

Edward Haistwell's Diary of the Travels of George Fox, 1677, 1678

SEVERAL valuable manuscripts were acquired by the Devonshire House Reference Library a few months ago, at the dissolution of the library once the property of William Edward Forster (1818-1886). Among them was a little volume bearing the title: "A short journall of G: F:s Travells in the Service of the Lord (with a short Relation of passages) since hee came from Swarthmoore on the 26th day of the first month, 1677," and inscribed: "This for his Esteemed and welbeloved Friend (and MASTER) GEORGE FOX. Edward Haistwell." The book is oblong in shape and contains 121 written pages, each measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 3 ins. It is bound in a piece of vellum once part of an illuminated Latin document and has a tuck fastener.

The first entry is dated 26 1mo., 1677, and the last is dated 24 4mo., 1678. This period is dealt with in the printed *Journal* (bi-cent.ed.), vol. ii. pp. 255-330, and may be given thus, in brief: From Swarthmoor through the Midlands to London, 3 mo., 1677. In London till 5 mo. In Holland from 5 mo. to 8 mo. In London and then through Bucks, Oxon, Berks and Wilts to Bristol, 11 mo. Through Glos. Worcs. Warwicks, Oxon, Bucks, Beds, and Herts to London, 3 mo. In London to 4 mo.

But little is at present known of Edward Haistwell (or Haistwhittle). He styles G. Fox "master" and it is evident that he travelled with him as amanuensis. He is mentioned, but not by name, in *The Journal*, bi-cent. vol. ii. p. 281, as "a young man who travelled with me and used to write for me" and it is evident from a note to the *Camb. Journal* (ii. 391) that he had some part in the preparation of the material for the *Ellwood Journal*. In his Diary, Haistwell frequently uses the pronoun "wee," but, apparently, the omission of this does not necessarily imply his absence from the travelling band. We do not find it used anywhere as he describes his master's London work. Haistwell was with the Friends who travelled in Holland, though not named in *The Journal*. At Embden he was taken ill and had to be left behind at the house of Claes Jhon Foeldricke, the father-in-law of Jan Claus. In the margin of page 42 he inserted: "at this Embden, I E. H. lay sick till my dear m^r G F had been at Fredrickstat." and in a parenthesis in the text he refers to his illness, adding: "and G ff took an Account of his passages w^{ch} are as followeth till hee came to Embden again." This "Account," has been copied by Haistwell into its place in the journey, but we do not know who wrote the original. It takes up thirteen pages. The word "I" now appears ("I to witt G ff"); the spelling adheres to that of Haistwell.

On the 4th of 7 mo., G ff concludes:

"Wee took boat at Leier about y^e 4 hour in y^e Morninge and came to Embden Citty againe (where I left Edward sick:)" Cp. bi-cent. ii. 281.

The Diary continues: "I take a Journall again as followeth." Dependence upon records is evident again later, when the Diarist introduces addresses by Fox with the words: "Here followeth a Relation of two meetings by G ff" and closes with the initials "G ff:" (Cp. bi-cent. ii. 291.) A few pages later, after giving the list of Fox's writings from Amsterdam (bi-cent. ii. 292), Haistwell adds: "So now I will proceed on the Journall."

Haistwell was evidently in a hurry to finish his work as the beautifully clear and well formed writing of most of the book degenerates towards the end and becomes a scrawl on the last page or two. He concludes: "So here is a Brief Journall of G ff's travells while I traveld with him in 1677 & 1678."¹

Haistwell was probably the transcriber at Amsterdam mentioned in his Diary, under date 17 and 18 of 8 mo.: "G ff was at B. F.'s hearing severall bookes and papers w^{ch} hee had given forth (being Transcribed)." See bi-cent. ii. 311.

It is evident, from a careful comparison of this MS. with the printed *Journal* covering the same period that Thomas Ellwood and his co-editors worked on the Haistwell Diary when preparing *The Journal of George Fox*. The narrative proceeds along the same lines in both. The Diary bears marks of editing. All allusions to Haistwell are struck through; on one margin are the words: "Note this to stand," written after some words which were crossed through; names given in the Diary of those who subsequently fell away from Truth are carefully crossed out—Edward Nightingale, John Fretwell, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Newton (cp. *Camb. Jnl.* and anonymous reference to Fretwell in bi-cent. ii. 511); various records of interviews with some of the Separatists are struck through, including the following, occurring in Essex in 8 mo.:

"and after y^e Meeting, and on y^e 30 day G ff had meetings wth ffriends and people that were gone from ffr^{ds} and there was 10: men and women y^t hath been gone from friends this many yeares, and G ff: Reconciled them to ffr^{ds} again."

(In the margin opposite to some of the references to Separatists appear a few lines of cypher.)²

John Reckless of Nottingham was first described as "Mayor" but this has been corrected by another hand to "Sheriff," and after the words: "so Remaines a good ffr^d to this day," another hand has added "& his familly."

¹ This is followed, in another hand, by the words: "See large Journal, p. 821."

² There are eleven marginal notes in cipher, five of these refer to Separatists. In the first opening of the book, Haistwell has provided a key-alphabet to these notes and an attempt is being made to decode them. At the end of the book there is a page of writing in cipher containing many combinations which so far remain unread. The system of shorthand used is not the same as found in some other Quaker documents.

The committee of editors under Ellwood made numerous omissions. References in the Diary to other Friends' work, as *e.g.* that of Leonard Fell, are passed by. Many names of Friends visited are not transcribed; thus there are about seventy-seven names which may be added to those appearing in the Spence MSS. (*Camb. Jnl.*) and in the *Jnl.* bi-cent. Among these are Col. David Barclay, Giles Barnardiston (named *George* by Haistwell and altered by another hand to *Giles*), Giles Fettiplace, Gawen Lawrie, William Rogers (the Separatist), Rebecca Travers, Richard Vickris, Thomas Waite and Ezekiel Woolley. In addition to the above 77 there are some 90 Friends whose names do not appear in the same connection in the printed *Journal*. As in Spence MSS. (see *Camb. Jnl.* i. xl.) names of ex-Friends are omitted: Charles Harris, John Raunce and John Swinton. As in the Spence MSS. (*Camb. Jnl.* i. xl.) laudatory references to Fox are omitted, *e.g.* "At a market town y^e Woman of y^e house said, that y^e words y^t I spake to her, shee could not forgett, if shee did not see mee again this five yeares" (see bi-cent. ii. 281).

The "about three weeks" (bi-cent. ii. 264) of the visit to William Penn at Worminghurst is much more fully described in the Diary, as also the work of G. Fox in London, and his visit to Lady Conway.

In general the Diary takes the form of an itinerary, but here and there we find records of personal interest.

REMARKABLE CURE

"A Woman was at y^e Meeting, who had gone 14: yeares on her hands & her knees, and thorrow y^e wonderfull hand & Arm of y^e Lord, was this year ["this year" crossed through] Restored to her strength again, and can go very well: & It being such a miracle y^t many people goes to see her and after y^e Meeting shee came to G ff: and since her Recovery, so many people going to see her, and shee not [keeping Low in her mind, and in y^e fear of y^e Lord, was much runn into words, so G ff spoke much to her, Exhorting her to fear y^e Lord, and telling her y^t if shee did not keep Low and humble before y^e Lord, y^t shee would bee worse then ever shee had been, and y^e woman was much tendered & confessed to y^e truth."

VISITS TO RAGLEY

"G ff & Edw: Burn and W^m Pardo passed with Geo: Keith to y^e Lord Viscount Conoways at Ragley in Warwickshire to visit y^e Lady: and Van Helment & ffr^{ds} there was very glad y^t G ff came. 19 day G ff and ffr^{ds} abode there and had 2 or 3 houres time wth y^e Lady in her Chamb^r . . . G ff returned to Lord Conway's and there hee and G Keith spent y^t afternoon in Answering p^t of A German booke: and y^e 22 day G ff and G K and Van Helment were Answering part of a booke w^{ch} y^e priest of y^e pish belonging to Ragley, had put forth agst ffr^{ds} and y^e 23 day they spent there in y^e service of truth. . . . G ff returned to Ragley, & y^e 25^o day G ff had 4 houres time wth y^e Lady, to her great Refreshm^t and Satisfaction & G ff was to pass away y^e next day, but shee was very earnest for his staying & was not willing

y^t hee should go away. So y^e 26 day, G ff took leave wth ffr^{ds} & passed wth G Keith and B: Doily & Van Helmont to Stratford, and Lyted at an Inn. . . . & G K & Van H returned to Ragley.”

WILLIAM MEADE'S COACH

“ At Guttershedge was a Larg meeting, being severall ffr^{ds} from London, as also W^m Mead, who not knowing of G ff^s being there greatly Rejoiced to see him: and after the meeting Tho: Rudyard came to visit G ff and Returned to London agⁿ that Night, and G ff stayed at Hendon on y^e 21st day [of Third Month]. And on y^e 22 day, William Mead and his wife & G W wife, & A P wife came to Hendon In W^m Meads Coach for G ff. So hee went along with them to W^m Meads house at Highgate, where severall ffr^{ds} from London came to visit him.”

Haistwell's Diary forms an important link in the chain of authorities for the printed *Journal*:

The *Spence MSS.* begin in 1649 and take the narrative down to Fox's arrival at Swarthmoor, 25 iv. 1675 (bi-cent. i. 49—ii. 234).

The *Haistwell Diary* takes up the story from Fox's departure from Swarthmoor, 26 i. 1677, and leaves him in London, 24 iv. 1678 (bi-cent. ii. 255-330).

Of the remainder of Fox's life the authorities are, at present, incomplete. The *Little Journall Books* (in D) cover the following periods: From the middle to the close of 1681; from 1 mo. 1683 to 7 mo. 1687; from 4 mo. 1688 to 11 mo. 1690.

“ Buried like a Dog ”

One John EElams wife in Halifax being brought to bed, dyed Sept. 1678, being Quakers would not bury at the church. Dr. Hook¹ come up to R. Scarborough churchwarden to intreat him to hire 6 men to convey her corpse to the churchyard, but he refused, he urged him to goe to the funeral at Sowerby street (the quakers burying-place) and take names of the persons there, he told him it was fitter for his sexton to doe that; he sent two men. When the corps was buried many of the company went to Joshua Smith's a Quakers, and there Henry Jackson spake, the informers upon Dr. Hooks order gave it into the justices, who fined the house for a conventicle 20li, went and levyed it, took 8 beasts of Joshua Smiths worth 30li, prized them at 18li.

One mentioned it to Dr. H. saying he had persecuted them severely, no sth he, but I have prosecuted them, and done it out of principles of conscience, for I cannot endure that christian people should be buried like a dog, they had as good (sth he) have hanged a stone about her neck and thrown her into Calder; that sd the other would have been a cats death.

OLIVER HEYWOOD, *Diaries*, ii. 249.

¹ Dr. Richard Hook, Vicar of Halifax, 1662-1688.