

A. R. Barclay MSS.

Extracts. Continued from vol. xliii, p. 16.

Notes are not supplied to Friends respecting whom notes appear in "The Journal of George Fox," Cambridge edition, 1911, or "The Short and Itinerary Journal," 1925. The use of capital letters has been reduced and the punctuation and paragraphing adapted where necessary in the interest of clarity. The A.R.B. MSS. are in the Library at Friends House, and also available on microfilm.

LXXX

JOHN ROUS to GEORGE FOX

Marsh Grange ye 12th of ye 1st Month 1688

Dear Father

While thou was at Kingston I doe not question but my wife gave thee an account of my travels I writing to her every weeke, & this is to acquaint thee of our travels since. Leonard Fell being much taken up about the lease land, & an expectation of buying corne for severall at London he could not goe with me as I expected. Soe Joseph Nicholson & I went to Sedber meeting the 22d of the 11th month which was a very large & full meeting & met Tho Robbinson there & at night we parted & had two very good evening meetings where many people of the world were. & ye 23d we had a very good Meeting at Grayrigge, & the 24th at Kendall, where was James Moore & another of the seperates with whom I had a great deale of discours after the meeting, but they are hardened in opposition to truth. On ye 25th day we had a meeting at Cames Gill & on the 26th day we returned to Swarthmore.

And on the 28th day we went to Hauxside [Hawkshead] & on the 29th had a very large & blessed meeting there, & on ye first of the 12th month we had a meeting at Keswick, & on the 2d day at Pardsay Cragge, & had an evening meeting at Cockermouth, & on 7th day had a large evening meeting at Broughten, & ye 8th at Holme, & on the 9th day had a very large & precious meeting at Murriss near the widdow Stordies, & from thence we went to Carlile & soe to Newcastle where we met with John Bowren John Langhorne & Robert Wardell. & John Carlike & John Bowsted went with

us & on the 12th day had two very large & blessed meetings there, & the 13th was their Monthly meeting, where a long difference among the glasse makers was referred to friends that were strangers, which was made an end of after neer two daies spent in hearing all parties, & I hope they will have a care of falling into the like for the future.

On the 14th Joseph & John Bowsed went to a meeting at Sheilds, while I with some other freinds stayed to make an end of the difference. On the 15th we had an evening meeting at Sunderland, & on the 16th at Durham, & on the 17th we came to the monthly meeting at Stockton, where we heard the whole proceedings of freinds with Richard Watson, & a paper was read which he sent to ye meeting to condemne his extravagancie in trade & breaking, which seemed a fine smooth thing at the first reading of it, but when freinds came to inspect narrowly into it, they found it much short of clearing the reproach he had brought upon truth. And soe it was returned him again. I find freinds in those parts have had a very great respect for him, & have yet many of them, I fear beyond his deserts, for divers of them are yet apt to speake very favourably of him ; but by reason of the influence he had upon many he hath made a great sporte among many poor freinds, for if he knew of any that had mony he got it from them, & among the rest he got 50 li from my Sister Yeamans & he bought the house he lives in, of [a] young man yt was an apprentice & gave him 5 li in hand & his bond & judgment to pay him 200 li when he was out of his time, which the young man depended on as a stock to set up with, but now he is out of his time is quite at a losse. & Richard hath morgaged the house to another man for mony borrowed of him. I hear the weeke before he broake he was at Durham & spoake very much in the meeting, & spoake after he came home very much of the service he had there, but when the news came to Durham of his being broake, people very much reflected upon freinds, & soe farre as I hear Edw: Haistwell & Nath: Wilmer are like to loose a great deale by him.

We there again met with John Bowren John Langstaffe & Robt Wardall, & Robert Lodge came thither the day before, on the 19th we had two large meetings there, & on the 21st we had a very large meeting at Gisborough in Cleaveland where was the lady Chaloner & three of her

sisters & many more people of the world, it was a very blessed meeting. & on the 22d I went to see Willm Pens sister & her husband who were both well & very loving & at night we had a very large meeting at Whitbey, & on the 23d at Scarborough, & on the 24th as we were going to Burlington we met James Dickenson who had been there, & was going to Scarborough, at Burlington we had a large meeting in the evening, where were diverse presbiterians who were very much affected & earnestly desired our stay on first day, & freinds being very earnest with us though we had intended for York, we stayed & on the 25th day had an evening meeting at Burlington key where were many professors. & on the 26th being first day wee had two very large meetings where were many professors & other people of the world, to whom we cleared our consciences & leave the Issue to the Lord. On the 27th we came to Yorke, & had a large meeting there on ye 29th day, where I got a very greivous cold that hath made me very hoarse ever since. & on the 3d instant we came to Swarthmore where we found them all very well. & freinds are very diligent in providing materials to build the meeting house.

Next 6th day come a weeke Joseph & I thinke to have a meeting at Yealand & on first day after at Lancaster & soe thinke to passe southward visiting freinds. & knowing that it is thy desire to hear of the prosperitie of truth, I thought it my duty to give thee an account of our travels hitherto, which if thou hast a conveniencie I desire [thou] wilt let my brother & sister see. & with the remembrance of my dear love to thee, my brother & sister meade, Ben: Antrobus & his wife I rest

Thy dear son in the truth

John Rous

Many Freinds where we came inquired after thee, to whom I remembred thy dear love, & they desired to have their dear love remembred to thee: if thou please let Grace Watson know we were at Staneforth & her father & mother & sisters were all pretty well, only her mother is something crazy. My brother & sister Lower are well with their children & remember their dear love to thee, he hath received thy letter but cannot as yet answer it for want of having the account from Swarthmore, which wilbe as soon as possible may be.

[address] For my dear Father
 George Fox This
 To be Left wth Benjamin
 Antrobus at ye Plough
 & harrow in cheap
 side
 in
 London

[endorsed] John Rouses Letter
 to G. F. from Marsh
 Grange
 12: 1st mo 87/8
 R. Richardson may
 Read this in the
 Morning Meeting

LXXXI

EDWARD BOURNE to GEORGE FOX. *Warwick Goale*,
 . 6.xii.1660[1661].

Deare G: F:

My love flowes forth unto thee in the pure holy Immortall life, & friends here their deare loves is to thee, & our loves are to all faithfull friends in & aboute London. There are many of us here imprisoned in Warwick to ye number of 120 as neere as wee can judge of it, & amongst us some women friends. & they continue in goeing on in their persecution still for there were severall more brought to prison this morning. & what prisoners are att Coventry & in another place in this County wee have not certaine knowledge of the number of them, but wee heard yt there is aboute a hundred besides what bee of us in Warwick. & wee yt are here are kept close from comeing one to another.

There were some of our freinds here a little time since put into a close seller where they had not roome to lye one by another, & one of them beeing neere dead for want of roome & aire was brought forth very weake, & yet hee remaines sicke & weakly. This cruelty of ye persecutors hath caused a great cry against them from many in Warwick, since which time they have removed ye prisoners to a more convenient place, but they are kept close & there is little comeinge to them (or us) many times but with much difficulty to bring us

necessary things, but some times it is other wise. The last night wee were brought before ye Commissioners to try us whether wee would sweare, they appeared with much moderation towards us & a pretty savour was left amongst them, but when they saw wee would not sweare ye keeper was hasty in sending us back to ye dungion where wee remaine in much peace with ye Lord. After which I felt it upon mee to write somthing to ye Commissioners to shew ye cause wherefore wee could not sweare. This is in short an account of things here with us att present, as there shall bee an oppertunity & it bee judged necessary it may bee done more att large

Edw. Bourne

Warwick Goale ye 6th of
ye 12th month 1660

Soone after I was imprisoned here I sent a letter to F.H. concerning it. I would willingly know whether it came to his hands.

Symon Horne, Humphry Beeland, John Tombes, Rich: Lucas, Thomas Cooke, Rich: Ishmead & 11 more friends are Imprisoned wth mee in ye dungien.

[address] For George Fox ye elder
in London or elcewhere
this with Speed deliver
Leave this with Richard Davice
Shoe maker att ye Signe of
ye Chicken in Martins Lane
neere Aldersgate London
to deliver it as before directed

[endorsed] Warwick 6. 12.mo. 60
Ed. Bourne &c in the dungion.

LXXXII

JOHN HIGGINS to GEORGE [FOX] & MARGARET
[FELL]

London ye 26 of ye 5th month 1664

Dr Geo & Margt

My love in ye truth & covenant of light & life very truely flowes forth unto yee. Remembring ye daies of our first conversion & Infancy in ye truth, what travell & labour was

then for ye bringing forth ye seed & what dilligence & carefullness has been ever since for ye growth & prosperity of it. . . . It is now a while since I write unto you, haveing been some times in ye Country. . . . It is in my minde at present to let ye understand the present state of things here, & how it was last first day. At Bul & Mouth all was quiett & peaceable & meeting very thronging full, even more than ye Hall could containe, & indeed all meetings are very full ; In ye after part of ye day there was 2 meetings broke up. & many friends taken & sent to Newgate, there was aboute 27 taken at Wheelers street & aboute 24 from Mile End, & all sent to Newgate there to remaine, some for 6 daies were committed ; & some for 8 daies, so something is in their mindes to do. Meeting at Peele (where I was a first day) was quiett, & so was Hors[l]y Down meeting, & meeting at Pel Mel was quiet, & that at Sarah Gales's (so call'd) & yt at Thomas Lacie's in Katherens were quiett, & in Kent all is hitherto quiett, as at Dover, & Canterbury, & Cranbrock, & other places.

Wm Caton he writes me from Holland yt all things there at present is pretty quiett, the plague is much there among ye people but friends hitherto have been little infected with it. John Philley is come downe into Holland ; which news was very exceptable to us to heare, & this is briefly & in short an account of ye present state of things here, & here aboute, so with my very dear love & salutation I rest & remaine

your true Frd &
Bro: John Higgins

[address] To be left with
Thomas Greene
Shoopkeeper
in Lancaster
For G.F.
In Lancaster
These dd.

[endorsed by G.F.] for G.F. from
Jo: Hignons
1664 whoe
died in the trowth
london

LXXXIII

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL

29.vii.[c.1661]

Deare Margett

In him who is become a place of broad rivers & streams unto us & the portion of our Cup & the lott of our inheritance, & truely I cannott butt say our lott is fallen In a fayre & pleasant land, & we have a godly heritage which God hath confirmed unto us which is both sure & steadffast ; what shall I say unto the, ma[n]y words will not add to the, nether detracte from the, but however sufer me a litle. In him who is the eternall fullness & the infinite ocian of life & love, doe I most dearly salute the[e] . . . lett me tell the I am noe more weary then the First day : the sickell was putt into the hervest, when we went out sowing the seed in weeping & teares, butt seeing sheaves brought home, and full loads into the barne, & full draughtes catchett in the nett: hath made me loke beyond faynting blessed be the Lord.

I have noe certan thinge to write unto the, that might make the glad & thy harte rejoyce for what know I thou knowes nott or what doe I injoy that thou injoyes nott, for thou hast seen him upon whome the angels asend & desend: however accept of my love ; my harty unfenied imbraces in the life it selfe. & thou I know canott but owne thy owne & nothing else I would tender unto the nether desires that thou should joyne unto but that which is thy owne flesh. Margett, my harte is wide open to the in harty affections & the deare & unspotted love of God of which I have obtayned a good share for which I give the Lord thankes, but why should I multiple words when that which I have to speake of is without end & unspeakeable, . . . I am glad thou stayer soe long in that city in which we have had many a burdin & weary day ; but that frute is brought forth unto God plentiously countervayles all : & makes me forgitt travill. Thy service I beleive hath been good, & that which could not have been perfumed by many, but how ever God is equell & gives every one according to their worke. I have been northward in Northumberland, Bishopricke, & upon the East Sea & backe to Yorke, & treuly the garden for the most [part]¹ is very pleasant & gives a goo[d]ly smell, now when

¹ MS. has *what*.

the south wind blowes upon it dearly. Farwell in ye holy covenant of God, to thy daughter M.F. salute me dearly

Fra Howgill

the 29 of 7 mo. to Elsabeth Trott wheir thou lodges salute, whome I love in the lord.

[address] For my Friend
Margrett Fell att
Elsabeth Trotts
in Pel Mell neare
James

London

[endorsed by G.F.] F. Hovgell
to M.F.

abought 1661
read over

LXXXIV

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL. Kendall,
20.viii.[1660].

M.F.

Much I have not to say unto the but that I love the[e] without all Doubte in the holy covenante of god, which god hath made & confirmed unto us & hath given us an asured testemony of his love . . . thy Letter cam acceptably to my hand, being only the Last day that I had to stay in Kendall att this time, which I opened & comunicated to very many bretheren who was with me att the opening theirott & was glad off thy writing. All things are well in thees partes blesed by the Lord, only the men in authority are like so many hungry eagells for a prey : & mischeife is their food, Its the Lord limite them not yett. Freinds for the most [part]¹ are above the rage of man or the furie of the opresor blesed be the Lord. I found drawing southward, & had intended my jurney ; beffor thy letter cam to hand, only I cam to Kendell, to visite Freinds & so to have passed & the next weeke intend my jurney only I have apoynted some mettings and shall be doe what service I can in my jurney for so itt is in my harte, so my motion will not be swiffte, only I have a desire to have seen the in that city befor thou had passed, butt I shall be content as the Lord shall order itt, for long

¹ MS. has *what*.

sufering forbearance & patience must be used to them now in authority, & they must be delt with as childeren, that I have clearly seen or else, as thou treuly sayth, they will devour att once. The Lord keep all in wisdom patience & meknesse, for that is the way to over come. & I am not in doubte, but the Lord will plead the cause of his flocke & will rebuke the adversary for their sake. I am glad G.F. is come, thou may tell him I love him, thats inough. I shall forbear writing, being I am straytened of time. But my deare love to thy daughtere & to R.H. & who of the bretheren as are their. Farwell.

F.H.

Tho: Holme Rememberd his love to ye

Kendall the 20 of 8 mth.

[address] These For Margett
Fell thees

[endorsed by G.F.] F. Hovgell to
M F 1660
read over

LXXXV

FRANCIS HOWGILL to GEORGE FOX

Sunybank, 23 of 6 mth [1661]

Dear Geo

Whom I have alwayes loved from the begining and so it continiues now & I beleive will doe for evermore, . . . I have little to say unto the[e], butt judged it mette & my deuty to write thes few lines unto the[e]. Freinds in thees partes are all well & sound & honest & of stayed minds, easey to rule & easey to be intreated. Gods very glorious presence is in their asemblies, & a great increase in gifftes & knowledg & wisdome amongst many. Tho: Robertson is very weke, I spoke with some Freinds, who are gone to Scotland, to visette the poore flocke their, tow went lattly & some more hath moti[ons to] goe affter a season¹ . . .

F.H.

[endorsed] F. Hovgall
to G.F.

1661

[address] Thees for G.F. dd.

¹ A tear begins here and runs to the foot of the page.

LXXXVI

THOMAS CURTIS to GEORGE FOX

Redinge, 27th of 2th month, 1662

G.F.

Deare & welbeloved in the uprightnesse of my hart, & with that love that the Lord hath bestowed upon mee, doe I truly salute thee, the remembrance of thy former love is pretious often in mee, . . . deare heart gladly would I have beene with thee, when thou wast at Barbers, but could not, by reason of my beinge warned to be at the sessions,¹ wher ten of us apered & were indited for meetinge in a convinticle, in a contemptious malisious maner by force of armes contrary to the lawes of the Kinge, & this relme, & much such stuff & dirt was put upon us, but I tould the justises that there was not one word in the sumine of it trwe nor had I anie gilt upon mee of anie of those things layed to my charge. So they would have us traverse the sute, & give suertyes to apeare next sessions, wee tould them we should not traverse it, but if they would take our words to apeare we would come if the Lord permitted & that wee wer not in prison mean tyme in another Countrye. Then they tould us that they would take our owne recurrisons. Wee answered, nay wee should not. Then they charged us with contemninge the cort. Wee answered, noe if we had contemned their authoritye, we had not come theire, for that most of us were freemen of the towne of Redinge, & ought to have beene tryed by our owne sessions in our owne burrowhe, which wee did not now dispute but came accordinge to the sumins so that we did not contemne the cort, but would apeare if they would take ouer words. Then the justices consulted within them selves, & I doe thinke had it not beene for the clarke a bad man I suppose they mought have taken our words, but he tould them it was contrary to their law, so they comitted us to the goale, & made our mittimus for severall misdemeners & contempts.

Now there apearad at sessions with us, 6: baptis which stood with us in the same & would not traverse ye inditement, expecting to have stood out with us, but when it came to the profe they beinge comitted into the custody of the goaler,

¹ Newbury, 8.ii.1662. Besse : *Sufferings* (1753), I, 13.

repented of what they had done & so desired leave of the goaler to goe into ye corte agayne & theire they entred into recurrisens, to apeare next sessions, so they were released & wee remayne in a good prison.

Our deare love is to thee in particuler. George Lamboll one is gon forth very ill, the rest are all well & in a good condition. This is as much as at present I have to signifie unto thee, my true & unfained love in the Lord is to thee in whome I rest

thy welbeloved friend & child
Tho: Curtis

[address] Lett this bee delivered to
the hands of his Friend
G.F.

[endorsed] Berkshire
T. Curtis to G.F. 1662

LXXXVII

JOSIAH COALE to GEORGE FOX 22.vii.1663.

Deare George

With fervent, harty, senceare and true love, which is of God and with which my hart is at this time fil[l]ed doe I in the feare of ye Lord dearly salute thee, . . . And deare George it is now neare 6 weeks since I left ye citty of London, and I have been visiting frends about ye countrys in Sury, Oxfordshire, and Bedfordshire, and I Expect to visit frends alsoe in Hartfordshire before I returne to ye citty, though indeed I am not cleare of it, but deare A.P. [Alexander Parker] and Morgan Watkins being ther taks it at present of mee.

I believe thou hast heard of ye buftings and prisonings ther have been of late, but last First day I hear all was quiett and well. J: Audland and J: Story are about Bristoll, Joseph Coale gon westward. I have litle more to signifie to thee at present, only haveing this opertunity it was in my

hart to signifie my unfeigned love to thee, which I believe
thou well knows, who am

thy in the lord

Josiah Coale

This 22th of the
7th mo. 1663

[address] This for the hands
of deare G.F. with
care wher hee is

[endorsed by G.F.] Jsia Cole
to G.F.

1663

LXXXVIII

JOSIAH COALE to GEORGE FOX

Chalfont this 11th of 9th moth 1663

Deare Geore

My deare love, I believe thou cannot but know is truly
and sencearly to thee, Even ye true love of God which hee
hath shed abroad in my hart, and which hath constraigned
mee to give up my life freely unto his service, with this doe I
unfeignedly love and salute thee . . . And deare George by
this thou may alsoe know that I left things well, and quiett
as amongst Friends In ye citty of London, from wence I
came yesterday. And meetings are exceeding large, and
pretious. Multituds coms in of ye world, and many are
convinced of ye truth. Wee had our meetings peacable in
at the Bull ye two last First-days, that is since ye new
Mayor¹ cam into his place. Ther is hops hee may bee a
moderat man, towards frends. But at Southworke frends
was takne two meetings together and sent to prison to the
nombour of about 4 score, wher ye most of them still remayn
upon ye acount of not paying twelve pence apeece for not
coming to steeple hous. And truly George, they are a very
poore devided company and severall very bad spirits amongst
them, and very unruly [*torn*] subject one to another. Deare
Solamon Eccles, is still priso[ner in] ye Bridewell, and 6 or
7 in Newgate but honest Amor [Stoddart] is at liberty and
is now with mee, and his deare love is remembered to thee.

¹ Sir Anthony Bateman.

I left few of ye ministry in ye citty besids thos who are resident ther, only George Robison, and one Wm. Gibson. Dorathy Dury departed ye body last 2nd-day morning, And I am now upon pasing to Bristoll for a time, but must returne to Hartford to apeare at sesions for I was takne prisoner ther out of a meeting and comited to prison, but afterward they tooke my word for apearance about 6 weeks hence. I have not much more worth writing that I am now wiling to make mention of, and soe I rest

thyne in the Lord

Josiah Coale

I would bee glad to receve a line
or two from thee.

[address]

this

for deare G.F. wher
hee is wth care ddd.
Leave this wth Thomas
Wilan lining draper
at his shopp in
Kendall
Westmoreland.

[endorsed by G.F.] J. Cole to G.F.

1663

this ar read

over

LXXXIX

JOSIAH COALE to GEORGE FOX

Newgate London this 22th of 6th 1664

Dear George

My Love in the Lord doth dearly reach forth and extend its selfe unto thee and therwith doe I most dearly salut thee . . . And now deare Georg to give thee an acount of things heare and how it hath been of late, is in my hart at this time to doe. Yesterday was a weeke¹ after I had been speaking ye truth to ye people in ye Bull & Mouth about one howre and a halfe the shirivs [sheriffs] cam with (I Judg) neare halfe a hundred with him of ye citty oficers to breake our meeting, and after they had made proclamation in ye

¹ 14.viii.1664. Besse : *Sufferings* (1753), I, 394-5.

street for ye multitude to depart (for they feared ye multitude which was great yt cam to see what becam of us) they rush't in violently to ye meeting, and comanded mee down, but I was not free to com at his comand, and then they drew theyr swords and one of them layd mee on with a hanger, but strucked with ye flatt side of it, and ye rest layd on Friends with swords and stav[e]s, and soe puled mee down, and out to ye shir[i]vs in ye yard. And then I spoke to them of ye unmanlynes of theyr prosedings to com in such a posture amongst an inosent peacable people yt would not resiste thee, its far below ye spirit of a man. And they wer ashamed and comanded the swords to bee put up, soe affterwards they fectht out ye rest of ye meeting more quiettly, and 2 or 3 of ye offisers tooke mee and lead mee alone to ye Gild Hall, and afterwards brought Friends 2 & 3 and 4 and 6 at a time to mee, tell they had brought neare 200, and I drew them together about ye judgmt seat and had ther a very presious meeting, for ye powre and presence of ye Lord was plentyfully manifested amongst us. Soe after a while ye Mayor and Aldermen and shrev cam, but was soe imployed with Baptists and Pendants that they medled not with us, but kept us ther under strong gards tell midnight. Not permitting Friends to com to us, but they had on way or another turned out neare halfe our company. Then about midnight they brought us to Newgat (that people might not see us) & ye next day sent for about 20 to ye Gildhall and comited about 16 and lett ye rest goe, and ye fourth day they sent for mee and 11 more saying wee must goe before ye Mayor¹ and Bishop² to ye Gild Hall, but when wee cam ther, noe Bishop apeared, and I asked of ye Mayor for ye Bishop teling him it had ben more honourable to have sent him to ye Bull and Mouth with his spirituall weapons and theareby to have overcome us if hee could, but he would say little to yt but apeared very moderate to mee, and I had figne³ talke with him, and hee tould mee hee had rather sett us at liberty then commit us, but hee could not avoyd it, for I must eyther pay five shilings figne or goe to prison 14 days. I tould him if hee would prove yt I was in meeting in other manor then is alowed by ye littergye of ye Church of England

¹ Sir Anthony Bateman.

² Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of London, 1663-75.

³ i.e., fine.

I would ther pay him 5s, but hee would not say more, but left ye bench, and I was sent away. And then they caled in ye rest, on at a time, and comited them in like manor (they did it in an inward room wher non but them selves might heare, though many hundereds of people was without murmering to get in) and soe sent us to Newgate agayne. And on ye 6th day they sent ye rest, about 60 in all, to ye Ould Bayly and comited them for about 9 days apeece. But one 3d-day last, as I was speaking in our meeting in ye Chapell side, one of the keepers men cam and fectht mee away, and put mee in ye hole wher condemned men used to bee put, but kept mee not ther an hour, and on ye Fifth-day as I was speaking hee cam agayne, and becaus Friends stood throung about mee yt hee could not reach mee, hee fell laying on both men and women with a great staff, and ye felons fell one with theyr fists beating Friends, and of ye women theevs with a knife or knives threatening to stabb Friends, and did atempt soe to doe, but wer prevented. But at last they brought mee away and putt mee in to deare A.P. [Alexander Parker] in Justiss hall. And I wrote to ye mayor and sent a Friend with it, and hee seemed to bee wroth with them for soe abusing of us, and sayd wee should not bee soe abused, but hee would take a speedy cours to have it otherways. And indeed since that hee will lett mee goe over som times to them, but not be always with them, but I have very quiett presious meetings with them when I goe, and indeed ye gloryous and mighty powre of God even fils the room, to ye admiration of many.

And last First-day ye Mayor and wicked Brown¹ cam to the Bull meeting them selves, and Friends was fectht out before them in ye porch wher they figned them and comitted them, upwards of 200, and sent them to Newgate, but they that brought them turned many away by ye way, and som of ye holberd men would run away from them and leave them in ye street, soe yt I thinke but about 120 was brought in. But Brown shewed himselfe very cruell, and pinched ye women soarly, and puled the heare of ye mens heds, and would take them by ye hats and bring theyr heads neare the grownd, and then cast theyr hats in ye dirte. Jams Parke was takne ther. And from ye Peell about 30 was brought to Newgate alsoe, and about 12 from Mile End, but

¹ Sir Richard Brown.

wee know not yeat how long they are comitted for. Soe wee judge heare is in all in this Newgate, about 300 of us. But ye lord is with us of a truth, and doth beare up our harts farr above all sufferings, blesed bee his name forever.

John Higgins and one more are in upon ye third acount, and at Hartford 8 are sentenced to bee banisht, 4 to Barbados, and 4 to Jamayco, and som more in on the 3d acount.

Deare George, pray for us that forever wee may bee kept faithfull in the powre and authoryty of God, and that his presence and bounty of love may bee always continued with us ; deare A.P. dearly saluts thee, and my love saluts M.F. and ye rest with thee, and I would be glad to heare from thee who am thyne In ye Lord
Josiah Cole.

[endorsed by G.F.] J. Cole to G.F.
 at London presener
 1664

XC

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL. *Appleby*,
 18.xii.1665

M.F.

My deare and well beloved In the Lord God everlasting . . . My intire deare & unffeigned love is rem[em]ber[e]d unto the by these lines, which thou hath known & felt in years past : ever the same is to the and all thy children ; and all the people of God every wheir.

I have noe certan thing to writte unto the, save that I receved both thy letters from Lancaster, & I am glad thou hath a litle Liberty to be among thy children, for my own particuler I expecte none for I am invironed about on every side by unreasonable & hard harted men : butt I blesse the Lord I am well content & In perfectte peace, & the Lord hath lengthened my dayes beyond some time my expectation, that I may bear a parte with his suffering people in this day of Jacobs trouble, which the Lord shorten for his electes sake. I was very glad to heare thatt Beloved G.F. was well, & allso I begg off [thee] to remember me tenderly to him, as thou hath any conveniency for I have none. I wrotte once to him the last sumer butt I heard my letter was lyinge still in Scarbrough towne so I forbore to writte any more. I

could have been glad to have seen thy sons John & Willyam [John Rous and William Yeamans] But itt semes it could not be. Lattly I heard from London of the departure out off the bodie off dear Will Catton att Amsterdam for the which I am very sorey ; for the bodies sake he was the verey pillor off that cuntrie, he was a faythfull man : and a good spirited & indued with wisdom & knowledge from on highe.

Treuly when I consider of the takeing away off soe many faythfull men which could & would have done most service for the Lord in our generation makes my harte sad, & also itt is often in me, that intends greatt evill & judgment to the nations, though as for them I canot so much be sorey, for they are att rest with & in the Lord, & itts only their personall presence that we want in the body, for their liffe & spirit we injoy : well lett us rest in the will of God and be content & love & strengthen & comfforte one another & pray unto the Lord one for another that God would preserve his people faythfull in the midst of tryalls.¹

Hear is a badd book come aforth off one Doctor Smallwodds a sermon preached att Carlile beffor the Judge, with greatt aditions to itt & printed att Yorke upon that subjecte swear nott att all, & from that Scripture he hath gone about to prove the laffullnesse off swearing.² He hath reed I perseive many off our writings, a very cuning subtill bad man he semes to answer all objections & argaments layd down by us, & semes to run down all & ride over all. His booke makes a greate noyse, In Yorkshire & those Counties, I am vexed with it, & seeing we have written so much about [*torn*] In time thinke itts inough & agayne what more can I say, yett agayne [*torn*] thinks itts pittty such a son of Anack should come in the rea [*torn*] & bost vaunte and glory over treuth and all Friends suffering. I am constrayned me thinkes to say something though, I confesse, I would much rather some other hand would have written for he is a learned man in letters & is full off authers & quottations & Scripture, so that

¹ The preceding 11 lines are printed in Braithwaite: *Second Period*, 219.

² The work concerned was *A Sermon preached at Carlisle, Aug. 17, 1664*. York, printed by Stephen Bulkley, 1665. (See Joseph Smith's *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana*.) For Alan Smalewood, M.A., D.D. (son of Thomas Smalewood of Egton, Yorks), 1608-86, rector of Greystoke, Cumberland, see Venn: *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. The *Sermon* was answered by Howgill (1666) in *Oaths no Gospel-Ordinance*, reprinted in his Works, published 1676, pp. 667-732.

he hath made an ill favoured imige with greatt limbs, that might affright some. Butt I have little of these weopens, I must content my selfe with a bag and a smouth stone & trust to the power off the Lord to give him a knocke and sett the simplicity of treuth above him, & though it convince none, yett iff we keep our owne, in this day off opossicion and blasphemy its well from faynting. Dearly farwell I shall be glad att any time to heare of all your wellffare or any thing that mighte ad to my joy

Fra: Howgill

Applby 18. 12 mth 1665

[address] For the hands of my deare Freeind Margrett Fell thes with care dd at Swarthmore or else wheer.

[endorsed by G.F.] Franses Hovgell to M.F. 1663 abought Smellwood his bouck & to her at lankester presen
read over

XCI

Paper by FRANCIS HOWGILL. 1662.

The cogitations of my heart have been many deep & ponderous some monthes, weekes & days conceirning his people which he hath raised to bear testimony unto his name . . . and while I was waiting out of all vissible things & quite out of ye world in my spirit, & my heart upon nothing but ye liveing God, the Lord oppened ye springs of ye great deep, & overflowed my whole heart with life & love, and my eyes were as a fountain because of tears of joy because of his heritage of whom he shewed me, & spake unto me in a full fresh liveing power, & a holy full testimony. So that my heart was ravished therewith with joy unspeakable, & I was out of ye body, with God in his heavenly parradice where I saw & felt things unutterable & beyond all demonstration or speech, at last ye life closed with my understanding, & my spirit listened unto him, & ye everlasting God said, shall I hide anything from them yt seek my face in righteousness, nay, I will manifest it to them yt fear me. I will speake, do thou listen, & publish it among all my people that they may be comforted & thou satisfied, & thus said ye liveing God of heaven & earth

Upon ye 28th of ye 3d mo 1662.

The sun shall leave its shineing brightnes & cease to give light to ye world, and ye moon shal be altogether darkness & give no light unto ye night, the starrs shal cease to know their office or place, my covenant with day & night times & seasons shal sooner come to an end then the covenant I have made with this people (into which they are entered with me) shal end or be broken & my word is unchangable, yea, though ye powers of darknes & hell combind against them, & the jawes of death open its mouth, yet I will deliver them & lead them through all . . . These words are holy faithfull eternal good & true, blessed are they that heareth & beleiveth unto ye end and because of them no strength was left in me for a while, but at last my heart was filled with joy even as when ye Ark of God was brought from ye house of Obed-Edom, when David danced before it & Israel shouted for joy.

Francis Howgill

Your goales we fear not, no nor banishment
 Terrors nor threats can ere make us lament
 For such we are as fear ye liveing God
 Not being vexed by persecutions rod
 Away hipocrisie, adew false fear
 Immortal life's ye crown which we doe bear
 Which can not be remov'd from us away
 That makes us scorn your threatenings every day
 These are our prayers & thus our souls doe cry
 Let justice live & all oppression dy.

4th mo, 1662

[on the back]

My dear freinds & Brethren

Keep in ye seed of peace which was before enmity & adversary was, in which you will have life, peace, & unity, & dominion, then in yt you will know Christ Jesus reign before ye world began, in which you will know ye election before ye world began & sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus above all ye earthly places belowe & mans traditions & inventions & handy workes, sitting in Christ Jesus keep out of them & above them.

G.F.

Let no freind of truth be staggered for truth shall stand over all . . . [a short paragraph signed] J.S.¹

[endorsed] A noate of F.H.

¹ John Story ?

XCII

FRANCIS HOWGILL to GEORGE FOX. *Appleby*,
23.i.[1663/4].¹

Dear Geo

My treue & unfeigned love reacheth unto the in that which was From everlasting & is to everlasting, which the Lord hath girded my harte with, and strengthened me with in the midst of all oposition & gaynesaying & Contridiction of this generation . . . I had good liberty of speech, & good audience beffor the judges & the greatt men of the cuntree & the wholle cuntrie; Indeed the Lord made me without Fear, & girded my hart with strength, & opened my mouth in wisdome, so that I gayned upon our adversaries glory be to God alone, who is still a present help in the time of need.

Now I shall give you a shorte acounte of the prosedings at Apellby as relating to us, & treuth; I coming to the towne, imediatly went to the Clarke of the Asise beffor the judges came in, & tould him I was come not knowing whether they expected my apearne or not he tould me I did very well, & sayd he would aquent the judges, & withall tould me the judges had heard of me att London. I sayd, nothing but well I hope, & he sayd noe, he would only aquent them, & so I should ingage to apeare the next Assise to my indittment, & I should not apear In courte I bid him doe what ye would & iff it was so, I should quickly goe out of the towne for I had noe other ocation, but yett still it was in me I must apear publickly in courte.

In the mean time Philip Musgrove² infformed the judges of me and that I was a person dangerous, & a ringleader & the like and kept up publicke metings of dangerous consequence destructive to the peace of the nation. So they concluded I should apear In court, & so the Clerke infformed me & tould me about what time I should be caled. So they began the courte & the judge³ gave his charge to the Grand Jurey, In which he sayd their was a sorte of people who

¹ See the accounts of the proceedings in Howgill's Works (*Dawnings of the Gospel-Day*, 1676), signature a2b-b1b; and in Besse: *Sufferings* (1753), II, 11-12.

² Sir Philip Musgrave.

³ Sir Thomas Twisden (1602-83).

under pretence of conscience & religion who semed to build upon the Kings Declaration from Brada & under the colour of this hatched rebellions, treasons, & the like, & gave the Grand Jurey charge to make inquiry of them, for the preservation of the peace of the nation. So the[y] impaneled the juries & brought out four to the barr & inditted them of high treason; & in the midst of this the caled me to the barr, And the judge spoke calmely to me and tould me the face of things was altered now since the last asisse, & made a large spech to me & the cuntrie, telling me that in all sectes under pretence of consience did violate the lawes & acted treasons and rebellions, as was manyfest, not that he had any thing to acuse me of, but seing the Oath of Alegence was tendered me, & I reffused it, it was loked upon that such persons wear enimes to the King & goverment & tould me they would not trouble me to answer my inditement now but only to apear to itt the Assise, in the mean time to enter in recognisance for good behaviour. Unto which, I desired in meknesse liberty of spech & audience, which I had very largely without interuption. And sayd to Judg Twisden, thou knowes very well upon a slender or noe account I was brought beffor the the last Assize wheirin thou was pleased to tender me the Othe of Aleigance though I beleive both thou & the wholle courte knew it was receved principall amongst us not to swear att all. Many reasons I gaue the[e] then & more I have to give, If I may be h[e]ard. For it may seme an absurd thing to you that I should reffuse it if I doe not give reasons, wheirffor I did give divers then & now more I might add, which I had a pretty time to declare in; and tould the judge I was none of those that made religion a cloake off malitiousnesse, nor conscience a cloke to cary on plotts or conspirisies, the Lord had redemed me out of those things, and seing I was ingage to apear att the A[ss]ise next I desired the judge that noe further thing might be required of me. He tould me I must doe it enter in bond for good behaviour in this dangerous time & wished consider of it & tell them then or beffor the Assise broke up, I could then: but I rather deffered my positive answer one day or tow: upon the second day they caled me agayne affter they had inditted other 3 upon the account of high treason, And the judge began agayne with long speche about treason & rebeilon & tould the cuntrie all those things was caried on

under prettence of¹ religion, and amongst the rest acused the Quackers, my spirite was loded & greived yet I bore till he had done that I might answer, I tould him as to these I was cleare & I hoped the courte nor cuntrie hath nothing to lay to my charge, & I blessed the Lord I had nothing to charge my selffe withall, for I loved peace & sought with all men, & tould him seing he was pleased to lett me answer to my inditment the next assise that I was willing & I had been of good behaviour & should be but I[t] semed to me a hard thing seing I was obleiged to answer to an inditment of that consernment it prosecuted agaynst me, as extended the losse of my liberty for liffe & my estate for ever, I hoped the courte did not envie my liberty for so litle a time as 5 monthes, but still the judge presed & the other judge² also that they did not desire my restraynt iff I would enter in bond on this account but because I putt on the thing as far as I could, I heard Danyall Phleming³ had another inditment ready agaynst me about a metting & stoed up & sayd to the judg, my Lord he is a great speaker & the Quackers canott spar him, the judg answered let him be what he will iff he will enter this bond he shall have his liberty, the Judg Turner stode up and sayd, what doe you talke of conscience we medle not with your conscience but you keep up great mettings & goes not to the church, I tould him we wear falen into a sad age iff meting together in a peaceble maner in the feare of God without armes or force or intention of hurte to any man, only to exorte one another & to be steadfast in the fayth & to walke in righteousnesse & to pray togher in the Holy Ghost as the primitive Chrystians did of ould, that this should be reckoned as breach of peace & misbehavior. Further I tould them itt was a reseaved principall amongst us that Christ kingdome must not nor could not be sett up by force of carnall weapons, & we wear come unto the Prince of peace & could not learn war any more but could love our enimes, & so whatever jelosie they might have at us, this was the treuth, if I had 20 lives I durst ingage them all for the body of Quackers for ever having any hand in war or things of that nature, for all such as wear found in any thing of that nature I did disowne

¹ MS. has &.

² Sir Christopher Turner (1607-75), baron of the Exchequer.

³ Daniel Fleming. See *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xliii, pp. 46-50.

them, nay further I sayd if their wear any such they wear not of us. With that Philipe Musgrove stode up & sayd, my Lord what as this jentellman hath sayd cannott be treue, for we find by experience in this last plott¹ them to be the only inteligencers from all partes of the nation, & further sayd, my lord we have put them in preson once & agayne & fined them & yett they still persiste, & as soone as they gitt oute meets agayne. Also John Louth² the elder, he stode up & sayd, my lord they grow insolent & notwithstanding all lawes & the seveir exertion of them yett the[y] grow upon us & their metings are dangerous as we se by this sad effecte. With that Philip Musgrove puled out a paper in greatt capitall letters, I believe it was thy hand G.F. For I knew it att a good distance & he gave the judge it & the judge the Clarke & handed it From one to another & reed it, but not up. With that Phleming stode & tould them he had writen to his brother & some other justis who still did mette in another county to apr[e]hend them & send them to Lancaster amonst which one died, & they brought his body through the cuntrie & the Quackers sett this paper³ on his corpes, so all these things mett together in one & came agaynst me. The lord made me bould & I sayd notwithstanding hear hath been diligent Inqueary by the Grand Jurey & the cuntrie about this plott; yett whatt had they found agaynst the Quackers; Philipe Musgrove tould me of one Fawcett⁴ that brought inteligence from the County of Durham & some from Leeds to Cap Atkinson⁵ I tould him Fawcett we had not owned this 6 years; & though peradventer he or any other in this county or else wheir so reputted; should be brought under conviction of guilt by the law & peradventer suffer acording to the law; yett did beleive any or all of such, if any such weare, that they would testeiffe For us though agayn themselves, that the body of Friends & meettings everywheir did not owne them in it, & theirffor desired the judg not to represent us so hardly to the cuntrie for God was with us & on our side, & had kept us from evils & temptations &

¹ The Kaber Rigg plot.

² Sir John Lowther (1605-75). His son, John (1628-67?), was M.P. for Appleby, 1661-7, and father of John, 1st Viscount Lonsdale.

³ See Besse: *Sufferings* (1753), II, 12, for the paper affixed to the coffin of Samuel Sandys.

⁴ Reginald Fawcett, of Ravenstonedale. See *Second Period*, p. 30.

⁵ Robert Atkinson, of Mallerstang.

plots & rebellions, notwithstanding all our sufferings & provocations, & I did beleive would doe for ever, & that glourious truthe of God maniffest amongst us must outlive all its enimies.

Oh G:F I was so clear in my harte, that whatever came into itt I spoke it without feare, so att last the judge sayd he & the gentellmen had spent much time with me & he would discourse noe more ; so I tould him I should be shorte also & not trouble them more, that I was willing to apeare to my inditment att the Asisses & to live in peace & quitnesse as I had done if that would sattisffie them, but I must enter in bond or noe liberty, so then I tould them iff I should doe so I wear trecherious to God & to my owne consience & they would loke upon me as an hipocritt, so I tould them I could not doe it & so [they] bad the goaler take him away & when I was goeing, I sayd the fear off God be amongst [you] & the judge bad him lett me alone, iff I would say any more but I was secretly clear and the hartes of people weare tender & the cuntrie very affectionatte to me.

Hear is near 12 young men brought to prison the weke beffor for the meting, but none caled but my selffe & the justises tendered them liberty on the same acounte If they would enter in bond for good behavior & that I se they will make their generall rule every wheir to breake the metings as they judge. Hear was 4 condemned 3 executed & one reprived, and all those prisoners which wear reckoned Quackers by them, nothing was proved agaynst them so they are att liberty upon bond to apeare att the Asise. Thus I have given you a short acount. With my dear love to M.F. & all the prisoners. I have not had perfectte knowledg of their prosedings with you. By accident I se an account of the Assises drawn up by Philip Mus[g]rove which was sent by the post to the King & so I beleive will come in the News bo[o]ke to doe us harme, the thing was this declaring about the plott 2 young men he sayth came from Leeds that wear Quackers, & gaue inteligence to Cap: Atkinson the evidence in courte was thise that tow young men that wear strangers came to Capten Akinson, the[y] asked what they wear & the evidence sayd he know not they wear sober men & Philip hath putt it in Quackers. We tould some of the justises of it & tould them it was wrong & they wronged us & one said Philip Musgrove did it & so putt it off themselves & thus

they invent mischeiffe ever way agaynst us but the Lord is on our side

Your dear Bro: F.H.

Apelby 23 of this i month

[endorsed by G.F.] to gF. F. Hovgell apel
be presen abought
1664

[endorsed] Fr: Howgill's letter to GF. shewing something in
Fra Howgill's letter to G.F.
giveing some Acc[oun]t of his Sufferings for freind [*struck through*] Truth

Gulielma Penn's Grave

FOR nearly 90 years the grave of William Penn's first wife Gulielma, in the old burial ground at Jordans, has been marked by a stone bearing in error the date of the death of one of her infant daughters of the same name who was buried near.

Any seventeenth-century stones there may have been would be removed about 1717 in accordance with the then new testimony of the society against tombstones. When the present stones were erected in 1862 or 1863 the records of burials were misread.

After a careful examination by Henry J. Cadbury of all the available evidence as to both burials, the stone has been recut with the correct date. Gulielma Penn died on 23rd February, 1694 (xii. mo. 1693, old style).

At the close of an article on *Cromwell's Master of the Horse, and other Claypoles of Northborough* (*Northamptonshire past and present*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1951, pp. 23-33), M. Urwick Smith devotes a paragraph to James Claypole, the Quaker merchant of London, treasurer of the Society of Free Traders, who went out to Pennsylvania in 1682. The author presumes him to be the elder brother of Adam Claypole of Northborough and West Deeping (1622-73). In connection with Elizabeth Claypole, Oliver Cromwell's daughter, the author does not mention George Fox's letter to her and her reported reception of it (see note in *Camb. Journal*, I, 457; text in Ellwood editions).