

² Hannah Stringer (or Stranger) who with her husband John was among Nayler's most extravagant admirers.

And what is y^t which doth fulfill the Worlds Prophecy,
& their Desires. Therefore consider, & search Thy selfe
if this bee Innocency. The Light of God in yee all I
Owne, but this I Judge.

G.F.

At y^e reading of this Letter in Exon prysen hee wept
much, but afterwards came forth & openly declared y^t
hee (?) was in severall things wronged therin.

[endorsed by George Fox] to james naler in exeter presen
1656 read over & this leter was found in jams
naler pocket when hee was taken & it cleared
frends.

ingrosed [added by another hand] James was
Restored againe to a good Condishone befor
his death.

[endorsed by YY] George Fox to James Naylor 1656.

Listed under 1656 in *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*
84B, 180N.

IX

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL. *London*,
21.viii.1656.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 30.)

[Written on one quarto page, and at right angles on the adjacent page in the hand of Francis Howgill.]

MF

my well beloved one in him who is our strength, & Joy rest and peace for ever ; as we stand in his counsell ; who hath broken the chaynes of death ; and brought forth the prisoner, and hath leed captivity captive and brough in & reveled his everlasting rightousnesse ; by which we are covered, and clothed ; with his garment of gladnesse and Joy ; & peace ; and knowes a restinge place in him in the time of trouble ; their I will sitt downe with the and all the holy ones of the lord ; and eate ; my hony with my hony combe ; and drinke of the Cup of blesing, and prayse his name for ever who hath brought us into ; his garden wheir the tre of life stands which is our food ; honour & glory be unto him for ever ; I could sing a new song with the and play upon the harp in the hill of god ; & sound forth his prayse ; as to my owne present condition ; but yett I sufer with & for ; the seed ; & for them ; who have diped the hand In the dishe with us ; and eaten att the table ; yett now fa[st] and poverty and leannesse ; is come upon them ; my deare [I] am not stretened in the ; nor thou ned not be in me but be enlarged y^e be enlarged, in the bowalls of life in me but I am straytned in writing att present ; only my selfe being In the Citie, this evining I received thine : by: R. Roper:¹ of which I was not a litle gald ; for treuly my deare it hath been A cloudie day with me ; not as to my selfe ; but treuly e: b:² & I ; knew few that stode by exept

¹ A letter of Richard Roper to Margaret Fell from London written the preceding day is extant in Swarthmore MSS., iii, 131.

² Edward Burrough.

Swett J.A.¹ who: will: aquent the farther ; but now ; I am over it ; G:F: was Heare 3 dayes: and the last first day was att John crokes ;² and hath apoynted severall to mett him ; as: will Dusbery & some others; their is orders: for all or most of the prisoners to be freed: by: O P and the counsayll & the fines taken of ; att Exon all are freed but one, whome I beleve will not stay long in ; I receved a leter yesternight ; from thence,³ and: J:N: and the rest are att liberty ; and all pased away: but he and 5 or 6 who are working and plotting all meschefe they can: m: simons & her [*sic*] hir husband is gone to him: with another man & his wife one stringer: the went from house to house to draw disiples affter them & to goe with them but they gatt non⁴ and so the went with the order to [. . .]on and so in the way they mett with: g:F: and Judged him & sayd his heart was [. . .] and sayd he should lose his sonns: & bosted what J N would doe ; treuly my deare: J:N: Is bad ; and he hath writen privett leters to some In the Citie who weare in decete ; & tould them ; G:F: tempted him but he had withstod him, and resisted him and their is such filthy things acted their in such havocke & spoyle & such madnesse among them ; as I canott write ; but their is about 10 of them in all with him ; & they call him: I: am ; and the lambe: and they are bringing him to this Citie ; they have mad treuth stinke in those partes, and treuly my deare G:F: bore it so long: and stod so of us: that its become a mountan: and he sees he sufered it to long now: I saw thy letter which James sent the ; & I saw Itt ffull of cuning subtilcy ; and

¹ John Audland.

² John Crook lived in Bedfordshire, but had apparently a town house. See *Short Journal*, p. 269. Or possibly he was already living at Norton, East Herts, where a conventicle of the Quakers is mentioned in 1669: "They goe after John Crook, in the late times a justice of peace in Bedford, now a grate seducer and disturber of the peace." (*Transactions*, East Herts Archaeological Society, ii (1904): 278.)

³ In spite of the abundant early correspondence extant about these momentous days of James Nayler's doings, and the careful modern analysis by Braithwaite, Brailsford and Fogelklou, this letter adds some fresh details to the story.

⁴ From here to the end the writing runs at right angles on a second page, and has been lightly crossed through, as if to indicate that it was to be omitted in copying.

repented I had sent it the ; but standing to thy owne:
 nothing without can hurt ; G:F: Intends to Come Into the
 Citie this weke befor J:N: and they Come ; all is in prety
 order now: and they will mis of their expecttation : god
 hath showed the mistrey of deceite ; and made it manifest
 and will consume it ; yea they shall melt away that hate the
 lord ; so doe not write to: J:N: till thou heare further : least
 his deceite grow stronger my Hearte is upright with the lord
 and to the and to all : that are faytfull I rest In hast ; yett
 not out of the fayth ;

F:H:

London 21 of 8 month.

[addressed in the same hand] For my deare frend
 margett fell: thees.

[endorsed in hand of George Fox] f. hougell to mF 1656
 read over.

[endorsed by YY] Francis Howgill London 8 mo. 21,
 1656 to Margaret Fell.

X

THOMAS BRIGGS to MARGARET FELL. *Helsby,*
Cheshire, 28.ii.1658.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 35.)

M:F:

dearely beloved mother in the deare and ever Lastinge Love of my god doe I dearely salute thee and Remember my deare Love unto thee in the Love of my god which never Changes, but Indures for evermore, and to all my deare freindes with thee who are in the truth my Love Reacheth to you all and with you have I union who are borne of the Imortall seede begotten by the Imortall worde of god which abides for ever to you all doth my Love and Life flow forth abundantly: and Reacheth unto you all: deare Mother this is to Let thee understande that I have moveinges for new England,¹ which I saw when I was goeing to White haven and oliver aderton² I saw must goe with mee somethinge there was that would a put it of that I did not make it knowne neither to george nor to thee when I Came to olivers house the thinge Rose fresh in mee in the eveninge and I felt it and saw that wee must goe thither and in the morneinge the power of the Lorde Came strongly upon us both as wee were walkeinge in the house and oliver should a declared it openly that hee was to goe with mee but hee not beinge obedient it Came upon mee and I declared it openly in the house that wee were to goe to New England and the power ceased upon most in the house and wittnesed

¹ There is no further information of such a proposed journey to New England. Much later Thomas Briggs accompanied George Fox to Ireland (1669) and to Barbados (1671), but did not go on to New England then.

² Oliver Atherton of Ormskirk (-1663) is named as a traveller in the ministry and as a sufferer. See beside printed sources *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*, 13, 24E; Swarthmore MSS., i, 134, 357, 358; vii, 48.

the thinge soe deare Mother if thou canst write unto mee and to Let mee here from thee and to send it to Bristoll or to London and I shall bee much Refreshed in the Love of my god, oliver aderton thinkes to bee at Lodon aboute the 10th of the: 3: month then Let mee here from thee if thou Canst but I shall pass through Walles and when the worke is done which the Lorde hath for mee to doe there I shall pass by Bristoll and soe towardes London iff I doe not here of shipinge in Bristoll soe I Rest with my deare Love Remem-berd to all my deare freindes.

Thomas Briggs

at Henry Titleys¹ of
Helsbey in Cheshire
the 28th 2 Month 1658.

[numbered by George Fox] 5.

[addressed by writer] For Margaret Fell at Swathmoore To bee Left at Thomas Greenes of Lancaster to be sende as above written with speede.

[endorsed by George Fox] t briges to mF 1658 thes ar read over.

[endorsed] Thomas Briggs [endorsed twice] for F.B:

[endorsed by YY] Thomas Briggs Cheshire 2 mo. 28. 1658 to Margaret Fell.

¹ Henry Titler and his wife Mary Titler are noted as those who first received Friends at Helsby, Cheshire (*F.P.T.*, p. 16).

XI

AMBROSE RIGGE to MARGARET FELL. Without date
or place.¹

(Swarthmore College MSS.)

[One folio sheet in the handwriting of Ambrose Rigge.]

M:F:

My dear & welbeloved sister in the everlasting truth & life of righteousnes where our unity stands with the Lord & one with another, in that doe I at this time dearly & tenderly salute thee & my life reach forth unto thee which distance of place cannot separate, the Lords loveing kindnes hath been exceeding larg to us whoe were by nature Children of wrath as well as others, oh that it may be prized above all things by us all & that wee may walke worthy of it, in all holly conversation & godlines as lights in the world, that the love & mercy of the Lord may be continued & increased among us, whoe hath loved us before the foundation of the world was laid & in the fulnes of time hath manifested it unto us in a large measure, dear sister the consideration of this doth often overcome mee, when I am in the midst of the Lords vineyarde in this southern coasts where the Lord hath begun a mighty worke & is carrieing it on by an hye hand, & truly our labour here is not nor hath not been in vaine glory to god for ever, for many hath received our testimony & unto them is the arme of the Lord revealed, & they now begin to hear & see us & understand our language, & set to their seale with us that god is true. since I came from the North I have been thorow most of the south coasts

¹ Ambrose Rigge's work in the southern counties began in 1655 and continued for several years. This letter may fall in 1657 or 1658. The narrative for this period in the works of Ambrose Rigge, though its wording is at times close to that of this letter, is too deficient in details of date and place to fix the references here.

among the churches of Christ where I have been often refreshed with the bread of life, I have been twice in the Ile of Wight of late there is an effectuall doore [. . .] opened in that Iland the [. . .] four meeting places got in it, I challanged all the priests of the Island or any other that had any thing to say against the truth to come to a publike meeting & stand up for their god but they would not, soe the truth came over their heads ; And a litle while agoe at a towne in Hampshire where friends hath seldome been the priest made a challenge in his steephouse that hee would meet us & prove his ministry so [I] hearing of it apointed a meeting in the towne upon a 6th day in the M[ar-]ket house where many people gathered together but the priest would not come, though hee was in the street & saw most of his people gathered about mee, soe the people being very tender & willing to hear mee kept the meeting very peaceable & well, but the priest being in such a rage when hee could not make the officers doe as Hee would have them, hee went himselfe to the Justice did falsly accuse mee to him soe that hee granted a warrant to bring mee before him which was done accordingly soe when I came hee was soe confounded that hee was glad to get quit on mee againe, soe that many people were much convinced, & doth much desire to hear againe, soe the next first day we have apointed another meeting there againe, The hervist of the Lord is exceeding great in these parts as ever it was it is now good labouring while the sun shines the Chiefe priests & rulers begins now to question what will become of their god that they have soe long time worshiped, for the voyce of our god mak[es] him to tremble, & the uncircumcised now falls by the edge of the sw[or]d the Lord is with us of a truth & pleads our cause in the sight of our enemies, dear sister pray for us that wee may all be kept unto him in singlnes of hart and minde, which I can truly say is desired by mee beyond all the worlds glory : I desire to be dearly remembred to all thy dear Children in the truth & servants & to all friends there abouts that stand faithfull to god, soe haveing noe more at p'sent but my dear love to thee I remaine

Thy dear brother in y^e labour of the gspell of Christ called

Ambrose Rigge.

[addressed in the same hand] To the hands of my dear sister Margaret Fell at Swarthmore these with Care ~~d d d~~ in Lancashire.

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] 5 a rige to mF read over.

[endorsed by Albert Cook Myers] The above is George Fox's handwriting and reads Ambrose Rigge to Margaret Fell read, and answered A.C.M.

[labelled with a printed form filled in by handwriting] Presented to the Anson Lapham Repository¹ by George G. Macy Ghent, New York 6th Mo.—1871 No.

[stamped] Swarthmore College Friends Historical Library.

¹ The Anson Lapham Repository was the fireproof alcove or room in Parrish Hall, Swarthmore College, and the Collection housed in it from 1871 on. The latter was changed in name to Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore now housed in a special wing of the library building. The founder Anson Lapham (1804-1876), of Skaneateles provided the furnishings and some of the contents.

XII

GEORGE FOX to LORD PEMBROKE. 1659.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 37.)¹

[One folio sheet half covered in a small unidentified handwriting.]

To pembroke²
friend

thow art to high grobling in the things that bee Earthly,
and that is the Earthly In thee, that Keepes the wittnes in
prison, and Jangling and contending for that which must
perrish which is the worlds and thow art feeding serpuints

¹ Much is uncertain in the readings. Another copy of this item, later and improved in wording, is found likewise at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Penn-Forbes MSS., ii, 112. It is there copied in the same hand and on the same paper as Edward Burrough's paper to Henry Vane, a member of Parliament.

² Philip Herbert II, Fifth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (1619-69) had succeeded his father in 1650. For his interest in Friends, see *Journal F.H.S.*, vi, 95f. He had apparently withdrawn from them in 1659. This at least is the statement of a French document entitled "Relation véritable et disintéressée de l'Estat de la Religion en Angleterre en 1659." Speaking of the Quakers it says: "Le seul homme de condition qui ait poru parmi eux est le Conte Pembrock, qui s'en est depuis retiré" (Recueil Conrart, Arsenal, MS. 5423 t. iv f. 510, cited by G. Lanson, *Lettres Philosophique de Voltaire*, 1909, i, 9). On another Swarthmore MS. now lost (385N, see *Annual Catalogue* 100C), giving his reply to Fox, the latter had made the characteristic comment, "he after died distracted". I have not confirmed this "judgment" from non-Quaker sources, though a later (Seventh) Earl of Pembroke, Philip Herbert III (1653-83), was a man of great violence and his murders were attributed to the insanity of drunkenness. On the other hand Quaker records neither ancient nor modern seem to know the following anecdote, narrated in a letter from J. Jacques to Theophilus, seventh Earl of Huntingdon at Donington Park, dated London, 27th April, 1665: This distemper [the small pox] and the fever are much in town, but if your Lordship please I shall acquaint you with a more pleasant passage of the Quaking Lord the Earl of Pembroke, who came the other morning very early to the King's bedside

and swine with husks, and dost¹ with the prodict, haveing spent thy portyon, and not come to the fathers house, and art Rash and hasty, and birkle² and thinks thy self to bee wise, who art not it³ become A foole, that thow might bee made wise, calling the untrancgressor darknes, bousting of virgin Christ and holy ghost, and art found in the custom off the heathen, which will all owne thee in thy customes, and the same natur which pleadeath for it is that which persecuts all the children of god, and thy Eares are dull of hearing, and thow thinks thy self to bee wise and Rich, but thow art pore miserable and naked and art proud and A Light spirit, and the papish oath which sayd Avy mary,⁴ and hast A great deale to Lose and to bee emptyed, and art dead from the Life, which thow talks off and art mixt in the philosiphy, who tells of saturn, wher dost thow Ever Read that Ever Moses the prophetts Christ or the Apostles, Ever

and kneeling told his Majesty that he had a great message to deliver him, and that was, the end of the world would be this year, and therefore desired his Majesty to prepare for it. "Well," says the King, "if it be so, yet withithstanding I will give you seven years' purchase for your manor of Wilton," at which he replied, "No and please your Majesty it shall die with me," and so went away, making his majesty and the whole Court merry with this fancy. *Report 78 of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The MSS. of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings. Vol. II (1930), pp. 150f.*

There is considerable evidence that apart from fulfilments in fire and plague the year 1666 was a favourite prognosticated date of millenaries, I suppose from the addition of 1,000 and 666, the numbers given in Revelation for the reign of the saints and the number of the beast respectively.

Yet in Twelfth Month 1659 [February 1660] a Friend E[dward] B[illing] writing of a debate on tithes in Parliament speaks in a most friendly way of "Pembroke who was the only person who moved for liberty of conscience; being not seconded by one man, (N.R. [Col. Nathaniel Rich] not being there), closing his speech with these words, 'Mr. Speaker, I suppose what I have offered to you will be but as a cup of cold water.'" (*Letters, &c., of Early Friends. No. 31.*)

¹ i.e. dust. With his favourite quotation, Isaiah lxx. 25, Fox is combining Luke xv. 16.

² Penn-Forbes MSS., ii, 112, reads plainly "brittle", a word often used by Friends in such contexts.

³ *ibid.*, reads "yet".

⁴ Penn-Forbes MSS., ii, 112, omits "and the papists oath which said Ave Maria".

spoke such A word, but the heathens, and the marke of the unbelevers is found in thy forehead, Receving and giveing the honour, which is below, and soe art bearing the Image of the first Adame in the transgression, and not bearing the Image of the second Adame, and soe thou hast denyed the Cross of Christ which Crucyfyies the world, soe fallen into the temptation, and ther thou hast thy glory, and soe the tender principle in thee is slaine and soe the day of smale things dispised, who hath A form off godlynes but denys the power, the day off thy visitation, the wittnes in thy consciens shall Answer though now thou art full to whom the woe is, Except thou come downe to the principle of god in thee, but Lett thy mouth bee stopped for Ever from talking of Christ the Lamb, the holy ghost the Virgin, who Art found in the condemned things, Among the sons of Adam In the transgression of the divell, like one off them as seys, wee are delivered to doe those Abomynations.¹

G F

[endorsed in hand of the text] G F Letter to pembrook
[George Fox adds] 1659.

[endorsed] X

[endorsed by George Fox] letters & epistles of gF.

Listed in the *Annual Catalogue* under 1657 as 99C, 307N.

¹ Cf. Jeremiah vii. 10.

XIII

GEORGE FOX, *Christ's Sentence on the Wicked*. 1660.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 43.)

[holograph sixteen lines on a folio page in the hand of George Fox.]

her the sentances & the jdgments that Christ & the apostes hath passed on the wicked all redy & her you that ar found in the evels as foloweth that you may know youer sentance which christ & his apostles hath given on you all redy.

Christ jesus wher he is mad manifest in his people you have not fead him when he was a hongary nor Clothed him nor visetd him in presen nor touke him in when hee was a stranger & when hee was sicke you have not visetd him soe you ar the goats on the left hand & shall goe in to everlasting ponsment & thes ar his sheep that you have not visetd wich goeth in to everlasting life.

Mat 25

ther is a diferance betwen the goats & the sarpant for the sarpant Cast into presen¹ & the goats doeth not viset in presen nor cloeth the naket nor feed the hongary nor viset the sicke nor recve the strangers & thes ar on the left hand to whom Christ saith depart from mee y^e corsed into everlasting fier marke fier prepared for the divell an his angeles her is youer sentance.

~~good~~ is mindit.

[signed note below the text] The above entirely in the handwiting of Geo Fox—also endorsed by him Frank M. Etting.

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] Christ sentence on the wickd by gF.

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] abought 1660 ingrosed.

Listed under 1660 and with the heading "To the powers that cast in prison Friends &c." in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*, 70D, 466N.

¹ Cf. Revelation ii. 10.

XIV

JAMES NAYLER to GEORGE FOX. *London, 1660.*¹

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 44.)

[holograph in the hand of James Nayler.]

Dare brother the intents of malicious men towards thee I have long time felt in my soule & I Can truely say have beene opressed with it, And when I heard that thou was in prison it smote at my life, & went through my soule as a wounding weapon, And being that day going to a Gen^{all} meeteing at Pomfrit, It was laid on me to hast to London, so I went on from thence to Balby, & was at y^e departing & burying of Tho: Aldam my dear brother & thence to London where I now am, & in y^e will of god I desire to be found, And somewhat of his mind in my Comeing I have seene, & have peace in it blessed be god for evermore, And my heart is with thee to y^e strength I have in y^e Lord & in his power, I am somewhat refreshed against all that man intends against thee, Even god Almighty & his eternall power is over all blessed for ever Amen.

J N

[addressed in the same hand] For G:F: these.

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] j naler to gf.

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] 1660.

[endorsed] done 28 All these are compared.

[endorsed] James Naylor's Letters & papers.

Printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, xxviii (1904), p. 240.

¹ The more exact dating of the letter can be determined by the following: Nayler had been released September 1659. Fox and he met in London in February 1660 and were reconciled. Fox was arrested at Swarthmore and taken to Ulverston and finally imprisoned at Lancaster "from May Day till towards Michaelmas" (*Short Journal*, p. 57). The date of Fox's Mittimus was June 5th. Of the journey of Nayler to the north we have no other record, nor of the general meeting at Pomfret (Pontefract). Thomas Aldam died in June 1660. In July there was some talk of Nayler's leaving London for Bishoprick (Swarthmore MSS., iv, 19), but he appears to have remained in the capital until early October. His death occurred the same month, as he was travelling north.

XV

GEORGE FOX to ANTHONY PEARSON.¹

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 44 verso.)

[Written in an unidentified hand on the back of James Nayler's letter, see No. XIV.]

Deare Anthony

Consider y^e mercies of y^e Lord and the dayes of youth, the begining of truth y^e principle of God to Lead thee to Answer y^t of god in Every one, & to keepe thee from Among y^e swine, and y^e Abominable, and y^e abominations of y^e world, where is nothing but destruction desolation trouble and misery, in the separation from God, soe Consider his love & feare & wisdome, y^t is pure and from above y^e Earthly and all Creatures, by which all things was made, to keepe thee pure to God above all the foolish which be out of it, y^t thou mayst not be A scorne to them which understand nothing, therefore it is y^e word of the Lord to thee, and a Charge to thee to keepe in his feare & wisdome, that with that thou mayest be ordered to his Glory, in which thou mayst feele peace and life.

my deare Love to thy wife.

G:F:

And that to him in thy Life thou mayst be a good savor.

Listed under 1674 in *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*, 17, 51F, 117N.

¹ Both the addressee and the date of this letter are doubtful. The presumption is in favour of a date shortly after the receipt of Nayler's letter, though the *Annual Catalogue* confidently dates it in 1674. At the same time it calls the addressee Anthony Pearson, who died in 1665.

XVI

GEORGE FOX. Paper to Magistrates. 1657.¹

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 36.)

[3 folio pages written in Thomas Aldam's hand.]

To the magistrats of new England & all the magesstrets
 uppon the earth both them that are Called papist & them
 that are Called prodistants in all that which is called
 Chrisindom who since the dayes of Christ in the flesh & the
 apostles have put to death about your Church worchip
 minnistree & theare mentanance & your Religion & for soe
 doeing have brought many chripturs of the Jues in the Law:
 & examples among them & of the hathen but not a criptur
 for your pracktis you have brought out of Christ words or
 the apostles, neither can you prove that Christ whoe com-
 tend the Jeus Law: & proffites & the commanddements &
 ordenances did sett forth any command that men or people
 should be put to death about church worchip or Religion,
 or showed any example, or any incoureigment for any to
 doe soe them who would have had fire to acom downe from
 heven to have destroyed mens Livefes, hee rebucked them
 and ther zeale & toald them hee cam not to destroy mens
 Livefes but to Save them whoe was mannifest to destroy
 the divell & his workes who is out of the truth & the that
 worship god in the truth the divell is out of, in the spirit &
 the truth & comes to the church in god those can not destroy
 about theire worship & Church & Religion whoe are in that
 which is pure which is to visit the sicke & to cloth the naked
 & to relivefe the widdowes and the apostle, that fallowed

¹ In spite of the endorsed date the paper belongs after news had been received of the execution of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson and the reprieve of Mary Dyer. This occurred in Boston, 27th October, 1659. On the other hand the hanging of Mary Dyer, 1st June, 1660, was not known to George Fox when he wrote this.

Christ which brought the people of of the Jues pristes & offringes & temple Law: & first covanant, the apostle, toald them as hee brought them of that their wepons wear spirittull & not carnall & the were mighty thourou god to the bringing downe of strongholds & the wrestled not with Flesh & bloud but with spirittuall weppons the Jues had wrestled with Carnall weppones with the hathenes or owne with another, but the true minnistars of the gosple & them that is called Christaines & Christ the had sperrutall wepones & the wrestled with the powar of darknes which led pepople from god & soe Led the Creture back againe to god.

now the apostick Christans from the apostles that wrestles with flesh & bloud with carnall weppons about theare church worchip & Religion & they that bee in canes way aganst able with thire clubes are in the Caldes way which threw Abra^m in y^e fire as see your dicksonary¹ or that the be in the Jues way & Judes way with there sourds clubes & stons aganst the profits Christ & the apostles & the wrestled with Flesh & bloud wich did not the apostles and Christ or else the must be the wolfes in ship[s] clothing & Falce profites & Fales Christs the beastes & the falce church, which is called the mother of harlottes & that they have drunck the blud of the marthars & hath killed them & sleane them y^t kept y^e testemony of Jesus those hath become the wrestlears with Flesh & bloud & with their carnall wepones which since the dayes of the apostles hath got up soe being in the apostaci from the true church the apostles & the true christaines was in & haveing not the sam power & spirit, as the apostles & christ had can not hould up your Religion worship & church with the weppons of the apostles but are fane to rune to the Jues Canes & Judesis or the mother of harlots, tow all sober people viue this is declared & made

¹ The Jewish legend was that Nimrod cast Abraham into a furnace of fire because he would not worship the idols of the Chaldæans. After looking in vain in many seventeenth century dictionaries to try to find the actual reference I recalled an unpublished mention in another piece by Fox of "Goldman's dictionary", which satisfied my quest by the following entry: "Abraham was by the Chaldæans cast into (Hur, 718) the fire, because he would not worship the fire, and was by God delivered from the flames." (Francis Gouldman, *A Copious Dictionary in Three Parts*, 4th edition, Cambridge, 1678. Part III, s.v. Abraham.)

manifest,—tow of the servants of the most high god have you hanged & put to death besides many others you have banished upon peane of death & many other thereon great abuse have you almost condon and others have you cruelly whiped & another woman you hade marthared had not the Lord prevented you whoe heare upon your giltes you men of new Eengland brought som of the Criptures that wear spoken to the Jues which was not to the christians you have brought, now, if you did take all the Law of god as it is spoken why have you soe many of your owne inventions are not you gilty of all which breikes but in owne poynt & was the Jues which had the Law of god to set up inventions of their one & to mick [mix ?] it with the Law of god if you be christianes Christ is the end of the Law: for Righttusnes sack & if yo^w did profes your selves to be christians & mad use of these part of the Law: you not haveing the spirittuall weppons to put men to death about Religion which was not the practis of Christ & the apostles for the never brought a cripture in the apostles dayes out of the Jues Law that any should be put to death to be stoned or to bee run thorow if hee was ether herrittick or falce profit Dreamer or blasfeamer as you may Read in all the apistles & the avangilist I charg all you in the whole chrisindom to prove it and christ sayd to y^e Apostles Falce christ anty christes & wolfes in shippes clothing should com to y^m but hee did not use the words of the Law: to them & tell them they should rune them thorow & kill them that the apostles should put them to death but saith doe not goe after them christians true belivers and John say Christ words fuullfilled affetions the 2 ch. & the 4. ve: hee doth not bid kill them but toald them wheare theire teacher was the anonting with in them that teachd them & peeter & Jude saw: the false profites that went in in Canes way & were soe y^t y^e should execut y^e Jus Law upon y^m to put them to deth the examples theire was they should not kill them but they should contend for the faith & buld up them selves in theare most holy faith & fatten minnistars & mesingars & falce apostles gott up amongst the Corrinthains & Jeseble did begin to teach in the Revulations but the apostle did not give a Law to put to death and bring the Jues for an example as you have done as hear your chriptide doth show which are the new Englands mens the papists & prodistants for one was prissioned to

deth in Rome & an other in France¹ & all most therty hath beane in England pursecuted to death by Linggaring marthar dome besids many thousand hath sufered divers wayes and for For noe other thing but uppon Religions ac'ount & for kiping theare contions cleare towards god & towards man and worshiping god in spirit & truth your first criptur that you bring is as followeth deturromene the 13² if thear rise up a profit amongst you or a dreamer of dreames & give you a sine or a wondar & the sine or the wondar com to pas whear of hee speack unto thee saing Lett us goe after other gods which thow hath not knowne & sarve them, that proffit or dremar of dreames shall Be put to death & if thy brother or the son of thy mother or the sonn of thy Dawtar or thy wife of thy bosom or thy freind intise thee shurly: saing Lett us sarve other gods the gods of the pepoell nigh: unto thee or Round about thee ene unto y^e ends of the earth thow shall not consent unto him nor harken to him neither shall thy eye pity him nor spear him nor conseall him neither shall thy Ieyes be dim neither shalt thow conceale him but thow shall surly kill him & thy hands shall be ferest uppon him to put him to death & aftar wards the hands of the people & thow shalt ston him to death: till hee die³ ——— now hear was the Jeues with theare carnall wepponnes with their stones the killed the falce profits who killed Steven as a blesphemar & as a drawer of the popell from the ordinances of god but those was not the apostle weppons wich was sperrituall which drue men to god & fought & wrastled with that, that drue men from god which maid the falce profites & dreamers & soe the wrastled not with any whoe wittnesed

¹ John Luffe in company with John Perrot was imprisoned in Rome by the Inquisition and died there before the end of 1658. According to some accounts he was hanged. George Bayly in company with John Harwood went to France in 1657 and was imprisoned in Paris where he died.

² By order of the General Court, 18th October, 1659, a paper was circulated "to vindicate the justice of this Court's proceedings in reference to the Quakers". It mentions first Zach. xiii. 3; Deut. xiii. 6 and xviii. 20. Perhaps this is the paper here referred to. It was known to the Early Quaker apologists. See N. P. Hallowell, *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, 1883, pp. 144-52.

³ Several variations from the Authorized Version of Deuteronomy xiii. 1-10 appear, including some due to errors of copying as well as those due to imperfect memory.

the end of the Law : that stood in types figures & shadows & never did the apostles those weppon use such weppons as the Jues did fight with : the false profites nor Christ and here thou must kill thy Brother and thy mother's Son, or y^e Son of thy Daughter, or thy wife of thy bosom & this is y^e Law which Christ coms to fullfill who seth love Enemise & seth forsake father & mother or wife or Childeren &c they y^t doth not forsake farther mother wife or Childeren is not worthy of him but doth not say the must kill him but this is y^e Scriptures y^t y^e prodidistands & y^e papist brings & y^e New E: men to y^e magestrets y^t y^e may stone there brother or ther wives to deth about religion which y^e Apostle gives y^m noe such Comand or Example whos weapons wear Sperituall y^t all may see how y^e Papist & prodistent's Ers Conserning this Criptur for y^t any doth set up other god then y^e living god in y^t Called Chrisendom if any set up it is y^e Papis, for y^e war [in] kill one another about words of y^e Scripturs & disputings about y^m but about setting up other gods y^t Freind y^t Wife y^t brother might be stoned downe (?) y^e Law might Com over Afiger (?) of y^e Corner Stone y^t Ends y^e Law, y^t destrows y^t which led man from god, & saves mens lives & Womens, and Came not to destrow, them.

GF.

[endorsed by George Fox] gF to magrasts.

[endorsed in Thomas Lower's hand] to new Englande professors & persecuters & all Christendome. 1657.

[endorsed] X

Listed in the *Annual Catalogue* under the year 1661 as 5.39E, 310N.

XVII

GEORGE FOX to THE KING. 1660.

(Haverford College MSS. 862.)¹

[One folio side covered in the large handwriting of George Fox.]

wee can speake the trouth as it is in jesus & god is ouer record & witnes & verely verly which is as much as to say amen amen or truly truu & a testomone by the mouth of tou or three witnesses every word is stablished according to krist & the aposeall doctring whoe comands us that wee should not swar at all which wee canot without going in to sinn & cond menshon acord to krist & the aposell doctring mathu the fift & james the fift². & the just law the hyar pouer which god hath ordend which was aded becos of tranesgranes**ones for the poneshment of evell dores which for pargereus parsons menslares & engoreus parsons which law is goe[d] in ites plas & a pras for them that doe well which was not mad for the righteous & therfor ther must be a diferance put be twen the preshus & the viell³.

& all plotes marderes & tumoltus meetins aganist the king

¹ This manuscript belonged formerly to Anna S. B. Hall to whom it had come from Thomas Scattergood (1802-83). It is much more worn than most Swarthmore documents, but has been preserved from further decay by being mounted on silk. In 1868 S. L. Smedley of Philadelphia had a facsimile printed with the endorsement transferred to the face by the American Lithographic Company, New York, entitled "Facsimile of a MS. of George Fox founder of the Society of Friends from the original".

² Matthew v. 33-7; James v. 12.

³ The passage contains several words not quite certain, but the whole seems to be based on the language of Rom. xiii. 1; Gal. iii. 19; 1 Tim. i. 10; 1 Peter ii. 14; Jer. xv. 19.

or any of his subgets wee do deny who ones noe meeting but
what is peasable & to woreship god.

gf.

[endorsed in the handwriting of George Fox] gF his
paper to the king 1660.
[a few figures in another hand.]

Entered in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*, 58D,
317N.

XVIII

GEORGE FOX, *The Quakers' Religion.*

(Haverford College MSS. 862.)

[folio page partly covered in a clear unidentified handwriting.]

True religion is y^e true rule, and right way of serving God, & religion is a pure streame originall of righteousnes flowing from y^e image of God, & is the life and power of God planted in y^e heart & mind by the law of life in the heart, which bringeth the soul, spirrit & body to bee conformable to God the Father, of spirrits, & to Christ soe y^t they come and have Fellowship with the Father, and y^e Soñ: and all his holy Angels, & Saints, and this religion is pure from above, undefiled before God, & is to visit the Fatherles, & widdows, & strangers & keeps it selfe from y^e Spots of y^e world, & soe this religion is above all y^e defiled, spotted religion in y^e world, y^t keep not themselves from defilement, & spots, but are impure, & below, & spotted, whose Fatherles, and Widd[ows,] & strangers, doe beg up, and down their streets'.

G:F:

Come Papists, Protestants, Presbiters, and Baptists, with all the severall religions in the world stand forth, and bring your religion to this & compare them see if they will hold weight and proportion.

herewith.

[endorsed in an unknown hand or hands] Quaker
Religion by G. Fox.

[in the handwriting of George Fox] the quakers.

Entered as under 1660 in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*, 186D, 5,155F.

Printed without postscript as of 1660 in the *Journal of George Fox* (edition of 1694, p. 223).

XIX

HUMPHREY BATES to GEORGE FOX. *Leominster*,
25.viii.¹

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 42.)

Lemster the 25th day of the 8th Month.

O my verie dere frend: whome in my soule I Love O
what shall I saie un to thee, truly I Can say, my Love as a
springe is Risson in mee, and Runes fresh, and freely throw
mee to thee: deare Hart mani Trialls Have I Had both withine
and withoute, sinces in the outward I last saw thee, but in
The Light, the truth: the lord hath bine seene good to Isarell:
dere Hart, this day was a metinge of frendes at my outward
beeinge, and the in Closed was sente me, and brought mee
in a Leter derecked out of Radnor shere, for mee to send to
thee with spede, my verie dere frend as thee findes freedom
in the lord, the light, let me receve som' lines from thee,

H:B:

my dere love to frends of truth with thee.

[addressed in same hand] This with spede to bee
delivered to: g:F:

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] h b to g f henry
ba humfery bates² whoe viseted gf in
lankester presen whoe did in the trouth.

¹ The year is not given in the text, nor is there any confirmation of the year named by Fox 1660, unless it be supposed that the release signed by Mallett (see No. XX) in 1660 on the day and month given for this letter could have been the enclosure mentioned here. Di Mallett sign it in Radnorshire ?

² It is presumptuous to doubt Fox's own reference of this letter to Humphrey Bates (or Bache), London goldsmith. Possibly he had a country home at Leominster, where were other Friends of the name Bach. But the meeting at Leominster was held for the first few years at the house of Henry Bedford, an attorney. I suspect he was

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] 1660 all thes be
ingrosed.

Printed not quite accurately, in *Journal F.H.S.*, x (1913),
140.

really the H.B. who wrote this letter. On Henry Bedford, see
F.P.T., p. 117.

On Humphrey Bache, see the Pamphlet *Humphrey Bache, or
Restitution the Fruit of Conversion* (Manchester, 1847). That other
letters for George Fox were addressed in his care at Tower Street,
London, is indicated in Swarthmore MSS., iv., 167 (1655). According
to Richard Hawkins' *Life of Gilbert Latey* his address there was at
the Sign of the Snail. Other references to his visit to Fox in Lancaster
Gaol are lacking. He died of a consumption in August 1662. His
will is printed in *Journal F.H.S.*, viii, 51.

XX

SIR THOMAS MALLET, Release for George Fox.
25.viii.1660.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 42 *bis.*)

Printed in *Journal F.H.S.*, x (1913), 140.

[endorsed by YY] Thomas Malletts order for the
release of George Fox from Prison Octob. 25,
1660.

This copy may be the one sent as enclosure by Humphrey
Bates, with whose letter (see preceding item) it is now
preserved.

Printed also under 1660 in the *Journal of George Fox*,
edited by Thomas Ellwood (edit. of 1694, p. 229).

Printed from a copy in Swarthmore MSS. iv, 39, in
Cambridge *Journal of George Fox*, i, 372.

XXI

GEORGE FOX, *The Outside Professors*. 1660.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 38.)

[One folio side, in the hand of George Fox throughout.]

the outsid profeseres & prests & papesh say that ther is som thing in the quakers that the cannot comprehend nor see nor fadom & this is the cry of the bloody prodastants & papesh whoe trades & makes trades & keeps markets & fares of the blesed profets & of ouer lord & saver & his holy aposeles wordes y^e makes a trad of the leter of ther wordes & hath ther shopes & warehoues of them & ar out of the life pour & mistery of them soe 1: beleve that the canot fadom nor comprehend the mistery of Christ that is in the quakeres for the mestery of feath in the quakers the doe hould in a puer conchine 2: the gospell is a mestrey which hath prought lif & imortalaty to light in the quakers 3 the mistery that hath ben head from ages & generations but now is reveld in the quakers which is Christ in them the hop of glory whom the preach & doe waren every one in all wisdom which is from above which is a mistery to you in youer divelesh percuti[ng] wisdom below (?) that the quakers may present every one parfit in Christ which you doe parfict you whom the divill hath made imparfit & you doeth deny perfiction 4 Christ & his spoues is a mistrey that is his chruch his people which hee is the head of which you that be of the whouer of baplon that mistery that dronke & drinketh the bloud of the sents as ofen youer rage & madnes hath soffishly made it manifest shoued forth the spret & trouth of antechrist 5: godlines is a mestrey & a gre[at] mestrey which the quakers ar in & doe beleve which you and youer for fathers the prests & farraces outsid profesers like youerselves did & doe percut shouing that you ar the berth that is borne of the flesh that doe perut them that ar borne of the spiret & the farreses & percuting prists like you could fast

pray or sing but not in the spret & make elders & memberes
& percut Christ as you doe now wh[ich] hee is manefest in
his sents & members.

[endorsed by George Fox] the outsid profesers 1660 X̄.

Listed under 1660 in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*.
65D, 397N.

XXII

GEORGE FOX, *A Distinction between the Fanatick Spirit
and the Spirit of God*, etc. 1660.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 40.)

[3 folio sheets, handwriting unknown.]

Printed with some expansion as a broadside, London,
Robert Wilson, 1660 (see Smith, *Catalogue*, i, 664.)

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] the phantaket
spirit by gf 1660.

[written on back in the hand of George Fox] jhon if
thou shouldest com down in to the north as
thou art movesd but mind the sarves which
hath ben soe long spoken of.

[endorsed by YY] George Fox 1660.

XXIII

MARGARET FELL to FRIENDS. *London, 5.i.1661.*

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 46.)

[One side of a folio page and about one-third of the back written in the hand of Henry Fell¹.]

London 5th day 1st moneth 1661.

Freinds of the living God & witnesses of his living truth, & sufferers for him, who are made pertakers, of the heavenly & rich treasures, of everlasting life, everlasting pow^r Strength & vertue, is your portion, & inheritance, as you abyde, & are kept in his owne name, & hand, which none can plucke yo^w out of, etc.

M:F.

Let this be copped & sent to prison to be read to all freinds.

Send a Cobby of this to yorke if ye can conveniently, & another to Swarthmoore.

Rich: Hubberthornes deare love is remembred to yo^w all & myne.

H:F.

[endorsed in an unidentified hand :] M.F. [. . .]
to Friends.

Printed in full, except postscript in *A Brief Collection of Remarkable Passages . . . Margaret Fox*, London, 1710, pp. 271-4.

¹ Henry Fell, though not a relative, was Judge Fell's clerk, and frequently wrote letters for Margaret Fell. See *The Short Journal of George Fox*, 1924, p. xxi, and facsimile opposite, p. 1.

XXIV

JOSIAH COALE to MARGARET FELL. *Written at Sea,*
1661.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 47.)

[One folio page.]

My Deare Mother

My Love towards thee Excelleth y^e Love of women ;
My soule & Life Breaths a[fter] thee, I am filled with Love to
thee: which Cannot Bee Expresed ; Glad in y^e Lord should
I Bee to Re[ceve] A few Lines from thee who art deare to mee
Even as my owne Life, And in due time I hoape t[o see] thy
face ; for my desire is towards thee & my soule Cleaveth to
thee & is Joyned to thee in y^e [] unseperable Bond of
Everlasting Love : in y^e Covenant of Life : where y^e sure
Merceys of daved is [] into which god in his Ever-
lasting Love hath Brought mee ; and though I Bee (therin)
the L[east] Amongst many of my deare Brethren & Sisters ;
yeat y^e Lord is my king & my Counseller ; & y^e worke of my
salution in whom I trust & hath promised that hee will never
Leave mee nor forsacke mee while I stand in his Counsell :
which I hoape never to depart from Truly his presents hath
Ben with mee in A Large Measur in my travels where hee
Called mee : which hath not Ben A Little ; & what I have
gon through And Suffered therin ; hee who is my rewarder
knoweth ; whos power hath Acompained mee in his worke
& service & many wittneses I Have wheare I have Been that
shall Beare wittnes for mee : that In his power I have
declared his Everlasting truth & way of Life wnto them ;
Acording to y^e Measure of grace Committed to mee to
disspence Amongst them, And many have Beleved y^e report
and are wittneses of y^e Arme of gods power revealed in them ;
& unto them doth my Love Reach forth & I doe Beleve that

in y^e will of god I shall : goe Amongst them yeat againe for y^e Holyghost thus Signyfies that traveles & hardships Atends mee ; & truly Many hungrey ones there are through out y^e nations : which I Feell & see in y^e Eternall Light ; the Harvest is greatte & y^e Fields are even whitte : Inequity is Fully ripe, & y^e Seed is opresed the Heritage of y^e lord lyes waste ; and his holy Cittye is troden under Foote of y^e gentels & they have Even made voyde his law ; And truly there is greate need of faithfull Labourers, and my Soule Breaths to god that will send forth more Labourers into his v[i]nyard ; For god hath powered y^e Spirit of prayer & of supplication upon mee : And hath Anoynted mee to preach Glad tidings to y^e poare ; And hath given mee of y^e oyle of Joy for y^e mourners in Sion, and to proclaime y^e [daye] of vengans to y^e wicked : & I Cannott rest : nor Bee silent ; untell y^e opresed Seede Coms to Bee Sett at Liberty ; And y^e righteousnes & Saluation of Jeruserlem shines forth in its Brightnes as A burning Lampe ; that to y^e Light therof all nations may Bee gathered ; & therin [lead] us to walke ; And for my owne perttickuler Condition : the presents of y^e Lord [is] with mee, And offten I am filed with his Love : in soe much that there Is not room [to] Receve. But makes my Cupp often to overflow ; And more pretious his Love is to mee th[an] all y^e world : and nothing is deare to mee in the world But his Everlasting gloryous truth and Children who Live in it ; & they are to mee as my owne Life ; writen and Engraven in my hart : where I reade them dayly ; & am refreshed By them : yeat I see A Condition Far Beyond what I am yeat Atained to ; in which nothing shall Bee, in Being or have [] place in man, But y^e power of god ; & that State it is which I (in y^e power of god) doe pres After ; And Cannot Bee Fully Satesfied untell all things Bee putt in Subjection under y^e Son that soe y^e kingdom may Bee resigned up unto y^e Father, whos it was in y^e Begining (Before y^e trangreser gott An enterance :), & that all that have Been ; or have gotten An enterance since man lost his royall dominion ; May Bee Abolished & Forgotten as though they had never Been : that into y^e same dominion & unity with god (I might Com) which man was in before hee left it ; Nott that Any of my Sins past is Layed to my Charge : Butt is Blotted out freely : & taken Away By y^e Lamb : Even for his owne names sake : Glory forever ; But that Into

that stat[e] I may Com where ye Enemy Can noe more prevayle: nor have Any thing to worke upon: (for som times I am opresed By him) And truly my deare Mother this is that which my Soule thirsts After; & that it may Bee soe with mee Lett thy praye[r] Bee to god for mee: whom I know hee will heare: & hath heard & granted thy pettition for mee: prayses to his pure holy Name forevermore: My Love towards thee is Exceeding Large: I Cannot open my Selfe to many more Besides thee; my deare Lett mee nott Bee Forgotten, who am thy dearely Beloved one in the truth.

Josiah Coale.¹

Written att Sea.

[seal was torn off.]

[continued in the same hand in the margin] I shall desire thee to Remember my deare & tender love to Ann Cleyton: If thou art free.

[continued in the same hand on the back] My Companion & Fellow Labourer Rob: Maylins²

¹ Josiah Coale, of Winterburne, near Bristol in Gloucestershire, was convinced in 1655 by the ministry of John Audland, and travelled extensively in the West Indies and America. For an account of him see Bowden, *History*, i, 362ff.; for earlier letters to Margaret Fell, *ibid.*, 342, 343. In "11th month 1660" he was in Maryland (*ibid.*, 359, note) and intended to go to Virginia and then to Barbados (*ibid.*, 369). On 3rd February, 1661, he wrote to Margaret Fell from Virginia (Crosfield MSS.). Other letters and epistles of his in 1661 are dated from Barbados—3rd month, 18 and 27 of 7th month. See his collected works, pp. 95, 50 and 104 (a letter dated near Guildford in Surrey 12th of 9 mo. 1661 as printed in *Collectitia*, p. 23 should read 1664). He died in London in 1668, aged 35. On Josiah Coale, see inter alia, *F.P.T.*, 218 n.; *Journal F.H.S.*, x, 121, Bowden, *History of Friends in America*, i, 362ff.

² Robert Maylin of Bandon, Ireland, had travelled to America in 1659, in a party which also included Ann Cleaton (Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, p. 79, note). Early in 1660 he was in Barbados, where he suffered imprisonment. In 1661 he had started for Jamaica (Braithwaite, *Second Period*, p. 217). But he and Coale were together on Barbados on June 12th, 1661, when the latter wrote to Fox (A.R.B. MSS. 44). The data given in these two notes do not enable us to identify more exactly the date and voyage from which the present letter comes. His letter which was delivered to the King (Charles) on the Second Day of the Second Moneth 1660 was written in the Barbados, probably late in 1660.

desires to have his Love Remembered to thee
& to Ann Cleyton.

[addressed in the same hand] For the hands of Margrett
Fell These att Swathmoare in Lankeshire.

[endorsed by George Fox] 7^r j: Cole to MF 1661.

¹ Other letters of J. Coale to M. Fox numbered serially are as follows : No. 2, Gibson MSS., i, 65 ; No. 3, Swarthmore MSS., iii, 85 ; No. 4, Swarthmore MSS., i, 62 ; No. 5, Swarthmore MSS., i, 377, and Crosfield MSS., II.

XXV

JOHN STUBBS to MARGARET FELL. *Lower Easton*,
2.vi.1662.¹

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 42.)

My dear M.

Thou Mayst understand by this little smale paper
Written with his own hand ; what o^r intent is ; as o^rs in
our setting forward to London ; this Evening wee are att
Edward Pyots ; we came from Bristol hither yesterday in
the Evening. tomorrow in the Morneing being the first day
of the week its intended by him to go from this place to a
meeting about 4 miles off ; and then to sett forward for
London from the Meeting ; I understand wee May bee a
week in Comeing to London, as I have said in My former I
have determind to give thee an account by every oppor-
tunity where wee are untill we meet agⁿ. John Audland,
John Wilkinson and John Story are here who desires to be
dearly remembered to thee ; Meetings here hitherto have not
been disturbed Since Alexander² was taken ; but to Morrow
friends lookes to bee disturbed ;³ there was a great quantity

¹ With this letter should be compared another from the same to the same written less than a week before, i.e. 28.v.1662 and included in the MS., printed in *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 20-22. Fox's escape from arrest at meeting the day before became a source of criticism years later from adherents of Wilkinson and Story (Wm. Rogers, *Christian Quaker*). It called forth a later reply from Fox (*ibid.*, part V, pp. 57ff).

² Alexander Parker was arrested at Bristol, apparently 22nd 5 mo. 1662. To other biographical notes about him add *Journal F.H.S.*, viii, 30-2, and *Penna. Mag.*, xxviii, p. 458, where his will is given. He is called a "haberdasher of small wares."

³ Fox did not attend this meeting, but he tells (*Short Journal*, p. 62) how the soldiers sought him, detaining 500 Friends prisoners at the meeting while they searched for him, and finally imprisoned two speakers. Were they John Audland and John Wilkinson ? (See Besse, i, 43f.)

of friends Books Burnt in Bristol this day by the Major^{rs} Orders what Books they were wee yet know not ; but its thought they were some y^t Robert Wilson was sending to Ireland, its said y^e Maior here hath a Spetiall Order to proceed against friends, and y^t his wife is much troubled ; haveing a love to friends ; Joan Ely at this very instant layes it upon mee ; to remember her love to thee ; the things that thou Ordred are done, he had them not on yet ; they will be sent to London in John Fordams pack.²

Many friends would have their loves to thee ; And amongst Many ; Edward Pyot and his wife and Dennice and his wife, and Barbarey Blagdon. and my Dear love and esteem to thy selfe, and to Susan & Margaret Drinkel ;³ and to Dear Gerrard⁴ and his family and to the Brethren in prison, I would desire that this May be given to the Apothecary⁵ with care for it requires hast &c. I know not his Name therefore I desire y^t his Name may be incerted upon the Superscription ; friends are Constantly comeing and going to G: f have no more but y^t I am

Thy truely loveing Child and
Servant in the truth.

John Stubbs.

¹ The Mayor of Bristol in 1662 was Robert Cann of Compton Greenfield, but since the elections occurred in September, at the time of this letter his predecessor Nathaniel Cale was in office. Of his wife's interest in Friends I have no further information. The mayor of Bristol most notorious for persecuting Friends was Sir John Knight, who held office from Sept. 1663 to Sept. 1664.

² John Fordham of London attended regularly the fairs in Bristol, as he wrote in Swarthmore MSS., iv, 168. Evidently this provided a certain conveyance for the "things" that Margaret Fell had ordered made for George Fox at Bristol. The great Bristol Fair which up to 1761 was held annually at St. James Churchyard for eight days beginning July 25th, would be closing just when this letter was written on August 2nd. Full though the various Quaker records of this week are, only George Fox (*Cambridge Journal*, ii, 19) mentions Bristol Fair.

³ As the address shows Margaret Fox was living at their house as N. Penney conjectured (*op. cit.*, ii, 22, 3). The husband of Margaret was evidently William the "Poulterer at the Three Rabbits in Newgate Market near the Shambles".

⁴ Gerard Roberts.

⁵ Godfrey Lawford of the Green Man and Still, near St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark, was a Quaker apothecary.

Lower Easton¹ the 2th day 6 Month,
the 7th day of y^e week 1662.

[addressed] For his much Esteemed Friend Margrett fell,
with care. leave this att the house of William
Drinkel's a Poulterer att the three Rabbots
In Newgate Markett near the Shambles.
London.

[endorsed by George Fox] j stubs to MF 1662.

[endorsed] 12th this is Coppied over.²

¹ Since the writer says he was at Edward Pyotts, this enables us to be more explicit than Norman Penney (*Cambridge Journal*, i, 424): "His home was in the neighbourhood of Bristol."

² This endorsement, apparently by Edward Haistwell, should be compared with endorsements in the same hand on several other autograph letters of John Stubbs to Margaret Fell, which show how in the original collection the letters of one series were numbered approximately in order of date.

Swarthmore MSS. iv, 25	iii.3.1656	This is copied. 2d.
Swarthmore MSS. iv, 27	vii.2.1656	3rd. This is copied.
Swarthmore MSS. iv, 26	vii.20.1656	Ingrossed 4th written.
Crosfield MSS. 4	viii.12.1659	. . . 5th coppied.
Swarthmore MSS. iv, 24	xi.3.1656	6th copied.
Swarthmore MSS. i, 93	no date	7 written p. E.H.
Swarthmore MSS. iii, 152	vi.10.1657	[endorsed in same hand but no number given.]
Abraham MSS. 3	vii.7.1657	9th this is coppied over.
Swarthmore MSS. i, 92	viii.19.1657	6 written p. E.H.
Swarthmore MSS. iii, 127a	ii.4.1662	11th, this copied over.
Etting MSS. 48	vi.2.1662	12th this is coppied over.
Abraham MSS. 15	x.2.1671	This is coppied over being y ^e 13.

The other autograph letters of Stubbs to Margaret Fell have no endorsements by Haistwell, viz. Abraham MSS. 13, Swarthmore MSS. ii, 160, and No. XXXII of the present series.

XXVI

GEORGE FOX to SARAH CHEEVERS & KATHERINE
EVANS. *Leicestershire*, 18.vii.1662.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 49.)

[Written in a small cursive hand.]

To Sarah Cheavins, & Katherine Evans, prison^{rs} at Malta
The mightie power of god preserve yo^w & keepe yo^w & uphold
yow, over all to his glory, in his power that was before
persecution or persecuters was, in which power the kingdome
of god stands, which will Remaine when all that doth psecute
is gone, & deare freinds, give up your selves, your soules &
all that yow have to the lord, for yow are not your owne,
but his whose cost was for yow his blood & now therefore all
the sons of Adam under the power of Satan, that murderer
& Emnitie who fill their hearts with his Emnitie, that they
neither Regard god nor his law, & yet have a widsome that
is develish, Earthlie, & sensuall, & a knowledge that is
bruitish like a beast, yea worse then beasts, unnaturall, &
have an understandinge that must come to nought, & soe a
wisdome not gentle, not peacable, but develish & destroy-
inge, & these be Adams Captivated sons by the powers of
darkness, amongst whom the Just suffers by the unjust
& alsoe such as doth profess Christ, & the Saints, & the
apostles in the primmitive tymes, their words, whose lives
denies god, & their Conversations denies Christ, & their
practises denies the apostles & the church in the primmitive
tymes. though with lips in Christendome their is much talke
of Christ & the Saints, but their lives & carriages, & their
conversations denyes both god & Christ, & the Saints, &
the prophets, & the church in the primmitive tymes, & by
such yow & us have, & doe suffer (but the lord Reignes, &
the seed Christ his sonne) & soe the name of Christ hath been
dishonoured, by such as hath professed his name, & not lived
in his life, soe they that have not lived in the life of Christ,

they have not lived in unity one with another, & these are gone into division, soe here is much servinge god with lips, & servinge Christ with lips, but their hearts is to murder, like the ould Jews that persecuted the Just, that served god with their lips, & professed his Law, as the Christians serve Christ with their lips & profess his law with lips, & cast Christ into prison where he is made manifest, therefore what will become of them that cast him into prison where he is made manifest, seeinge they goe into Everlastinge punishment that doth not visitt him in prison they that cast Christ in prison where he is made manifest, are such as are the graves, & the sepulchres & buries the Just in themselves, & then with hypocrisie professes his words, in the Rugged Rugh nature, & soe meekness is banisht, & sobrietie, & gravitie, & solidity is banisht, wrath, Envie, malitiousness, pride Entertained & Courted, to doe to all as another should doe to him, findes noe place nor footinge, nor noe Entertainment, this may goe up & downe Christendome, & get noe lodginge, & the cry is, away with the meeke from the Earth, & he that sweares not at all hath noe place in court, nor towne, nor Cittie, who is the just, this is he that is banisht, that will [not] sweare at all, & saith sweare not at all, & this is the Christ who hath noe Entertainm^t nor noe lodginge amonge the great of the Earth, Except it be in the dungeons, & prisons to love Enemies, & to love one another, this marke & liverie, one may walke dayes up & downe Christendome & not see it, now it is become a shame to weare, Revenge, wrath, Envie, Recompence furie, these severall coates & liveries makes a show, but whose they be it is knowne to yow, & to us, who loves Enemies & one another, & this is a marke of a disciple, we see Jews & Christians soe called, are neither in the law, prophets, nor gossell, for first the law & the prophets, is to doe to another, as they would be done by, but where hath this place or Entertainment. secondly the gossell is to love one another, & love Enemies, hereby in the life they give their knowledge that they are the disciples of Christ, who layed downe his life for Enemies, & that was love beyond the worlds hatred, & comes over the worlds hatred, & it is Christ the seed must Reigne, & doth Reigne, while he hath put all under his feet (marke) his feet, the seed of god over all that set which makes to suffer, which was before it was that makes to suffer, & will Remaine when it

is all gone, & their yow will come to feele the top stone over all layed, & Christ over all Reigne. And all Christendome beinge bablinge about Scriptures, & are broken into soe many opinnions, & wayes one against another, is because they be out of the Spirit, life, & power which they was in that gave them forth, in which is fellowship, & soe they are servinge god & Christ with their lips uncleane lips & hearts, full of pversness & Envie, out of the life & the Spirit in which is the fellowship & out of the truth in which god is worshipped, for god is worshipped in the spirit & the truth which the devill is out of, & this is unitie & the standinge worshipping & fellowship, that will Remaine when all other fellowships is god, & worships, & soe Farewell, my love is to all in the universall power of god that hath a thirst after god, & to all people likewise that they might come to peace & life, & soe keepe your love to god & Christ, & to all, & above all, yea to your greatest persecuters & blood thirsters, for in that yow are distinct from all people, & comes to fullfill the command of Christ, the lord Jesus, & things are prettie well heare, & truth Reignes.

George Fox.

leicestershire 18th day of the 7th month: 62.

[endorsed in hand of George Fox] GF to sarya Cheferns C: evenses in malta prisen wher paul had the ship rack 1662 X read ingrosed.

[endorsed by YY] George Fox Leicestershire 7 mo 18. 1662 to Sarah Chevins and Catherine Evans, Prisoners at Malta.

Listed under 1662 in *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*, 9,37E, 177N.

XXVII

GEORGE FOX to DR. JOSEPH CRADDOCK. 1663.
(Property of Charles F. Jenkins, Germantown.)

[3 pages folio in Thomas Salthouse's hand.]

A Copie of a leter to docter Cradocke.¹

friend,

Thy Carrige and beheavour at Ulverston the 24th day 8 mo: 1663 was not becoming a Christian nor becoming the gospell as thou and the Company was taken notice of by many people who Judged thy practise not to bee Civell nor wise nor as becomes a Spirituall man nor a Spirituall Covert

¹ The Christian name "Joseph" is given by James Lancaster and Thomas Salthouse elsewhere in the tract in which this paper was published (pp. 12 and 16). Sir Joseph Cradocke (1605-1686), of Harperley, Durham, was a B.A. of Sidney College, Cambridge, 1624-5 and Commisary of Richmond at the time of Fox's references to him. See Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1922, i, 411. He is evidently the same Dr. Cradock whose visit to Fox in 1665 in Scarborough Castle, "with three priests more", is told at length by the latter in the *Journal*. Cradocke was also a Justice of the Peace and had excommunicated many Friends in Lancashire and Yorkshire. See *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 97ff. There as in the pamphlet (p. 2) the complaint is made that twenty years ago the episcopal representatives had forsaken their flock, leaving them to the mercy of Baptists, Independents and Presbyterians. There is mentioned in the Swarthmore Account Book and also extant a bond by which Sarah Fell, Mary Lower and others were beholden to "Joseph Cradock, Commisary of the Archdeaconry of Richmond" to secure their making an inventory and an accounting of the goods of their sister Bridget Draper deceased in 1678. See *Swarthmore Account Book*, p. 579.

For an example of Cradock's later hostility to Friends see *F.P.T.* 313. It is interesting that a previous commissary of the archdeaconry of Richmond was Gervase Benson, who became a Friend. At the Restoration he declined either to hold the office or to profit by its sale. But by his knowledge of the court he was instrumental in protecting Friends from persecution in the court, and in securing for them exemption from oaths in "proving wills and taking out letters of administration" which continued to this day (c. 1709: *F.P.T.* 251).

for when thy paten and the kings broad Seale was demanded for keping thy Court thou Caused a thinge to be Red in an unknowne tongue among simple Iliterate Contry men which the people knew not what it was, Is not this Contrary to pauls doctrine who said hee would not speake in an unknowne tongue and when the people Could not understand thou Called them silly fellows and pitifull fellows in a deriding way If thou had beine the wiser man thou should have Red thy paper in their owne language to them that they might have knowne what thou had saide and that would have manifested to the auditors that thou had beine the wiser man then they but thou manifested the Contrary whose words was to trap and Catch and Insnare and Caused som to be halled away from before thee and to have their hats pulled off and to be smitten on the mouth like the high preist ananias when hee sat as Judge of the apostle paule, when they would not answer to thy Insnaring questions and this thou did to the people of god Called quakers publickly as a Reproch upon them but those of other persuasions thou tooke into a privet place and soe acts parshally, etc.
[subscribed]

from the people Caled quakers ocationed by their appearenc[e] before the Comicerie for the bishop of York and Chester before whom they weare brought as ofenders for the tendernes of their Consciences in maters Relating to Religen and the worship of god and not for the transgression of the law which is for the punishment of evile doers and profane persons for wee are one with the law that taks hold of such.

[endorsed in the hand of Thomas Lower] G:F's letter to
D^r Craddocke.

[added in the hand of George Fox] 1663.

[endorsed] X

[initialed] H.W.P.

Printed on pp. 4ff in the quarto pamphlet *A Controversy between the Quakers and Bishops, occasioned by the Bishops summoning them to their Courts, and calling them in Question for matters of Religion*, etc. London. Printed in the year, 1663. See Smith, *Catalogue*, ii, 446, 529.

Listed in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*, as II, 49E, 320N.

XXVIII

THOMAS CURTIS to GEORGE FOX. *Reading*, 29.ii.1664.¹
(Autograph Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

[One folio side in the neat hand of Thomas Curtis.]

Redinge this 29th of 2th month 1664.

Deare G:F:

my veri deare and everlastingly beloved Friend, my deare Love as also my deare Anns² is truly, and uprightly, remembered to thee, who art neare and deare unto us as our owne Lives, the remembrance of thee is that which truly refresheth my hart gladly would I have seene thy face, and intended it aboute this tyme if not before, with my Ann to have visited thee but it so pleased the Lord that my Ann fell exceeding ill, so that her Continuance in the bodie was much questioned, and so soone as shee began a little to amend, I was taken at our meeteinge³ with about thirtie od more & sent to goale whear wee Continue, & since that tyme severall are inprisoned with us so that wee are above 40 friends & 13 baptis, & they would not Cale us out at neither of their sessions of towne nor Countie & indeede I have beene exceeding ill my selfe but now ame somewhat amended, & manie more have been ill and all have recovared, it hath so plesed the Lord, that although wee are as I doe beeleve neare 80 debtors, fellons, friends, & baptis, & others, yett in this Little house are wee preserved & I thinke all so far amended that not anie friend but what is as well as my selfe, and truth springes and increses, & allthough they have taken every man out of our meetinge severall daies, yett

¹ For events of this letter may be compared the accounts in Besse, *Sufferings*, i, 14f., and in the tract *Persecution Appearing with its Open Face in William Armorer*, 1667.

² Anne Curtis, the writer's wife.

³ The date according to Besse was March 27th, 1664, about a month before this letter was written. The meeting was at Thomas Curtis's own house.

our women¹ Cannot neglect the assemblinge of them selves together one the Lords account, & truly it is servisable, & honorable in the sight of all people who Love the Lord, and his truth, that manie harts inclines to us dayly and the greater their Crueltie is towards us, the more is the Love of people to us, so that wee dare not say would god these daies had not Come, for it hath driven away the Chaffe, & Left the good graine to bringe forth frute ; manie heare have their deare Love to thee G: Lamboll² & severall heare, Le.³ Cole, Ann hatt, Jo: Dee⁴, Ann Sharpe, & manie more, Joseph Cole⁵ is not yett Come hether from Cornewale but now is expected ; our deare Love is to m: Fell: & the family at swatmore, to all thy fellow prisoners ; thy Letter⁶ wee received & indeede was much refreshed with it, friends heare doe truly Love thee, I heare there is manie friendes in prison at Oxford this is all I have at p^rsent who am thy truly Loveinge friend.

Tho: Curtis.

[addressed in the same hand] For G. F. at Lancaster this deliver.

[seal] T C

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] .t. cortus to GF
1664 thes are read over.

¹ In early May after the men were all imprisoned, these women meeting for worship were also arrested. Later the children kept the meeting. See a later letter of Thomas Curtis to George Fox. (Swarthmore MSS. iii, 88, partly printed in *Letters, &c. of Early Friends.*)

² George Lamboll and the other Quaker fellow prisoners are all mentioned by name in Besse.

³ Leonard Coale.

⁴ Possibly Ja: Dee should be read, since Besse mentions a James Dee arrested some months before.

⁵ On Joseph Coale, see *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 484f. His experiences in Cornwall may now be read in the printed *Record of the Sufferings of Quakers in Cornwall*, 1655-1686, 1928.

⁶ Several letters of Fox written at this time, when he was a prisoner at Lancaster to Thomas and Anne Curtis and the prisoners of Reading are either extant or referred to. See *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*. Which of them is here mentioned is uncertain.

XXIX

GEORGE FOX to FRIENDS. 1.xi.1669.

(Haverford College MSS. No. 862.)

[a folio side partly filled in an unidentified hand.]
Freinds

All my deare Friends every where who have beine moved of the Lord god to speake in steplehouses. to preists. or markits or fayres. or Courts or assises or townes For all to be drawne up together in a booke in every County & sent up to London & put together in one Booke standing to generations with all the words y^t you spoke in the power of god soe this would be a booke that would fasten over all & stand as before to generations that they might see their testimony & what strength god did ordaine out of the mouths of Babes & sucklings; & what freinds have beine moved of god to goe to sectary meetings, & soe that that may not be Lost those pure motions, & with all ye examples y^t have fallen upon the persecutors & soe to every quarterly meeting you may bring them

Such freinds that be deceased such some may remember that soe the testimony of the Lord may not be Lost that he raised up in his people by which they were Carried on through greate tribulations & sufferings many Laid downe their Lives. & their goods spoiled. They persecuted to death. to Keepe up their testimony what the Lord mooved them to speake by his spirit to future generations. soe that their words that they were mooved to speake forth by y^e power may not be Lost & they that Cannot wright y^e may helpe them to wright so that the power & speritt may be exalted soe the accompt may be taken of that which hath beine spoken & doone by the spirit of god from the first as abough mentioned & soe if you be but dilligent & those y^t Can write help them this may be easily done,

G:F:

y^e 1st 11th 1669:

mo

[endorsed in hand of George Fox] of concerning friends
mishones.

X

[endorsed by YY] George Fox II mo. I. 1669 Recom-
mendations to friends to preserve records of
their testimonies and of deceased members.

Listed in *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*, 25E, 35N.

Printed with editorial changes in *Epistles of George Fox*,
as part of Epistle No. 264 (edit. of 1698, p. 292).

XXX

GEORGE FOX. Epistles to Friends. *London*, 12.ii.1670.
(Chamberlain MSS., F7, 11.)

Two parts, each signed G.F., but printed as one under 1670 in the *Journal of George Fox* (edit. of 1694, p. 338).

[Fine careful hand "printed" style of writing on a single folio side, now mounted on cloth so that endorsements can be read only with difficulty.]

[subscribed after the first part] London ye 12th of ye 2^d
month 1670 Lett copies heere of bee truly
taken and sent unto all countyes in England.

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] to frens to be
feathful X

[endorsed in the hand of YY] George Fox London
2mo. 12 1670 Epistle to Fri[ends].

Listed under 1670 in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox*, 5, 17F, 36N. See also the note under 1653 at 22, 2A "Transferr'd to 1670 according to p. 36, book N, tho' this seems to have G.F's hand. 1653".

XXXI

REBECCA TRAVERS to MARGARET FOX. *London,*
2.ii.1672.¹

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 51.)

[Single folio side, written, except the place and date, in the handwriting of Thomas Salthouse.]

Dere margret Foxe

hom in the Lord I Love for he has honered thee and very grate has thy sarves bin in & for the troueth a working in the church of god. thou hast bin. and in the faeth kolled wil. for god thou hast : and art worthy of dobel honer : O Lett thy reward rest upon thee : for it bes everlasting : & brings to thy remebera[nce] the pore. & aflekted. hom the Lord has & dos veset in tim of ned : & in hes Love I fele thy sesanabele vesetation: of consalation in thes tim of my depe exersis in the removel of my dere. and trouly Loveing child² my Lose inded is grete : but in this am I quieted that it tes the Lords doing and tharfor it tes wil : but inded thy remembrance is prised by me & I know thou hast the compations of a mother : and dos fele my condetion : & for thy mention of my Love to thee & thiy dere & most honorable hosband I can trouly saye I never thought my hose so Blesed as whin you were in it : & it wil be joy unto me if I have days on eueth to see you mete here a gane : or any of thin to whom I have trou Love :³ and this day To: H:⁴ was here that

¹ Another letter from the same to the same dated 5.ix.1671 is extant in Swarthmore MSS. i, 395.

² Possibly her daughter Rebecca who married John Osgood in 1667 and who must have died before he married again in 1674.

³ The letter noted above contains the similar expression : " I was never better pleased with my house then when hee was in it & employed it for y^e service of truth, or any of his."

⁴ Possibly Thomas Hudson, who brought letters from Barbados to London (*Cambridge Journal*, ii, 191, with note 2, and 193).

desiered his dere Love might be gevin unto thee & showed me Latars that com Lattly from : J : Wala¹ of Barbados that maks a relation of a hevinly meting at his hows whin : whin deer : g:F: toke sheping to goe from the barbados which was the :8: day of the ii²: moth 1671: & of the gret convencments a moing many & the rage of the wiked at it : & as I was glad to here of the prosperety of troueth as I have several times I cold not but make mention thar of to thee hom I know doeth rejoyts thar in : and for El: Stobes:³ I doe som times see her & do beleve she is a carfoll indostores honest woman & she is so Ille plased that she can hardly gane a Lifywhood : & some unkindly have handred her of a plas. she intended to a removed to. but I hop it wel prove for good & som of us do trouly Love her & shall not see her woont: tho yet she has not charged any : her Love to thee and thin is grete and was refreshed with thy remembrance of her : & renders no other reson for her not riting to thee thin unwillingnes to trobel thee: but desiars her very dere Love may be gevin to thee & thin: and dere Love my cheldrin & famely hath to thee & to thin: & in that Love whar with we have Frely bin be Loved dos my Sallytation rech un to thee that am thy unfaned Frind

& sister in the covenant of Life that
wil reman for ever.

Rebeca Travars:

London ye 2th of
ye 2th m^o 72.

I have given thy Love to thos thou rememberest & tha and many more have dere Love to thee frinds are prety generly will: and tho all sem trobeled : at the opreshon this worr⁴ brings: yet we ar in good hop the presnars wil be delevered:

¹ The transcription is doubtful. Perhaps John Weale, a prominent Barbados Friend, is intended.

² The number of the month is blurred in this letter, but a letter of John Stubbs to Margaret Fox written from Barbados, 20.xi.1671 refers to Fox's leaving the island on the "8^d of this Instant", "after a very large and an heavenly meeting with the chief Friends in the Island that came to accompany him to the sea shore" (*Cambridge Journal*, ii, 196f).

³ Elizabeth Stubbs, wife of John Stubbs who was travelling with Fox at this time, but evidently living in London.

⁴ The war between England and Holland.

for: T: m:¹ has bin very Lattly at corte & the king has hard him frely & prepares for the delavery of all frinds: but such as ar for tiyeths.²

[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] r traverse to mF
read over 1672.

[some sentences incompletely copied on the back by a contemporary hand.]

[endorsed by YY] Rebecca Travers London 2 mo 2.
1672 to Margaret Fox.

¹ Thomas Moore, J.P., of Reigate, frequently interceded with royalty in behalf of imprisoned Friends. He was apparently a relative of Rebecca Travers.

² For the movement resulting in the royal pardon of 491 persons in prison whose beginnings are here described, see Braithwaite, *Second Period*, p. 82ff, with the sources cited in the note.

XXXII

JOHN STUBBS to MARGARET FELL. *Newport, Rhode Island, 14.vi.1672.*

(Rhode Island Historical Society MSS., Vol. x, p. 35.)

[holograph in the hand of John Stubbs.]

[addressed] For the hands of Dear MF. at Swarthmoore Hall in Furnace These in Lancashire per Wm Edmondson.¹

[Seal—(broken in half and partly undecipherable) includes the letters I B (possibly T B) with a smaller I S. Of the Latin motto around the outer edge of the seal, the last word only can be read: SUNT.]

[endorsed by George Fox] 1672 j Stubs of paseges beyand the seayes of gF a jornall read.

Entered in *Annual Catalogue*, 10, 112F.

Copied in the manuscript volume now at Friends House, London, entitled *Epistles & Queryes of George Fox*, pp. 254-6, with very slight differences. Printed from the latter literature in the *Cambridge Journal of George Fox*, 1911, ii, 216-20. Part printed from this original in *Publications of the Narragansett Club*, Vol. V, 1872, pp. xxxixff.

¹ The text of the letter also refers to "dear William Edmondson with whom I send this". Edmondson went on to Boston, and thence sailed to Ireland in almost a record voyage. When Edmondson landed he wrote from Dublin 7.ix.1672, a letter to M.F. enclosing this one of J. Stubbs. That original is preserved in the Spence MSS. and is printed in *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 22of.

XXXIII

GEORGE FOX to MARGARET FOX. *Worcester*,
21.xi.1673.

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 57.)

Printed verbatim and literatim in *Journal F.H.S.*, xi.
(1914), pp. 98f.

der [hart] to whom is my love & the rest of frends & thy
Children sarye & sausones & der rachell¹ i deser ther groth
in the trouth & in the wisdom of god that by it you may all
be orderd to his glory & not to touch nothing but the life in
any & to be sepretated from the evell & to stand as naserets
consecreatd to god that in the life all may be a good Saver
to god I recvd thy leter by l:f² & another from r: t³ from
londen & shee strangeth that thee hath not writen to her for
shee & the rest of londen frends generall thinkes that thou
ar with mee in preson & did stay & not gon in to the north
& ther for thou should wright to her & them for the oft
rembing ther love as tho thou was her[e] & doe not think that
thou art gon wee have sent all paseges to londen & t lower
hath given you a Count of the seshones all people disliketh
the iuesterses proceding & saith it is like to boner⁴ & som
clapd ther handes & said it was a snar soe be over all & out
of all free & not in bondeg under outward things bring things
even & stright that thou may be free soe noe mor but my
love g F woster gale mo: 11: day 21 1673 :

wheat was the last sevent day at seven & six pence
abueshell & 4 shilens pease & barly & woats 2 shilens abueshell
& the poore people ar redy to mutany in the market her is

¹ Sarah Susannah and Rachel Fell.

² Leonard Fell. See *Camb. Journal*.

³ Rebecca Travers. See *Camb. Journal*.

⁴ i.e. Bonner, Bishop of London, d. 1569. See the same
comparison in a letter from Fox to Whitehead written four days
earlier (*Camb. Journal*, ii, 270).

such a cry for corne to make them bread her[e] was a great stor with the mare & the people some saks was cut but the lordes power is over all. g F

& rie at seven & this 4 day ther was a great uprore lykes that the mare & constables was faine to pese the people for the[y] cut the bages

[addressed in hand of Thomas Lower] For M:F: these att Swarthmoore.

[endorsed by George Fox] gf to mF 1673 at woster.

[some accounts of the Swarthmoor family written in the hand of Sarah Fell on the back.]

[some parts of the original have been marked through by George Fox, to be omitted, probably when he read over the paper for editing.]

[endorsed by YY] George Fox Worcester Jail 11 mo 21 1673 to Margaret Fox.

Entered in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox* as 12, 41F.

XXXIV

MARTHA FISHER to MARGARET FOX. *London*,
7.i.1673.¹

(Etting Early Quaker Papers, 52.)

[Written in a clear even hand.]

Printed in *Journal F.H.S.*, x (1913), p. 142, and in the *Penna. Mag.* xxviii (1904), p. 237, when, however, Martha Fisher is confused with the better known Mary Fisher. In the *Penna. Mag.*, *loc. cit.*, through confusion with Mary Fisher, this writer is miscalled "the first Quaker preacher in America".

deare freind Margaret Fox to whom is my love in the lord I Received tew leeters from thee and I had answered the last but I did not stay to have betor nuse then yet I have to send thee but i need say but leettill bcaus Friends douth take care to send thee word but thy deare husband has binn had to and againe severall times by the keeperes of the prison for the next day after thy sone Lower went out of London it being the last day of the tearme the Judges sent for thy husband to the same plase he was befor and they gave the sentence that he was to goe downe to woster which cannot be Revocked but all the favor that can be shewed to him is that he may gow downe at his owne Leasuer and to be there at the sises which is the 2 day of the 2 month at woster but they sent for him in great hast from kinston to have him goe then deare Margaret thy care conserning the mony I think to Answer and gow and Recive it my deare love is to thy children and to thomas lower and all freinds heare there love is to thee and we are fellowfeelers of thy sorrow noe more but my

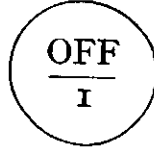
love Martha Fisher

the 7 day of the
i month 1673 London

¹ That is March 1674.

[addressed in the same hand] these for Sarah Fell at
Swathmoore Leave this with Thomas Greene
shopkeeper in Lancaster.

[two postal marks]



[endorsed in the hand of George Fox] m fisher to mF of
gF 1673 read.
[endorsed] 7th day of 1st mo 1673.
[endorsed] (12) done.
[endorsed by YY] Martha Fisher London 1 mo 7. 1673
to Margaret Fox.

XXXV

JOHN GARY to GEORGE FOX. *The Cliffs, Maryland,*
21.iv.1674.

(Pennsylvania Historical Society's Collection. Penn-Forbes MSS. ii, 114.)

Deare George

my Deare & tender love Reacheth unto thee: & though far separat at p^rsent as to the outward yett neare & Deare thou art in the heavenly Relation: Ingrafted in my hart where my love in y^e unity of the seed Imortall flowes forth unto thee my Deare friend with whom my hart hath often been Refreshed & my spiritt Revived & mad glad in y^e lord our god whose liveing power & presence did accompiny thee amongst us: to y^e strengthening & establishing of our harts Glory to the highest for ever: whose tender marcyes & larg loveing kindness is over all his children praises for ever belongeth unto him who appereth in his love day after day to the Refreshing of our harts & making us neare & deare unto him & one unto another: soe y^t length of time nor distance of place cannot hinder y^e streaming of our pure love from vessell to vessell in which my hart Imbraces thee: my true frend: friends here are ginerally well & there Deare loves is to thee: we had of Lat avery large & good Ginerall meeting at west River our halfe yeare meeting:¹ but y^e Indions was about a 100 men well armed; about amile & halfe: of: off our meeting & ded Robe some houses & kill peoples stock:

¹ The Men's General Meeting was held at West River about two weeks before the date of this letter. An Epistle from it to the Men's Monthly Meeting at Bristol is preserved in Bristol MSS. v, 109, and printed in Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, i, 381. It is dated 6th of Fourth Month [June] and signed by William Coale, William Richardson (not Richards as in Bowden and his followers) and John Gary. It makes no mention of the exciting circumstances under which they met. The earliest minute book of this Half-Yearly Meeting (extant in the archives of Baltimore Yearly Meeting) does not begin until 1677.

they were the sinacors:¹ & soe y^t pepels minds was much exersised about them for feare: but through marcy they did us noe harme: as to any lives taking away only Robing & soe went away & we kept our meetings quietly: & the lords presence was with us: they have Robed seven houses of all there goods: at kent & y^e Estern shore: & up the bay: but noe friends have they medled with as I here of; but what further mischefe may Inseue we know not: for they are very bould: I Receved severall letters from thee: this yeare which I tak as agreat faver from thee: 1 letter lattly from london datted 1th of y^e 1th month where we understand thou art still a prisner which we are sorrow for & likewise y^t yee have don us the faver as to gitt agrant of y^e proprieter² of maryland & under his hand y^t our yea & nay shall be taken instead of an oath: which if we had: had it when y^e Assembly of burgeses satt; it might a have been inacted for when y^e assembly satt which was from y^e middle of y^e 3th m^o tell y^e 5 or 6 of y^e forth m^o; I: & will Richardson³ & Thō. ha^r⁴ went & attended them & the uper house: with our declareation which we put in: which at first was slitted by most: but our friends y^t was amongst them: but we staying with them; & at all opertunities Reasoning the Case with them: & having some friends both in uper house & lower we gatt a great Inflowance: & consenting to the Reasonableness of y^e thing: & y^t our Case was good: haveing a priviledg in y^e grand patting⁵ for liberty of Conscience: &

¹ i.e. the Seneca Indians. The incursion of the Seneca Indians into Maryland in 1673-4 is mentioned in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 65, 1891, p. 122. They drove the Susquehanna Indians before them, and they did some damage to the whites and their plantations.

² Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore (c. 1605-1675). The dispensation of oaths in testamentary cases was not finally granted until 1688 under his successor. See the address of Maryland Quakers in Besse, *Sufferings*, ii, 387f.

³ William Richardson, of West River, was a zealous and influential Friend. Letters from him to George Fox show that in 1681 he was still endeavouring to alleviate Friends from disabilities in connection with oaths. Fox's effort on behalf of Maryland Friends in this regard is attested as early as 1674 and as late as 1690 (*Annual Catalogue*, 17, 139F and 20H).

⁴ The name is an abbreviation, but is not identified. Can it be the Thomas Hucker (Hacker?) mentioned in note 4 on p. 85?

⁵ i.e. patent. Cf. the reference to the Proprietary's patent in 1687 in Besse, op. cit., ii, 385.

when it was put to vott both in uper house & lower : it was like to be Carried on our sid: but then y^e gō^r stoped it with y^e Consent of y^e Rest upon this account: tell they heared further from his father ; y^e propriator becace he understood by us : y^t his father had given his Consent to the Inacting of y^e thing : & he said he did beleve when he had letters from his father he should have word of it : & then he would not be against it : but it should be don: & in the meantime we should not be oppresed but now y^e shiping is come & we doe not here as yett w^{tt} Instrucksiions our Gov^r has from his father : about it ; nor have we Received yett any thing as from under y^e proprietors hand which if we had yⁿ we would agon & aseen whether hee has Received to that purpos: thou writt of ellis hoocks sending in of it : but we have not Received any thing from him: our assemble is but Agurned tell y^e seaventh month next : & then they sitt againe if y^e Gove^r stop them not: it was well y^t this thing was soe stured in: for we had likly to have been much tryed about oathes for they began to truble us of lait: more then before: severall of our friends was fined this last winter at y^e Estorn shore though they profered to sarve in the place of gury men ; but becace they denyed to sware they were fined: & y^e Chancler² hath gott of latt: y^e offis of y^e probitts of wills & now will not lett any of us hould y^e place of an execut^r of any will: except we will sware soe y^t is hard to be born by many I writt to thee by will Jones³ in

¹ Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore (1629-1714), sent by his father in 1662 as Governor of Maryland, in which office he continued until at his father's death in 1675 he succeeded as Proprietary. For Calverts (note 2, page 83 and note 2 below), see J. B. C. Nicklin, "The Calvert Family" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, xvi, 1921.

² Philip Calvert (1626-1682), half-brother of Cecil. He was Governor (1660-1) and later Chancellor of Maryland. In accordance with a commission from the Proprietor he took oath on April 24th, 1673, as "Chief Judge for Probate of Wills and Granting Letters of Administration" (*Maryland Archives*, xv, 1896, p. 23).

³ A Friend named William Jones is mentioned under date of 7.ix.1679, in the women's minute book of Maryland Half Year's Meeting (1677-1790) as intending marriage with Sarah Hall. See A. B. Thomas, *The Story of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 1672-1938*, p. 37. The implication there is that he had not been in Maryland continuously, the implication in the present letter that he had gone from Maryland to England in 1673 or 4. His name is I think to be found in other Maryland records both civil and Quaker.

y^e winter how y^t Jeames Breston¹ was dead & had left his wife his executerix & 3 overseeres to assist her & to tak an Inventory & secure y^e Childs part: but y^e Chancler after he had tryed allwayes he could to mak her sware but she stood against it then he threttned to sett on to administ^r & turn her out of her estat: & was like to be don: but we some of us went with her to the Chancler & likewise to the Gov^r & writt to them: & showed them law where an oath was not Required of an execut^r nor any administ^ration ought to be granted upon such an account where y^e execut^r was willing & able to except of the place: which y^e gov^r harkned to: but not willing to withstand y^e Chancler & left it: soe y^e Chancler stood to his Intentiones but as yett has don nothen more but threttning & I hope will not but leave it to the execution of y^e parsons named by y^e testater to performe his testament: Elezibeth² stands nobley for truth & we have a great Care of her for she has a great sort of men y^t are often trubling her to gitt her faver upon the acct^t of a wife: my wifes very deare love is to the & thy wife: & to all her friend there who in love desires to here from her she is well as to the lord & fresh: but hath had much sicknes & is weack of body my mothers love is to thee we Received a letter from y^e mens meeting in bristall³ to our mens meeting: & 16 bookes y^e memoryall worcks of Edward borrows⁴ as a

¹ James Preston, of Patuxent River. See *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 219, 1. He was probably son of Richard Preston, one of the first in the colony to receive the Publishers of Truth. The child is presumably the orphan Samuel Preston, mentioned in the Minutes of the Half-Yearly Meeting in 1681-2, when George Fox was asked to decide whether the estates of Richard and James Preston should be enjoyed by him before his majority, or held for him by Benjamin Lawrence.

² Elizabeth, widow of James Preston, apparently died before 1681.

³ This letter sent at the suggestion of George Fox upon his return to England and dated Ninth Month 24, 1673, is preserved in Bristol MSS. v, 108, and printed in part in Bowden, *History*, i, 377-9.

⁴ According to the epistle already cited in note 1, these copies of the folio entitled *The Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder and Consolation . . . Edward Burroughs* were sent from Bristol, eight by the hands of Thomas Hucker and eight per George Hawes. A list of recipients prepared apparently by Fox is printed in Bowden, *History*, i, 358. The "other books" may be the nucleus of a library for the use of Friends which is mentioned in 1683 after John Gary's death as being at his house (*Journal F.H.S.*, ii, 131).

token of thy love to y^e Great men which kindly Received thee & we have taken Care to send & deliver them: & severall other boocks which we have Received from thee: the Counsellor at hering Creek samuell Chew¹ his love is to the & is very glad of thy tokens he is become atender man & kepes meetings in y^e love of them he is far better then Tho: Tayler² at y^e Rige who mad a great show of love when thee was here & sam^e Chew: not: thō is now mad a Counsellor to: which seets with y^e Gove^r: the Gove^r of Dilaway³ was at my house tuther night & day: & he greatly estemed of thy love & soe they doe all in these parts: soe at p^rsent I Rest with my very dere love p^rsent to thy wife & friends there thy assired friend.

Joⁿ Gary.

¹ Colonel Samuel Chew is sometimes said to have come from Chewton in Somersetshire to Maryland with Lord Baltimore in 1671. According to other accounts (Lawrence B. Thomas, *Pedigrees of Thomas, Chew, and Lawrence*, New York, 1883), he was the son of John and Sarah Chew of Virginia and removed to Maryland before 1655. He appears to have taken oath as member of the Council in December, 1669 (*Maryland Archives*, v, 59). He married Ann Ayres and died in 1676-7. Meetings of Friends were held regularly at the house of Ann Chew until her death in 1695.

² On Thomas Taylor of West River, see Cambridge *Journal* ii, 444. He appears to have taken the oath as one of the Councillors April 10th, 1673 (*Maryland Archives*, xv, 1896, 23). Fox calls him "one of the Council and Speaker of the Assembly," quoted in Bowden: *Hist. of Fds. in Amer.*, i, 358. He is mentioned frequently in Fox's correspondence and in other Quaker records of Maryland. On Thomas Taylor, see most recently Emerson B. Roberts, "Captain Phillip Taylor and some of his Descendants", in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, xxxiii (1938), 28off.

³ Since the treaty of Westminster in February 1674, when the Dutch colonies recaptured in 1673 from the English were again returned to the Duke of York, the Governor of Delaware as of the others was Sir Edmund Andros, who appointed as his deputy in Delaware Edmund Cantwell. The reference here must be to John Carr, the former governor (between 1668 and 1673), whom Fox must have met and known on his journey to America, and to whom he addressed a letter (November 1st, 1672; *Annual Catalogue*, 10, 3F). Captain Carre of New Castle, Delaware, went according to good authority "under the denomination of Governor among the inhabitants" of Pennsylvania (*Journal F.H.S.*, x, 25).

Clifts this 21th of ye forth m^o 1674 :

I would asent thee som fures but at p^rsent I cannot gitt them by Reason of the busell among the Inions for they are at warse & I cannot gitt w^{tt} I have bought: nor by any more—

[endorsed by George Fox] jhon gary from merreland
to gF.

INDEX

For mention of the various MS. Collections used, references are given to the table of Contents.

- A** R. BARCLAY MSS., 5
 .Abrahams, Emma C., 8
 Abraham, John, 5
 Abraham MSS., 8
 Andros, (Sir) Edmund, 86
 Aldam, Thomas, 40, 42
Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers, 6
 Atherton, Oliver, 31
 Audland, John, 29, 61
 Ayres, Ann, 86
- B**AINES, Joseph, 6, 7
 Baltimore Y.M., 82
 Barclay, A. R., *Letters of Early Friends*, 7
 Barbados, 24, 75
 Bates (or Bache), Humphrey, 50, 51, 52
 Bath, 18
 Bayly, George, 45
 Bedford, Henry, 50
 Benson, Gervase, 22, 67
 Birkhead, Christopher, 22
 Bishop, George, 22
 Blackland [Blaykling], Ann, 23
 Blagdon, Barbara, 62
 Bolton, John, 24
 Briggs, Thomas, 31
 Bristol, 22, 61, 62, 85
 Bullock, Noah, 11
 Burrough, Edward, 85
- C**ALE, Nathaniel, 62
 Calvert, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, 83
 Calvert, Charles, Lord Baltimore, 84
 Calvert, Philip, 84
 Cann, Robert, 62
 Carre, Captain, 86
 Caton, William, 5
 Chamberlain, MSS., 3, 4, 9
 Charles II, 36, 47
 Cheevers, Sarah, 64
 Cleayton, Ann, 59
 Chew, John and Sarah, 86
 Chew, Samuel (Col.), 86
- Clements, W., 24
 Cliffs (Md.), 82ff.
 Coale, Josiah, 57, 59, 60
 Cantwell, Edmund, 86
 Cornwall, 23
 Craddock, Joseph, 67
 Crook, John, 29
 Curtis, Anne, 69
 Curtis, Thomas, 69
- D**ELAWARE, 86
 Derby, 11
 Disbrowe [Desborough], General, 23
 Drinkel, Margaret, 62
 Drinkel, Susan, 62
 Drinkel, William, 62, 63
 Dyer, Mary, 42
- E**ASTON, Lower (Som. ?), 61
 Edmondson, William, 77
 Englescombe (Som.), 18
 Ellis, John, 23
 Ely, Joan, 62
 Etting MSS., 3, 4, 9
 Evans, Katherine, 64
 Exeter, 23, 24, 25, 27
- F**ELL, H[enry], 24, 25, 56
 Fell, Leonard, 78
 Fell, Margaret, see Fox
 Fell, Sarah, 67
 Fell, [Thomas] Judge, 25
 Fisher, Martha, 80
 Fisher, Mary, 80
 Fordham, John, 62
 Fox, George, (letters written or received by him are not indexed here), 6, 7, 9, 22, 23, 25, 29, 30
 Fox, Margaret (Fell), 6, 9, 22, 28, 31, 33, 56, 57, 61, 63, 74, 77, 78, 80
 France, 45
 Friends' Reference Library, 5, 8
- G**ARY, John, 82
 Ghent, George G. M., 35
 Greene, Thomas, 81

HAISTWELL, Edward, 6, 63
 Hall, Anna S. B., 47
 Hall, Sarah, 84
 Harrison, Richard, 7
 Harwood, John, 45
 Haverford College MSS., 3, 4, 9
 Helsby (Cheshire), 31, 32
 Herring Creek (Md.), 86
 Hookes, Ellis, 84
 Hooton, Elizabeth, 11
 Howgill, Francis, 28
 Hubberthorne, Richard, 56
 Hucker, Thomas, 83, 85
 Hudson, Thomas, 74

INDIANS, Seneca, 82, 83
 Ireland, 22

JENKINS, Charles F. MSS., 4, 9
 Jones, William, 84

KILLINGTON (Westmorland), 7
 Kingston (on Thames), 80
 Knight, John, 62
 Korker, T., 22

LANCASTER, 50
 Lawford, Godfrey, 62
 Launceston, 23
 Lawrence, Benjamin, 85
 Leicestershire, 64
 Leominster (Herefordshire), 50
 London, 28, 40, 56, 61, 73, 74, 80
 Lower, Mary, 67
 Lower, Thomas, 18, 80
 Luffe, John, 45

MALLETT, (Sir) Thomas, 52
 Malta, 64
 Man, Isle of, 22
 Maryland, 82ff.
 Maylin, Robert, 59
 Moore, Thomas, 76
 Murford, Thomas, 18, 19

NAYLER, James, 24, 26, 29, 30,
 40
 New England, 46
 Newport (R.I.), 77
 Norwich, 18

OLVESTON (Glos.), 24
 Osgood, John, 74
 Oxley, John and Ann, 5

PARKER, Alexander, 61
 Patuxent River, 85
 Pearson, Anthony, 22, 41

Peckover, Edmund, 5
 Pemberton, Henry, 8
 Pemberton, James, 8
 Pemberton MSS., 8
 Pembroke, Philip 5th Earl, 36
 Penn-Forbes MSS., 4
 Pennsylvania Hist. Soc., 3, 4, 9
 Perrot, John, 45
 Preston, Elizabeth, 85
 Preston, James, 85
 Preston, Richard, 85
 Preston, Samuel, 85
 Pyott, Edward, 23, 61, 62, 63

READING, 26, 69
 Rhode Island Hist. Soc., 4, 9
 Richardson, Richard, 6
 Richardson, William, 82, 83
 Rigge, Ambrose, 33
 Robinson, William, 42
 Rollison, Thomas, 25
 Roper, Richard, 28
 Rome, 45

SALTAS, W., 23
 Salthouse, Thomas, 74
 Scattergood, Thomas, 47
 Scotland, 22
 Spence MSS., 5
 Spinoza, 7
 Stephenson, Marmaduke, 42
 Story, John, 61
 Stringer, Hannah, 26
 Stubbs, Elizabeth, 75
 Stubbs, John, 61, 63, 77
 Swarthmore College MSS., 3, 9
 Swarthmore Hall, 5, 7
 Swarthmore, letters addressed to, 25,
 32, 35, 60, 79, 81
 Symonds, Martha, 26

TAYLOR, Thomas, 86
 Titler, Henry and Mary, 32
 Travers, Rebecca, 74, 76, 78

ULVERSTON, 67

WALES, 22
 Weale, John, 75
 West River (Md.), 82
 Widders, Robert, 17
 Wilkinson, John, 61
 Wilson, Robert, 62,
 Worcester, 78, 80