

QUAKER CAPTIVES IN MOROCCO, 1685–1701

Seventeenth century sea-faring Friends, whether going as seamen or passengers, faced many dangers: great storms, being blown off course, running low on food and water, shipwrecks, and even drowning. One of the more horrible, but less well-known, vicissitudes of sea-faring Quakers in the late 1600s was being taken at sea and ending up as captives in North Africa. George Fox and his fellow “travelers in the ministry” narrowly escaped such a fate on their 1671 voyage to America.¹ Others, however, were not so fortunate but experienced the terrible fate of falling into the hands of pirates and slavers from Algiers and Morocco.

A colony of Quaker slaves existed in Algiers in 1679–1686, even holding meetings for worship and drawing some “convinced” members to their group. These Friends were primarily from England, Ireland, and the West Indies. Gradually, however, they were redeemed or ransomed either by Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting, or, in some cases, by relatives and friends.² At the very time that British Friends succeeded in bringing an end to the Quaker enslavement in Algiers, a new community of Quaker captives arose in Morocco,³ where their situation and experiences were even more horrible than had been the case in Algiers. Their captivity was longer, their treatment more inhumane, and their chances of living to be redeemed much less. For many of them life was a “living hell”, and for some death came as the only release.

Very little has been written about the experiences of Quaker captives in Morocco. It is true that this subject has been touched upon in several places,⁴ but these treatments have not done justice either to the sufferings of those Friends or to the ongoing efforts of British (and Dutch) Friends to redeem them. It is for these reasons, therefore, that the present study has been made.

The first Friend enslaved by the Sally pirates appears to have been John Bealing, who in July 1685 was reported a captive in Sally (where he had already been a prisoner for two years).⁵ Bealing was a nephew of Anthony Sharp⁶ of Dublin and a brother of Benjamin and Edward Bealing of London.⁷ He possessed certificates from Southwark and Falmouth Friends, as well as from the mayor, aldermen, and inhabitants

of Lavrin in Cornwall.⁸ John Bealing's relatives in Dublin and London offered to provide a least £35 towards the £200 which was demanded for his redemption.⁹ About this same time, in 1685, it was learned that Joseph Wasey of Southwark was also a captive in Sally.¹⁰ Shortly thereafter, in September, Friends discovered that James Ellis (a non-Friend but the son of Quaker Joseph Ellis) had been captured on May 24, 1685, and was being held for a thousand dollar ransom. Through James's letter, written to his father on July 10, London Meeting for Sufferings was informed that

[the captives] are in great misery. They work hard all day, at night are chained and beat most sadly. They have no Compassion at all, are not used as men but like beasts. He [Ellis] has been sick of a violent fever and fed with bread and water. That they are to be carried up to Machaness [Macqueness, Mequinez] to the king's palace where the slaves are treated barbarously.¹¹

By October 1685 Theodore Eccleston,¹² who had been quite active in the many efforts to redeem the Algerian Quaker slaves, suggested that it might be best to attempt to ransom all three of the Sally captives at one time. George Fox had already met with the interpreter to the Moroccan Ambassador, and Meeting for Sufferings was beginning the search for "some important Englishman" who might be friends with the Moroccan ambassador.¹³ Thus began the long, drawn-out efforts by British Friends to redeem these three individuals and other Friends who would soon join them in captivity.

Hardly had these efforts at redemption begun, when another letter was received from John Bealing, reporting that there was now a severe famine in Sally and that many individuals were dying "for want of sustenance."¹⁴ Further accounts of suffering and ill-usage came from Ellis, Wasey, and Bealing in 1685 and 1686. Bealing reported that the Sally captives were under great suffering.¹⁵ Ellis wrote that he "is put to hard labour, and sore blows; they will not allow them cloath[e]s, scarce any bread: [yet] they will deliver safe to them what is sent to the captives, nor take anything from them."¹⁶ Wasey informed London Friends that they were given only barley, bread, and water.¹⁷ Ellis reported further, to his father, that the money his father had sent had come at a most opportune time – for he had no clothes or shoes. He also noted that "they are miserably used, being allowed only 3 farthings a day for bread & water & 6^d per month towards light, & are drove about by negro boys without mercy."¹⁸ Wasey, in September 1686, wrote that he was "in health" among a brutish people who think nothing of the death of a captive. They require those who are sick to work. If the ill drop, the Moroccans "make sport of it" – saying that they "are now going to the Fire."¹⁹

The three original captives were soon joined by half a dozen convinced Friends, at least two of whom were actually convinced in Sally “before any Friends came thither”.²⁰ These two who were convinced, even before the arrival of Bealing and Wasey, were Arthur Wastcoat [Westcott] of near Land’s End and James Burgin [Burgoine, Burgon] who had been a captive about ten years.²¹ Others who had been convinced there, in the land of their captivity, were Joseph Bigland of London (a captive about four years), Robert Finley of the “north of England” or Scotland, Abraham (or Edward) Terry of Absom [Epsom?] and Thomas Hurle [Hurrill, Harrell] also of Absom who had been a captive for five years.²² A letter from Arthur Westcott and these other captives was sent to England expressing a “saluation of Love to Friends here, and some Account of their first Convincement there before any Friend came thither.”²³ All of these convinced Friends were also “well reported of” by the original Quaker slaves.²⁴ Later in 1687 still another convincement was noted: John King, who reportedly had a wife and two children at Poole in Dorset.²⁵ King’s wife must have been expecting twins at the time of his capture, for at the time of his release in early 1702 he is listed as having a wife and four children living at Poole.²⁶ The 1687 General Epistle from London Yearly Meeting also reports another Friend, Joseph Harbin, had been carried to Sally, but no other mention of Harbin is to be found.²⁷

Acting through Meeting for Sufferings, British Friends sought to give material assistance to these captives in Morocco as soon as possible, drawing upon the “Redemption of Captives Fund” which had been established in 1678 to ransom those Quaker slaves in Algiers. Contributions to this earlier fund had come from British, Irish, West Indian, and Maryland Quakers.²⁸ After the Algerian slaves were ransomed additional amounts were received from some of those who had been redeemed out of Algiers – such as Levin Bufkin (who soon settled in Virginia), James Brain, Jr., Ephraim Gilbert, John Harris, and Splenden Randt, and there was even a legacy from Anne Gregson for this purpose.²⁹ The fund grew to £890.15.0¼ in 1688, £912.3.10 in 1690, and £1050.7.7 in 1692.³⁰

As early as 1685 Meeting for Sufferings authorized thirty shillings each for the relief of John Bealing, James Ellis, and Joseph Wasey.³¹ Three months later £10 was sent out for their relief, to be used forty shillings at a time.³² A year later, after Meeting for Sufferings had learned of the convinced Friends also to be found at Mequinez, £60 was deposited with Richard Enys [Ennis] of Cadiz to be used for all of the Quaker captives (with Wasey and Bealing being placed in charge of the use of the money).³³ In mid-1687 Wasey wrote that the £8 per quarter

provided by Meeting for Sufferings was greater than required, so they actually needed only about one-half that amount.³⁴ Still other sums were sent out on their behalf in later years.³⁵

Spiritual help was extended to the Morocco captives also. Letters were sent to them as often as possible, often through the help of Dutch Friends. These came not only from London Yearly Meeting and Meeting for Sufferings but also from such individual Friends as George Fox, John Field, and Charles Marshall.³⁶ These were usually letters of encouragement and inspiration but sometimes also contained more specific information about efforts being made on their behalf. A 1692 communication from John Bealing to his brother Benjamin reports that the captives had recently received a number of letters from "Antient" Friends and had been very much comforted by them.³⁷ In addition to letters these Quakers in Morocco also received at least one shipment of Quaker books.³⁸

Attempts to gain freedom for the captives began in 1685, as soon as British Friends learned of their situation. Efforts were made by both the captives themselves and Meeting for Sufferings. In mid-1685 John Bealing wrote that his ransom was set at £200, while James Ellis said his redemption would cost 1,000 dollars.⁴⁰ Several months later Wasey and Bealing, reporting that there were now seven Friends at Sally, informed London Friends that they had sought to enter into a "treaty for a moderate sum for them all, to be redeemed, being 7 of them at 200 Dollars per man".⁴¹ This action was in keeping with Theodor Eccleston's suggestion that an effort be made to redeem all the Sally captives at one time. Wasey later reported, however, that the Moroccan king was away "on war" and that nothing could be done until he returned.

London Friends worked for a time through Richard Holder, who set up an "Office for the Redemption of Captives" at Garoway's Coffee House in Sally, with hours from 1 to 3 each afternoon. Very soon, however, there arose a serious doubt concerning just how "industrious" Holder's correspondent in Sally had been in seeking the release of Bealing and Wasey.⁴² It was therefore decided, early in 1686, to change to Samuel Nash in seeking the freedom of the captives.⁴³ By September 1686 Meeting for Sufferings learned that Nash had met with Wasey and Bealing and that he had made some progress in working for their redemption.⁴⁴ In 1687 Nash even removed from Cadiz to Sally for a time.⁴⁵

By early 1687 it was thought that the Moroccan king might not come home for several years, thus delaying the efforts at redemption.⁴⁶ In 1688 London Friends realized that it was not likely that the merchants at

Sally would effect the freedom of Friends at “Macqueness in Barbary”, for the king of that country announced that “he will Admitt of noe particular Redemption without a Generall Redemption”. Meeting for Sufferings believed that “without the Lord doth stirr up the Heart of our [own] King to make a Generall Redemption of the English, it is probable that they may be continued [as captives] much longer; some of them having been prisoners five years and upwards already”.⁴⁷

As early as 1686 the Dutch had redeemed all of their captives in Sally, giving one Moor (held captive by the Dutch) and thirty muskets for each Dutch prisoner.⁴⁸ In June 1686 Meeting for Sufferings received a letter from Elizabeth Wasey, Joseph’s wife, raising the question of the possibility of Joseph’s being released among the Dutch prisoners (through the payment of muskets and money) and asking the Meeting’s advice about how to proceed in this matter.⁴⁹ Meeting for Sufferings feared that the Quaker captives (some of whom were only shortly convinced) might be tempted by the Dutch success to take an un-Quakerly approach to securing their freedom. It, therefore, sent a “cautionary” letter to Friends at Macqueness, telling them that they must not purchase their freedom with arms. If, however, they were able to obtain their liberty from the Moroccan king, Friends would stand by them up to £60 or £70 apiece if they had no family or friends of their own to ransom them.⁵⁰

No great hope of redemption existed at this time, for John Bealing reported that “their Taskmaster the King” had “grown more Tirannicall towards them than ever”. He noted further that the king was now killing five or six captives in one day and wounding several others, as well as having taken away the allowance which he earlier gave to those who were ill, so that it was impossible to exist on what the king allowed them.⁵¹ Joseph Wasey, who had been “close confined in a Dungeon” to keep him from escaping, asked that some security be given for him so that he might have more freedom.⁵² The amount demanded for Wasey’s redemption also increased, so that it was believed that it might take between £400 and £500 to set him free. This sum, London Friends believed, was excessive and was likely to be an ill precedent where other Quaker captives were concerned. Yet, since he already possessed about £400 (from relatives, from Barbados Friends, and money of his own), Meeting for Sufferings agreed to provide an addition of £50 or £60 for this purpose.⁵³

In 1689-1690 three separate developments seemed to offer some fresh hope of progress in securing the freedom of the Quaker captives. One of these was Friends’ use of Jewish efforts and influence in this endeavour. This approach to the Jews appears to have begun as early as

1687,⁵⁴ but it was not until January 1689/90 that John Bealing wrote that he hoped to obtain his freedom soon through the efforts of some Jews who were “about to clear” four or five captives.⁵⁵ Although these Jewish efforts were not successful at this time there were, in later years, several other attempts to employ their good offices in this service. Much of the Quaker reaching out to the Jews for assistance was done through Dutch Friends, especially in 1698 and 1699.⁵⁶

Another 1689 development was the beginning of a movement to redeem all English captives from the “charity money” raised throughout Britain. If this general collection were to fall short of the amount required, Meeting for Sufferings authorized the extension of an earlier offer to pay Friends’ share.⁵⁷ Early in 1692 a committee of Friends was named to call on the Earl of Nottingham “on behalf and in Relation to the Suffering Friends” at Macqueness and Sally.⁵⁸ In January 1692/3 William Mead⁵⁹ reported that he had been with some members of the Council “who promised to forward the Brief [collection] for Captives by putting it in the Gazette to stirr up the Clergy thereto.”⁶⁰ In the next few months Mead and Eccleston met several times with the Earl of Nottingham and the “Bishops of London and Canterbury” and were able to report that the latter were now working on the matter.⁶¹

A third development which held forth some promise of success was the enlistment of Dutch efforts on behalf of English captives. As early as October 1690 the Dutch consul had been to Sally to treat with the Emperor about their release.⁶² London Friends also asked their Dutch brethren to do what they could “to Treat with the Emperor of Morocco’s Envoy there about our Friends Captives at Macqueness”.⁶³ Dutch Friends later reported back to London that nothing could be done to bring Quaker captives out with the Dutch, but that London Friends should deal with “the Jew” to see about bringing off a “particular redemption”.⁶⁴

Only one captive Friend, Joseph Wasey, was successful in obtaining his own release, probably about the end of 1690 or the very beginning of 1691.⁶⁵ Wasey received no redemption money from Friends, for his wife had borrowed much of the money needed. Seven years later, in 1697, Wasey reported to Meeting for Sufferings that this debt still lay heavily upon him, so that he was provided with £100 from the “Redemption of Captives Fund” with the proviso that he repay it when able to do so.⁶⁶

Shortly after his freedom and his return home Joseph Wasey attended London Yearly Meeting and gave a “large account” to this meeting, pointing out the captives’

miserable hard usage in captivity; having no lodging but under arches, in deep places on the cold ground, winter and summer; only water for their drink; and no bread allowed them by the king, but of old rotten stinking barley; and no clothes, but a frock once in two years; and forced to hard labour (except three days in a year); and more especially on the sixth day of the week (which is their [Muslim] day of worship) they are compelled to carry heavy burdens on their heads, running from sun-rising to sun-setting, with brutish black boys following with whips and stripes at their pleasure. Many of the other captives perish and die, through their extreme hardships, and want of food to sustain them; as in all likelihood they [would have] if Friends and their relatives had not sent them some relief: seven pence a month, formerly allowed them by the King, being now taken from them. Their sufferings are lamentable; yet the Lord's power has wonderfully preserved, and greatly restrained the fury and cruelty of that emperor towards poor Friends there; and in whose behalf Joseph Wasey did, by an interpreter, speak to the said Emperor; giving him an account of their innocent conversation and religion; which he heard with moderation; though he often kills men in cold blood at his pleasure.

Joseph Wasey signified, that Friends' day-time being taken up with hard servitude, they are necessitated to keep their meetings in the night-season to wait on God. And that the aforesaid captive Friends were very thankful for the relief sent from hence; which was very refreshing to them.⁶⁷

While the various efforts to redeem the Quaker captives were continuing, time was beginning to run out for many of them. Arthur Westcott wrote from Sally in November 1691 about the deaths of *three* Friends, reporting that both Thomas Hurrill and Richard Nevet (either captured or convinced after 1686, it would seem), had died after seven or eight weeks of violent fever. The third victim, not named in the above report, was John Bound.⁶⁸ Westcott also recorded that Robert Finley was very sick and that his "departure out of this life was dayly expected". James Burgin [Burgoyne], who likewise was lying very ill, had expressed a desire to see Westcott before he died.⁶⁹ John Harbing, perhaps a merchant, told Meeting for Sufferings in July 1692 that he had learned by letter, shortly before his departure from Sally, that one of the Friends at Morbay had been wounded by a lion and had died of his wounds.⁷⁰

Conditions worsened for the captives in 1693. James Ellis, who had been "much visited of late with sickness", wrote that the captives were greatly beaten and starved. He also reported that Joseph Wasey's Negro "that was taken with him was recently killed by their task master – for only owning himself to be a Christian".⁷¹ Shortly after this a letter was received from John Bealing, telling how all the captives had been turned out of the courts into an open field without any shelter (unless they paid forty shillings per person).⁷² A short time later Bealing (who late in 1692 was still hoping to gain freedom through "the Jews")⁷³ obtained his

release only through death. John Caddy reported that Bealing had died on the 30th of 7th month, 1693, after seven days of violent fever and ten years as a captive.⁷⁴ Caddy himself was to die in Macqueness in 1695,⁷⁵ while Arthur Westcott departed his life in 1696 or 1697.⁷⁶

The redemption of Wasey and the death of Bealing, Bound, Caddy, Hurrill, Nevet, Terry, and Westcott left only five Friends: Joseph Bigland, James Burgin, Robert Finley, John King, and Thomas Walkenton (as well as the two sons of Friends who were not actually Quakers themselves: James Ellis and George Palmer of Pennsylvania).⁷⁷ All five of these Friends had been convinced during the period of their captivity.⁷⁸ They, together with the deceased, had come together to “meet on Nights to waite upon God”, for they were allowed only *three* days of rest per year!⁷⁹ Although they appear to have kept up their meeting for worship until the time of their redemption, there is no mention of how their Barbary masters viewed their religious gatherings (unlike the accounts of favourable response by the Muslim owners of Quaker slaves in Algiers somewhat earlier).

British Friends continued seeking the redemption of their brethren held in Morocco. They not only promised to pay the same amount which the Dutch had done but, in order to facilitate the matter, offered £150 to £200 over and above that sum. When the Sally and Macqueness Quakers learned of this effort they reported back to London that they “have desired their liberty of the Emperor and have pleaded [that] they are a people that make warr against none neither Moores nor others of which the Emperor took great notice and spoke of it publickly to his great men not positively refusing their Ransome”.⁸⁰

Two months later Moroccan Friends reported once more that they had been with the king “to Intreat him to let them goe at the same Rate the Dutch goe off at” but that nothing was concluded.⁸¹ By 1698 British Friends had decided to offer additional money “instead of Purchasing Six Moores to be delivered in Exchange for the Friends”, finally offering to give an additional 1,000 guilders “in Liew of Said Moores”.⁸² British Friends were now working through their Dutch brethren, hoping that Friends might be brought out with Dutch captives. Several months later Dutch Quakers wrote that they had “come to some agreement with the Jew – in the captives business” and intended to give further account as soon as possible.⁸³ By October 1698 Meeting for Sufferings learned that Dutch Friends had bound themselves (with counter security provided by British Friends) to pay 7,895 guilders upon the redemption of the five Friends and Palmer by Moses Toledano or his friend Mommoren. They were to be paid this money when the six were redeemed and put free on board the “Olive Tree”, Joseph Vinck,

Master. The “hazard” was to belong to Friends after the captives were put on shipboard – except for the ships of Sally or the other subjects of Fez and Morocco.⁸⁴ Friends also were making arrangements for travelling expenses, diet, clothing, and other necessities for those being freed.⁸⁵

The expected redemption of the Quaker captives still had not taken place by 1699, so that the London Yearly Meeting epistle for that year reported to Friends everywhere that

Earnest endeavours have again lately been used for the liberty of our Friends, captives in Barbary, though not as yet obtained: and their being at this time some negotiations on foot, by the tenderness and care of the government, for the redemption of all the English there; and though the persons in Barbary, employed therein by Friends, do wait some time to see the effect of that; yet we shall continue our further endeavours for their discharge; and in the meantime, have and do take care to send them supplies for food; they having little allowance, in that country, of anything to support their bodies under the great severities of labour, and undeserved stripes the captives often endure.⁸⁶

By 1700 some real progress had been made toward securing the ultimate release of the captives, although some period of time would pass before the actual release would take place. The 1700 Epistle reported that

Friends’ care is also continued for the redemption of our Friends that are captives in Barbary; and (as was hoped) the King has now agreed for the ransom of all the English captives there; and agents are arrived from thence, in order to receive the said ransom. And, although now, as heretofore, Friends have acquainted the government that they intend to redeem our Friends at their own charge, nevertheless Friends are so far willing to encourage a public collection for the said service, that, when the collectors shall come with the briefs to Friends’ houses, we hope Friends will be inclined to extend their charity, in common with their neighbours, towards the redemption of the other English captives.⁸⁷

As time dragged on, one of the captives – Joseph Bigland – broke under the strain of his sufferings and became a back-slider. Meeting for Sufferings heard from the Moroccan Friends that Bigland “has turned his back on Truth & has not been at Meeting to waite upon God among them this four months, [he] is grown envious against Friends, and [has become] an Excessive Drinker”. Eccleston, writing on behalf of Meeting for Sufferings, told the Moroccan Friends to give out a public testimony against him.⁸⁸

In mid-1701 Daniel Quare, the famous Quaker clock-maker and a friend of George I, met with Captain Delavale who was about to go to

pick up the English captives. Also Friends had given security that they would pay such sums of money as might be expended as soon as they received certificates from the captives showing that they had been redeemed.⁸⁹ The list of Friends to be redeemed included John King, Thomas Walkenden, James Burgin, Robert Finley (all “captives upwards of 20 years”), Richard Robertson (“newly convinced”), and George Palmer (“the Friend’s son in Philadelphia”). Joseph Bigland, “disowned by Friends there”, was not to be included.⁹⁰ Almost immediately, however, Meeting for Sufferings had a change of heart about excluding Bigland:

and Friends considering that Jos: Bigland the person disowned by Friends there for his loose Conversation have lain a long Time in Captivity – doe in Tenderness and Compassion towards him & in hopes of his Restoration and amendment of life for the future, condescend that he shall also be Redeemed.⁹¹

Daniel Quare and Joseph Grove were appointed to write to Moroccan Friends giving the reasons for this decision and also to write to Joseph Bigland.

By early March 1701/2 the captives had been freed and were back in England. Joseph Bigland, who had broken his leg on shipboard, was in the Queen’s Hospital in Plymouth, while the others had all come to The Downes. From there Walkenden had written that those freed were “very desirous to see Friends’ faces here”, while at the same time noting that the ex-captives understood that it was the government’s intention to place those former captives who were able seamen “on Board Men of Warr”.⁹² John Field, a prominent member of Meeting for Sufferings, was appointed to try to get a letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty Office for the Quaker captives to return to their respective homes, since they had been redeemed “at the particular Charge of Friends, and not at the Government’s Charge”.⁹³

Five of the former captives attended Meeting for Sufferings on the 14th of 1st Month (March), 1701/2 and expressed their deep appreciation for Friends’ “love and care towards them, both for Relieving them while in Captivity and paying for their Redemption”.⁹⁴ Meeting for Sufferings reported that efforts were being made to protect them from “Pressing to Sea”, and to provide them with clothing and other necessities as required.⁹⁵

Just two months later it was learned that John King “notwithstanding his Protection was Prest and put on Board one of the ships of Warr at Spitthead: But [was] discharged by the mayor of Pool and the Magistrates writing to the Commissioners on his behalf”.⁹⁶ Shortly

thereafter Robert Finley was “Prest out of Captain Puckle’s Ship a Merchant man Bound for Pennsylvania, and put on Board a Man of Warr that is a Cruiser”. Since Finley was Scottish, application was made by the correspondents for Scotland to the Secretary for Scotland to arrange his discharge.⁹⁷ The results of this effort are not known.

Looking back over this little-known episode in Quaker history, one is deeply moved by the scope and intensity of the sufferings of the Moroccan captives, their steadfastness to Truth (whether convinced in Morocco or having been Quakers before their capture), the concern that other Friends had for them, and the on-going efforts made on their behalf. Even Joseph Bigland’s “fall” can be understood and, to some degree, forgiven – as it was by Meeting for Sufferings, which itself seems to have grown in understanding and charity while wrestling with his case.

Kenneth L. Carroll

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ George Fox, *Journal*, edited by Norman Penney (Cambridge, 1911), II, 181–182, 215, 437.
- ² Kenneth L. Carroll, “Quaker Slaves in Algiers, 1679–1688”, *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, LIV (1982), 301–312. Only one remained a slave after 1686.
- ³ The same general epistle from London Friends that announced that all but one of the Algerian Quakers (Roger Udy or Udey) had been released also noted that “several Friends are now captive in Sallee, for whose redemption Friends are also taking care, and hope in time to effect it”. See *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Great Britain, Ireland, and Elsewhere, from 1681–1857, Inclusive* (London, 1858), I, 26.
- ⁴ Cf. Margaret E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War* (London, 1923), 79–80; Samuel Tuke, *Account of Slavery of Friends in the Barbary States* (London, 1848). The latter work is largely extracts from the minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings.
- ⁵ London Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, IV (1684–1685), 91. These manuscript records are found at Friends House Library, London.
- ⁶ Anthony Sharp (1643–1707) was born in Gloucestershire, settled in Dublin in 1669, and became one of Ireland’s more prominent Friends. Although trained as a lawyer, he took up weaving and became a merchant – employing 500 people in woollen manufacturing in 1679. He was one of the proprietors of West Jersey. Cf. Olive C. Goodbody, “Anthony Sharp, Wool Merchant, 1643–1707, and the Quaker Community in Dublin”, *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, XLVIII (1956), 38–50. See also *Ibid.*, I, 82; X, 161, 163, 164; XII, 143; XXIII, 63; XLIX, 244–245.
- ⁷ Benjamin Bealing (1663?–1739) was the third Recording Clerk of London Yearly Meeting, serving from 1689 to 1737. He was the son of Edward and Alice Bealing of Penryn, Cornwall. Cf. *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, XXVII (1930), 3–7.
- ⁸ London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, IV, 91, 118. As noted in footnote 7, the Bealing family had Cornwall connections.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 91, 118. His aunt and cousin in Dublin offered £15, while his brother Edward promised £20 (and “possibly a bit more”).
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 93.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 147. James was not a Friend but Meeting for Sufferings was interested in his case because of his father’s steadfast Quaker position.
- ¹² Theodore Eccleston, a very prominent British Friend at the end of the seventeenth century, was a member of Meeting for Sufferings and a correspondent to several of the American yearly meetings.
- ¹³ London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, IV, 158.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 177.

- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 191.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 269. He also reported that there were about 400 captive English men, women, and children as well as about 1,000 captives from other countries.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 27.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, V (1686–1687), 176.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 232.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, VI (1687–1688), 46.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, V, 357; VI, 46. In March 1702, Burgin was described as being 50 years old, born in Kenton Parish near Exon, Devonshire, having been a captive 26 years and 3 months and having been convinced 18 years 6 months, which would have placed his conviction in 1683. Cf. *Ibid.*, XV (1700–1702), 302.
- ²² *Ibid.*, V, 357. It appears that Abraham Terry and Edward Terry, appearing on two early 1687 lists, are the same person.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, VI, 46. This letter was read in Meeting for Sufferings on the 13th of the 3rd Month, 1687.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 45.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 139. It was reported that £65 towards King's redemption was in the hands of a "priest" (Samuel Hardy). Friends were willing to accept this money, give security to return it if King were not redeemed, and to add £35 to this sum.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, XV, 301. King in 1702 was listed as being about 50 years old, a captive about 18 years and 5 months, and a convinced Friend about 15 years.
- ²⁷ *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London*, I, 32 (1687 epistle).
- ²⁸ Cf. National Stock Accounts, I (1678–1716), 1a and *passim*. These manuscript records are found at Friends House Library, London.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 38b, 44b; London Meeting for Suffering minutes, V, 279; X, 8.
- ³⁰ National Stock Accounts, I, 32b.
- ³¹ London Meeting for Suffering minutes, IV, 177.
- ³² *Ibid.*, IV, 248.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, V, 348.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 14.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 136; IX, 72; X, 205.
- ³⁶ *Epistles Sent*, I (1685–1703), 79–81, 99–101, 102; George Fox, *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters, and Testimonies* (London, 1698), Epistle 420 (pp.556–557), from London the 25th of 8th Month, 1690 – the last epistle in the collection. Cf. Several letters from John Claus of Amsterdam to Theodor Eccleston in the How White Mss (Bedfordshire Record Office, Bedford) reflecting the efforts of Dutch Quakers to ensure the safe passage of the letters to the captives – especially HW 85/48, 85/49, and 85/54.
- ³⁷ London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, VIII, 74.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 69, 190.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 91.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 206.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, IV, 271–272.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, IV, 284 (February 19, 1685/6).
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 218.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 114.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 114.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 180.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 163, 168.
- ⁴⁹ Portfolio 16, item 1, Friends House Library (London).
- ⁵⁰ London Meeting for Suffering minutes, V, 213.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 260.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, VII (1688–1691), 10.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, VII, 54. Wasey's Barbados connections are unknown.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 53.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 124. Bealing wanted to draw 1125 "pieces of eight" on Richard Ennis of Cadiz.
- ⁵⁶ Cf. How White Mss, HW 85/48, HW 85/49, HW 85/50 where there are a number of references to working through the Jews to produce freedom for the Quaker captives. Among those Jews named are Saporlas and Toledano.
- ⁵⁷ London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, VII, 72.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII (1691–1693), 29, dated 5th of 11th Month, 1691.

- ⁵⁹ William Mead (1628–1693) was married to Sarah Fell, daughter of Thomas and Margaret Fell and George Fox's step-daughter.
- ⁶⁰ London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, VIII, 210.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 280.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, VII, 180.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, IX (1693–1694), 4.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 31.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 54. Wasey was at the 1691 Yearly Meeting in London and gave a report on his Sally experience.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, XI (1696–1697), 203, 208.
- ⁶⁷ *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London*, I, 57–58. This 1691 Epistle reported that there were nine English Friends at Mequinez and three at Morbay (about three or four days' journey distant) who had been convinced there. It also reported that Levin Buskin [Bufkin] had repaid £60 used to redeem him from Algiers some years earlier.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 67 (1692 Epistle). Hurrill is here listed as Thomas Harrell.
- ⁶⁹ London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, VIII, 64. This letter was reported at the March 25, 1692, Meeting for Sufferings.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, 113.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, IX, 22. Another Englishman was said to have been killed for the same reason. Ellis' letter was dated 26th of 2nd month, 1693. Slavery was not permitted in England. Was Wasey's Negro a slave in Barbados or some other colony? Was he a servant?
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, IX, 37. He reports that there are now about 260 English captives (with so many having died) and that all the cruisers except one were out at sea looking for more captives.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 150.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 72. His death was just ten days after his last letter to London.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, X (1694–1696), 86.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, 147; X, 205.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 147; XI, 219. Ellis was to be redeemed by his father, while Pennsylvania Friends sent over £67.2.6 to be used for the redemption of Palmer by the London Meeting for Sufferings.
- ⁷⁸ London Yearly Meeting minutes, I, 167.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 263.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, IX, 202 (dated 14th of 3rd Month, 1697).
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, XI, 258.
- ⁸² *Ibid.*, XII (1697–1698), 214, 219.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*, XIII (1698–1699), 7.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 20. Cf. pp.25, 26, where British Friends are to pay for the travelling charges, diet, clothing, etc. of the captives.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, XIII, 20, 25–26.
- ⁸⁶ *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London*, I, 94.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 97. Cf. London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, XIV (1699–1700), 192, on this subject of Quaker contributions to the general Brief (in addition to what contributions Friends had already collected to redeem their own).
- ⁸⁸ London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, XV (1700–1702), 6.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, XV (1700–1702), 129–130.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, XV, 130. The 1701 Epistle refers to Robertson as a "young man [who] has been convinced lately" – cf. *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London*, I, 102.
- ⁹¹ London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, XV, 134.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, XV, 292. In 1702 Walkenden, born in London and a seafaring man, was about 50 years old and had been a captive about 19 years and 6 months. He had been convinced 12 years before. Richard Robertson [Robinson], born in Leicestershire, was 33 years old and, by trade, a "leather dresser". He had been a captive 4 years and had been convinced about 14 months. Cf. *Ibid.*, XV, 301.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, XV, 292. Cf. *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London*, I, 102, where Friends are told that the ransom of the captives (including George Palmer) had cost more than £480.
- ⁹⁴ London Meeting for Sufferings minutes, XV, 300.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, XV, 301.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 341 (8th of 3rd Month, 1702).
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, XVI (1702–1703), 102. The name appears as Findley here.