

JOHN ARCHDALE'S QUAKERISM

It is quite surprising that so little research has been done on the life and work of John Archdale. Other than Henry Hood's somewhat flawed monograph on the public career of Archdale,¹ practically nothing has appeared in print since the rather brief account in the 1901 *Supplement to the Dictionary of National Biography*.² The present article, however, deals primarily with an aspect of Archdale's life which neither of the above really treated - John Archdale's relationship to the Society of Friends.

John Archdale was probably born in Buckinghamshire where he was baptised in 1642, when he was perhaps already several years old.³ He was the son of Thomas Archdale and the grandson of Richard Archdale (who has acquired the manors of Loakes and Temple Wycombe in Buckinghamshire).⁴ John Archdale married Elizabeth Booth of Nottinghamshire in 1659 and had several children by her: Mary (c. 1660-1739), Thomas (1661-), and Ann.⁵ While his children were yet young, Archdale travelled to America with his brother-in-law Ferdinando Gorges⁶ who claimed the proprietorship of Maine. John, who acted as agent for Gorges in late 1664 and 1665, returned to England toward the end of 1665, after having served as Colonel in the Maine militia.⁷

John Archdale's wife Elizabeth and his son Thomas died sometime before December 1673 when he married Anne [Dobson] Carey, a widow who already had a son Thomas by her previous marriage.⁸ Subsequently John Archdale and Anne had a son also named Thomas (1675-1711), and a daughter (who married Richard Rook).⁹ John Archdale, during all of this time, was a loyal member of the Church of England. Sometime in the late 1670s (after the baptism of his daughter Elizabeth in 1676, it would seem) Archdale's religious pilgrimage began, taking him from Anglicanism to Quakerism. Isaac Milles, a High Church vicar of the parish church at Wycombe from 1673 to 1681, tells a story about a 'Mr. Archdale' who can only have been John Archdale. According to this account Archdale had lived a somewhat loose or careless life until he was 'sobered' by Milles' preaching 'or otherwise'. Soon he declared himself a Quaker, which led Milles to request that Archdale permit the Church of England a 'rehearing'. Thus after some reluctance on Archdale's part, there followed several days of discussion on this matter.¹⁰

Although Archdale's initial interest in Quakerism may have been

awakened by George Fox,¹¹ perhaps during Fox's 1678 activities in south Buckinghamshire,¹² Archdale was further influenced by the writings of Dr. Henry More (1614-1687), the widely-known and read Cambridge Platonist. More's writings were so much in vogue that Mr. Chiswell, an eminent bookseller, declared that 'for twenty years together,' after the 1660 return of Charles II, the *Mystery of Godliness* and More's other writings 'ruled all the Booksellers in London.'¹³

Archdale, in his on-going discussion with Milles, held that 'no man of the Church of England had asserted so plainly and so advantageously the notion of Friends concerning the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and the light within, as the doctor had.' Milles' response was that he hoped that Dr. More had nowhere expressed 'so erroneous and groundless a notion.' After consulting with a neighbouring Anglican vicar, Milles then spoke to the learned Henry Dodwell (who was in the process of completing his *Book of Schisms*, which was designed to convince Dissenters of the wickedness of schism and the importance of the sacraments for salvation). Dodwell agreed to write a letter to his friend Dr. More, requesting him to send a letter to Archdale in which More might refute the Quaker belief by giving a true description of the 'light within.' Eventually there came a reply from More, enclosing an unsealed letter to Archdale. After Dodwell, Milles, and his friend the Reverend Timothy Borage read over More's letter to Archdale several times, the three decided that it would be best to keep its contents to themselves rather than pass it on, fearing that it would do more to confirm Archdale's Quakerism than to reclaim him for the Church of England.¹⁴

Milles discovered quite early in their exchanges that Archdale was 'fixed and settled in the enthusiastical [outlook] and Practices of the people called Quakers' and that 'Reason and Argument had very little influence upon him.' Yet, at the same time, Milles reported his discourses had a good effect upon Archdale's family (who were always present with him), so that they continued as 'steady Conformists to the Church.'¹⁵ Those family members that Milles had in mind were Anne [Carey] Archdale and her children by her previous marriage. Archdale's two daughters by his first marriage followed him into the Society of Friends, while those children by his second wife retained their mother's attachment to Anglicanism.

The exact time of Archdale's 1678 conviction is unknown, but it was probably some time before his attendance at a Quaker wedding in Chipping Wycombe late in 1678.¹⁶ He rapidly became intergrated into the Buckinghamshire Quaker community. His local meeting at Wycombe was one of a number of preparative meetings which formed

Hunger Hill (later called Upperside) Monthly Meeting. This later body contained a number of important or weighty Friends, including such outstanding leaders as Thomas Ellwood, John Bellers, Isaac Penington, and William Penn. Although Archdale was a man of great social and economic status, as well as a person of ability, he never became one of the chief figures in either Wycombe Meeting or Hunger Hill Monthly Meeting. Yet, from time to time beginning in 1679, the Monthly Meeting felt free to call upon him to perform certain tasks - small to begin with but of greater significance in later years. In 1679 he laid out ten shillings for the 'service of Truth', receiving repayment in May of that year.¹⁷ Also in 1679 he was one of those who signed a certificate for John Heywood.¹⁸ In 1680 Archdale not only provided one of the signatures on the certificate for Samuel Jennings and his family but was also one of the three Friends named to make inquiry into Joyce Olliffe's 'clearness' as she sought a certificate to carry with her to New Jersey.¹⁹ In 1681-1682 he, along with other Friends of the monthly meeting (gathered at the home of Thomas Ellwood) signed certificates of clearness for Elizabeth Robsort and Sarah Warne.²⁰ Likewise, in 1682, the monthly meeting appointed him to investigate a 'rumour that cast aspersion on Friends.'²¹

In 1678 Archdale bought John, lord Berkeley's share of the proprietorship of the Carolinas, vesting the title in the name of his three-year old son Thomas. Perhaps it was John's recent public embracing of Quakerism which made it seem wise (at the time) to have Thomas, a non-Quaker, become the 'owner'. Early in 1682 John Archdale began to make plans to visit the Carolinas, so that on the twenty-ninth of the third month [May] he notified his monthly meeting of his intention to leave soon and requested a certificate for himself and his daughter Ann²² - thus following a developing Quaker practice, recommended when one was going to be away from home for a time. Ann lived with him at Loakes and was thus of the same monthly meeting, while Mary (the older daughter) appears to have been living in London at this time and may have received a separate certificate from Devonshire House Monthly Meeting.²³

Archdale's arrival in the Carolinas, accompanied by his daughters Ann and Mary, occurred in the late autumn of 1683 - a year and a half after his decision to make the journey. Very little information concerning this period of his life exists, but one letter which throws some light on his Quakerism, Quaker activities, and his political accomplishments has survived. His letter to George Fox,²⁴ dated 25th of 1st Month [March], 1686 and requiring three months for delivery, tells a number of things about Archdale, his religion, and his Quaker

activities: 1) Archdale had a warm, personal feeling for Fox; 2) he had written to Fox earlier but had received no reply; 3) he had managed to bring about peace between the Tuscarooras and other Indians and hoped to leave the country 'at peace with all the Indians & one another'; 4) his wish was that the Carolinas had been visited more frequently by Friends, but the 'im[m]ediate sense & growth of the divine seed is encouragement' to all those who witness it. Most important of all, however, is his cry from the heart:

I wish all that had knowne itt had been faithful, then had the day broken forth in its splendor as itt begann. I am sure God foresakes none but the unfaithfull: who by disobedience are cutt of[f], whereas the obedient come to be grafted into the true stock through the growth of the holy seed in their minds and hearts. O that my spiritt were th[or]oughly purged & established by the power which is the rock of ages, the foundation of all generations. But blessed bee God I possess more than I have deserved, & desire patiently to waite for the accomplishment of his inward worke of regeneration, which is a word easily writt or expressed but hardly attained. What I writt unto thee in my former [letter] I cannot butt againe repeat, which is a desire to be had in remembrance by thee haveing a faith in the power that was in thee in this last age of the world first preached, & convinced mee in the beginning & separated me from my fathers house, the sense of which love I desire may for ever dwell upon my spirit & in the end bring forth the true fruit of regeneration.²⁵

A postscript to the letter asks that Archdale's love be given to George Keith, George Whitehead, and William Mead, three outstanding leaders of Quakerism at this time. It is surprising not to find here the names of his two neighbours (and fellow members of his monthly meeting) William Penn and Thomas Ellwood. he may have thought Penn was still in Pennsylvania, but Ellwood - at whose house the monthly meeting was held - was certainly in England.

Archdale and his daughters returned to England in 1686, and in 1687 he was asked to take on several tasks for Friends. Meeting for Sufferings, which acted for London Yearly Meeting between its annual gatherings, in 1687 discussed the sufferings of Carolina Friends resulting from their refusal to serve in the militia. John Archdale reported that he had made some efforts to get Quakers there relieved. Richard Mew, John Edridge, and Walter Bentall were asked to accompany Archdale to speak with the Proprietors at their next meeting.²⁶ His monthly meeting also appointed Archdale and William Kidder to visit Andrew Brothers.²⁷

By 1687 the two Archdale sisters must have been contemplating marriage, so that they asked Carolina Quakers for a certificate of clearness, which was forthcoming on the 4th of the 1st Month [March] 1687/8 - reporting that Mary and Ann Archdale 'During all their time of

Residence hear [*sic*] did behave them selves Soberly and Moddestly and have left a good Report behind them and that they are soe fare as we know Clear from any Ingagement or Intanglements as with Respect to Marriage to any person in these partes.'²⁸ The first one to be married was Ann who, along with Emanuel Lowe, made known their intentions to her monthly meeting on the 11th of 4th month [June], 1688.²⁹ Emanuel Lowe, citizen and 'fishmonger' of London, produced a certificate from Devonshire House Monthly Meeting and the consent of his mother, while she produced the Carolina certificate.³⁰ They presented their intentions again on the 2nd of 5th Month, at which time consent was given for them to marry.³¹ The wedding itself took place at Chipping Wycombe on the 12th of 5th Month [July], 1688.³² The marriage was attended by John Archdale, his wife Anne, his daughter Mary, the younger half-brother and half-sister, and the Carey [Cary] step-brother and step-sisters.³³ Sometime after 1691 the Lowes and their two children emigrated to North Carolina where they became active Quakers, although Emanuel was later dealt with by North Carolina Friends for participating in the 'Cary Rebellion.'³⁴

Mary Archdale, the older of the two sisters, was not married until 1691. She and John Danson (Citizen and 'Draper' of Aldersgate Street in London) proposed their intentions of marriage to Devonshire House Monthly Meeting on the 4th of the 9th Month [November] and the matter was then referred to the London Two Weeks meeting.³⁵ She had produced a certificate from Friends at Hunger Hill Monthly Meeting and another one from her father, giving his consent. Permission was granted by the Two Weeks Meeting, so that the marriage took place on the 17th of 10th Month [December], 1691, under the care of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting.³⁶ Whether or not John and Anne Archdale were present at the wedding is uncertain (for their names are not listed in the copy of the marriage certificate, unless under the '&C' heading), although there were a number of Archdales, Careys, and Gorges in attendance.³⁷ John and Mary Archdale Danson remained in London, where they and their children were members of Peel Monthly Meeting.³⁸

In 1692 John Archdale was appointed with 28 other Friends (including his son-in-law John Danson) to lobby Parliament on a bill to exempt Quakers from oaths.³⁹ This appears to have been Archdale's last Quaker appointment before his second visit to the Carolinas. Before he was to leave on that journey, however, he did two things to help his fellow Quakers at Wycombe. On 20 April, 1693, he signed over to Nicholas Larcum, for Quaker use, the meeting house and cottage in Wycombe - on a 99 year lease, with an annual rent of twenty shillings.

On August 13, 1693, he also provided two strips of land, one on the east side and one on the west, to enlarge the Friends burial ground.⁴⁰

Although his appointment as governor of the Carolinas came on August 31, 1694, it was not until January 1695 that he began his voyage, taking with him his 20-year old son Thomas (in whose name the Archdale portion of the proprietorship had been lodged). Archdale started his American travels in Maine and slowly made his way southward by land, stopping in almost all the colonies between that point and Annapolis, Maryland. Hood suggests that his purpose must have been to meet other colonial officials and to discuss mutual problems with them.⁴¹ Probably he also met with Quakers in many of these places, especially in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, but no mention of Archdale's visit is found in Quaker records for those areas at that period. This, however, is not surprising - for he was not a 'Public Friend' travelling in the ministry. This silence is really less puzzling than the total lack of any mention of him in the minutes of his own quarterly meeting for his whole Quaker career!

Finally Archdale arrived in North Carolina on 25 June, 1695, staying in the Albemarle section for six weeks. This was an area where Quakerism had been introduced in 1673 by William Edmundson and George Fox. In the intervening years the Quaker community had continued to grow, especially in the Perquimans and Pasquotank areas. Archdale's daughter and son-in-law, the Lowes, had already settled in this area, as had Quaker Thomas Harvey (who had been acting as deputy-governor for some months).⁴² Here in Albemarle, it would seem, Archdale had a great deal of contact with his fellow Quakers. Upon his departure from Albemarle he left Thomas Harvey in charge of affairs in this northern area.

From Albemarle Archdale went on to Charleston in South Carolina, where a small number of Friends had been living since the mid-1670s.⁴³ By the 1690s Mary Cross (formerly Mary Fisher), who had visited the 'Great Turk', was resident in Charleston. A small Quaker meeting was in existence at the time of Archdale's arrival, and South Carolina Friends must have been caught up in the excitement of his return to Charleston after his long stay in England. While he was resident in the Carolinas this second time several English Friends travelling in the ministry visited both North and South Carolina, including Robert Barrow, Robert Wardell, and James Dickinson. Dickinson, in his *Journal*, reported that after going through Virginia into Carolina '[we] there met with Governor Archdale, who travelled through Carolina with us. We had good service in that Wilderness Country, and found a tender People who were glad to be visited'.⁴⁴

The Carolina proprietors not only appointed Archdale as governor but also as 'Admirall, Captain-Generall & Commander in chief.' Although the military appointments, Archdale said, were conferred on him contrary to his desire, he soon appointed Joseph Blake as Lieutenant General and Vice Admiral, with the hope that this might prevent 'many vicious & unnecessary wars, especially with the native Indians & various nations.'⁴⁵

During this second period of Archdale's activity in South Carolina, he as governor, succeeded in having a law passed which freed Quakers from serving in the militia. Friends, having 'always been in all other civil matters... obedient to government' would not be required to bear arms.⁴⁶ This achievement must have brought real satisfaction to him, as well as joy to brethren in South Carolina. Other efforts, called for by the proprietors and in harmony with his own Quaker principles, included re-establishment of peace among the Indians and the development of peaceful relations with the Spanish in Florida. The latter was accomplished in part through correspondence with the Spanish governor in St. Augustine and in part by returning to St. Augustine four Spanish speaking Christian Indians of the Yamassi tribe captured by Carolina Indians who had intended to sell them as slaves.⁴⁷ The Spanish governor, Don Laureano de Torres y Callas, soon responded in kind by sending on to Charleston Robert Barrow (a Friend travelling in the ministry) and the family of Jonathan Dickenson, all of whom had been shipwrecked on the Florida coast while going by ship from Jamaica to Pennsylvania. These Quakers, after falling into the hands of cannibalistic Florida Indians, had been rescued by the Spanish, taken to Don Laureano, and then delivered to South Carolina.⁴⁸ When John Archdale some years later described this development, which actually took place after Archdale's departure for England,⁴⁹ he mistakenly identified the rescued Quakers as Robert Barrow and *Edward* Wardell. Robert Wardell, whom Archdale had remembered as travelling with Barrow earlier, had died in Jamaica on April 22, 1696 - four months before Barrow and the Dickenson family set sail from Port Royal, Jamaica, for Pennsylvania.⁵⁰

While Archdale was still in the Carolinas his son Thomas, upon reaching maturity, returned home⁵¹ and soon thereafter - against his father's wishes - sold his share of the proprietorship to his cousin Joseph Blake (who had been serving as Deputy Governor of South Carolina under John Archdale).⁵² Thus John Archdale ceased to be a proprietor (acting for his son), and his nephew assumed that position as a result of his purchase from Thomas Archdale, as well as succeeding his uncle as governor. Blake, although a Presbyterian, seems to have been

favourably inclined towards Quakers, as indicated by his treatment of the Dickensons and Robert Barrow.⁵³

John Archdale, after a brief visit with his daughter and family in Albemarle, returned to England in late 1696. He does not appear to have been active in Quaker business affairs in the period following his return to London and Loakes, probably only attending meetings for worship. In 1698 he allowed himself to be nominated for election to Parliament, put forward by the 'Church Party' in opposition to Lord Wharton's nominee. After being elected in July 1698 he discovered that he had been misled into believing that his declaration or affirmation - rather than an oath - would be sufficient to qualify him to take his seat. Upon his refusal to swear, the seat was declared vacant, a fresh writ of election was issued, and his son Thomas Archdale was elected in January 1699 to fill the seat. A non-Quaker, Thomas found no difficulty in taking the required oath.⁵⁴

Shortly after John Archdale's abortive entrance into English political life, he performed his final two appointed tasks for Quakers. On January 1, 1699/1700 he was one of 31 signers of a letter from his monthly meeting, asking for contributions to aid two Friends who had lost practically everything they owned in a fire.⁵⁵ This was his last service on behalf of his monthly meeting. Two years later Archdale (with 18 other Friends including William Penn and Daniel Quare, the well-known clock maker), was appointed to sign a Quaker address to the Queen. This address was then to be presented to the Queen by 10 or 12 of the signers.⁵⁶ This was his final appointment by Meetings for Sufferings.

The last entries in Quaker records dealing with John Archdale appeared in 1704 and 1705, after he had submitted to baptism yet another time (even though he had been baptized as a child and then known the baptism of the spirit when he became a Quaker). Archdale was baptized by John More on the twelfth of the seventh Month [September] 1704 about three o'clock in the afternoon - at Hudsons in Henly Parish by Upton. He later recorded that, before his baptism, he had declared that

my understanding hath bin opened by the spi[rit] of God to see that the ordinances cal[le]d bap[tism] & the supper Longe Cryed against in the christian dispensation as Isaiah cryed ag[ain]st the legall [requirements?] yett were by reason of their pollution only suspended; & that this suspension is now over & there will be a true reunion of the form with the power of God againe; & ther[e]fore I substantially retaine the spirituality of the doctrine declared by Fr[ien]ds in the new Coven[an]t state; & by faith I believe this reunion of the power with the forme as certainly as the union of my spr[irit] is to the body: and I

doe further declare that I doe & can freely hold Comunion with the people cal[le]d Quakers as having witnessed and doe still witness the power of God among them even as was among the first reformers ag[ain]st Popery; & ther[e]fore am not baptised into a sect or party but into the name of Fa[ther], Son & holy spi[rit] as this spi[rit] of God is universally diffused through the body of the creation, calling all of us to a sincere & hearty repentance from dead workes to Serve the Living God.⁵⁷

On 2 October 1704, a letter from Thomas Haynes was read at Second Day Morning Meeting - telling how Archdale had allowed himself to be baptized by 'one John Moore [More] a Whymysicall Man.' Archdale had already been spoken to, but it was reported that he remained 'High in his Notions.' Therefore Richard Claridge and George Whitehead were appointed to let him know that Friends could not receive his preaching and also to advise Friends not to receive his message or him.⁵⁸ A week later, on the ninth, Benjamin Bealing was ordered to seek out John Archdale and deliver Friends' letter to him by the next morning at the latest.⁵⁹ Two days later, on the eleventh, Archdale (as requested by the letter from Richard Claridge and George Whitehead) met with John Butcher, William Bingley, George Oldner, and Whitehead. At this meeting Archdale 'affirmed the suspen[sion] only of the ordinance & they affirmed their total abnogation [of it] & I declar[e]d mine was a baptism of repentance as to myselfe & a testimony of the need of it to & a testimony of the introduction of truth by it to all nations.'⁶⁰ On 16 October 1704, a letter about Archdale (drawn up by George Whitehead) was read by the Morning Meeting and copies were ordered to be sent to Worcestershire and other places as occasion might require.⁶¹

Three months later, on 11 January 1704/5, two papers by Archdale were read at Morning Meeting with the judgment that they 'no ways tends to Friends satisfaction, but the contrary.' Therefore he was advised 'in Humility [to] Endeavour to give friends Satisfaction for his outgoings.' If, however, he might be 'disposed to offer anything to this Meeting's Satisfaction upon Notice to them given they may give him another meet[ing].' On the same day John Butcher, William Bingley, and John Field were asked to write to Friends at High Wycombe to know whether or not the monthly meeting to which he belonged had dealt with Archdale for his 'outgoings' or how he 'Stands Relating to them.'⁶²

The minutes of Upperside [Hunger Hill] Monthly Meeting are strangely silent on this matter - with no mention of Archdale or any dealing with him. At first one wonders if his ownership of the

meetinghouse was a factor, but Friends' lease of that building and the cottage still had almost 90 years to run! The minutes of the Quarterly Meeting also have no references to this matter or anything else connected with Archdale (for his name does not appear anytime after his conviction). Quaker records, as far as I have been able to ascertain, never mention him again after the beginning of 1705. Strange as it may seem, it is possible that both Archdale and Friends went their own ways without further conflict or discussion.

Before long Archdale himself had something new to occupy his attention, this time purchasing Sir William Berkeley's share of the Carolinas in 1705 - thus becoming one of the Lords Proprietary for a second time and playing an active part in the Proprietary Board. In 1707, goaded perhaps by attacks on some of his earlier activities and positions (especially his opposition to the establishment of a state church in the Carolinas), he wrote *A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina*.⁶³ In this work he speaks quite favourably of William Penn and the Pennsylvania experience of not having an established church, of Robert Barrow and Robert [mistakenly called Edward] Wardell as 'publick Friends, Men of great Zeal, Piety, and Integrity,' and his own opposition to the establishment of the Church of England in the Carolinas.⁶⁴

On 22 October 1708, Archdale sold his share in the Carolina Proprietorship to his Quaker son-in-law and daughter John and Mary Danson of London. Danson soon took his place among the Lords Proprietary of the Palatine Court and remained active until his own death early in the 1720s (thus giving the Carolinas a second Quaker Proprietor).

Archdale himself seems to have retired to the High Wycombe area with little or no activity outside that area during his remaining years. He died in the summer of 1717, with burial taking place on 4 July. It was not in the Quaker burial ground which he had helped enlarge with two gifts of land in 1693; rather, through the powerful influence of his staunchly Anglican widow he was placed in the family vault in the chancel of the High Wycombe parish church. No stone marker was erected in his memory (unlike that for his son Thomas who had died in 1711).⁶⁵ As if to heighten the indignity, John Archdale's last name in the parish register is spelled *Arsdell*.⁶⁶ Could this be a case where the parish church struck back nearly 40 years after his defection to Quakerism? Or was it by pure chance?

Kenneth L. Carroll

Presidential Address delivered during Yearly Meeting on 28 July 1993.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Henry G. Hood, Jr., *The Public Career of John Archdale, 1642-1717* (Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society and the Quaker Collection of Guilford College, 1976). See also William S. Powell (ed.), *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 38-9.
- ² Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1901), I, 56-57.
- ³ In this period baptisms were frequently some months or years after births.
- ⁴ *DNB, Supplement*, I, 56.
- ⁵ Everton Parish Register, Nottinghamshire, (as found in the I.G.I.).
- ⁶ Ferdinando Gorges married Mary Archdale in 1660 at St. Brides Church, London.
- ⁷ Henry Blackwood Archdale, *Memoirs of the Archdales, with the Descent of Some Allied Families* (Enniskillen: William Trimble, 1925), 82.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 82. Anne [Dobson] Carey also seems to have had a daughter Annabella (who married Thomas Ligor, an executor of Anne's will) and another Alicia Maria (who married Richard Rook after the death of his wife Elizabeth Archdale Rook).
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 82.
- ¹⁰ T. Milles, *An Account of the Life and Conversation of the Reverend and Worthy Isaac Milles, Late Rector of Highcleer in Hampshire* (London: W. and J. Innys, 1721), 54. Milles was especially concerned, for Archdale was the 'chief gentleman' in his parish.
- ¹¹ Cf. Archdale's epistle to George Fox, found in A.R. Barclay Mss, LXVIII, in the Library of the Society of Friends, London, with a printed copy located in the *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, XXXVII (1940), 16-18.
- ¹² John L. Nickalls (ed.), *The Journal of George Fox* (London: Religious Society of Friends, 1975), 730.
- ¹³ Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1894), XXXVIII, 423. The full title of More's work is *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness: or a True and Faithful Representation of the Everlasting Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (1660).
- ¹⁴ Milles, *op.cit.*, 56-57.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Uppeside Monthly Meeting Marriages, 1664-1769, p.65. This volume is now in the Public Records Office, Chancery Lane, London, and is identified as P.R.O. No:1338.
- ¹⁷ Beatrice Saxon Snell (ed.), *The Minute Book of the Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends for the Uppeside of Buckinghamshire, 1669-1690* (High Wycombe: Records Branch of the Buckinghamshire Archeological Society, 1973), 69.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 70.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 83, 93.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 96, 102.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 103.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 106.
- ²³ No minutes for either the men's or women's Devonshire House Monthly Meeting exist for this period.
- ²⁴ A.R. Barclay Mss, LXVIII, cited earlier in note 11.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, LXVIII.
- ²⁶ Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, VI (1687-1688), 89. These manuscript records are at L.S.F., London.

- ²⁷ Snell, *The Minute Book, 1669-1690*, 200.
- ²⁸ Gibson Mss, III, 19, found in L.S.F., London. This certificate, from the Quarterly Meeting held at Henry White's home, was signed by 24 Friends, 14 men and ten women.
- ²⁹ Snell, *The Minute Book, 1669-1690*, 203.
- ³⁰ Minutes of Women Friends, Uppeside Monthly Meeting, for the 11th of 4th Month, 1688. This manuscript volume is found in the Buckinghamshire County Record Office, Aylesbury.
- ³¹ Snell, *The Minute Book, 1669-1690*, 205.
- ³² Marriage Register Digest for Buckinghamshire Quarterly Meeting, L.S.F., London.
- ³³ Uppeside Monthly Meeting Marriages, 1664-1769 (PRO No:1338), 122.
- ³⁴ Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896) 166.
- ³⁵ Marriage Register Digest for Buckinghamshire Quarterly Meeting, L.S.F., London.
- ³⁶ Marriage Register Digest for London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting, L.S.F., London.
- ³⁷ Devonshire House Monthly Meeting Marriages, 1666-1707, p.63. This manuscript volume is at the Public Records Office, Chancery Lane, London (PRO No:974). Archdale does not appear to have witnessed any post-1688 weddings.
- ³⁸ London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Birth and Burial Digests [L.S.F., London] show five children born to the Dansons: John (1692-1707), Barbara (1695-1726), Daniel (1696-), Jotham (1698/9-), and Mary (1700/01-1723). At least two other relatives of John Archdale were Friends. His sister Elizabeth (c.1645-1698) was buried in Checker Alley, Bunhill Fields. A more distant relative, Mary Archdale of Houndsditch (daughter of Thomas Archdale, yeoman, late of High Wycomb, deceased) and Isaiah Row of London were married under the care of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting in 1705. If John Archdale or any other Archdales were present they did not sign the certificate as witnesses.
- ³⁹ Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, VIII (1691-1693), 169.
- ⁴⁰ Cf. the notes of George P. Jarvis, 'Archdale Mss,' found in Temp Mss Box 53-6, 102, L.S.F., London. Jarvis at one time had hoped to write a biography of Archdale.
- ⁴¹ Hood, *op.cit.*, 9.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 9.
- ⁴³ William Fuller and his family and Thomas Thurston, all formerly of Maryland, were present quite early as were other Friends coming from England and the West Indies.
- ⁴⁴ James Dickinson, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry of that Worthy Elder, and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, James Dickinson* (London: T. Sowle Raylton, 1745), 116.
- ⁴⁵ Archdale Mss 14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Cf.Ms.6.
- ⁴⁶ Henry Blackwood Archdale, *Memoirs of the Archdales*, 81.
- ⁴⁷ John Archdale, *A New Description*, 21-22. (See n. 63 below).
- ⁴⁸ Jonathan Dickenson, *God's Protecting Providence, Man's Surest help and Defense, in Times of greatest Difficulty, and most eminent Danger, evidenced in the remarkable Deliverance of Robert Barrow [etc]*, London: Mary Hinde, 5th edition, n.d. 43-98.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1; Cf. 'Robert Wardell' in the Dictionary of Quaker Biography (found in typescript) in L.S.F., London, and in the Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

- ⁵¹ He had reached Ireland by September 1696. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1696-1697*, No:197 (dated 10 September 1696).
- ⁵² Hood, *op.cit.*, 81.
- ⁵³ Cf. Dickenson, *op.cit.*, 83-84, reports that, on 24 December 1696, Governor Blake sent Barrow to the home of Margaret Bammers (an 'Antient Friend') to be nursed. From there, about the beginning of the 12th Month [February] 1696/7, he was taken to Charleston and lodged at the home of Mary [Fisher, Bayley] Cross who nursed him until the Dickensons and Barrow sailed to Philadelphia.
- ⁵⁴ Henry Blackwood Archdale, *Memoirs of the Archdales*, 82. Hood, *op.cit.*, 28, mistakenly identifies this Thomas as John's brother Thomas (who had died in 1676, thereby opening the way for John to take over the family estate at Loakes).
- ⁵⁵ Upperside Monthly Meeting of Friends, men's minutes, II (1690-1715), for 1st of 11th Month [January], 1699/1700. These manuscript minutes are on deposit at the Buckinghamshire County Records Office, Aylesbury. This is the last reference to Archdale in these records.
- ⁵⁶ Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, XV (1700-1702), 311.
- ⁵⁷ Archdale Mss, 14 (Library of Congress).
- ⁵⁸ Second Day Morning Meeting Minutes, III (1700-1711), 185 [2nd day of 8th month, 1704]. These manuscripts are at L.S.F., London.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 185 [9th of 8th month, 1704].
- ⁶⁰ Archdale Mss, 14 (Library of Congress).
- ⁶¹ Second Day Morning Meeting Minutes, III, 185 [16th day of 8th Month, 1704]. It seems likely that Archdale had made known his views either by letter or preaching in Worcestershire.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, III [11th of 11th Month, 1704].
- ⁶³ John Archdale, *A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina with a Brief Account of its Discovery and Settling and the Government thereof to this Time, with several Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence during my Time* (London: John Wyat, 1707).
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 22, 25 and 23-31.
- ⁶⁵ Thomas Archdale's tablet, once on the wall, is said to have been placed in the floor. The chancel floor is now covered with carpet, so that the marker cannot be seen today.
- ⁶⁶ See the original High Wycombe Parish Register, now on deposit at the Buckinghamshire County Records Office, Aylesbury.