

Quaker Slaves in Algiers, 1679–1688

SEVERAL times recently, while reading in the minutes of Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting,¹ I sensed the need for a deeper examination of the experiences of the seventeenth century Quaker captives in Algiers (and in the Barbary States). Brief references to their tragic situation appear in such works as Braithwaite's *The Second Period of Quakerism*² and Hirst's *The Quakers in Peace and War*.³ There is also a short pamphlet by Samuel Tuke, produced over a century and a quarter ago,⁴ composed largely of selected passages from minutes of London Yearly Meeting and Meeting for Sufferings. The story of these Quaker captives, however, is much richer and fuller than any of these works has suggested.

Algerine and Barbary crews roamed the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic looking for ships to capture and Europeans to enslave. George Fox, while on his journey to America in 1671, noted the consternation and fear caused on board his ship by the appearance in the distance of what was judged to be a "Sally man of warr" [Sali, Morocco], and the narrow escape which he and his fellow passengers then had.⁵ Thomas Lurting and his Quaker captain, George Pattison, were captured by an Algerine corsair but escaped slavery in Algiers by taking their captors prisoner (and then landing them on the Algiers coast and setting them free).⁶

A large number of Quaker seamen and passengers, however, did not have the good luck of Pattison, Lurting, and Fox. Late in the 1670s growing numbers of Friends were taken captive—so that a small Quaker community came into being in Algiers. About the very time that the last members

¹ Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings, Friends House Library, London. These records are hereafter referred to as Meeting for Sufferings minutes.

² William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, second edition and notes by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 431, 696.

³ Margaret E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War* (London, 1923) pp. 78–80, 454.

⁴ Samuel Tuke, *Account of the Slavery of Friends in the Barbary States Towards the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1848).

⁵ Fox, *Camb. jnl.* (1911), II, 181–2, 215, 437.

⁶ Hirst, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–88.

of this group made their way to England, another body of Quaker captives appeared in Mequiness in South Barbary [Meknes, Morocco] and in Morbay (unidentified, several days journey away).

Probably Quakers first became slaves in Algiers in 1678, although our earliest references in Meeting for Sufferings records date from 1679, when John Lany and Levin Bufkin were being held prisoners there. On May 29, 1679, Meeting for Sufferings decided to lay the case of these two Friends before the next Yearly Meeting.⁷ The Yearly Meeting in June 1679, expressing its concern for "several friends taken captive by the Turks in Algier," instructed Meeting for Sufferings to recommend a general collection (to be taken up throughout the country) for the use of these captives.⁸ Early in July a committee, appointed by the Six Weeks Meeting and Meeting for Sufferings, was asked to look into the questions of how many Friends were held captive, the cost of their redemption, how to handle the mechanics of reimbursing the "costs and charge" of their redemption, and "the method and manner to collect the money to be laid out."⁹ It was decided that all people to be redeemed by Friends should have "a sufficient certificate or testimony of their being friends of Truth from the monthly meeting they belong to or otherwise."¹⁰ Also, those Friends ransomed were to be asked to enter into a bond to repay the amount expended for their release.¹¹

William Meade, John Osgood, William Shewen, and Samuel Groome were empowered to negotiate with some merchants trading with Algiers to ransom Levin Bufkin and John Lany. Mary Fisher was asked to write to Bufkin's relations for financial assistance.¹² Ellis Hookes was requested to draw up a letter to "be dispersed abroad about the Nation about a Collection to redeem several friends in Captivitie in Algiers."¹³ This letter, actually produced by William Shewen,

⁷ Meeting for Sufferings minutes, I (1675-1680), 103.

⁸ Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, I, 67. These manuscript records are found in Friends House Library, London. They are hereafter referred to as London Yearly Meeting minutes.

⁹ Meeting for Sufferings minutes, I, 108-9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 109.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 110.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 110.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 113.

was then "read, amended, and ordered copied" by Hooke to send to all the Quarterly Meetings in England and Wales.¹⁴

As Meeting for Sufferings was just initiating this redemption effort it was discovered that a number of other Friends were in captivity. A certificate was produced for Bartholomew Coale of Limehouse (and a member of Ratcliff Meeting).¹⁵ William Morgan of Redruth and Henry Tregenoe of Truro Meeting in Cornwall were also found to be captives.¹⁶ Thomas Everden of Canterbury asked for help in ransoming his son George, although the son was not "found in Truth." Everden was asked to lay the case before his own Monthly Meeting first.¹⁷ Meeting for Sufferings discouraged private collections among Friends (such as Philip Dysey's efforts on behalf of William Morgan), saying that all efforts should come through the appointed committee.¹⁸

On October 9 it was learned that Bartholomew Coale's wife had raised £50 towards his ransom, so that Meeting for Sufferings agreed to provide the additional £40 required.¹⁹ By December 4 Coale had been redeemed.²⁰ Early in January 1679-80 Levin Bufkin was reported freed and set ashore "with Mary Forster's son" (John Lany?) in France. Bufkin was then seeking money for passage to England.²¹

Just when it appeared that the whole Quaker contingent might be redeemed, Friends learned that a number of other Quakers were captives. The well-known Friend Daniel Baker and three of his sons (Thomas, Daniel, and John) had been taken to Algiers in November 1679.²² Thomas Tyleby [Taulby, Tileby, Tailbey], a "public" Friend on his way from Jamaica to London on Daniel Baker's ship, was also held prisoner there,²³ as was Gerard Serrenson [Sefferenson,

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 116.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 111.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 116, 117.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 124.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 115, 116.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 122.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 129. Meeting for Sufferings authorized the payment of £20 to each of the two Friends who had given the money needed for his redemption.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 135.

²² *Ibid.*, I, 137.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 138. It may be that this was the "ship from Virginia" mentioned in the 1679 letter appealing for funds (perhaps coming via Jamaica)—cf. Manuscripts, Portfolio 16, item number 13, Friends House Library, London.

Seffreason, Serencer], a Dane or Norwegian.²⁴ They were soon joined by Nicholas Coker and John Claggett (an apprentice to Henry Tregenoe).²⁵

In March 1680 Meeting for Sufferings noted that Friends Stock (the fund for relief of captives) was too small for the demands on it. At the same time, however, that Friends were being asked for more money, it was thought advisable to recommend that they also contribute to the public collections for redemption of prisoners in Algiers "and other parts of Turkey" lest there be occasion "to debarr or exclude all such who are called Quakers from the benefit of this public Brief."²⁶ Reports of the sufferings experienced by some Friends in Algiers speeded up redemption collections and efforts. John Claggett was "used very severely," receiving "20 stripes together and that most days to make him turn Moare [Muslim, that is]."²⁷ Ratcliff Meeting reported early in 1680 that James Braynes had fallen "into the hands of a beastly Patrone, who because he will not prostrate his body to his cursed will, hath (as we are Credibly informed) beat him 2 or 300 Blows & more. Such Cruel things he hath and (as far as we know) doth yet suffer."²⁸ Francis Cooley, a servant to Daniel Baker and also a captive in Algiers, suffered "great extremity of hard usage from his patroon, [and was] severely beaten because he would not submit his body to his patroone's sodomy or buggery."²⁹

The National Stock Account records show a growing stream of contributions for "redemption of Captives," starting late in 1678. Most of the early contributions came from London, the South, and the West.³⁰ Soon, however, money began to arrive from the North: from Derbyshire, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire.³¹ Irish Friends contributed heavily, with £189..17..10 coming from Cork

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 140.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 144.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 142-3; see W. A. Bewes, *Church briefs*, 1896, p. 287.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 144.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 148. Ratcliff Meeting reported that this "lad" had been orderly and had frequented that meeting when in England.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 171, 173.

³⁰ National Stock Accounts, I (1678-1716), 8a. These manuscript records are found in Friends House Library, London.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 2a, 3a.

and £333.4.2 from Dublin.³² Irish Quakers expressed a desire to help redeem Daniel Baker and his three sons.³³ They soon learned that Robert Barret of Cork (who had been a captive since 1675) had recently been convinced of Friends testimonies.³⁴ The Men's Meeting at Port Royal in Jamaica expressed its hope that Meeting for Sufferings might procure the release of Thomas Tyleby ("late inhabitant of Jamaica") and promised that they would reimburse Meeting for Sufferings.³⁵ Barbados Friends sent money for the ransoming of Richard Clare, with the provision that if he were dead the money might be used for Daniel Baker and his sons.³⁶

Although Levin Bufkin, John Lany, and Bartholomew Coale had been redeemed by early 1680, no other redemptions proved possible during the next twelve months. Bufkin, who had reached London in March 1680, gave a "judgment and bond" to repay the £100 used to ransom him. He later became ill and required additional money for care before once more setting out for Virginia (where he had been bound when taken captive). He also gave security for this additional amount, as well as the cost of his passage to Virginia.³⁷ There is no mention of further aid to Coale or Lany.

Early in 1680 Meeting for Sufferings drew up a list of seven captives (out of the larger number there) which were recommended for redemption first.³⁸ Even while Friends were collecting money and negotiating for the release of these seven, a number of other Quakers were taken as captives to Algiers—including Thomas Swan (a "young boy," who is "an Honest Boy, professing Truth"), John Harris, and Benjamin Guy (both of Ratcliff Monthly Meeting), and William

³² *Ibid.*, I, 3a. Thomas Cook of Cork wrote that he believed Irish Friends would give much more toward this cause. Cork Friends expressed their desire that any Irish Friends who were captives might be assisted—cf. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, II (1680–1683), 6.

³³ Meeting for Suffering minutes, I, 160.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 156, 159. Lucretia Cook, once an influential Irish Friend but now living in England, had received a letter from Barret.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 163.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 24.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, I, 11. In April 1680 the cost of his redemption and "charges homeward" were listed as £93 . . 13 . . 9. Another £ had been necessary for his "care" when ill and his passage to Virginia.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 148. These were Daniel and John Baker, Henry Tregenoe, Gerard Serencer, Thomas Tyleby, George Everden, and John Claggett. Two of Baker's sons (older than John), Nicholas Coker, and James Braynes "the younger" (a cousin of James Braines, Sr.) were not included in this list.

Sidrole.³⁹ In March 1681 James Braines, Senior, reported that his son-in-law Henry Tregenoe had been redeemed for 3,400 dollars (about £770 sterling), with £140 of this amount being provided by Meeting for Sufferings.⁴⁰ In May 1681 Gerard Serrenson, Thomas Swan, and George Everden were redeemed and already in Marseilles on their way home to England.⁴¹ John Harris was ransomed by James Braines without any cost to the National Stock (having conducted private collections among Friends).⁴²

Sometime quite early in the life of this Quaker group in Algiers, a meeting for worship was established among them. It may possibly have originated about the very time that Robert Barret was convinced (late in 1679),⁴³ for it was about this same time that Daniel Baker and Thomas Tyleby (a "public" Friend) arrived there.⁴⁴ The first official notice of this meeting, however, appears to have reached George Fox and English Friends in a letter from a captive (Daniel Baker?) dated December 1681, Fox responded in a letter of March 17, 1681/2:

I understand . . . that you have a Meeting there in Algier of about Twenty, I am glad to hear you meet; and it is very well, that you have so much Liberty from your Patroons; and my desire is, That the Lord may preserve you all, that do meet in the Name of Jesus, that in your Lives, and Conversations, and Words, you may preach Righteousness and Holiness, and Godliness, and the Life of Truth; so that you may answer the Spirit of God, both in the Turks and Moors, and the rest of the Captives.⁴⁵

George Fox wrote several other letters "to Friends that are Captive in Algier," including one on April 10, 1683, in

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 15, 24.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 32. Tregenoe's own family was too poor to help in this ransom, for they were in "low circumstances," having suffered much for "Truth's Sake," *Ibid.*, I, 126.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 47-48. The cost for Serrenson and Swan was 413 dollars and 4 Ryalls (£208 . . . 11 . . . 9 1/2 in English money). Thomas Everden provided most of the amount for his son's ransom.

⁴² *Ibid.*, II, 48.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, I, 159.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 137, 138.

⁴⁵ George Fox, *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles* (London, 1698), epistle 366, (p. 455). This letter is mentioned in Meeting for Suffering minutes, II, 101, where we also find mention of the meeting in Algiers (as if it were fairly recent in origin). Cf. London Yearly Meeting minutes for 1682, where the meeting is said to have been in existence for some time.

which he attempts to give them both encouragement and religious instruction. In addition to advising these Friends how to handle certain sayings of "Turks" against Christianity, Fox tell them that "I think you have more Liberty to meet there than we have here; for they keep us out of our Meetings, and cast us into Prison, and spoil our Goods. And therefore prize your Liberty in your Meetings, and do not abuse it."⁴⁶ Fox likewise sent a number of Quaker publications to be given to the Turks, as well as advising the captives that

it would be very well for you, if you could get the Turks and Moors Language, that you might be the more inabled to direct them to the Grace and Spirit of God in them, which they have from God, in their Hearts; and then get[t]ing their Language, you would be able to write and translate any Papers to them, which may be serviceable to instruct them, and for the spreading of the Truth among the Turks and Moors.⁴⁷

Moses Finch, who was one of those Friends meeting for worship in Algiers, later told Meeting for Sufferings in London that "They were suffered to meet openly [and] peaceably together; Moors and Turks having been there to see them without molestation."⁴⁸ Ephraim Gilbert a short time later reported that "the Turks like very well of it that the captives read Friends books, they count them the better for it. Their meeting is quiet, twice a week, and [they] have no interruption by the Turks. The Turks and Moors say that the Q[ua]kers are a simple Innocent people, they know they won't steal."⁴⁹ Roger Udy, even later, told Meeting for Sufferings that "the Turks Approved of Friends meetings there, and were very desirous to know Friends way of worship etc.—by Reason that they saw them to be a quiet sort of People and that they would not steal and Plunder from their Patroons as the other Captives did."⁵⁰

With the establishment of this meeting for worship came a number of convincements to Quakerism among the other captives. The case of Robert Barret (of Cork in Ireland) has already been mentioned. Among those convinced were

⁴⁶ Fox, *Epistles*, epistle 388 (p. 493).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, epistle 388 (p. 493).

⁴⁸ Meeting for Sufferings minutes, IV (1684-1685), 34.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 98.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, VI (1687-1688), 197.

Samuel New,⁵¹ Thomas Fletcher,⁵² Joseph Todderdell [Todderal] and his brother Henry,⁵³ Ephraim Gilbert,⁵⁴ and possibly Richard Long.⁵⁵ Other members of this meeting, either Friends when captured or convinced while enslaved (in addition to the individuals already mentioned) were John Legate,⁵⁶ James Hathaway [Hattaway], James Goodridge [Gutherige], Roger Udy, Nathan Stanbury (of Antigua), John Ward, Francis Jackson, William Starks, William Howard, Roger Rumney, and John Grimes.⁵⁷

Although there appears to have been a general appreciation of the captives' reading Quaker materials and attending meeting for worship, this did not enable all Friends to escape further sufferings. Daniel Baker in December 1680 wrote about the "great suffering of his kinsmen [sons]." ⁵⁸ In 1681 it was learned that Francis Cooley

because he cannot submitt to their Wicked Wills they have most Barbarously Whipt him, and hung him up by the Middle till he was almost dead. In order to make him comply with their Sodomittish Lusts. But [they] could not prevaile, the Lord's Power preserving him; so that he chose rather to dye than to Lett their Wicket Lusts reigne over him.⁵⁹

Joseph Todderdell had his arms beat "black and yellow" and his body abused.⁶⁰ On another occasion it was reported that Joseph Todderdell's "head has lain upon a block several times, his patroon having a hatchet in his hand to behead him for his Testimony to the Truth and in keeping on his hat before him after he was convinced of Truth."⁶¹ Early in April 1685 Joseph was murdered by his patroon during one of the many cruel beatings he had received.⁶² James Hathaway wrote to London Friends that Joseph "was faithful to his M[aste]r and of a meek and tender spirit, and

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, 182.

⁵² *Ibid.*, II, 189.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, III (1683-1684), 165; IV, 33.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 98.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 104, 175. There is one suggestion that Long was not a Friend.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 50 (perhaps the same as John Claggett or Cleggatt).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 184; III, 166; IV, 40.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 21.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 70.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 165.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 34.

⁶² *Ibid.*, IV, 143. A Spaniard in the next garden buried Todderdell and told Ephraim Gilbert of the episode.

hath writ many a Testimony of the love of God.”⁶³ Ephraim Gilbert, who was born in Bermuda and was on his way to London when taken captive, reported that at first he was “pretty hardly used by stripes and fetters of iron.” The Turks would not allow him to work at his trade of cooper, but forced him to carry stones in order “to afflict him” to call for a larger ransom. Once he was kept fourteen days in a cellar tied to two sheep and having “fetters of iron” on him, while being allowed only bread and water. Afterwards they beat him on the soles of his feet with a dried bull’s pizzle to make him give them 3,000 dollars. Later they lowered this amount to 1,400 dollars and finally promised to let him go at 1,200 dollars—even during that time “afflicting” him with stripes.⁶⁴

Accounts of this type of treatment led George Fox to write his 1684 letter “To the Meeting of Friends in Truth, that are Captives in Algiers.”⁶⁵ After giving them advice on walking humbly but “Righteously, Justly, and Holily in all your Words, Dealings, and Doings,” Fox (who himself had known great suffering and persecution) continued,

And now, Friends, we understand, That some that have come lately among you, have been under great Sufferings and Abuses by their Patroons, because they cannot honour them with that [hat] Honour as other Slaves do, or as they have done before. Now, if you wait in Patience upon the Lord in his Truth . . . the Lord in his time (though he may try you) can mollifie that Nature in them there, as he hath done in other Places, where he hath tried his People with such things. And when they have seen, ’tis for Conscience sake towards God, and it is from the Principle of Truth and the Spirit; in which Spirit and Truth they worship the Most-High God, who is an Eternal, Incomprehensible Spirit, who is God in Heaven and God in the Earth, and dwells by his Spirit in his humble People, they have been overcome.⁶⁶

Each year London Yearly Meeting sent out an epistle to its constituent meetings and to Friends throughout the Atlantic Quaker community. The 1682 epistle had mentioned the existence of the meeting for worship in Algiers, with one “public” Friend (Tyleby) among them.⁶⁷ The 1683 epistle

⁶³ *Ibid.*, IV, 143.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 98.

⁶⁵ Fox, *Epistles*, Epistle 391 (pp. 502–4).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Epistle 391 (p. 503).

⁶⁷ As quoted in Tuke, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

reported that the meeting was "kept up."⁶⁸ The 1684 epistle carried an appeal for more funds for the redemption of more of the captives—especially calling for contributions throughout England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Barbados, and Jamaica.⁶⁹ Contributions came flowing in from all over England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Barbados, Jamaica, and Maryland (with several contributions from both the Eastern Shore and the Western Shore).⁷⁰

In January 1681/2 Splandon Randt [Splendid Rand] was redeemed.⁷¹ Daniel and John Baker were home in England by late April 1682.⁷² Thomas Tyleby (whose brother William was a member of Meeting for Sufferings)⁷³ asked that no money be expended for him yet, for the demands seemed so unreasonable that he "is rather willing to endure, till God shall order otherwise for his release."⁷⁴ When Tyleby's ransom was upped to 2,000 dollars, Meeting for Sufferings noted the concern of Jamaican Friends that Tyleby be ransomed no matter what the cost might be. He was, therefore, redeemed a few months later.⁷⁵

In February 1682/3 it was reported that Thomas Fletcher had been redeemed, but that an English merchant named Lionel Crafts had gotten hold of him and "detains him, to do his services."⁷⁶ Richard Clare was freed early in 1683 and assisted with his passage back to Barbados.⁷⁷ Nathan Stanbury, once a captive but now ransomed and returned to Antigua, wrote to London early in 1684 to acknowledge Friends' kindness in helping him.⁷⁸ James Goodridge, who had been ransomed by his relatives, was back in London by May 1684.⁷⁹ William Howard, of Dover, was released and

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷⁰ National Stock Accounts, I, 14a, 16a, 17a; Meeting for Sufferings minutes, IV, 16, 68.

⁷¹ Meeting for Sufferings minutes, II, 82.

⁷² *Ibid.*, II, 115. There is no mention of the release of Baker's other two sons.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, II, 123.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 123.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 154, 190. Thomas Tyleby, as a "public" Friend, was at a number of London meetings in 1683–1684. Cf. *First Day Meetings Supplied by Friends, 1682–1683 (O.S.)*, pp. 9, 13, 47, 59, 204. I have used the photostatic copy at Friends House Library, London.

⁷⁶ Meeting for Sufferings minutes, II, 189.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 192.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 137.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 166.

was in London by February 1685—followed a few months later by Moses Finch (a Cornishman), John Grimes, John Ward, and Ephraim Gilbert.⁸⁰

By mid-summer of 1685 only three Friends (James Hathaway, Roger Rumney, and Francis Jackson) remained in Algiers, while a fourth one—Roger Udy—had been taken to the Levant as a slave to the Grand Seignure.⁸¹ Francis Jackson (of Nottinghamshire) was redeemed in August of that year and was able to attend Meeting for Sufferings on August 24, reporting that he had made “the Turks Caps” while there, and had received only ten blows the whole time he was in Algiers.⁸² Hathaway (of Redrift [Rotherhithe]) was finally released in May 1686, while Rumney (of Bristol) was able to attend the June 11 session of Meeting for Sufferings, after having been a captive six years and eight months.⁸³ Roger Udy (of Devonshire), a ship’s carpenter, was ransomed by late spring 1688—the last of the Quaker captives.

Many of these Friends who had suffered so much in Algiers needed further help after they were ransomed. Gerard Serrensen “being a stranger here [in London] and Now out of Employ” was given assistance in 1681.⁸⁴ Robert Barret was given £5 to pay his way home to Cork and to help him get to sea again.⁸⁵ A sum of £3 was given to Francis Cooley for his “relief and clothing.”⁸⁶ Roger Rumney received £5 for clothes and necessities.⁸⁷

A number of those who received help from the special collections for the redemption of captives made real efforts to pay back the sums expended in their behalf. Levin Bufkin, following his settlement in Virginia, repaid the total sum which had been used on his behalf.⁸⁸ Ephraim Gilbert, Splandon Randt, and Nathan Stansbury also returned some amounts of money.⁸⁹

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 7, 34, 40, 69.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 98.

⁸² *Ibid.*, IV, 150.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, V (1686–1687), 122, 147.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 52.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 171.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 14.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 147.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, 9, 13, 206.

⁸⁹ National Stock Accounts, I, 7b; Meeting for Sufferings minutes, III, 137; VII (1688–1691), 9, 13, 206; X (1694–1696), 8.

Some of these redeemed captives also wrote letters expressing their gratitude for the efforts of Friends. Among those letters still extant is one from Levin Bufkin, January 17, 1680, to William Meade in which Bufkin writes:

I am Redeemed out of Captivity I suppose by order of thee and other friends, which Delivrance is never to bee forgotten by mee for which my soul hath Cause to bless the Lord who hath Delivred mee from the soard and from the pestelence and from the Rage of Cruell faithless and bloody minded men and hath been a presant helpe and a staye to mee in time of neede, blessed bee his name for Ever moare.⁹⁰

Another such touching letter of thanks came from Roger Rumney, on September 1, 1686.⁹¹

Several of these Friends were forced to call upon Meeting for Sufferings for other assistance later on. James Hathaway, after his release from his slavery in Algiers, went to sea once more in 1686—going as mate on a ship to Jamaica.⁹² Four years later he was a prisoner in France, receiving money from Meeting for Sufferings to procure clothes to “keep him warm.”⁹³ Gerard Sefferson (Serrenson), a seaman who lived in Townberger [Tönsberg?], Norway, was arrested there for translating part of William Penn’s *No Cross, No Crown* and circulating it among the inhabitants. When he arrived in London in 1687 he appealed to Meeting for Sufferings to help the growth of Quakerism in Norway.⁹⁴

One final note might be made about the effort to rescue Quaker slaves from Algiers. It helped prepare the way for a similar mission to rescue Quaker slaves in Sally, Maquinez, and Morbay in Morocco starting in 1685. Some money was already available for this second effort, remaining from the earlier appeals and from sums paid back by those redeemed. The machinery was already set up and the pattern of operation already fairly well perfected (although the difference in situation, severity of treatment, and still other factors, required a somewhat different approach).

KENNETH L. CARROLL

⁹⁰ Manuscripts, Portfolio 16, item number 17, Friends House Library, London. This letter was written from Marseilles where storms had forced his ship to stop.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Portfolio 16, item number 14.

⁹² Meeting for Sufferings minutes, V, 259.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, VII, 206, 226.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, VI 31. Cf. Henry J. Cadbury, “Christopher Meidel, and the First Norwegian Contacts with Quakerism,” *Harvard Theological Review*, 34 (1941), 7–23, on early Quakerism in Norway.