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### George Fox to Margaret Fox, from Worcester and London, 1673:4

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**J**N *The Journal of George Fox* (Camb. ed. ii. 284) we are told that information respecting the writer's imprisonment in Worcester could be obtained from his letters to his wife—"as by my letters to M: ff: farther Appeareth as followeth." But no such letters are now included in the *Journal* MSS.

It is curious and interesting that four of these missing letters have been found—or rather have come to our knowledge without definite search—one from Northumberland, one from Devonshire, one from London, and one from Pennsylvania!

We have great pleasure in presenting them in whole or in part to our readers, as follows:

#### I.

This letter is among early Etting Papers in H.S.P. (p. 51). It is printed from a copy made recently, and has been checked by a photograph of the original, sent over *per* Gilbert Cope for this purpose.

George Fox and Thomas Lower were arrested at Armscott on the 17th of the Tenth Month, 1673, and lodged in Worcester jail. They were brought up at the Sessions about the middle of the next month, shortly after which this letter was written. Margaret Fox and her daughter Rachel were travelling northward with G. F. and T. L., and continued their journey within a few days of the arrest (Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 269).

der [hart] to whom is my loue & the rest of frends & thy Childern sarye & suasones & der rachell<sup>1</sup> 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 agod saver to god i recud thy leter by 1: f<sup>2</sup> & another from r: t<sup>3</sup> 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 loue as tho thou was her[e] & doe not think that thou art gon wee have sent all paseges to londen & t louer hath given you a Count of the seshones all people disliketh the iuesterses proceding & saith it is like to boner<sup>4</sup> & som clapd ther handes & said it was a snar soe be ouer all & out of all free & not in bondeg vnder out ward things bring things even & stright that thou may be free soe noe mor but my loue gff woster gale mo : 11 : day 21 1673 :

wheat was the last seuent day at seuen & six pence abueshell & 4 shilens pease & barly & woats 2 shilens abueshell & the poore people ar redy to mutany in the market her is such a cry for corne to make them bread her was a great stor with the mare & the people son sales [?] was out but the lordes pouer is ouer all gff

& rie at seuen & this 4 day ther was a great vp rore lykes that the mare & constables was faine to pese the people for the cut the bages

[Addressed in a contemporary hand ]

ffor M: ff: these att  
Swarthmoore

[Endorsed in Geo. Fox's hand ]

gf to mff 1673  
at woster

<sup>1</sup> Sarah, Susanna and Rachel Fell.

<sup>2</sup> Leonard Fell, see *Camb. Jnl.*

<sup>3</sup> Rebecca Travers, see *Camb. Jnl.*

<sup>4</sup> That is, Bonner, Bishop of London, d. 1569. See the same comparison in a letter from Fox to Whitehead, written four days earlier (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 270).

[Endorsed in a modern hand ]

George Fox  
 Worcester Jail  
 IIMO 21, 1673  
 to  
 Margaret Fox  
 Swarthmore.

## II.

In a note to the literature of the Worcester imprisonment, printed vol. ii. p. 449 of the *Camb. Jnl.*, there is a reference to a letter from G. Fox to his wife, dated 4th of Second Month, 1674, a transcript of which, edited by William Fletcher, of Brigham Hill, Cockermouth, appeared in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1894.

This letter was then in the possession of W. Fletcher, but in 1897 he presented it to Dr. Thomas Hodgkin. The original is now in D. on a short loan from the family of the late Dr. Hodgkin, who have given permission for it to appear in THE JOURNAL.

The sheet on which the letter was written was headed by two notes written and signed by Edward Reynolds. Then follow, without any ascription, thirty-five lines written by G. F. and twenty-one by another writer who also adds the signature "G: ff:" and the date. Five separate handwritings are to be found on this sheet (see notes).

George Fox tells us in his *Journal* that after he had attended the Sessions at Worcester, in Eleventh Month, 1673, he was removed to London for trial. According to this letter he returned to Worcester on the last day of the First Month following.

The black cloth was gone by henry perger Carier his being is at bilson neare wouluer hampton in staford sheire to be left with John higgins in Lancaster for him to send to Sarah fell at swartmore.

The black hare for cloth was deliuered to Ezekiel partridg in stowerbridg and he promised to send it by henry baker afrend whos being is neare bolton in lancesheire to be left with John higgins in lancaster to

be sent to sarah fell at swartmore according to Thomas  
lowers order to me

EDWARD REYNOLDS.<sup>5</sup>

j came to woster on the last day of the i month  
on the 3d: j was brought in to the cort & torner my  
ould percuter & he asked mee what i did deser & i said  
my lebarty & hee said that i lay consaring the oath  
& i spake to them as iused to doe & aske him whoe  
the oath was to be taken<sup>6</sup> was it not to the King & a ganst  
the pope & he said yes & j said that j was cast in to  
darby dongall 6: mo: be cas i wald not be a capting  
a ganst the king at this toun of woster & the gentry  
was all astoneshed & starteld & exced modrat & the  
judge said that i was arashanall man & i gaue them a  
count of my frest commitment & how my mother had a  
deser to see mee be for shee died & j sent her word of  
my coming & when shee hard of my being stoped by ther  
im presen mee it strok her to the hart that shee died &  
the iudge said that i might put in bale & i said that was  
an other snare & many of us had ben snared by it but if  
it was this for my aperance at the asheshones if the lord  
gave mee health & life & libarty i should a per & he  
said that i must get bale but J did for warne all frendes  
of that the pouer of the lord was ouer all & parker &  
his company that had brought mee on ther one heades  
was tormentd & he had ingagd to richard canon<sup>7</sup> at  
london of seting mee at libarty & when he came in to the  
contary he bostd that he was to nimbell for the quakers  
& canon & eles houkes lay plocking at the tale of parker &  
was the worst enemy that i had in the cort as one in  
pouer tould a frende & som people said thath jf j had had  
my libar i would tred the iudge & all them as dort &

<sup>5</sup> These two paragraphs clearly illustrate the difficulties of transportation as compared with the easy and direct methods of the present day. The subscriber was probably the Worcester Friend of that name mentioned by Besse (*Suff.* ii. 69, 70).

<sup>6</sup> The words "be taken" form an interlineation made by Thomas Lower, who was Fox's companion in captivity.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Cannon, of London (c. 1625-1688), is described in the register of the death of his wife, Sarah (c. 1625-1688), as "innholder," in Fetter Lane. He was one of the Friends appointed in 1671 to care for the Quaker prisoners in the Fleet (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, p. 40, MS. in D.). A son, Richard, was born in 1665.

atrompld them under his feat the lord be presd the seed was ouer all & the pres was troden as at london.<sup>8</sup>

And some y<sup>t</sup> was in y<sup>e</sup> Court y<sup>t</sup> was in powre said y<sup>t</sup> Parker was the worst Enimie y<sup>t</sup> wee and J had in in-senceing y<sup>e</sup> Judge against me, And some of y<sup>e</sup> Justices y<sup>t</sup> was aboue him stopped him and oposed him, and here you may see R : C : & A : H :<sup>9</sup> was Lugging at the taile and plucked me in to the ditch who had such A Confidence in deceitefull Parker but the Lords Power was over all beyond words And Bradala<sup>10</sup> and G : Roberts and Ed : Brookes<sup>11</sup> was w<sup>th</sup> me and very much refresh'd in the Lords Power w<sup>ch</sup> was over all, and the Judges sonne said y<sup>t</sup> Parker said some tymes one thing and some tymes a Nother y<sup>t</sup> is J should haue my Libertie and aNother tyme not y<sup>t</sup> he could not tell what for to make of his words And the Judge saw y<sup>t</sup> they had Noething against me and it was his minde for to sett me a Libertie but they desire to put it off vnto y<sup>e</sup> sessions And he gave order y<sup>t</sup> then J should haue my Libertie and not for to trouble y<sup>e</sup> Assizes w<sup>th</sup> it And the Justices were Generally willing and Loveing this w[as] in privett, And the people was Loveing, And the Justices ha[ue] promised y<sup>t</sup> J should haue my Libertie in the town and Lodg[e] at a friends house till sessions, J could writte much but the Bearer cañot stay My Love to you all and all ffreinds

Mo : 2<sup>d</sup> : day y<sup>e</sup>  
4<sup>th</sup> 1674

G : ff :

[Addressed]           this for m : ff  
                              at swartmar in  
  fornes  
  lanksher

<sup>8</sup> From here to the end in another hand.

<sup>9</sup> Should doubtless be *E : H.* = Ellis Hookes.

<sup>10</sup> The unusual name *Bray D'Oyly* troubled several of our early writers. Here it appears as *Bradala*; G. F. wrote *pray diles* (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 449) ! Fox was at this Friend's house shortly before his apprehension, and he is mentioned in connection with the Worcester improvement in Fox's *Journal* (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 293, and see note 293. 1; "E. B." doubtless stood for Edward *Brookes* and not Edward *Bourne* as there suggested).

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps, Edward Brookes, of the family of that name living at or near Charlbury, Oxon; he died in 1724—"An Ancient Man" says the Burial Register.

[Endorsement]                   for m ff by  
                                       gff 1674 at  
                                       woster y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> day of 2<sup>d</sup> month  
   (18) done.<sup>12</sup>  
 readouer.

## III.

A. Midgley Cash, M.D., of Torquay, has recently deposited in D. a miscellaneous and valuable collection of Quakeriana, in which there is an original letter from G. Fox to his wife, not dated as to year, but probably written in 1674.

We are told in the *Camb. Jnl.* (ii. 285) that Fox was "tost to & from [Worcester] to London: & from London to Worcester againe: three times." It appears that shortly after writing letter no. II. occurred one of these removals to London, and that during his residence in the south letter no. III. was written.

der loue to whom is my loue in the seed that is ouer all & to thomas & all the chilteren & frends live in the peasabel life & trouth that the lord may be glory fid in you all that hath porshd & bought you i did right from Canbary & e: man from london & consaring the black cloth edward ranales to take care abought it<sup>13</sup> & that you might retorn that mony you speake of to: e: man for mee & j have ben at london abought a weeke & have a copy of my in dit ment & nothing is don as yet but the would be wiling to get it of & wee shall see this terme the people of the seshons was like frends & the lordes pouer was ouer all & the ar uery fare g: robards was with som of woster sher ofisers since the cam to london & doe pretend much som of them that mouesed formorly for my going to woster e sbell<sup>14</sup> was well latly & margret<sup>15</sup> but her leg is very weeke<sup>16</sup> the lord stringen it pore womon shee is

<sup>12</sup> The words "y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> day of 2<sup>d</sup> month (18) done" are in a different hand, but the same writing appears in a similar position in original letters belonging to the *Journal* MSS.

<sup>13</sup> See letter no. II.

<sup>14</sup> That is, Isabel Yeamans, daughter of Margaret (Fell) Fox. See *Camb. Jnl.*

<sup>15</sup> Margaret Rous, *née* Fell. See *Camb. Jnl.*

<sup>16</sup> See Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 231.

exsersisd but i would haue her geet a place of rest & to setell her mind in this is john gay<sup>17</sup> that that had his nick broke out of the jent that i doe send this by soe in hast my loue in the life

gff  
mon : 3 day 17 :

Kingston.

#### IV.

Among a collection of manuscripts owned by the late Sir Joseph Cockfield Dimsdale, Baronet, of London, a portion of which has recently been sold, was a letter from George Fox to his wife, written in London, and dated 7th of Fifth Month, 1674, on one of his visits to the Metropolis during the Worcester "imprisonment," perhaps the same visit as that mentioned in connection with letter No. III. A description of the letter with extract appeared in a catalogue issued by Walter V. Daniell, of London, in November, 1913, and a representative of the F.H.S. inspected the letter, but was not permitted to make a copy. The letter was priced fourteen guineas, and was sold to a gentleman residing in Philadelphia. A request made on behalf of the F.H.S. for permission to photograph it has been declined.

The letter begins :

Der Hart to whom is my loue to all the children & Thomas & all the rest of frends in the truth.

<sup>17</sup> This is the only confirmation of which we have knowledge, of the statement made by Richard Richardson (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 437), that John Jay visited Europe. The same authority records Jay's death in Dublin in this year (1674).

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My mother related a circumstance that occurred after she returned from her first sojourn among the Indians at Tunesassa. She was at the house of Samuel Swayne, where Thomas Shillitoe was dining. Mother entered the room and was introduced as Mary Nutt, just come from among the Indians. Thomas dropped his knife and fork, bowed his head, and presently said, "And thou wilt be back there." This surprised mother, as she thought she was through, but afterwards found that her peace consisted in returning to her work among the Indians.

*Joseph S. Elkinton, 1913, p. 30.*