

Quakerism and the Cromwellian Army in Ireland

ONE of the more surprising facts about the rise and early development of Quakerism in Ireland is that it was in the Cromwellian Army that the "First Publishers of Truth" found their greatest response. Although it has long been known that there was some Quaker incursion into the New Model Army, neither its extent nor its development have previously been studied. Perhaps it was this factor which so intrigued me that I felt driven into an examination of the sources—Irish and English, Quaker and non-Quaker—so that I might have a better understanding of what actually happened and why the developments took the form that they did.

On deeper reflection it is not too surprising that Quakerism in Ireland took root in such a milieu. What better soil than the radical Puritanism of the Cromwellian soldiers, their families which often accompanied them, and the Puritan English communities which they helped to form in Ireland? One of the clearest facts about early Quaker history, I believe, is that Quakerism itself sprang from "radical" Puritanism¹ and that it grew and prospered only in those areas where Puritanism was widespread—Britain, Ireland, the West Indies, and the American mainland English colonies. In Lutheran, Calvinist, and Roman Catholic areas convictions were few and far between, and whatever meetings arose were usually both short-lived and small.

Most of the Protestants in Ireland prior to 1649 were adherents of the Church of Ireland, with few sectaries to be found in the land. It was with the coming of the Cromwellian Army in 1649 that "novel doctrines" such as "religious Independency" and "Baptism" made their appearance in Ireland—having been introduced by the English soldiers and their chaplains. Already by 1647 (two years before Cromwell set out to reconquer Ireland), Independency had triumphed in the "New Model Army,"

¹ This does not deny that *some* continental and mystical ideas and concepts were also present.

where the increase of sectaries had been quite noticeable by 1645.² By 1652 there were some 34,000 men in the Army in Ireland (approximately the same number as in England and Scotland).³ There were garrisons in all the major cities and towns in Ireland, where the countryside was largely left in ruin and desolation. Shortly before the arrival of the first Quaker missionaries, the Baptists began a rapid rise, spread throughout the Army in Ireland, and were often encouraged by the governors of some of the garrisons. By 1655 twelve military governors, as well as a number of civil officials, were reported to have become Baptists.⁴ Other forms of extreme Puritanism, such as the Fifth Monarchists, were also now at large in the land.

William Edmundson (1627–1712), once a soldier himself, was probably the first Quaker in Ireland. Unlike the “First Publishers of Truth” who soon followed him into Ireland, he had not come over as an itinerant minister. Rather, in 1652, he had come to settle in the land and to make a new life for himself by entering into trade. His own newfound Quakerism, stemming from his 1653 visit to England, meant so much to him that he was compelled to share it with others. Edmundson is to be credited with convincing the first Cromwellian soldier in Ireland, for he reports that in 1653 his brother “a trooper” received “the Truth and joyned with it.”⁵ Edmundson’s *Journal* shows that army officers were constantly discussing religious matters,⁶ so that it is not surprising that he reports that both the Governor of Londonderry and Colonel Nicholas Kempston were “convinced” (although Kempston did not join with Friends).⁷ Edmundson, who “Thee’d and Thou’d” soldiers,

² T. C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland 1649–1660* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 95–98; C. H. Firth, *Cromwell’s Army* (London, 1902), p. 317. Cf. Firth, *op. cit.*, pp. 313–348 for the chapter “Religion in the Army,” and especially pp. 318–324.

³ Firth, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁴ Craig W. Horle, “Quakers and Baptists, 1647–1660,” *The Baptist Quarterly*, XXVI, No. 8 (October, 1976), 355–356.

⁵ William Edmundson, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry, of that Worthy Elder and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, William Edmundson* (Dublin, 1715), p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 21–23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 25. Colonel Kempston, before turning against Quakerism, provided land in County Cavan for William Edmundson and other Quakers to settle. For Nicholas Kempston see Sir Charles Firth & Godfrey Davies, *The regimental history of Cromwell’s army* (2 vols., Oxford, 1940), ii.452–5, 594–5.

reported that one "trooper" threatened to cut his head open but was stopped by a corporal who was then convinced.⁸ The most significant conviction reported by Edmundson was that of Captain William Morris, who was "an Elder among the Baptists in great Repute, Captain of a Company, Justice of the Peace, Commissioner of the Revenues, Chief Treasurer in that Quarter, also Chief Governour of Three Garrisons."⁹

It was in 1654, just two years after George Fox's experiences at Pendle Hill and Firbank Fell gave rise to the rapid spread of Quakerism in the north of England, that the earliest Friends travelling in the ministry made their way to Ireland. They, too, like George Fox, had a vision of "a great people to be gathered." Once they had embarked on their mission to Ireland, nothing could turn them back—whether it be storm, shipwreck, robbery, imprisonment, persecution, banishment, or whatever else might come their way. Among these very early "First Publishers of Truth" in Ireland were John Tiffin, Miles Bateman, Miles Halhead, James Lancaster, Alice Birkett, Thomas Hill, and Richard Millner. Very little is known about the missionary work of these individuals in Ireland and even less about their contacts with and convictions among soldiers in Ireland. Yet most of them must have had some "service" among the soldiers and visited some of the garrisons, so that Quakerism continued a slow but steady growth in that bastion of Puritanism. Another of these Friends, Richard Clayton, wrote to Margaret Fell that he went into the garrison at Carrickfergus (near Belfast), going "Amongst the soulders and read A paper Amongst them & spoke some words Amongst them as the Lord gave utterance & they were all silent & said that they would Lett their fellow soulders see it, the paper which I left with them."¹⁰

It was the religious labor of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill in 1655 which suddenly gave great impetus to the growth of Quakerism in the Cromwellian Army.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 27–28. All three of these convictions appear to have taken place in 1655.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31. He was discharged from his command. See Firth & Davies, ii.659.

¹⁰ Friends House Library, Swarthmore MSS., I, 27 [Tr. I, 554], dated "about 1654."

Both Burrough and Howgill, in June 1655, had received separate "commands" to go to Ireland.¹¹ By early August they were already on their way there, spending two days and two nights on shipboard before arriving in Dublin toward the middle of the month.¹² Their work among the Baptists and officers began quite early, for Howgill's report of their first three weeks of labor notes that,

They are loveing the Captans but their is not much in them and so E. B. went up to the deputies house wheare [there] was a meeting of baptistes & [he] hath been their 3 times and spoke with Fleetwood himself who was moderate: much like O[liver] C[romwell] but the officers hath bowed downe to the idell baptisme for promotion, for it grew in great fashon a while heare but now it withers and so att the baptistes meetings we have gone and spoken but they harden . . .¹³

Howgill also reports that during this short period he and Burrough had also been at Tradarth [Drogheda], about twenty miles from Dublin, where they "had a little meeting att a Justis house and stayed two nights in the towne & mett some officers who was moderate and so we cam[e] to Dublin again."¹⁴

About that very time, when he had been in the Dublin area only three weeks, Howgill suddenly received a "call" to go west (somewhat like the way that Paul at Troas saw the Macedonian beckoning him into Europe). He later wrote "To all the Brethren in and about Kendal" that

a Colonell of the Protectors Army came to Dublyn and was Exceeding Loveing a pretty man & desired any of us to goe with him into the County of Corke, then I saw a doare opened and consulted not but went with him Immediately after a day or two & hee was to goe out of the way where the Troope lay about—40 miles. I went along with him into the heart of the Nation about 50 miles from Dublyn through deserts woods and Boggs & desolated places . . . without anie inhabitants Except a few Irish Cabins here & there who are Robbers & murtherers that lives in holes & boggs where none can passe. Att last we came to a Towne called Burrye where the Troope

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 14 [Tr. VII, 483]. Cf. Tr. VII, 467.

¹² Friends House Library, A. R. Barclay MSS., CXVIII, from Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, and dated 3rd of 7th Month, 1655, reports that they have been in Dublin three weeks. Howgill reports that they had arrived in Dublin on the fourth day of the week, held a meeting at Captain Rich's house on the fifth day, and on the first day "at one Captan Alands house and many people came."

¹³ *Ibid.*, CXVIII.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, CXVIII.

was & a Garrison of foote was in a Castle & the Col. & I lay in the Castle at a souldiers house his wife was a Baptist but Loveing & [was] Convinced while I stayed there which was about 5 or 6 days & as I walked in the field the Col. brought many [soldiers] with him to mee, some met everie afternoone, sometimes more sometimes lesse in the field on the first day of the weeke, there was one Priest att the Towne & another Baptist priest came & preached in the Castle, so I went amonge them . . .¹⁵

After the priest had spoken, Francis Howgill also spoke to the few "sottish" soldiers there. The Governor of the castle then ordered Howgill out of the town. This development so grieved the Colonel, who had persuaded the Quaker to accompany him from Dublin, that he

went into the Towne & caused the Trumpet to sound in the afternoone when they belt the drumm for the priests, & the Governour & the priests greivinge that all the Troope would come with mee they sent the souldiers to fetch me out of the Castle before they began & turned me out & shut the Barrakados although I had moaveing to go to a meetinge in the Town so I went to the Towne where most of the Troupe came to mee & some other [people] & had a fine meeting & the souldiers wife who was a Baptist went & opposed the Priest & came to the meeting, after [which] I went to a little Garrison & stayed the night and cleared my Conscience.¹⁶

From here Howgill and an unknown companion (or companions) had a very difficult journey of twenty miles to rejoin the Colonel, experiencing a "Temptestious day & a dessolate place woodes & boggs, & no way wee could finde nor no guide could wee gett." Finally, with seven miles left to cover, they found an Irishman who brought them to the meeting point at midnight. The Colonel and Howgill then arrived, on Saturday, at Bandon "a greate Towne . . . twelve myles belowe Corke neare the sea" where the Colonel lived "at a gallant habitation" outside the town itself. On Sunday Howgill, accompanied by the Colonel, went into their "synagogue".¹⁷ Howgill tried to speak when "an old Dreamer had ended his Dreams," but there was such a row that nothing could be accomplished. The Colonel then announced that, since the Quaker had no liberty to speak there, all were invited to meet at the

¹⁵ Friends House Library, Caton MSS., II, 92-93.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹⁷ The term "synagogue" is often used to describe a Baptist meeting house or some other Protestant church.

Colonel's house that afternoon where the "gates would be open to all." Howgill reported that "there came a prettie deale [of people] & so have appointed another meeting on the weekday & the next first day there came many, & in the week day some, but they are a dark people the offscouring of the Inglishes." He then wrote "Papers & Queries" and sent them "up and down the Towne & all was on fire" with religious excitement and debate.¹⁸

From Bandon Howgill on Saturday went on to Cork, accompanied by Colonel Cooke [his protagonist?] and his wife ("two prettie hearts, their people hearing of me"). In Cork he put down a Ranter, and then went to the "great steeplehouse" where "one Lambert & one Coleman (Fathers of the Baptist people)" were preaching. When Lambert was through Howgill spoke "about an hour after & the soldiers was there in the Garrison & manie came out of the Towne out of their houses & other steeplehouses & all was calm & the Governour sent some souldiers to see that none harmed mee."

After some debates with Lambert and other Baptists, Howgill and the Cookes returned to Bandon for a weekly meeting and then went on to "a great Harbor Towne" called Kinsale. Here in Kinsale, Howgill reported,

The Governour one Hoddyn a Captain received me with his wife gladlie & there is a greate fortress upon the sea Coast & he sent to some of his acquaintance in the Towne & on the first day caused the Drumm to be beat & called all his souldiers together & there came some people out of the Towne, soe there was a great meeting & on the morrow some desired me to come into the Towne, & they had acquainted manie, & I passed over in a Barke & the owner & some others & had a very pretty meeting, so I returned back to Bandon again, the Governour [of Kinsale?] was desirous I should stay or come againe shortlie, but I must needs returne to Corke but the people everie where are a darke people except it be some few in whom there is Desires.¹⁹

All of the above activity appears to have taken place in the autumn of 1655. Howgill's pace and the resulting success did not lessen, so that Howgill is able to report on the 18th of the 11th Month 1655 (O.S.) that there were now meetings at Bandon Bridge, Kinsale, and Cork. He

¹⁸ Caton MSS., II, 93-94.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95. For Captain (Major) Richard Hodden see Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*, ii.444, 656.

also writes that Colonel Robert Phaire, the Governour of Cork, "is a moderate man and his family is pretty, many Captains and majors & officers hath heard and doth dayly."²⁰ At Kinsale "the Governour [Major Richard Hodden] is loveing & Divers there is Convinced and sum soulders, I have had many meetings in the garison and the priests are all on a rage."²¹ In still another letter, written slightly later it would seem, Howgill states that at Kinsale "the governor of the forte is loveing . . . *all of his soulders* and some of the towne will heare."²²

Just before Howgill wrote the above letters Major Richard Hodden, Governor of Kinsale, wrote to Henry Cromwell [Oliver's son] in Dublin where he was serving as Commander in Chief of the Army. Here Hodden defended the Quakers, and especially those in his forces whom he had already known for a long time before they became convinced Friends:

I entreate leave humbly to offer these few words with the Inclosed Concerning the p[er]sons Called Quakers etc. Many of them were persecuted in the daies of the Late Bishoppes, by the name of Puritans (though unblameable in their Conversations) and since have faithfully Served this Commonwealth even in the worst of Times, and the god of glorie therin Supported them through Evil Reporte and good Reporte and other names of Derision too many here to Mention, while bloody minded, Evill men, and Seducers have Waxed worse and worse, deceiving and being Deceived . . . These are private lynes to your Lordshippe out of a deep sense of my Duetie, and in Sinceritie of hearts as in the Sight of God, wherein (its like) few will be free and plaine with you—which I the Rather am for that I have (through the Tender Mercie of God) had full knowledge of Divers of the before Mentioned persons in England and here.²³

At the turn of the year, about January 1655/6, Howgill noted that at Bandon were to be found "one Cornett Cooke and his wife [who have] the most emminent house in the towne and they are of the treue seed." Concerning Lucretia

²⁰ A. R. Barclay MSS., LXI. This letter is from Howgill to George Fox. Phaire's name also appears as Phair, and Phayre; for him see *D.N.B.*; Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*, ii.656.

²¹ *Ibid.*, LXI.

²² *Ibid.*, LXV, undated letter from Howgill to Margaret Fell. Italics added.

²³ British Library, London, Lansdowne MSS., MS. 821, folio 68. This letter from Hodden to Henry Cromwell is dated Kinsale, January 4, 1655/6. Hodden had not yet adopted numbers for days and months or the plain "thee" or "thou."

Cooke, who soon became one of the outstanding "Irish" Quaker leaders, he wrote:

she was a baptiste & they cast her out for heresy as the[y] say, a nouble woman she is, she declared agaynst the pr[i]est in publicke and was moved to declare agayne the baptistes and one day the market day toke a load of Bookes of the highest priests In the nation and burned them in the streett.²⁴

By this time, January 1655/6, Howgill had been joined in his work here in the West by Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith, who had come from Youghal. William Simpson had also been active in the area. Edward Burrough was still at Waterford, but Howgill had written to him asking him to come to Cork so that together Howgill and Burrough could "storm" the one great city that remained unvisited in Munster—Limerick.²⁵ Meanwhile another onslaught of Quaker activity in Ireland had already begun, for James Lancaster, Elizabeth Morgan, Rebecca Ward, and Richard Hiccocke were already in Dublin.²⁶

Henry Cromwell, who came to view the Baptists as a political threat, in *late* 1656 moved to crush their power by withdrawing "official favour" from them and forced many of their leading officers to resign their commissions.²⁷ Even earlier he saw the Quakers as perhaps even more of a threat, so that as early as December 17, 1655, Cromwell ordered "that all Quakers be apprehended."²⁸ It would appear that this was the start of the widespread persecution which Quakers met in Ireland. Shortly after this order on February 6, 1655/6, Cromwell wrote to Secretary Thurloe, that,

Our most considerable enemy nowe in our view are the quakers, whoe begin to growe in some reputation in the county of Corke, their meetings being attended frequently by col. Phaier, major Wallis, and moste of the chief officers thereabouts. Some of our

²⁴ A. R. Barclay MSS., LXV. For Lucretia Cook (Cooke) see G. F. Nuttall, *Early Quaker letters* (London, 1952); Cornet Edward Cook likewise, and also Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*, ii.659.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, LXI, LXV.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, LXI.

²⁷ Barnard, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–108; Cf. St. John Seymour, *The Puritans in Ireland, 1647–1661* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 126–129.

²⁸ Robert Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland Under the Commonwealth: Being a Selection of Documents Relating to the Government of Ireland from 1651 to 1659* (Manchester, 1913), ii, 557.

souldiers have bin perverted by them, and amongst the rest his highness's cornet to his owne troop [Edward Cooke] is a professed quaker, and hathe writte to me in their stile. Major Hodden, the governor of Kinsale is, I feare, goeing that way; he keepes one of them to preach to the souldiers. I thinke their principles and practises are not verry consistent with civil government, much less with the discipline of an army. Some thinke them to have noe designe, but I am not of that opinion. Their counterfeited simplicitie renders them to me the more dangerous.²⁹

In this passage it is made clear that the Quaker practice of rejecting oaths and refusing to use titles and flattering speech (part of their testimony on equality and simplicity) troubled Henry Cromwell, for he felt that these struck at some of the things necessary for the survival of "civil government" and the "discipline of the army." In the back of his mind there appears to have been still another worry—the possibility of a military or political uprising by the Quakers. This fear should not surprise us, for the peace testimony had not yet arisen among Friends (thus, the great missionary activity directed towards soldiers by Howgill and the tremendous response on their part in County Cork). It was at this very time, in 1655/6, that Oliver Cromwell himself twice asked for and obtained George Fox's promise that "he would not take up carnall sword or weapon against the Lord protector or the government as it now is."³⁰ The first public statement of Friends' peace testimony did not appear until 1660/1.

The sword of persecution was hanging in readiness at the end of 1655. Howgill says that "the priests are all in a rage and postes up and down with lies and Informers against the officers who have receaved us: and all Is on fire and they rode 100 mile and gott an order from the Counsall at Dublin the eleventh month [January] to examine me and send me bound to Dublin."³¹ The order was sent on to Cork rather than Kinsale. Shortly thereafter

²⁹ *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (London, 1742), IV, 508. Cf. IV, 530, where Thurloe in England responds on February 12 that this is the first mention of Quakers in Ireland which he has received from Henry Cromwell, and also notes that they "are much growen heere in numbers." For Major Peter Wallis see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 54 (1976), 12-14; Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*, ii.591, 592.

³⁰ Friends House Library, London, Portfolio 33, folios 157-158. Cf. George Fox, ed. J. L. Nickalls, *Journal*, (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 191-195, 197-198.

³¹ A. R. Barclay MSS., LXI.

Major Hodden was turned out as Commissioner of Peace and as Governor because of his opposition to this order to send Howgill to Dublin.³² Howgill himself was afraid that Colonel Phaire might likewise be removed, for "he is nouble and sayth more [good] is done by the Quakers than all the prests in the County hath done [in] a 100 years."³³

Persecution waxed heavy in Kinsale. Not only was Hodden removed from office, but his wife was put in prison "for speaking to a Priest in the Steeple-house" there.³⁴ Lieutenant Mason, Deputy-Governor of Kinsale, had also shown "moderation" towards Friends and for this reason "he was complained of, and put out of his Employment in the Army."³⁵ Edward Braifield, "a Souldier in the Deputies Troops," was sent to prison for six months and whipped at "the house of Correction in Bandon-bridge" for speaking to people in the "Steeple-house" at Kinsale after the "Teacher" had finished.³⁶ Daniel Massey, "a Souldier," was imprisoned for the same reason, as were Evan Davis of Bandon and Philip Dymond of Cork.³⁷ Ananias Kelloe and John Moor, "Souldiers of Major Hoddens Company," were turned "out of the Army, for Owing the Truth, and for setting up a paper against Drunkenness, and refusing to go to the Steeple-house."³⁸ Two unnamed soldiers belonging to Kinsale Fort were put in a hog-stie for "speaking to a Priest."³⁹ Lucretia Cooke of Bandon was twice imprisoned at Kinsale, once "for speaking a few words to the Priest and people" and another time for "desiring to speak to the chief Magistrate there about Prisoners."⁴⁰ Her husband Edward was arrested in the street at Kinsale

³² *Ibid.*, LXV.

³³ *Ibid.*, LXV.

³⁴ *To the Parliament of England, Who are in place to do Justice, and to break the Bonds of the Oppressed. A Narrative of the Cruel, and Unjust Sufferings of the People of God in the Nation of Ireland, called Quakers* (London, 1659), p. 5.

³⁵ A. Fuller and T. Holmes, *A Compendious View of Some Extraordinary Sufferings of the People call'd Quakers, Both in Person and Substance, in the Kingdom of Ireland, From the Year 1655 to the End of the Reign of George the First* (Dublin, 1731), p. 125.

³⁶ *To the Parliament of England*, p. 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2, 3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2; see also Besse, *Sufferings*, ii.460. For John Moor see G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.*; Fox, *Camb. jnl.*, (Cambridge, 1911) ii.386.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

and was sent to prison with no cause given.⁴¹ John Butler was put in prison for visiting prisoners in Kinsale.⁴²

The same sort of treatment was meted out in Bandon. Edward Cooke, "Cornet to the Protectors own Troop, was put out of the armie for Owing the Truth." He had brass and pewter, worth about thirty shillings, taken from him for not "paying to the Repair of the Steeple-house" in Bandon. Because the "servants of the Lord Meet together every First day" at his Bandon house, Cooke also "hath his windowes broken by the people of that Town, and great stones thrown in thereat; and had one of his Children wounded, so that he and his Family are in danger of their lives."⁴³ James Atteridge was imprisoned for "speaking a few words in the Steeple-house at Bandon," was twice whipped (receiving a total of eighty stripes), and "when he was let out of the whipping stocks, he kneeled down and prayed, and the Goaler [gaoler] whipt him till he arose from prayers; and for asking the Priest a question (with his Bible in his hand) was put into the house of Correction two Moneths and there whipped."⁴⁴ Thomas Shaw, one of the early "First Publishers" who arrived shortly after the persecution broke out, was arrested for propounding two questions to a priest at Bandon and received sixteen weeks of imprisonment and thirty lashes.⁴⁵ William Morris, once a Captain and one of the earliest convincements in the North, had been "put out of the Army" by Henry Cromwell for "owning Truth." He was put in Bridewell for "appearing in the Court at Bandon (being warned thither) with his hat on his head."⁴⁶ John Butler was imprisoned for speaking a few words in the Bandon graveyard.⁴⁷

Cork also produced its share of persecution of Quakers. Thomas Michell, "late a Lt. in the Army," was kicked and abused for speaking to the mayor of Cork, and he was also kept in jail five weeks for speaking a few words in the "Steeple-house." Susanna Michell was likewise imprisoned

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2. For James Attridge see G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3. Cf. Friends' Historical Library, Dublin, volume A.11: National Sufferings (1655-1693), p. 3.

⁴⁷ *To the Parliament of England*, p. 2.

by the mayor for speaking to the priest in the "Steeple-house."⁴⁸ For a similar offence prison became the lot of Jane Tadpoole, Francis Bostocke, Mary Gregory, and Philip Dymond.⁴⁹ John Connor was "committed to the Guard" simply for "passing the Street in Corke towards a meeting."⁵⁰ Steven Harris was imprisoned by the mayor of Cork for speaking to him and had the "biggest Iron bolts" put on him.⁵¹ Robert Malin, a soldier, was imprisoned in Cork for speaking to the priest and people.⁵²

The persecution soon spread to other areas such as Youghal, Wexford, and Waterford. John Browne, a Master Gunner in Youghal, was "put out of his place" for being a Quaker and was later imprisoned for speaking "a few words in the Steeple-house,"⁵³ Meetings there were broken up and worshippers were imprisoned, as well as there being the usual number of arrests for "speaking in the steeple-house."⁵⁴ Richard Poole was "put out of the Army for his love to the Truth" and was imprisoned twice, for speaking to people at Wexford and at Waterford.⁵⁵ Charles Collins, "late a Lieutenant in the Armie," for not swearing or taking off his hat, was fined £20.⁵⁶ Thomas Holme, "late a Captain in the Army" suffered greatly when a meeting he was attending in Wexford was broken up.⁵⁷

In addition to the cashiering of Quaker officers and soldiers from the Army (and the accompanying persecution of Quakers, both civilian and military), there was another very important development which stemmed from Henry Cromwell's fear of the Quakers as his "most considerable enemy nowe". This was the banishment from Ireland of "Publishers of Truth." Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, after some months of labour in Waterford and Kilkenny, were apprehended by the Sheriff at Cork by the order of the Council in Dublin, and

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 1. He was also placed in the stocks at Bandon for the same reason. See also G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.* (Malins).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

from thence (by Guards of Sould[iers]) carryed from Garrison to Garrison, unto Dublin, and there committed to the Sergeant at Armes, and afterwards in a violent manner forced into a ship, and banished the Nation; and all of this onely for being called Quakers.⁵⁸

During the examination which was held before Henry Cromwell and his Council,

no manner of Evill [was] charged upon them; though they were committed to the Sergeant at Armes, and kept prisoners for many dayes, and unjustly sent away contrary to all law and equity; and without any manner of reason shewne to them for such proceedings; who could not be convinced of the breach of any law, nor any other thing charged against them saving that they were the servants of God, and thus for the name of Jesus they were persecuted by unrighteous men; contrary to the law of God of of these nations.⁵⁹

The Council also banished Ann Gold [Gould] and Juliana Browne (who had been labouring in the North of Ireland), James Lancaster, and several other "public Friends."⁶⁰ This led to banishment of visiting Quaker missionaries from still other ports—such as Frances Smith from Kinsale, and Barbara Blagdon and Sarah Bennett from Cork.⁶¹

It was the hope of Henry Cromwell (and of the "priests" who encouraged him in his attack on Quakers) that these measures would end the threat of Quakerism. They really underestimated the strength of the new movement, for in their few brief months of activity Howgill, Burrough, and other "First Publishers" had raised up a number of local leaders—both from within the Army and outside. These included ex-officers such as Charles Collins, Edward Cooke, Richard Hodden, Thomas Holme, Stephen Rich, and James Sicklemore, and ex-soldiers such as William Ames, William Blanch, Ananias Kelloe, Robert Malin, Daniel Massey, and Richard Poole. Also to be found in the growing list of Irish "Publishers of Truth" were Lucretia Cooke, John Luffe, Mary Malin, and John Perrot. In addition to these "home-grown" Quaker "Publishers" there continued

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 6-7. Cf. Dunlop, *op. cit.*, II, 563, where we find that it was "Ordered that the Quakers in Dublin be sent to Chester. Quakers at Waterford to be shipped to Bristol. 21 and 30 Jan." [1656].

to be a stream of Friends from England carrying the new message to Ireland: Thomas Shaw, William Shaw, Hunphrey Norton, John Stubbs, Mary Howgill, and others.

Shortly after the banishment of Burrough and Howgill from Munster (and Ireland) there finally began the Quaker "assault" on Limerick, the last large town and garrison in Munster (and the last major one in all the west except for Galway). Both "Irish" and English Quakers participated in this attempt to bring the Quaker message to Limerick. Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, who served as Governor of Limerick, was apparently waiting for them and was determined to use the full weight and power of his office to keep travelling Friends out—whether they might be "public" or "private," "Irish" or English. Colonel Ingoldsby "set forth a Proclamation in Limerick, . . . that no Inhabitant of that City should receive any Quaker into their house, upon Penalty of being turned out of that Town."⁶²

One of the first cases which arose under this proclamation centered around John Browne of Youghal, who had come to Limerick to receive £50 due him from a merchant there. Browne himself was arrested, sent "from Constable to Constable to Youghal, without being brought before him [Ingoldsby] or any other Magistrate to be examined, and so would not suffer him to do his said business." Richard Pierce of Limerick, an apothecary and formerly a soldier, who had entertained his friend John Browne, had £5 in goods taken from him for having shown hospitality to this Quaker who had come on lawful business.⁶³

James Sicklemore ("late a Capt. in the Armie") and John Perrot, both of whom had been convinced by Edward Burrough during his labour at Waterford,⁶⁴ were both arrested on April 1, 1656, less than half an hour after their arrival in Limerick "because they were met [with the inhabitants of Limerick] at the house of one Capt. Wilkinson." They were imprisoned for some days, and Ingoldsby allowed no

⁶² *To the Parliament of England*, p. 5. For Sir Henry Ingoldsby (1622–1701), twice created a baronet, 1658 and 1660, see *D.N.B.*; Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

⁶⁴ Friends House Library, Markey MS., 104, contains a letter from Edward Burrough (dated Waterford, 21st of 11th Month, 1655) in which he notes that "one Capt. Sicclemore" and John Perrot "hath been with me about a week writing notes & papers." He says that Perrot "was Emminent in the Nation & is a pretty Man, & servicable to me for writing."

more than three or four people at a time to come hear them. Ingoldsby had them taken to the "synagogue" to listen to the priest. When Perrot asked for permission to "prophesie"⁶⁵ at the end of the sermon, he was attacked, carried out of the church, and banished from the city.⁶⁶

Ten days after being banished Perrot returned to Limerick, attending a meeting for worship at Captain Wilkinson's house on First Day. This meeting was interrupted by a guard of soldiers, and Perrot was carried to prison where he was shut up "close" with no one allowed to visit him. That night a "council" of justices and priests met and had Perrot brought before them for examination, trying to "catch" him so that they would have grounds to send him to Dublin. Perrot was indicted and then sent on to Dublin where he was kept a prisoner for a considerable period of time.⁶⁷

William Ames, formerly of the Army and later to become the great "apostle" of Quakerism in Holland, was arrested for attending a meeting for worship in Limerick. He was again arrested for being at a "Steeple-house" there and was imprisoned a second time. For having written to Colonel Ingoldsby, he was brought out of prison "into the Main-Guard, and there with his own hand [Ingoldsby] did beat and strick him to the ground, and kicked him, and caused him to be tied neck and heels in the street, the bloud running down from him as he lay tyed."⁶⁸ At the same time Ingoldsby beat William Blanch (also a former

⁶⁵ In many churches at this time there was an open period for "prophesying" (interpreting the scriptures) after the sermon.

⁶⁶ Lansdowne MSS., 821, f. 127, letter from John Perrot to Henry Cromwell, from the Marshalls of the Court of Dublin, dated 1st of 3rd Month (May), 1656. Concerning John Perrot, cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot (Jnl. F.H.S., Supp. no. 33, London, 1970)*.

⁶⁷ Lansdowne MSS., 821, f. 127. Perrot tells Henry Cromwell that he looks upon all his suffering, persecution, beatings, imprisonment, etc., as "being for the lords sake, & for his everlasting truthes sake I beare with Content: it being the yoake of my lord and saviour & the taking up of his Crowne of Thorns." Cf. *To the Parliament of England*, p. 6, where this second imprisonment in Limerick is said to have lasted "many days" before he was sent on to Dublin. We know that he was beaten at Waterford, but do not have record of his other beatings.

⁶⁸ *To the Parliament of England*, p. 7. Cf. Fuller and Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 105, where we are told that Ames was left tied in this manner "in the Street in the Night-time, and cold Winter-season." Ames, who was born near Bristol, served in the Army in Ireland where he became a Baptist. He and William Caton became the "founders" of Dutch Quakerism. Ames died in Holland in 1662. See also *D.N.B.*; G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.*

soldier) and put him in prison for several days for visiting his fellow Quakers in prison.⁶⁹

Barbara Blagdon, one of the many English Friends who travelled to Ireland in 1655–1656, was arrested by Ingoldsby's soldiers while walking along the streets of Limerick and was imprisoned and then banished from the city. John Luffe (an "Irish" Friend, who may have visited New England in 1656 before accompanying John Perrot on his visit to the Mediterranean area, where Luffe died in a Roman Prison in 1658) attempted to speak to Ingoldsby about Barbara Blagdon before she was banished, but "the said Col. being then at Bowles (as his usual manner was) did kick and beat him, and said, 'This rogue hath bewitched my Bowls.'" ⁷⁰ Sarah Bennett, who travelled with Barbara Blagdon, was taken from a meeting for worship in Limerick, "put into prison, and there ill used." Ingoldsby ordered that no one should "visit her in the Prison, nor have necessary supply of food and bedding brought to her by her friends, nor yet pen ink and paper to make known her want, or the want of any other friend then in bonds with her." Then the two women were sent "towards Corke (as Vagabonds) from Constable to Constable, to be banished the land."⁷¹

In addition to trying to silence the "Publishers of Truth," Ingoldsby broke up Friends' meetings for worship, imprisoned the worshippers, and even physically abused some of them.⁷² He also had a guard of soldiers break open the doors and plunder the houses of Thomas Phelps, Richard Pierce, and Thomas Holme, taking away "what books and papers they pleased."⁷³

Ingoldsby himself wrote to Henry Cromwell in 1656

⁶⁹ *To the Parliament of England*, p. 7. For William Blanch of Waterford see G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 6. Cf. Barbara Blagdon, *An Account of the Travels . . . of Barbara Blaugdone* (London, 1691), pp. 22–28, where she notes that she arrived in Dublin the very day that Howgill and Burrough were banished; she then visited Henry Cromwell, went to Cork, "had a Prison almost where-ever I came," and "was in Jeopardy of my Life several times." On a return trip to Ireland she was imprisoned in Dublin, where she was visited in prison by Sir William King, Colonel Fare [Phaire] and the Lady Browne, who said they "had knowne me from a Child" and succeeded in obtaining her release (pp. 28–34).

⁷³ *To the Parliament of England*, p. 7.

to explain and defend his treatment of Quakers in Limerick, having learned that "Capt. Holmes a discontented Quaker" of Limerick had petitioned "My Lord" against Ingoldsby.⁷⁴ He notes that, among other things, he has acted in a number of ways: (1) "A Sarjeant that was chaseird [cashiered] the army about Waterford for abusing the country, gave me such base Language in a Letter, being a Quaker, that I was forc'd to beate him into better Manners, another fellow I serv[e]d soe that brought me base Letters, w[hi]ch has given mee freedom from that trouble ever since."⁷⁵ (2) He had discovered a Quaker meeting at Captain Holmes' [Holme?] house one Sunday, with a "great Number of Strandgers and discontented persons together." He had, therefore, sent a guard there to capture any "strange" [non-local] Quakers. The guard, which broke down the door of the house, was resisted by a Lieutenant Waller, "who was amongst the Company that resisted the guard and thow hee pleaded his Excuse yett I thought it convenient to suspend him his Employment for a while, to make him sensible of his folly."⁷⁶ (3) He allowed no "strange" Quakers to meet in his garrison and fined Richard Pierce's wife (in the absence of her husband) twenty shillings for entertaining a "strange" Quaker without giving notice as required by Ingoldsby's proclamation. (4) "Those Souldiers that were Quakers I chasheired them by a court martiall out of the Army." This was not "barely for [their] being Quakers, but for their disobedience to theire officers, & things off that nature." This stern action, he believed, has "cur'd *more than a hundred*⁷⁷ off that Aguish distemper they weare Inclineinge to."

Ingoldsby's letter, when viewed in the light of early Quaker accounts of suffering at his hands, shows several significant things about Quakerism and the Cromwellian

⁷⁴ Lansdowne MSS., 822, f. 117. Cf. transcription of this letter in *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 7 (1910), 56-58.

⁷⁵ Was this ex-serjeant William Ames, William Blanch, John Luffe, or John Perrot? The first two are known to have been in the Army and to have been beaten, while we do not know about the background of Luffe and Perrot.

⁷⁶ This was about three months before Ingoldsby wrote his letter. Ingoldsby thought that Capt. Holme's complaint must have been about this episode. Thomas Holme lived in Wexford after coming out of the Army.

⁷⁷ Italics added

Army in the microcosm of Limerick: (1) A number of officers here, just as in Bandon, Cork, and Kinsale, had been attracted to Quakerism—especially Captain Thomas Holmes, Captain Robert Wilkinson, and Lieutenant Waller. (2) In a few brief months, in spite of Ingoldsby's opposition, *more than a hundred soldiers* in the Limerick garrison had been attracted to the new movement. (3) Ingoldsby was so adamant in his opposition, that he employed physical abuse, imprisonment, banishment, and even cashiering people out of the Army to counteract Quakerism.

This same appeal of Quakerism to soldiers in the Cromwellian Army in Ireland, which has been seen in Bandon, Cork, Kinsale, and Limerick, is also met in Galway, the major city and garrison in Connaught. Very little information about Quakerism in Galway is extant today, but there does exist one very interesting 1657 letter from the Reverend Reuben Easthorp to Henry Cromwell, in which Easthorp gives Cromwell a summary of the religious situation in Galway—speaking of the Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchists, and other groups which were very active there. He notes, in passing, that “Our quakers do gett [gain] ground, & *a hundred soldiers* & others meet together at a tyme at their assemblies.”⁷⁸

Our sources show that Quakerism experienced great growth in the Cromwellian Army in Ireland in 1655–1656 (and even down into 1657, as seen in the Galway area). Yet there existed a number of forces which guaranteed that this was but a temporary development which could not last. First of all, there was the opposition of Henry Cromwell himself—which was motivated by a largely unfounded fear of Quakers as a military/political threat to the Protectorate.⁷⁹ Second, there was Cromwell's decision to reduce the size of the Army (which both saved money and reduced the “threat” from Quakers and Baptists). The Cromwellian Army in Ireland, which had once numbered 34,000 men, was reduced to about 14,000 or 15,000 by

⁷⁸ Lansdowne MSS., 822, f. 246. This letter is dated June 11, 1657. Italics added. Cf. *Ibid.*, 822, f. 77, where there is found mention of Robert Whitesone (“drummer to Major Hoddens late Company”), who is a soldier and the first Quaker to create a disturbance at Ross (May 26, 1657, letter from Lt. Col. John Nelson).

⁷⁹ Cf. Thurloe, *State Papers*, IV, 757 (London, May 12, 1656 [N.S.]), for rumours of an uprising caused by Quakers in Colonel Phair's regiment.

1658.⁸⁰ Still a third important factor was the opposition of many of the higher officers in the Army. The antagonism of Colonel Ingoldsby has already been noted. His activity must not have constituted the only effort to cashier Quakers out of the Army. The ruling powers had a special concern to keep travelling Friends out of the garrisons, so that they would not have access to soldiers. In 1656 a letter encouraged Colonel Ingoldsby (the last official needing such encouragement!) to see that ministering Friends, whether from England or other parts of Ireland, be "excluded [from] the garrison and not permitted to return or reside there."⁸¹ William Morris and James Atteridge, in 1658, were both put in the stocks and then imprisoned for "speaking a few words in love and meekness to the people & souldiers who were met together in the guardhouse."⁸² Other officers (often Baptist or Presbyterian) also used their authority to stop travelling Quakers from reaching appointed meetings. Major Daniel Redman, for example, wrote to Henry Cromwell that he and Captain Franks were at Waterford where about one hundred Quakers had already gathered together. Redman and Franks turned back a number of Quakers, thus keeping the group from reaching two hundred in number. He also reported that Justice Cooke, Colonel Leigh, and several others spent several hours trying to convince the Quakers (who had gathered in a great barn) of their folly but had little effect. Redman advised Colonel Leigh not to allow any more Quaker gatherings in Waterford.⁸³

Some Quakers were still in the Cromwellian Army in 1657-1658 in spite of the above developments. Still another factor, however, would soon bring about their complete disappearance from such a setting: the developing *peace testimony* which was independently arising throughout Quakerism, in Britain, the West Indies, and the American mainland colonies such as Maryland. Even in Ireland this

⁸⁰ Firth, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁸¹ Dunlop, *op. cit.*, II, 637-38.

⁸² Mountmellick Monthly Meeting Register of Sufferings (G. 17), p. 9. This volume is to be found in Friends' Historical Library, Dublin.

⁸³ Lansdowne MSS., 821, f. 344. This letter is dated Kilkenny, 15 March 1656 [1657]. Daniel Redman was knighted after the Restoration; see Firth & Davies, *op. cit.* For Col. William Leigh, governor of Waterford, see Firth & Davies, *op. cit.*

same development was already under way at the end of 1656. Robert Evans, describing himself as a "prisoner for truth's sake," wrote to Henry Cromwell and Sir Hadrin Waller from Bridewell in Dublin on the 3rd of 11th Month [January], 1656 [1657], asking for his back pay as a soldier and for a discharge from the Army. Evans no longer felt able to serve as a soldier, but he was willing to serve the Commonwealth in some other capacity. Evans, in this letter, does not specifically describe himself as a Quaker, but the language and dates are quite clearly Quaker, as is the absence of flattering titles.⁸⁴ Shortly thereafter Robert Evans is listed among Friends.⁸⁵ This last factor, the rise of the "peace testimony," was the "clincher" which brought about the disappearance of Quakerism in the Cromwellian Army in Ireland even before the end of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

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⁸⁴ Lansdowne MSS., 821, f. 260.

⁸⁵ Robert Pentland Mahaffy (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1669-1670, Addenda 1625-1670* (London, 1910), pp. 373-377, contains an abstract of "Copy of a Brief Roll presented to the King of England" in 1661 and signed (p. 377) by fifty-five "Irish" Friends including Robert Evans, Richard Hodden, John Browne, Edward Cooke and others mentioned earlier in this article.