

“AMERICAN QUAKERISM’S 350TH BIRTHDAY: A LOOK AT ITS MARYLAND BIRTH PANGS”

Even though George Fox began his preaching in 1647 and soon gathered small groups of followers, most historians date the beginning of Quakerism in 1652. It was in that year that Fox, on Pendle Hill, had his vision of a great people to be gathered. Shortly thereafter, he came upon a large group of Seekers on Firbank Fell. Many of these Seekers became Finders - finding that Fox’s message gave them the direction, meaning, and religious understanding for which they had been so fervently longing and praying. Soon many others in Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire joined the ranks of the convinced - with an increasing number going forth as “Publishers of Truth” - making their way, usually two by two, in ever widening areas of England, and then into the neighbouring countries. Quakerism reached Ireland and Scotland in 1654 and by 1655 was being proclaimed in Holland, France, and the West Indies.

Elbert Russell, the first Quaker historian I ever met, believed that Elizabeth Harris may even have reached Maryland as early as 1655.¹ That seems quite possible to me, although 1656 appears a more likely date. Harris was able to spend a considerable time in Maryland, establishing a vibrant Quaker community in Maryland, whereas Mary Fisher and Ann Austin had their 1656 New England work nipped in the bud - as they were first incarcerated and then banished from Boston. New England and eastern Long Island Quakerism (and Virginia Quakerism also), when they did arise, owe their starts to the labours of later Quakers.

Thus, as we mark the 350th anniversary of the start of American Quakerism, it is with Maryland Quakers that we are concerned - for this is where American Quakerism first appeared and prospered.²

How did Maryland Quakerism begin? Why was its initial growth almost miraculous? Why did the beginning period of welcome and acceptance give way to a time of persecution and suffering? How did this earliest American Quaker community respond to the various forces that came to bear upon it - forces both internal and external? These questions have intrigued me very much in the last several years, especially since I discovered that the “birth pangs” of this fledgling community were sharper and at some points even more painful than I had previously imagined.

My study of Maryland Quakerism began well over half a century ago and still continues down to this very time. In this long period of time there have been some exciting discoveries as well as some frustrating ones - such as the discovery that English Friends late in the seventeenth century asked Maryland Friends to draw up an account of the First Publishers of Truth in Maryland, giving an account of Quaker beginning in Maryland. After several reminders, Maryland Friends finally reported that none of those still resident in Maryland had the necessary information. Ultimately, however, they did produce the best possible account, drawn up by William Southby (who helped build Old Third Haven Meeting House in Easton and later became a resident of Philadelphia) and by Daniel Gould of Rhode Island (who had made a number of early religious visits into Maryland). This account was received by London Friends early in the eighteenth century.³ For a number of years I attempted to have the Librarian at Friends House, London, produce it for me. Eventually, the Library staff gave me the usual explanation or excuse which was offered when an item could not be found - "That must have been lost in the Grace Church Street Fire."!

As I now look back upon this time-consuming and fruitless search, I am convinced that its discovery probably would have produced little real information on the birth-pangs of Maryland Quakerism, just as Robert Pleasants' eighteenth Virginia Quakerism⁴ sheds no real light on the origins of Virginia Quakerism.

Elizabeth Harris, the "Mother of American Quakerism," arrived in Maryland by 1656, if not earlier - when a fortunate combination of circumstances promised the great success with which she would meet in Maryland. First of all, a number of Puritans had fled from Virginia to Maryland in 1649-1650 - settling in the rapidly developing areas of Anne Arundel and Calvert Counties as well as Kent Island where they joined settlers of a similar outlook.⁵ Thus, there were already communities where a sympathetic people were concentrated - along the Patuxent, South River, West River, Severn River, Rhode River, and in Broad Neck, as well as Kent on the Eastern Shore.

Secondly, Harris' arrival came in the middle of a Puritan government of Maryland. On July 27, 1654, a Commission (approved by Oliver Cromwell) was established to rule Maryland. The inner circle of the Commission was composed of Captain William Fuller, Richard Preston, and William Durand - all three of whom soon became convinced Quakers. The General Assembly, composed of sixteen men, had Fuller as president and Preston as Speaker.⁶ Many of the other members of the Assembly were also convinced by Harris. To some degree, then, the province became a sort of Quaker-run colony.

One of Elizabeth Harris' converts was Charles Bayly, who later became governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. As Bayly heard Harris' proclamation of Quakerism, he was convinced that God had answered his intense yearning for a "man of peace" or a people in whom he might place his confidence. God had done this, he said:

by sending one of his dear servants into these parts, whose name was Elizabeth Harris, who soon answered that which was breathing after God in me; by which means I came with many more to be informed in the way and truth of God, having a seal in my heart and soul of the truth of her message, which indeed I had long waited for: And then when I found this beloved life and people, I was like a man overjoyed in my heart; not only because I heard that God had raised up such a people in England, but also because I saw the sudden fruits and effects of it, both in my own heart, and in others, insomuch that in a short time we became all to be as one entire family of love, and were drawn together in the life, (which was his light in us) to wait upon him in stillnesse and quitenesse of our spirits, like so many people which desire nothing but the pure teachings of God's Spirit, in which we were often refreshed together, and one in another.⁷

Although Bayly's account is primarily concerned with his own experience and discoveries, it clearly shows that Harris' message reached out to embrace "many others" who were drawn together in living silence, in holy expectancy, convinced that they might be instructed and directed by the Spirit of God. There is no suggestion of any suffering or persecution of Quakers while Harris was actively proclaiming the new message in Maryland.

The next picture which we get of Maryland Quakerism comes to us from Robert Clarkson, one of Harris' many converts. In a letter⁸ dated 11th Month 14, 1657 (O.S.), and therefore January 14, 1658 (N.S.), Clarkson gives Harris a report on Maryland Quakerism some many months after her departure from the colony (and therefore shortly before the end of the Commonwealth Government). He reports that at least one letter from her had been received, as well as two from Edward Burrough. A number of books, which she had sent from England, had arrived safely some time before and had already been dispersed without difficulty among Friends around Herring Creek, Rhode River, South River, all around Severn and Broad Neck - as well as "the Seven Mountains"⁹ and Kent Island. He also reported that some of her convincements remained steadfast and others had been convinced.

At the end of 1657 and the beginning of 1658 the Maryland Quaker

community along the Chesapeake appears to have been quite peaceful - with no restrictions of freedom experienced by the Children of Light - just as one would expect (with Fuller, Preston, Durand, and other public officials having become Quakers). The only "troubling" development which hinted at possible difficulties down the road was the application of the "reproachful name" [Quaker] to members of this new movement.¹⁰ In reality, however, Maryland Quakers were on the threshold of severe suffering and persecution - as two developments, one political and the other religious, were about to alter their situation radically.

On March 24, 1657 (O.S.), the last day of the year, with 1658 beginning on the 25th, the old ruling Puritan commission (which had become heavily Quaker as a result of Harris' work) surrendered its power to Lord Baltimore's officials. Control now rested with the non-Quakers on the Council: the Governor, the Secretary, Nathaniel Utie, Robert Clark, and Edward Lloyd.¹¹ Whereas the former government did not demand oaths and hat honour, the new officials were very strict in their demands where these practices were involved.

The other factor which helped produce the radical change in the life and experience of Maryland Quakerism was the arrival of Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston in the colony. Josiah Coale quite early in 1657, it would seem, felt called to labour in Maryland ["Virginia"]¹² and then go on through the backcountry to New England. In an undated letter,¹³ Coale told Margaret Fell about his plans to make this trip, adding that Thomas Thurston had expressed a willingness to go with him, telling her also that he had already made arrangements to sail from Bristol in about six weeks time. The passage to America took an additional six weeks or more, so that we have to allow for at least three months between the time of Coale's calling and their arrival in "Virginia." Their original destination had been Severn in Maryland,¹⁴ but for some unknown reason they unfortunately landed in Virginia rather than going up the Bay to Severn. They were soon apprehended by the Virginia authorities and imprisoned in Virginia in November 1657.¹⁵ They were released by the Virginia officials in the spring and then made their way into Maryland, arriving at their original destination in late May or the beginning of June 1658.¹⁶ Soon their Quaker activities came to the attention of the newly installed proprietary government. An order to arrest them was issued on July 8, 1658. Four days later it was announced that Thurston was already a prisoner, but that Josiah Coale was still in Anne Arundel "seducing the people" and diswading the people from taking the Engagement.¹⁷ Thurston had already sent a letter to the Governor and the Assembly telling them not to try to impose the Engagement - a sort of loyalty

oath in which people promised to aid and assist the new government (which would include serving in the militia).¹⁸ Thurston also told the authorities that some who had already subscribed the Engagement (which had been required by an Act of March 24th) had since become Quakers and now did "renounce and disowne" the Engagement. Thurston was released from prison on July 25, after promising to leave Maryland on August 2. Coale was freed on August 2. Both Coale and Thurston, accompanied by Thomas Chapman (a Maryland Quaker convert with both Kent Island and Anne Arundel connections) left Maryland on August 2,¹⁹ to make their way through the wilderness into New England, thereby circumventing the law that prohibited sea captains from bringing Quakers into New England.

Although the Quaker peace testimony was not given written expression until 1660/1661, it had been gradually arising throughout the late 1650s - as more and more Friends saw the inconsistency of waging war while trying to follow the "Prince of Peace." Did Coale and Thurston find this position already made known by Elizabeth Harris, or did they add it to her original message? Did it grow naturally out of their rejection of the Engagement which required an oath promising to "aid and assist" the government? Aiding and assisting meant to bear arms and to serve in the militia. There is no way of knowing how much of this position, if any, was explicit in the message of Elizabeth Harris, for there is no full account of her teaching. It is clear, however, that both Coale and Thurston proclaimed that Maryland Quakers could not "subscribe the Engagement" and therefore could not bear arms. Whatever its origins, it is certain that Maryland Quakers very early in 1658 embraced the peace testimony and endured great suffering on this account.²⁰ As far as I know, this is the earliest Quaker community that, as a group, rejects war.

Large numbers of Maryland Quakers refused to train - to serve in the militia. Two early 1660 publications,²¹ dealing with the suffering of Maryland Quakers, list 26 individuals who suffered, as heavy fines, ranging upwards from £5, were levied on them. When possessions were seized to pay the fines, the amounts taken were usually much higher. Sometimes the penalty was of a different kind. When Captain John Odber attempted to "press" John Everett to go with him to the fort of the Susquehannocks, Everett refused to go, saying that he "could not kill Indians." John Avery offered to go in Everett's place for 600 pounds of tobacco, only to have Everett say he could not give him one pound. Avery was then pressed, while Everett was kept in chains.²²

Refusal to train usually exposed Maryland Quakers to other sources of suffering when called before the authorities. As early as July 8, 1658, the increase of Quakers who refused to "subscribe the Engagement" alarmed the newly installed Council.²³ Their refusal to take off their hats [to show hat honour] led to abuses and fines. As early as July 23, 1658, it was recorded that a number of Quakers stood with their heads "covered" and refused to take the Engagement. Thus, even before the August 2 departure of Coale and Thurston, the success of their work was becoming quite evident. The Council judged that the Quakers' principles "tended to the destruction of all government" and therefore ruled that all people residing in the colony must subscribe by August 20, 1658, or leave Maryland by March 25, 1659, "upon pain due to Rebellers & Traitors."²⁴

Quaker refusal to take an oath of any sort led to heavy fines - usually ranging from £3 to £10. In some cases, as already noted, the amount was much larger when the authorities seized their possessions - such as cows or indentured servants who still had some years to serve.

About March 1659, near the time those not subscribing the Engagement were ordered to leave the colony, Thomas Thurston returned to Maryland, coming down from Rhode Island - this time with Christopher Holder. Thurston's return produced a swift reaction to him and led to more widespread suffering on the part of Maryland Friends. Thurston was arrested at Severn where he was charged with "disturbing the government" and "breaking the peace" (by not subscribing the Engagement). Although sentenced to a year and a day, he only served nine weeks as a prisoner.²⁵ Upon being freed he spent the next 10 weeks in Maryland proclaiming Quakerism (joined in his efforts by Christopher Holder and William Robinson, and Robert Hodson). Their success was so great that the Governor and Council soon expressed alarm and issued an order against "several vagabonds and Idle persons known by the name of Quakers" who have come into the Province persuading the people from "complying with military discipline in this time of danger," and also "from giving testimony or being jurors." As soon as any justice of the peace might hear of such Quaker preachers they should be apprehended and "whipped from Constable to Constable" until they were out of the province.²⁶

Thurston was in Virginia at the time this order was issued but soon returned to Maryland where he experienced being dragged down the steps on his back and then freed. On August 3 he was brought before the Governor and Council who ruled that (being out of Maryland at the time of the earlier order) he was not subject to it. They then

declared that if he had not vacated the colony within 10 days he would be whipped with 30 lashes and then sent from constable constable until he was out of the province. If he should ever return he would then be whipped 30 lashes at every constable and sent out of the colony again.²⁷

The Council sought to make it impossible for Thurston to stay in Maryland after August 13 - forbidding all Marylanders to receive, harbour, or conceal Thurston. A fine of 500 pounds of tobacco was to be imposed each time they might help him in any of these ways. Thurston himself then suffered whippings on his bare back on several occasions. A number of Maryland Friends (including Richard Preston) were fined for entertaining him. John Hollyday was both fined and whipped for refusing to help the sheriff arrest Thurston. A number of Friends (including Samuel Chew) had goods taken from them to cover the cost of Thurston's imprisonments.²⁸ Finally, Thurston, in poor health and after having received much cruel treatment, returned to England.

The intense persecution of 1658/1659 seems to have died down with the departure of Thurston and the other 1659 so-called "vagabond Quakers," and perhaps largely as a result of their departure. Perhaps this lessening of suffering also resulted from Gilbert Layty's [Latey] visits to Lord Baltimore on the behalf of Maryland Quakers,²⁹ and from the appearance of two 1660 publications describing the suffering of these Maryland Quakers - picturing the cruelty that Edward Lloyd and other Maryland officials had poured out upon Friends.³⁰

When Josiah Coale returned to Maryland in 1660, he discovered that, in spite of the temporary lifting of their suffering, Maryland Quakers were marked by a lack of unity. He recorded that they were "judging one and another and Clashing amongst themselves; they were even become as drye branches and there was little savour of Life amongst them, or little unity." This sad situation, as Coale understood it, centred about a "bad man that came among them out of England (who begot a false power amongst them); and soe about him they differed, some Judging him and some owned him, and soe they grew in Judging one another."³¹ Could this have been one of the "Vagabond" Quakers who criss-crossed the colony in 1659? His identity, whoever he was, remains unknown today.

Coale laboured vigorously among Maryland Friends for ten weeks before departing for Virginia and then for Barbados. He believed, at the time of his departure, that the difficulty was well over and that "Life springs over it all, and that some new convincement have taken place" - so that he was convinced that he "left them generally very

well and fresh in the Truth." Coale also reported back to George Fox that Maryland Friends believed that there was no possibility at this time of setting up their own colony beyond Lord Baltimore's government [in what was later to become Pennsylvania] - a possibility that Coale and Fox had discussed before Coale left England on this return visit to Maryland. Just where and when this idea appeared is unknown, but it did have the approval of George Fox. Lack of a suitable place north of the fort of the Susquehannocks, continuing warfare among the Indians, and the absence of William Fuller (the chief man dealing with the Indians) all ruled against going ahead with this proposal.³²

Josiah Coale was banished from Maryland in 1660 - bringing an end to his active work there - although his concern for Maryland Friends continued to the very end of his life. A proposed third visit to Maryland Friends never took place. Still a number of letters came from Coale in England to Maryland, giving Friends hope, comfort, admonishment, etc. (in a time of the renewal of persecution in 1660). Joseph Besse's *Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* lists many post-1660 cases of individual sufferings for non-swearing, refusing service in the militia, or actively proclaiming Quakerism in the colony.³³

Almost on the heels of Josiah Coale came a visit by George Rofe. In the winter of 1660-1661 he was in Maryland and Virginia, "in great service for the establishing many and bringing others into the truth." George Wilson accompanied Rofe in his Maryland labors in 1660, but he never returned to Maryland - for he was imprisoned in Virginia in 1661 and died there in 1662. George Rofe, however, made a return visit to Maryland in 1663 and was drowned there when a small boat in which he was travelling was overturned during a squall.³⁴

Another 1661 Quaker active in Maryland was Robert Stake [Stack, Stagge]. Accompanied by William Southby [Southbee], already mentioned in connection with the lost account of the "First Publishers of Truth in Maryland," Stake was imprisoned in 1661 for disturbing two church services in St. Mary's County (the only cases of this type that I have discovered in Maryland). Somehow he escaped from his imprisonment and accompanied George Rofe and Robert Hodgson on their way to New England to attend the general or yearly meeting to be held in Rhode Island (the beginning of New England Yearly Meeting).³⁵

1662 visitors included Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, and Jane Millard. All of these early 1660s visitors added their efforts to the earlier work of Josiah Coale - seeking to strengthen individual Friends and meetings. Strife and contention were now pretty well absent from the Maryland Quaker community. Meetings increased

both in number and vitality. By the early 1660s there existed a string of meetings on both sides of the Chesapeake - Anne Arundel and Calvert on the Western Shore and in Kent, Talbot, and Somerset on the Eastern Shore. Maryland Friends would have been able to report, had that query then existed, that "Truth Prospers."

1663 brought two very disruptive Quakers to Maryland - John Perrot and Thomas Thurston. Both of these were about to sow strife, division, and disruption in the Maryland Quaker community.

John Perrot, during his imprisonment by the Inquisition in Rome, had come to trust completely in his own "leadings."³⁶ The death of John Luffe, his fellow prisoner, left him with no one to help him judge or test his "leadings." As a result, he became increasingly individualistic in his outlook and practices.

After his freedom (largely brought about by Charles Bayly, formerly of Maryland, and Jane Stokes), he returned to England where he became increasingly disruptive - bringing distress to the Quaker establishment, as he questioned many Quaker practices already well established. Unless one was moved by the Spirit, it was not necessary to remove the hat during prayer. To do so without the leading of the Spirit, he said, was only an empty form. The same thing applied to the shaking of hands with which the meeting for worship ended. One of his disciples, William Salt, even declared that meeting for worship at a specific time was only a dry form.³⁷ Perrot himself did not adopt that view until coming to the American colonies (with disastrous effects on Virginia Quakerism where meetings for worship almost completely disappeared for a number of years). While still in London Perrot also established separate meetings for worship. Increasingly he came under attack by Quaker leaders in England. When he was imprisoned in England, he accepted banishment in return for his freedom.³⁸ This, too, led to criticism from those Quaker leaders who themselves had suffered long imprisonments for their Quaker faith. Quaker practice was to meet openly and at regular times, rather than to try to escape suffering as did the Baptists (who met in secret) and the Muggletonians (who camouflaged their meetings by gathering in pubs and singing bawdy hymns).

Perrot's reputation preceded him, so that when he reached Maryland (even though accompanied by William Fuller who had been in hiding from Maryland authorities for some years),³⁹ he was rejected rather solidly by most Maryland Quakers. On several occasions Perrot later referred to being "ill-treated" and "shamefully treated" in Maryland.⁴⁰ Eventually he left Maryland for Virginia, where he almost destroyed Virginia Quakerism.

Although Perrot and his views had been rejected by the majority of Maryland Quakers, his destructive leaven remained after his departure from the province. Shortly after Perrot's departure, Thomas Thurston returned to Maryland, this time as an immigrant (with a wife and two children) rather than as an apostle of Quakerism. Somewhere along the way Thurston had drunk deeply from the Perrotonian well and soon became a very disruptive influence in that same Quaker community where he had once been such a positive influence.⁴¹ Also he seems to have been guilty of some immorality with Sarah Fuller, the wife of William Fuller⁴² Thurston remained a divisive and troubling force in Maryland until his death in 1692.

Among the first visiting Quaker preachers to oppose Perrot (and Thurston) in Maryland were Mary Tompkins and Alice Ambrose, Tompkins first in 1663 and both of them in 1664 (after their barbaric treatment in Virginia).⁴³ Josiah Coale, unable to be in Maryland, sent several letters, one of which contained a cry from the heart:

And what is the cause of the Strife, and Divisions, and Contentions, that of late hath been amongst you? Hath not the Evil One stepped in, and drawn you into Reasonings and Consultations about Differences which hath been occasion'd by Dissenting-spirits, and thereby vail'd the Understandings of some of you, and so brought Night upon them; and in the Night season sown the seed of Sdition amongst

Well, My Heart is griev'd within me for your sakes; and I am oft-times afflicted in spirit because of these things which have happened amongst you: for indeed, some there be, that have made the Hearts of others sad, whom God never made sad, because of their unsoundness, and unsteadfastness in the Truth, which in much simplicity, fear, and reverence was made know unto you by us, who labour'd amongst you in Word and Doctrine.⁴⁴

John Burnyeat, the great Anglo-Irish Quaker apostle to America, in 1665 made it clear that it was Thurston who was the cause of all the trouble and division. He reported that he and other "faithful Friends" of the Province labored hard and diligently to straighten out the various problems. Also, he said, it "pleased the Lord" to assist them in their efforts to manifest "the Wickedness and Wrongness of the Heart and Spirit of the Man" so that "most of the people came to see him [for what he was] and in the love of God to be restored into the love of God again, to our great comfort, Truth's honour, and their Everlasting happiness."⁴⁵ George Fox himself wrote a 1666 letter to

Thurston in which he expressed his shock and grief that Thurston had fallen into such grave errors and practices.⁴⁶

In 1672 John Burnyeat had arranged for a gathering of Friends from all over Maryland. George Fox, William Edmondson, and a large number of other Friends, just arrived from the West Indies, were in attendance. It was here that we see the origins of Maryland Yearly Meeting (later metamorphosing into Baltimore Yearly Meeting). One of Fox' chief purposes in his American work was to organize a Quakerism which had already been in existence for some years (just as he had done earlier in Ireland in 1666).⁴⁷ Now the Maryland Quaker community, with its monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, would have a way to judge, guide, and regulate individuals' leadings and behaviour.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

* This talk was given at the annual meeting of the Friends Historical Association, at Arch Street Meetinghouse, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 12, 2005.

- 1 Elbert Russell, *History of Quakerism* (New York, 1943), p.39.
- 2 Kenneth L. Carroll, "America's First Quakers - Where, When, and By Whom?" *Quaker History*, 85 (1996), 49-57; and "America's First Recorded Quaker Communities," *Quaker History*, 94 (2005), 41-53.
- 3 There are several references to this document in both Maryland and English Quaker records. Unfortunately, I cannot put my hands on them at this time.
- 4 Kenneth L Carroll, "Robert Pleasants on Quakerism: 'Some Account of the First Settlement of Friends in Virginia,'" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 86 (1978), 3-16.
- 5 Robert Walsh and William Lloyd Fox (eds.), *Maryland. A History 1632 - 1974* (Baltimore, 1974) pp.11-12; Babette M. Levy, "Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. 70 (1960), 68-364, *passim*.
- 6 *Archive of Maryland*, 1:337; 3:312; 54:23-25.
- 7 Charles Bayly, *A True and Faithful Warning unto the People and Inhabitants of Bristol and to the Rulers, Priests, and People of England* (London, 1663), p.11. Concerning Bayly, cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, "From Bond Slave to Governor: The Strange Career of Charles Bayly." *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, 52 (1968), 19-38.
- 8 Swarthmore MSS, 3:7 (Tr. 4:197), Friends House Library, London. This letter from Robert Clarkson to Elizabeth Harris is found incorporated in a letter by Thomas Hart.
- 9 The "Seven Mountains" was an area between the headwaters of the Severn River and those of the Patuxent River.

- ¹⁰ Swarthmore MSS, 3:7 (Tr. 4:197).
- ¹¹ *Archives of Maryland*, 1:369; 3:334-340.
- ¹² Concerning the meaning of the word "Virginia" in the 1650s, see the articles listed above in Note 2.
- ¹³ Swarthmore MSS, 1:377 (Tr 1:614).
- ¹⁴ Francis Howgill, *The Deceiver of the Nations Discovered and His Cruelty Made Manifest* (London 1660), p.14.
- ¹⁵ H.R. McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, 1924), p.506.
- ¹⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:349.
- ¹⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, 41:104, 105.
- ¹⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:348.
- ¹⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:353. Cf. 41:318 concerning Thomas Chapman's departure from Maryland.
- ²⁰ See my article "Persecution and Persecutors of Maryland Quakers, 1658-1661," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, scheduled for 2006 publication.
- ²¹ Howgill, *The Deceiver of the Nations* (see Note 14 above); and *For the King and both Houses of Parliament For You (who have known Sufferings)...*(London, 1660). Howgill's book was designed to shame the persecutors.
- ²² *Archives of Maryland*, 3:435, 441, 446, 456.
- ²³ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:349-350.
- ²⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:352.
- ²⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, 41:268-269, Cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Thomas Thurston, Renegade Maryland Quaker," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 42 (1967), 170-192; Howgill, *The Deceiver of the Nations*, p.16.
- ²⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:362.
- ²⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, 3:364.
- ²⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, 41:331, 339; Howgill, *The Deceiver of the Nations*, pp. 21-24.
- ²⁹ Richard Hawkins, *A Brief Narrative of the Life and Death of that Ancient Servant of the Lord and his People, Gilbert Latay* (London, 1707), pp.34-35.
- ³⁰ See Note 21 above.
- ³¹ A. Barclay Manuscripts, No. 53. This letter was printed in the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 35 (1938), 88-90.
- ³² William Fuller, who had served as president of the Commonwealth Commission and was sometimes called "governor," not only did not subscribe the Engagement but remained a thorn in the side of Baltimore's restored government. He appears to have played a part in Fendall's abortive 1659 rebellion as well as in the attempt to free Fendall from prison. The colonial government sought to capture him and try him for treason. For a time he seems to have slipped in and out of Maryland secretly and then spent time in the West Indies (Jamaica in 1663 and Barbados in 1667) as well as visiting Virginia in 1663, and finally removing his family to South Carolina. Cf. my article listed in Note 20 above.
- ³³ Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1753), 2:380-382.
- ³⁴ Henry J. Cadbury "George Rofe, in These American Parts," *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association*, 35 (1946), 17-26.

- ³⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, 41:522. There is some indication that Stake may have been a resident of Maryland at this time (as was William Southby also). Concerning Southby, see my article "William Southby, Early Quaker Antislavery Writer," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 89 (1965), 416-427.
- ³⁶ See Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot, Early Quaker Schismatic* (London: Friends Historical Society, 1971), pp.40-44.
- ³⁷ William Salt, *Some Breathings of Life, From a Naked Heart* (n.p., 1662), p.4. Cf. George Fox, *Cambridge Journal*, 1:437 for a quote from Swarthmore MSS 4:95 (1663): "Will Salt hath publisht in print a Book against first day meetings, and that none should meet but as they are immediately moved..."
- ³⁸ Carroll, *John Perrot*, pp.64-66.
- ³⁹ Concerning Fuller, see Note 32 above.
- ⁴⁰ Carroll, *John Perrot*, p.72.
- ⁴¹ Carroll, "Thomas Thurston, Renegade Maryland Quaker," especially pp.185-192.
- ⁴² Carroll, *John Perrot*, p.98.
- ⁴³ Swarthmore MSS, 3:101 (Tr. 3:189); Nicholson Manuscript, pp. 100-104, found in Friends House Library, London.
- ⁴⁴ [Josiah Coale], *The Book and Epistles of the Faithful Servant of the Lord Josiah Coale* (n.p., 1671), pp.58-59.
- ⁴⁵ [John Burnyeat], *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Emminent and Faithful Servant of Christ John Burnyeat* (London, 1691), pp.33-34.
- ⁴⁶ Henry J. Cadbury (ed.), *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers, Compiled in 1694-1697* (Ann Arbor, 1939), p.86 (item 18, 5E).
- ⁴⁷ See my articles: "Some Thoughts on George Fox's Visit to America in 1672," *Quaker History*, 61 (1972), 82-90; and "George Fox in America" in Michael Mullett (ed.), *New Light on George Fox* (York, 1993), 59-68.