

## JOHN HODGSON SOLDIER, SURGEON, AGITATOR AND QUAKER?

In 1954 Alan Cole presented "More Light on John Hodgson" in relation to the Peace Testimony of 1659 and two Quaker tracts of that year, "A Letter from a Member of the Army, to the Committee of Safety, and Councill of Officers of the Army" and "Love, Kindness, and due Respect".<sup>1</sup> Cole's piece was, in part, a response to an earlier consideration of the two tracts and their authorship.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the 1950 piece Cole convincingly argued that the John Hodgson who signed both tracts was the same man.

"It would certainly be a rather striking coincidence if two writers of the same name had published tracts with such marked similarities of argument and style as we find in these two pamphlets...".<sup>3</sup>

The other key point in Cole's article was that John Hodgson the Quaker, the author of both tracts, was "a civilian in the summer of 1659 when he addressed his paper, 'Love, Kindness, and due Respect' to the restored Rump... and that he subsequently enlisted or re-enlisted in the Army".<sup>4</sup> Although Cole was unable to detail who Hodgson the Quaker might have been the 1950 piece very briefly dismissed a Captain John Hodgson as a possible author of the two tracts.<sup>5</sup> However a more detailed consideration of this Captain John Hodgson does suggest that he may be the author of these tracts. There are some interesting parallels between what is known of John Hodgson the Quaker author and this Captain John Hodgson, soldier.<sup>6</sup>

Captain John Hodgson entered a company of foot in Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiment in his native Yorkshire in late 1642. Involved in the numerous skirmishes of the northern forces Hodgson also participated in the larger clashes at Leeds, Wakefield, Seacroft Moor and Atherton Moor. When the Marquis of Newcastle captured Bradford Hodgson was, for a short time, a prisoner. Upon release Hodgson mustered afresh at Thornton Hall, the home of Sir William Lister, father-in-law of John Lambert the future Major-General.<sup>7</sup> Hodgson participated in sieges of Pontefract in 1645 and 1648 before

taking part in the battle of Preston and the pursuit of the Scots. In 1650 he was under Lambert's command in the Scottish campaign. His autobiography is one of the main sources for the decisive battle of Dunbar. Hodgson relates how important Lambert was to that victory.

about nine o'clock at night we had a council of war called; and, debating the case what to do, many of the colonels were for shipping the foot, and the horse to force their passage; but honest Lambert was against them in all that matter, he being active the day before in observing the disadvantage the Scots might meet with the posture they were drawn up in, and gave us reasons, and great encouragements to fight...These, with other reasons, altered the council; and one steps up, and desires that Colonel Lambert might have the conduct of the army that morning, which was granted by the General freely.<sup>8</sup>

Following Dunbar Hodgson was commissioned captain in Cromwell's foot regiment and fought in the Worcester campaign.

However, Hodgson's actions appear to have gone beyond military affairs.<sup>9</sup> When the army and parliament clashed in the summer of 1647 Hodgson was prominent in the Northern Army's alignment with the New Model. Poynts, the Presbyterian commander of the Northern Association, commented that

I being informed that Major Lilburne with one or two more of such incendiaries as hee is have had meetings within the West [riding] and with one Hodgson formerly a Mountebank's man and now a Chyrurgeon under the command of Collonel Copley, who observing these parts to continue still in their obedience to the Parliament endeavoured to putt this Army into confusion and distraction...<sup>10</sup>

With Major Henry Lilburne, Hodgson led troops through Leeds to a rendezvous on the moors. There some papers were read concerning the New Model's desire to co-operate with their northern comrades. At a wider meeting the next day they chose Agitators and demanded a general rendezvous. Poynts was arrested and escorted to Fairfax at Reading.<sup>11</sup> Hodgson appears as one of the two Agitators for Copley's regiment.<sup>12</sup> There is also a record of him having received payment for carrying the "Declaracon of the Northerne forces" to the south.<sup>13</sup>

Hodgson's actions at this time seem to have caused him some

discomfort later when he became worried about his place in the army because of his radicalism. Despite this his letters continue to frequently ask for news of John Lilburne in a sympathetic vein.<sup>14</sup> In September 1649 Hodgson outlined how it was "a Cashering mater to be knowne to be a levellr".<sup>15</sup> Other officers were clearly unsure of Hodgson and appear to have expected him to be cashiered. It appears to have been Lambert who resolved Hodgson's fears and stopped him being removed from the army.

nay ye Genrall himselfe att ye same tyme & (Councell) being some so Inpudent as to play upon me & knowing ansr: againe if I subscribe not if it where ye Genrall pleasure to lay-aside I should be willing rather than offend my Conscience in that kind he asked me if I could figure it, very princyblly drawing me aside whereunto I gave him this Answ: I could not, nor did not: he tould me againe if I could not it would hindr yt good he Intended towards me (meaning prferment) I tould him for yt I cared not, for if his honr thought fit to lay me aside in my Imployment to him already I should submit, our discourse was such att that tyme & in so familiar a manor yt indeed all ye rest of his Creature Officers Concluded if he & I was very great one with ye other & so... after I had a very quiet life & it was nver men-d to me againe by any...<sup>16</sup>

At the end of July Lambert's relationship with the "agitators" in the northern forces was commented on.

... the present afairs in these parts in reference to the agitators proceedings in the last day of Rendezvous: the work of wch day was, to cri up Colo: Lambertt as comander in cheef of the northerne forces, a man I hope very fittly desinged to that comand, yet not so unaminously voated for, by the solgery, as som others might have bin, if they could have had a free election, but for the present fraternity of agitators carie itt, & may they long so doe,...<sup>17</sup>

Hodgson clearly recognised his dependence on Lambert's goodwill.

I was so Active yt indeed every one yt knew my Actin doth strang yt I contniue in ye Army still (I speake to a freind I pray be silent & Indeed thine was so much informed against me yt if I had not been much in ye Mayor Genrall booke I had beene layd aside...<sup>18</sup>

It was this realisation, and his former actions, that convinced Hodgson that he should go to Ireland with Lambert when the Major-General was appointed Lord Deputy. Hodgson asked his father to

let me know the Major Genrall freedome for if it be the will of god I had rather be with him tho in Irland, then stay in England with my man I yet know, my Affections is tyed too him yw know, & this I am sure if I stay heare & he goe, I shall know more enimmies than ffreinds in England, tho: I have Caried as discretly as I could towards all men, yet my former actions will not be forgot...<sup>19</sup>

After Lambert's establishment of the Protectorate Hodgson sought to retire.

And these things being over, and the Protector being settled in the government he had taken upon him, I grew weary of my employment, having a desire to leave the army, and to sit down with my dear wife and children.<sup>20</sup>

Hodgson wrote to his friend Captain Adam Baynes

I desire I might have that advantage by my 11 year service, as to live quietly in the practice of my calling, without being disturbed or indicted at sessions for following that I have always been brought up with. If I cannot, I may say, my time have been ill spent and serve...<sup>21</sup>

The calling Hodgson referred to in his letter was that of surgeon. Indeed he was appointed as the surgeon to the Commissioners for Scotland, the leading one being Lambert.<sup>22</sup> In July 1647 when he brought the Declaration of the Northern Forces south he was referred to as a surgeon.<sup>23</sup> In many letters he is referred to as "Doctor Hodgson" and he writes of practical problems in fulfilling his medical role.<sup>24</sup> Hodgson was acting as an army surgeon despite his lack of official medical qualification. Indeed this led to him being indicted for practising medicine without a medical degree despite his eleven years as an army doctor.<sup>25</sup>

Hodgson did stay in the army. Lambert secured for him, and the Quaker Captain John Leavens, passage to England before their regiment was officially returned to be quartered in his native Yorkshire.<sup>26</sup> Here, on 11 April 1657, Hodgson obtained a fifteen year

lease of Coley Hall, near Halifax.<sup>27</sup> This purchase was the culmination of a long effort by Hodgson to establish a home for himself and his family. Following the Second Civil War he had tried to secure the Keeper's Lodge at Pontefract Park from Lambert.<sup>28</sup> In the early 1650s he appears to have sold his farm to a close friend and fellow soldier Captain John Leavens.<sup>29</sup>

On Saturday 28 May 1659 when the list of Lambert's regiment of Horse was agreed in the Commons John Hodgson "surgeon" was "excepted" to and appears to have lost his place for there is no mention of him being readmitted when Captain John Hatfield, the other officer "excepted" to, was given his commission later on Saturday 11 June 1659.<sup>30</sup> It would appear that this Hodgson was a civilian when 'Love, Kindness, and due Respect' appeared on 23 June 1659. From this it is also very likely that this Hodgson was in London to be ready to receive his commission in late May/early June when, as Cole states with regard to the Quaker author.

"Hodgson was in London again in June, 1659, since he was mentioned by Alexander Parker as one of a number of Friends 'out of the Countries' who were there to present the petition against tithes".<sup>31</sup>

Hodgson, the soldier, was in London in August. In his memoirs he stated that he received his commission from the Speaker on 3 August 1659, perhaps in response to the threat of Booth's Rising that Lambert was in the process of crushing.<sup>32</sup> At Lambert's coup in October 1659 Hodgson was assigned to Col. Saunders' regiment in Scotland but he refused to repudiate the Major-General and thus lost his place after Lambert's defeat.<sup>33</sup> Thus Hodgson was in the army when 'A Letter from a Member of the Army' appeared on 8 November 1659.

Apart from the correlation of dates, in terms of membership of the army and the tracts, other evidence hints that Captain John Hodgson was probably a Quaker. This would obviously make it more likely that he was the author of the pamphlets. His radical religious views, alongside his radical politics, might also account for, in part, why he was refused his commission by the Parliament of 1659. Following the Restoration a close friend of Captain Hodgson's noted that his family were "persons of another strain".<sup>34</sup> The Restoration authorities regarded Hodgson as a "great Phanatique" and he was arrested many times.<sup>35</sup> But, was Captain John Hodgson a Quaker?<sup>36</sup>

We owe to Alan Cole and Barry Reay the clearer picture of the role Quakers played in the army and state. There should be now no surprise that a Quaker should be within the army and support its

cause. Indeed one of the leading Quakers of the 1650s, if not the leading Quaker, James Nayler, was quarter-master to Lambert and fought alongside Hodgson. When he came to be persecuted by the Parliament it was Lambert who defended his Quaker officer.

It is a matter of sadness to many men's hearts, and sadness also to mine, especially in regard to his relation sometime to me. He was two years my quarter-master, and a very useful person. We parted with him with great regret. He was a man of a very unblameable life and conversation, a member of a very sweet society of an independent church.<sup>37</sup>

Lambert's aid to Nayler also involved speaking with petitioners in his favour and proposing that the second half of Nayler's punishment should be postponed so that he could be treated by physicians. It is also possible that he had tried to see Nayler in prison.<sup>38</sup> Clearly Lambert was not an officer who would have refused to have Hodgson as one of his captains, or surgeon, just because of his radical religious views. Indeed he positively protected Hodgson. The Quaker Thomas Aldham wrote to Lambert stating that "I am moved to write unto thee haveinge heard much of thee to bee one which doth owne the truthe as it is in Christ Jesus".<sup>39</sup> Given Hodgson's and Nayler's roles in the army they were probably aware of each other. Nayler's northern roots and the impact of Quakerism in that area and in the army generally could also be seen as another factor in suggesting that Hodgson came closely into contact with such ideas. His friendship with numerous Quaker officers in Lambert's service and his own words make it clear that Hodgson was well aware of Quakerism.<sup>40</sup>

Hodgson was closely linked with others in Lambert's forces who were seen as Quakers and although by itself this does not mean he shared their beliefs it does show he had sympathy for them. A close associate and correspondent was Captain Adam Baynes who was noted as friendly to Quakers and was regarded himself as a religious radical.<sup>41</sup> Hodgson was on close terms with the Quaker Captain John Leavens who was Baynes' cousin and tenant on his Northamptonshire estate of Knowstrop, as well as being one of his political agents.<sup>42</sup> Hodgson was also in contact with the Quaker Captain Amor Stoddard who also served in Lambert's forces.<sup>43</sup> Cole stated with regard to John Hodgson the Quaker author that a

"Thomas Aldham sent his greetings to a John Hodgeson in a

letter written from York Castle to Captain Amor Stoddart in London as far back as June 21, 1653."<sup>44</sup>

In 1654 Captain John Hodgson reminded Baynes to pass on his service to Captain Amor Stoddard.<sup>45</sup> It is thus very likely that Captain John Hodgson was the same John Hodgson the Yorkshire Quaker Aldham sent his greetings to through Captain Amor Stoddard. This link is reinforced by the fact that Stoddard served alongside Hodgson in Lambert's forces and that in the same letter Aldham relates to Stoddard how one Captain Siddall had his horse stricken from underneath him when going to attend a Quaker meeting.<sup>46</sup>

Hodgson had a close relationship with the Quaker Captain William Siddall, who also served in Lambert's forces.<sup>47</sup> Their letters make clear the bond between them and their families.<sup>48</sup> In 1654 Siddall was informed against as a Quaker and was in danger of being thrown out of the army. Hodgson wrote to Adam Baynes, who was on the Committee of the Army in London, hoping that he would help their mutual friend. Hodgson resolutely defended Siddall and his words suggest, at the very least, an acceptance of Siddall's Quakerism.

... we all know my bror was an honest man when some of them was Comissr of Aray for ye king against us & I hope ye will be so worthy as to examine whether they have anything of fact, or yt it is because he is only a Quaker & if he be dismised for his honesty & faithfullnese noe mattr more will follow... surely ye will not begin to dismisse men without tryall & only for honesty in Religion then were it bettr will some say to be a knave than an honest man, but I would hope better things of ye...<sup>49</sup>

Hodgson was also prepared to appeal to Lambert on behalf of Siddall, clearly believing that the Major-General would support the Quaker captain.

... I have inclosed a lettr for ye MGenrall I desire it may be delivered with care, its concerning Capt Siddall I doe believe he has lost by our party... now to be maide a sufering & a reproach to his enimies for his good service & faithfulness is hard measure. rememeber me to thy dear wife & all freinds ye need not be ashamed to stand up for an honest man for theres Credit in it, but for a knave theres none...<sup>50</sup>

Siddall kept his place.<sup>51</sup> At the same time, however, Siddall's wife was suffering because of her own radical religious views. It appears that she had been "wrought on" in 1652 and clearly was committed in her beliefs to the extent of suffering imprisonment.<sup>52</sup> Siddall commented that

what libertye is if wee have fought and contested soe longe for,  
when Murthers and theifes shall be tried shortly And the  
Innocent and harmlesse shall lye in prison halfe a yeere or 3  
Quarters ffor declaringe against sinne & wickednesse And herein  
ffreinds I have dealt faithfully with you what pceedings have  
beene concerneing my poore wife...<sup>53</sup>

Siddall's wife was eventually released.

for my wife they have sent me her home, for they were ashamed  
to try her, the lord off Hosts be in your Counsells and let you see  
what is ye best to be done that the people of god my be  
incouraged And wickednesse & all sinne vannished that  
righeousnesse may rain down Englande streets & Justice and  
true judgement executed...<sup>54</sup>

However she was again in prison in June 1655.<sup>55</sup> It is probable that this was the same Barbara Siddall who disturbed the preacher at Tadcaster during his sermon stating that the Bible was "not the word of God but onely a dead letter".<sup>56</sup> William Siddall was also to suffer imprisonment for his beliefs. In the list of those imprisoned in 1660 from the West Riding of Yorkshire for not taking the oath is a William Siddall. Also on this list were a John Hodgson and a John Leavens.<sup>57</sup> It is probable that these were the two army captains. Hodgson and Leavens were also subject to further persecution and imprisonment on both religious and civil grounds.<sup>58</sup> Much of what appears in William Siddall's letters hint at his radical religious views.<sup>59</sup>

Hodgson was clearly comfortable with the Quaker Siddall. Hodgson's letters, like Siddall's, express some of his religious and political views. He counselled his friend Baynes.

learne from ye frutes wt have followed, this many yeares as long  
as mens harts are in ye Earth & diggs deep to hid there Councell  
from ye lord, they shall not psper ye lord will overturne  
overturne till ye appoynted tyme for wch I waite, the god of  
peace direct yw & cause yw to looke in & trie ye selfe where ye  
hart is...<sup>60</sup>

Hodgson was worried about Baynes' financial and political activities leading him astray.

beware my friend let not honr nor riches nor selfe ends hindr but harken to ye light in thy bosom, & to be guided by it yt the might come to lay downe all Crownes at ye feet of ye lambe who is worthy & this is moved in love to thy soule...<sup>61</sup>

It is also clear that, like Siddall, Hodgson suffered persecution because of his views. Writing in October 1653 he acquainted Baynes of his suffering at the hands of one of the Justices of Leeds, John Clayton. While he was demanding ten pounds he was owed by a Justice Ward the other justices came out of their session and Hodgson was spotted by Clayton who claimed he had a warrant for his arrest. When Clayton ordered the bailiffs to perform the arrest Hodgson resisted, fighting them off with his sword. In the process of the struggle Hodgson's "man" was beaten to the ground and seriously hurt.<sup>62</sup> Hodgson's pregnant wife who was with him became very agitated. Eventually however Hodgson got to his home. His wife went to Clayton and demanded what reason he had to try to murder her husband. Hodgson claimed that in response Clayton ordered for her to be thrown "out of dores" and told her that she deserved "to be clapt by ye heales". Clayton then ordered the undersheriff to take men to Hodgson's house to arrest him. Hodgson continued to resist and in his letter wanted Baynes to get Lambert to defend him because Clayton was trying to prosecute him and have Cromwell persuaded to cashier him. A key issue for Hodgson was that as a member of the army he believed that he could refuse to answer at Common Law and was subject only to the army courts. In relation to this legal query Hodgson consulted with the radical Thomas Margetts.<sup>63</sup> Hodgson was so resistant because he had suffered before.

I should not have kept my body out of there hands but yt I sufferd by it last tyme deeply, & being free from arrests I thought I might defend my pson hurting none, having nothing but malice against me yt it may be tried by impartiall men...<sup>64</sup>

Apart from his letters there is also another hint of Captain Hodgson's Quaker leanings. On 12 February 1654 Colonel Francis Hacker informed Cromwell that

there is a chirurgeon in my lord Lambert's regiment, who writ to

one Smith, who lives in Newarke, who had beeene his mate, that the under officers of the army had a designe in hand; and if it took place, wee should see glorious tymes. And this man is a great favourer of the quakers, if not one. The truth of this will bee testified by honest men, who have seene this letter...<sup>65</sup>

Is then the Captain John Hodgson who acted as a surgeon the Doctor Hodgson who in 1652 Farnsworth reported in familiar terms to Fox and Nayler as having been "shaken a little" at Wakefield? During the same meeting Captain Siddall's wife had "cried out this is the power of the lord". Farnsworth informed Fox and Nayler that Hodgson was "very loveing to us" and that he addressed a crowd in his house.<sup>66</sup> Is it the Yorkshire Doctor Hodgson referred to in 1663 by Fox himself?<sup>67</sup>

There is, however, another letter in the British Library which, although it has been missed by the cataloguers, can easily be ascribed to Hodgson. It is in the same hand as the other letters, it has the same seal as the other letters and, if examined closely, has his name attached. In this letter Hodgson's political and religious concerns are prominent.

I pceve yw are resoned to stopp ye mourths of ye saints of ye most highe god, for preaching or printing any thing yt contrary to ye publique Religion held forth & by so doeing will strengthen ye hands of evile doers & open ye mouths of ye wicked against them yt ffeare ye Ld... ye lord is risen to Confound all his enimies, not to set them up but to pull them downe yt he alone may raigne prince of peace....<sup>68</sup>

In many ways the warnings Hodgson gave Baynes mirror the wider warnings by Hodgson the Quaker in his pamphlets of 1659. In *Love, Kindness and due Respect* Hodgson wrote of men departing from the Lord and losing their way and as a result God would be "overturning, overturning the Powers of Darkness, that Truth and Righteousness in the Earth might be established...".<sup>69</sup> In *A Letter From A Member of the Army* Hodgson warns them to "examine their hearts" and that they would be "overturned" for serving themselves rather than the Lord.<sup>70</sup> A John Hodgson, along with Amor Stoddard and George Watkinson, also signed *A Declaration of the people of God in scorn called Quakers, to all magistrates and People* in 1659 protesting against the expulsion of Friends from civil and military positions.<sup>71</sup>

Is it probable then that the Captain John Hodgson who was linked

with Quaker soldiers such as Amor Stoddard, William Siddall and John Leavens was John Hodgson the Quaker author? If this is the case then it is of wider interest with regard to how Quakers believed the regime was moving away from what they fought for; their position within the army and how Quakers were judged by other members of the army and civilians; the impact of Quakerism on the army; and the position of one of the leading figures of this period. Major-General John Lambert, politically and religiously.<sup>72</sup> If nothing else there are now hopefully more possible leads to get further, in Cole's words, towards clearing up "the case of John Hodgson".

Regarded as a "great Phanatique" by the Restoration authorities Hodgson was subjected to persistent harassment and arrested many times. Having left Coley Hall for Cromwell Bottom Hodgson finally settled in Ripon where, in January 1684, he died impoverished.

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## NOTES AND REFERENCES

I am grateful to Professors John Morrill and Ian Gentles for reading and commenting upon an earlier draft of this article.

- <sup>1</sup> A. Cole, 'The Peace Testimony in 1659. More Light on John Hodgson', *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, (Hereafter JFHS), 46, no.2, (Autumn 1954), pp.48-52; British Library (hereafter B.L.), E988(12) *Love, Kindness and due Respect, By way of Warning to the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England*, (London, 1659); Wing H2335A *A Letter From A Member of the Army to the Committee of Safety and Councell of the Officers of the Army*, (London, 1659).
- <sup>2</sup> JFHS, 42, (1950), pp.80-82.
- <sup>3</sup> Cole, 'John Hodgson', p.49.
- <sup>4</sup> Cole, 'John Hodgson', p.48.
- <sup>5</sup> JFHS, 42, (1950), p.82.
- <sup>6</sup> J. Horsfall Turner (ed.), *Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson of Coalley-Hall, near Halifax; Touching his conduct in the Civil Wars, and his troubles after the Restoration*, (Brighouse, 1882).
- <sup>7</sup> D. Farr, 'The Military and Political Career of John Lambert, 1619-57', Cambridge PhD, 1996. For the most recent and detailed account of the civil war and the parliamentarian forces in the north see, J. Jones, 'The War in the North: The Northern Parliamentary Army in the English Civil-War, 1642-1645', PhD thesis, York University, Toronto PhD, 1991.
- <sup>8</sup> Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p.44.
- <sup>9</sup> Hodgson's *Memoirs* are limited, as he himself states, to military affairs and his troubles after the Restoration. Other sources are available for his career however. In particular a series of letters in the British Library suggests at much of what Hodgson had undergone and who his associates were.
- <sup>10</sup> C.H. Firth (ed.), *Clarke Papers*, 2 vols. (London, 1992), I, pp.142-3; B.L., Add MSS 31116f.314. One definition of "Mountebank" is an itinerant quack appealing to an audience from a platform.

- <sup>11</sup> B.L. E399(4), *A Continuation of Certain Special and Remarkable Passages*, (July, 1647), no pagination; B.L., E399(12), *The Perfect Weekly Account*, no.25, (14-21 July 1647), no pagination; B.L., E399(13), *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, no.218, (13-20 July 1647), p.600; B.L., E404(28), *The Moderate Intelligencer*, no.2, (19-26 August 1647), p.16; Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS 58 fols. 188, 267, 275, 277, 278, 363; Worcester College, Clarke MSS 41 fols. 72v, 169, 180-2; H. Cary, (ed.), *Memorials of the Great Civil War in England From 1646 to 1652* (London, 1842), I, pp.233-5, 264, 282-4, 293; R. Bell, (ed.), *Memorials of the Civil War: Comprising the Correspondence of the Fairfax Family*, 2 vols., (London, 1849), I, pp.360-1, 363-4; P. Gregg, *Freeborn John. A Biography of John Lilburne*, (London, 1961), p.175; J. Morrill, *Mutiny and Discontent in English Provincial Armies 1645-1647, Past and Present*, no. 56, pp.49-74, (1972), p.70.
- <sup>12</sup> *Clark Papers* I, p.169; B.L. E399(32), *A Further Proposal from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax*, (24 July 1647). This lists 14 agitators for seven of the northern regiments. There is an earlier list of agitators for the Northern Association in B.L. E398(5), *A Declaration and Representation from the forces of the Northern Association to Fairfax*, (13 July 1647), which lists 16 agitators for 8 regiments, Five agitators from the first list can definitely be identified on the second with two others probably being the same men as appear on the first list of agitators. For the problems in identifying agitators see A. Woolrych, *Soldiers and Statesmen*, (Oxford, 1987), p.58n8.
- <sup>13</sup> E. Kitson and E. Kitson Clark, (ed.), 'Some Civil War Accounts 1647-50', Thoresby Society, XI, (1902), p.157.
- <sup>14</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21418f.112; 21426f.153.
- <sup>15</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21418f.8.
- <sup>16</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21418f.8.
- <sup>17</sup> B.L. Add MSS 18979f.252.
- <sup>18</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21418f.8. This does not, however, mean that Hodgson was, in the strictest sense of the term, a Leveller himself. The initial agitators were quite distinct from Leveller organisation and although Hodgson felt sympathy with many of the ideas the Levellers expressed his concerns over his position more probably reflected his role as an agitator in 1647 at a time when the army in 1649 had destroyed the Leveller threat and was reasserting control over the rank and file. Given Hodgson's relationship with Lambert, Lambert's take over of the northern forces and his subsequent protection of Hodgson the case of Hodgson does also raise the complex question of the exact relationship between various agitators at different times with their superior officers. In some senses "agitator" was more similar to the meaning of "adjutant", someone who would be working with an officer. For an examination of the agitators see, A. Woolrych, *Soldiers and Statesmen*, (Oxford, 1987); I. Gentles, *The New Model Army*, (Oxford, 1992), pp.159-163.
- <sup>19</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21421f.92.
- <sup>20</sup> Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p.48.
- <sup>21</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21422f.374.
- <sup>22</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21420 f.283 November 1651.
- <sup>23</sup> E. Kitson and E. Kitson Clark, (ed.), 'Some Civil War Accounts 1647-50', Thoresby Society, XI, (1902), p.157.
- <sup>24</sup> Y.K. Akerman, (ed.) *Letters from Roundhead Officers, Written from Scotland and Chiefly Addressed to Captain Adam Baynes July MDCI-June MDCLX*, (Bannatyne

- Club 108, 1823), letters 85, 143, 199, pp.47, 78, 108; B.L., Add MSS 21418f.376; B.L., Add MSS 21419 fols. 19, 42, 81, 120, 129, 21421 f. 176; 21422f.374; 21423f.58; 21426f.150, 151; *Cal. S. P. Domestic*, 1656, p.122.
- <sup>25</sup> C.H. Firth, *A Regimental History*, I, p.257. Lambert did try to help Hodgson with his practical difficulties, see B.L., Add MSS 21426f.187. At the time, however, outside London it has been estimated that only a small minority of practitioners would have possessed medical qualifications. Even Dr. William How, author of *Phytologia Britannica* (1650), who was in contact with Lambert concerning Botany, had practised medicine in London without academic medical qualification. See, C. Webster, *The Great Instauration. Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-60*, (London, 1975), p.250; B.L., Add MSS 29569f.212.
- <sup>26</sup> Akerman, *Letters*, pp.95, 100, 107-8.
- <sup>27</sup> Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p.8.
- <sup>28</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21418fols.112, 130.
- <sup>29</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21421 fols. 1, 16.
- <sup>30</sup> *Commons Journal*, VII, pp.668, 680. For Hatfield's connection to Lambert see, D. Farr, 'The Military and Political Career of John Lambert 1619-57', Cambridge PhD, 1996; P.R.O., C5/610/263.
- <sup>31</sup> Cole, 'John Hodgson', p.49. See F.H.L., Swarthmore MSS I f.84.
- <sup>32</sup> Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p.50.
- <sup>33</sup> Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p.49. Hodgson went with Captain Roger Coates to raise money for Lambert. For Coates' close ties to Lambert see, P.R.O., C10/41/61.
- <sup>34</sup> J. Horsfall Turner, (ed.), *The Rev. Oliver Heywood 1630-1702; His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, 4 vols., (Bingley, 1885), III, p.104-5.
- <sup>35</sup> Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.), S.P. 29/8/180; Assi. 45 6/1 no. 75; R.L. Greaves, *Deliver Us From Evil, The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663*, (Oxford, 1986).
- <sup>36</sup> Professor Hirst was in no doubt that Hodgson was a Quaker. D. Hirst, 'The Fracturing of the Cromwellian Alliance: Leeds and Adam Baynes', *English Historical Review*, CVIII, October, 1993, p.877.
- <sup>37</sup> J.T. Rutt, (ed.), *Thomas Burton's Diary*, 4 vols., (London, 1828), I, p.33.
- <sup>38</sup> *Burton's Diary*, I, pp.281-2.
- <sup>39</sup> Friends House Library, London, (hereafter F.H.L.), A.R. Barclay MSS 125. Printed in *JFHS*, 48, (1956-8), p.135-6.
- <sup>40</sup> Quaker officers who were in Lambert's forces included Amor Stoddard, William Siddall, John Leavens, George Watkinson, William Bradford and Mark Grime. Some of these served in the regiment of Robert Lilburne which was believed to be rife with Quakerism as well as being one of the most radical in the New Model. Lilburne was closely aligned politically with Lambert. It has been suggested that Lilburne, like his brother the Leveller John Lilburne, died a Quaker in prison on St Nicholas Island in 1665. See A.D. Selleck, 'Plymouth Friends. A Quaker History', *Devonshire Association*, 98, (1966), p.298. This was the same prison where Lambert himself died in 1684, see, D. Farr, "New Information with Regard to the Imprisonment of Major General John Lambert, 1662-1684", *Cromwelliana*, (1998), pp.44-57. During his imprisonment on St Nicholas Island the Quaker Miles Halhead visited Lambert and recorded their conversation, see, Myles Halhead, *A Book of Some of the Sufferings*, (London, 1690).
- <sup>41</sup> N. Penney, (ed.), *Extracts from State Papers*, (London, 1915), p.7; Hirst, 'Adam Baynes'; G.E. Aylmer, *The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic 1649-1660*, (London, 1973), pp.233-4.

- <sup>42</sup> Hirst, "Adam Baynes", p.877; B.L., Add MSS 21417 fols. 34, 135, 234, 263, 295, 336, 21418 fols. 12, 159, 179, 245, 363, 376, 21419 fols. 61, 164, 253, 21420 fols. 19, 75, 236, 297, 21421 fols. 1, 16, 59, 173, 202, 21422 fols. 162, 191, 193, 204, 262, 267, 337, 399, 21423 fols. 25, 134, 21424 fols. 61, 240, 252, 285, 293, 296, 300, 21425f.2, 21426 fols. 198-204.
- <sup>43</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21422f.374; P.R.O., E121/4/1 no. 30; B.L., E522(10), *Perfect Occurrences*, (24-31 March 1648).
- <sup>44</sup> Cole, 'John Hodgson', p.48-9; 'Extracts from the A.R. Barclay MSS', JFHS, 28, (1931), p.53; E and T.J. Backhouse and T. Mounsey, (eds.), *Biographical Memoirs: Being A Record of the Christian Lives, Experiences, and Deaths, of Members of the Religious Society of Friends, From its Rise, to 1653*, (London, 1854), pp.46-9.
- <sup>45</sup> B.L., Add MSS, 21422 f.374; Ackerman, *Letters*, p.88-9, letter no.160.
- <sup>46</sup> 'Extracts from the A.R. Barclay MSS', JFHS, 28, (1931), p.53.
- <sup>47</sup> P.R.O., E121/4/1 no. 30; B.L., E258(34), *Perfect Passages*, 5-11 March, 1645, p.158.
- <sup>48</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21418 fols. 80, 101, 111, 209, 247, 309, 330, 390; 21419f.17, 137, 322; 21420f.80; 21421f.40, 52, 69, 93.
- <sup>49</sup> B.L. Add MSS 21423f.58.
- <sup>50</sup> B.L. Add MSS 21423f.58. For a more developed example of soldiers of the shared religious views supporting each other see the cooperation between Baptist officers at Theobalds Park, 'Theobalds and Colonel Packer', *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, 4, (1914-5), pp.58-63; I, Gentles, 'The Management of the Crown Lands, 1649-60', *The Agricultural History Review*, 19, 1971, pp.25-41. This experiment appears however to have eventually led to some division amongst the Baptist officers, see, P.R.O., C5/27/33; C5/30/31; C5/30/34.
- <sup>51</sup> Siddall supported his fellow Quaker captain Leavens over trouble concerning the nature of his second marriage. Siddall wrote to the Particular Baptist Major William Packer, one of those on Hale's Law Commission to push for legal changes with regard to acceptance of various marriage ceremonies. B.L., Add. MSS 21421 fols. 52, 69. Siddall commented that Leavens was "hindered from his right by his first wife because he was married in the Churche And not by a preist off England... diverse honest people ye have beene married in a churche waye, are deprived of their rights by a sort off Cheatinge knaves: for wante off the law Confirminge those marriages to be off as good law & fforme as others..."
- <sup>52</sup> F.H.L. Swarthmore Ms IV f.229. It is apparent that numerous wives of soldiers became convinced Quakers, sometimes before their husbands did. See F.H.L. Swarthmore Ms III f.140.
- <sup>53</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21423f.4.
- <sup>54</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21423f.11.
- <sup>55</sup> F.H.L., Swarthmore Ms IV f.88.
- <sup>56</sup> P.R.O., Assi 44/6; Reay, *Radical Religion*, p.146. Captain William Siddall was of Tadcaster and his wife was called Barbara but it is not completely clear whether the Barbara Siddall referred to in this case is William Siddall's wife of the same name. See P.R.O., RG6/1301; F.H.L., Temp Ms 98/1 f.17. It is however clear that the Siddall mentioned as a Quaker in Swarthmore Ms IV f.229 and seen by Nuttall as Captain Thomas Siddall is Captain William Siddall. Captain Thomas Siddall was William's brother but there is no hint that he was a Quaker

in comparison to the clear references of William's beliefs. G.F. Nuttall, *Early Quaker Letters from the Swarthmore MSS to 1660*. (Friends House, London, 1952). It is possible that Captain George Watkinson also spoke against the preacher in the Steeple-house in Leeds in 1658. See, J.E. Mortimer, 'Thoresby's "poor deluded Quakers": The Sufferings of Leeds Friends in the Seventeenth Century', *Thoresby Society*, 2nd Series, I, (1990), pp.35-57, p.39.

- <sup>57</sup> J. Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, 2 vols., (London, 1753), II, pp.101-2. See also pp.98, 106, 109-10.
- <sup>58</sup> F.H.L. Swarthmore Ms IV f.153, 233; P.R.O., Assi 45/6/1 no. 75; C5/500/47; Cal. S.P. 1658-9, pp.149, 168; Penney, (ed.), *Extracts from State Papers*, pp. 232-3; 'Depositions from the Castle of York relating to offences committed in the northern counties in the seventeenth century', *Surtees Society*, 40, 1861, p.86-7.
- <sup>59</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21421 fols. 40, 52, 69, 93; 21422f.531; 21423 fols. 4, 11, 20, 55, 66, 104, 119.
- <sup>60</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21422f.165.
- <sup>61</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21422f.517.
- <sup>62</sup> It is probable that Hodgson's man was one Taylor. See, Turner, (ed.), *Heywood*, I, p.356; G.D. Lumb, 'Justice's Note-book of Captain John Pickering, 1656-60', *Thoresby Society*, XI, (1904), pp.69-100, p.95.
- <sup>63</sup> From c.1638 to 1645 Margetts was clerk to the Irish Committee in London. In 1647 Thomas Margetts was a clerk of the Judge-Advocate of the New Model Army, Dr. John Mills. He became Advocate to the North and soon after Deputy-Advocate to the Army in England. Later he was Judge-Advocate for Scotland. It is possible he was the Thomas Margetts MP for Bedford in 1656 and 1659. Margetts, like Hodgson, had a high opinion of Lambert, see *H.M.C. Tenth Report, Appendix Part VI, Lord Braye's MSS*, (London, 1885), p.170. Margetts also hints at Lambert's links with the agitators, see, B.L., Add MSS 21418f.390.
- <sup>64</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21422f.190.
- <sup>65</sup> T. Birch, (ed.), *Thurloe State Papers*, 7 vols., (London, 1742), III, p.148.
- <sup>66</sup> F.H.L., Swarthmore Ms IV f.229.
- <sup>67</sup> N. Penney, (ed.), *The Journal of George Fox*, 2 vols, (Cambridge, 1911), II, p.40.
- <sup>68</sup> B.L., Add MSS 21427f.315.
- <sup>69</sup> John Hodgson, *Love, Kindness, and due Respect*, (London, 1659).
- <sup>70</sup> John Hodgson, *A Letter From A Member of the Army*, (London, 1659).
- <sup>71</sup> *A Declaration of the People of God In Scorn Called Quakers, to all magistrates and People*, (1659), Wing C7201. Another signatory to this was Anthony Pearson who had served in the Parliamentary army. A John Hodgson had also signed a declaration of the northern Quakers in 1658, see, F.H.L., Ms Portfolio 16.1.
- <sup>72</sup> For disillusion with Lambert and his party in the army see F.H.L., Ms Portfolio 1.54.