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Edited by Norman Penney

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The Short Journals and Itinerary Journals of George Fox

This volume brings together three journals of George Fox (1624–1691) the founder of the Religious Society of Friends. It was edited by Norman Penny and first published in 1925 to mark the tercentenary of Fox's birth. The Short Journal, dictated by Fox during his detention in Lancaster prison (1663–64), records Fox's missionary wanderings and the persecutions he faced between 1648 and 1663. The Itinerary Journal, compiled by John Field, contains an account of Fox's missionary work, church organisational activities and family life from 1681 to his death in 1690. The Haistwell Diary, written by Fox's companion Edward Haistwell, records Fox's activities between 1677 and 1679, including his missionary journey across the length of England and his missionary voyages to Holland and North Germany. The collection is a key source for those studying Fox's life and thought or the history and origins of the Quaker movement.

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GEORGE FOX

In Commemoration of
THE TERCENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH
(1624—1924)

Now first published for
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
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EDITED BY
NORMAN PENNEY, LL.D., F.S.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
T. EDMUND HARVEY, M.A.

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PREFACE

THE plan to publish the original of the Short Journal of George Fox as an appropriate commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of his birth had its origin in Philadelphia. The idea was brought before the Friends' Historical Association, and at once aroused interest and approval. A Committee was appointed to mature the project, and the plan gradually expanded to include the Itinerary Journal and finally the Haistwell Diary. This has made it possible to bring together in one volume the important documents which underlie the Great Journal. The present volume will thus be an admirable supplement to the two volumes which gave to the world George Fox's Journal (Cambridge Edition) in its original form. Norman Penney, LL.D., F.S.A., Consulting Librarian of Friends' Reference Library at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, and Editor of the above-mentioned Cambridge Edition of the Journal, was asked by the Philadelphia Committee to do the editorial work now happily brought to completion.

There have been many fitting commemorative events and activities during this tercentenary year, but it is safe to predict that nothing has been done which will give more satisfaction to those who come after us than will the publication of these quaint narratives of travels and sufferings.

On behalf of the Committee,

RUFUS M. JONES,
Chairman.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE,
PA., U.S.A.

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INTRODUCTION

THE student who is engaged upon the study of the life of George Fox must be grateful to the Friends' Historical Association, of America, for making available the new material which Dr Norman Penney has edited, and that the task has been entrusted to one so uniquely qualified for it.

The original documents now for the first time printed form part of the manuscript treasures of the Friends' Reference Library at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, and have been consulted occasionally by Quaker historians, but with the publication of this volume a wider world has now access to information which adds to our knowledge of Fox and helps to complete the record given in the Cambridge Journal.

The Short Journal has a special interest of its own as being a sort of preliminary draft of the greater work, made under difficult conditions, since, as the writer tells, it was written during his long imprisonment in Lancaster Gaol (in 1663—64). The original faded manuscript is a frayed oblong volume, once a child's copy book, the first four pages of which had been filled by copies of texts from the first chapter of the Gospel of John. George Fox usually preferred to dictate, as we know, rather than to write himself, and only a few lines on the manuscript are in his own hand, but this little volume must be either the original Journal dictated by him in prison, or a copy made later under his care at Swarthmoor Hall, the child's writing being probably that of one of Margaret Fell's younger daughters.

The Short Journal is much less full than the Great Journal, and shews less attention to chronology, but here and there it supplies details and little touches which we are

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glad to have. Fox's opening words explain that it is a record of "some of his sufferings for preaching the truth," and the narrative commences abruptly with an incident at Mansfield not recorded in the Great Journal, and then passes to his first imprisonment at Nottingham (in 1649) and thereafter tells the story of his missionary wanderings and the hardships and persecutions which he had to face, up to his imprisonment at Lancaster in 1663.

Among the new material we may note the opening narrative, the account of the healing of a woman who was believed to be possessed, and a number of brief summaries of Fox's addresses in the various churches in which he spoke. We note that on two occasions before a message of protest he speaks of something "striking at his life"; in one case the sight of the great steeplehouse at Nottingham ("when I spyed it a great Idol and Idolatrous Temple") and in another the sound of a church bell has the same effect. At other times he tells how, when bruised and bleeding from the blows of his assailants, his spirit was "revived again by the power of God."

When his companion Thomas Aldam is arrested and a warrant against himself is not delivered by the friendly constable, he quaintly records: "And I saw a vision a man and two Mastiffe doggs and a Bear, and I passed by them and they smiled upon mee." We get a vivid picture of him at Mansfield Woodhouse, seated in the stocks while the people threw stones at him, bruising head and arms and body, till he is "Mazed and dazled with the blowes." Then he is liberated amid the threats of the people and we cannot wonder that when taken to a friendly house he tells us: "I was so bruised when I was cold that I could not turn mee in my bed, and bruised inwardly att my heart, but," he adds, "after a while the power of the Lord went through mee and healed mee, that I was well: Glory to the lord for ever!" Once again he is stoned through the streets of

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Bosworth, and in several other passages we are given details of hard usage that are not recorded elsewhere.

Amidst this suffering there came moments of exaltation: “In Warwickshire in Adderstonne when I was two miles of it the Bell rung upon a Market day for a lecture, and it struck at my life, and I was moved to go to the steeple house, and when I came into it I found a man speaking: and when as I stood among the people the glory and life shined over all, and with it I was crowned, and when the priest had done I spake to him and the people the truth and the light which lett them see all that ever they had done, and of their teacher within them and how the lord was come to teach them himself, and of the seed Christ in them; how they were to mind that, and the promise that was to the seed of God within men, which is Christ; and it set them in a Hurry and under a rage and some said I was madd, and spoke to my outward Relations to tye mee upp, and sett them in a rage but the truth came over all; and I passed away in peace in the power of the lord God, and the truth came over all and reached the hearts of many people.”

As we read this narrative we can picture the scene in the church: the rapt look on the young stranger’s face as he felt the reality of that Light of God within the soul whose messenger he was, and we can understand how some of the scandalized onlookers took him for a madman.

Two other passages may be set beside the narrative of Fox’s examination at Lancaster Sessions in the Cambridge Journal, as an instance of the use of a phrase which must have deeply offended the orthodox of the day. He had been speaking words of warning to some fellows drinking in an ale-house in one of the North Yorkshire dales, and adds: “And the next morning I was moved to tell the man of the house that I was the sonne of God and was come to declare the Everlasting Truth of God, and did declare the truth to him and them.”

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The second passage relates his examination before the magistrates, previous to his being committed to prison at Carlisle and explains the reference in the Great Journal to his being generally supposed to be about to suffer the death penalty, doubtless on the charge of blasphemy:

“And they asked mee if I were the sonne of God, I said yes: They asked mee if I had seen Gods face, I said yes. They asked mee whether I had the spirit of dissembling, I said yes. I dissembled him that spoke to mee. They asked mee whether the Scripture was the word of God; I said God was the word, and the Scriptures were writeings; and the word was before writeings were; which word did fulfill them.”

In one other passage somewhat earlier in Fox's narrative he records an incident at Kendal where we may feel the prophetic exaltation of spirit is very marked: “And I went into Kendale Markett and spoke to the People at the Markett time. I had silver in my pockett and I was moved to throw it out amongst the people as I was going up the street before I spoke, and my life was offer'd upp amongst them, and the mighty power of the lord was seen in preserving, and the power of the lord was so mighty and so strong, that people flew before and runne into the shopps, for fear and terror took hold upon them; I was moved to open my mouth and lift upp my voyce aloud in the mighty power of the lord; and to tell them the mighty day of the lord was coming upon all deceitfull Merchaundize and wayes, and to call them all to repentance and a turning to the lord God and his spirit within them for it to teach them and lead them....”

Other passages shew Fox, in calmer mood, with spirit sensitive to the inward condition of those amongst whom he passed: “And then I was moved to passe towards the South, and go through many townes and I felt I answered the witnessse of God in all people though I spoke not a word.” He frankly notes in one place that his mission found far less response in the South of England than in the North:

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“I passed into sussex and surrey and Hampshire and Dorsestershire when there were but few convinced and some place none at all,” while he speaks of Cornwall as “a dark countrey.”

There are one or two interesting cases of premonition of impending danger, as when he avoids an ambush of armed men near Sedbergh, being “Moved to passe over another way over a water, not knoweing outwardly of them,” and when the day before his arrest by the constables at Swarthmoor in 1660 he tells us that he felt “somthing of darkness in the house before they came in, of somthing of a great darkness.”

(In the Great Journal he simply says: “And I had a sense of the thinge before hande.”)

In singling out these passages we must not forget the rest of the amazing narrative of hardship, toil and suffering, borne without flinching. We see him again and again beaten, stoned, and thrown to earth “mudded and bloodied,” as he says in another place; suffering repeated imprisonments in crowded, dark and verminous dungeons, loathsome with unspeakable filth; and if there are sometimes touches of hardness as he writes of some of his persecutors, we have to remember that he is writing in prison, the darkness of the future lit up only by the light of his unconquerable faith.

A little before the close of the narrative we have a vivid picture of Fox’s appearance at Lancaster Sessions, greeting his judges as he is called to the bar by an unwonted benediction of peace, but declining to remove his hat, which the Chairman bids the officers remove. “And so a pretty space wee looked att one another, till the power of the lord God arose over all.” And so the trial commences and Fox is committed to prison, “where now I am with 8 more.”

The Itinerary Journal brings us into a different atmosphere and almost into another world.

Less than twenty years separate the narratives but in that

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time England has changed; the tense religious fervour of the Commonwealth has given place to the reaction of the Restoration. The Conventicle Acts have filled the gaols with Quaker prisoners, and the long years of persecution have steadied and sifted the Quaker fellowship, which has now a definite Church organization of its own, linking together hitherto isolated meetings in groups, and these groups in yet wider ones, with a yearly meeting for the whole country. George Fox too has changed with the years. We see him active still, despite failing strength, but moving over a more limited area, and engaged largely in building up existing Quaker meetings, in visiting the sick, advising on matters of Church organization and in other ways fulfilling many of the functions of a bishop of the primitive Church. Here unfortunately we are dealing, not with George Fox's own detailed narrative, but with a bare summary, of which the first few pages only appear to have been actually dictated by Fox himself. The reader must fill in by the light of other material the scanty outline, in order that it may be properly understood. At first sight the long list of places and persons visited and of meetings held seems unattractive, but it throws light at many points on the activities of Fox's closing years. The Itinerary Journals were made full use of by Thomas Ellwood in editing the Great Journal but while throwing the narrative into the first person he omitted many details and these we are now able to have before us.

Once or twice in later pages the first person singular recurs, a noteworthy case being the vivid picture of George Fox speaking at the Savoy meeting in 1683: "And as I was speaking in the power of the Lord the people were transported and the Lord's power was over all, and of a Suddain the Constables and the people came in like a Sea...." In Ellwood's edition of the Journal there is a characteristic modification of this passage, which there reads: "Now as I was speaking in the power of the Lord, and the people

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were greatly affected therewith, on a sudden the constables, with the rude people, came in like a sea....”

We find Fox’s time now occupied not only with religious meetings, or with the business of the Quaker Church, and important colonial matters like the affairs of New Jersey, but with visits to individual Friends: he goes one day to visit “a woman at Ellington not well in her mind,” another day to Jane Bullock’s school. He goes to talk over difficulties about a broken marriage engagement, and at another time settles a quarrel between servants. Visits are recorded to an old Quaker gardener 92 years of age, to “old Mary Strut who was muddled in mind,” and to an old man who had broken his leg. His interest in education is seen by repeated visits to different schools; he goes to view a house at Chiswick where it is proposed to start a women’s school, and later twice revisits the school itself. We see him several times meeting with Friends from Holland and on another occasion going to see “some Germaine friends that were going to pensilvania.” Much time is given to the business of the Society of Friends both in the meetings at “the Chamber,” the central office of the Society, at the Meeting for Sufferings and in less formal gatherings of leading Friends. He even finds time to go to see a passage by the meetinghouse in Long Acre about which there is some dispute with a neighbour; and on another occasion he goes to visit the young Quaker innkeeper at the White Lion Tavern, “he being but a new beginner, to Advise him,” following up his good counsel by dining at the inn. Later we see him conferring with some peer or member of parliament, or going over to Westminster to help the efforts made by his fellow Quakers to obtain effective legislative safeguards for liberty of conscience.

Those wonderful piercing eyes of his were now it seems less strong than of old, for we find him going on one occasion “to the spectacle makers.” He moves about repeatedly from house to house, as he visits different meetings, now and then

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going for much longer visits to the Essex country house of William Mead, the son-in-law of his wife, and sometimes for similar but shorter visits to Kingston, where lived another stepdaughter Margaret Rous. We see him “light out of the Coach at the shop of the seedsman in Bishopsgate St.,” whose place of business must have been a Quaker house of call.

His physical strength was failing for most of his many journeyings are now made by coach, and often a coach is used when quite short distances of under a mile have to be covered. But occasionally he is able still to ride on horseback, though not as of old. Thus in 1686 occurs the entry, “he went from thence...to Ed Mans at Ford Green miles 3 on horse back & with him Mercy Bentall & Walther her husband & prissila Heart went on foot,” from which we may picture the slow pace at which he rode. At intervals he is able to go short distances also on foot, though the fact that a journey of as much as a mile on foot is once or twice recorded in the Journal shews how great an effort it must have been. Exposure to wind and weather, and ill usage at the hands of the angry mob, and those long years of hard imprisonment were now making their effects felt. But still he continues to move about upon his work. Only as time passes the entries become more frequent which tell of his having to lie down upon a couch or a bed to rest in the course of the day’s labours.

In 1687 on one occasion we find him attending the early morning meeting of ministering Friends at the Chamber and staying on there instead of proceeding to the neighbouring meeting for worship, while William Penn and George Whitehead come in to visit him after the meeting in Gracechurch Street is over.

In 1688 we find him having to leave a First-day meeting for worship before the close on account of increasing weak-

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ness, and at the general meeting of Friends in 1690 he leaves the meeting after speaking and has to lie down at a Friend's house.

In the winter and spring of 1689—90 we find him spending over five months with his son-in-law William Mead in Essex, but during the whole time, out of the nineteen meetings he attends, sixteen are in William Mead's house, where he is visited by many friends, and we may picture him busy, as so often, in dictating letters and messages to Friends near and far; his correspondence going out to the Quaker colonists in America and to the groups of Friends in Holland and in other parts of the Continent of Europe. Many of these writings of his later years were printed after his death in the two folio volumes of *Epistles and Doctrinals*.

The later pages of the *Itinerary Journal* give us now and then brief headings of the subject matter of George Fox's sermons, but even a full transcript would hardly convey to us the message as it must have come from that patriarchal figure to the friends who loved and revered him. To realize this we need to read William Penn's picture of Fox's ministry recorded in the Preface to the first edition of the *Journal*. Very often, though by no means always, he seems to have been the only speaker: on such occasions we read repeatedly of his "going to prayer" after preaching and then before the close of the meeting "speaking a few words to the people" by way of dismissal.

Another and more intimate type of meeting is represented in such a record as that at the beginning of the 1686 *Journal*:

"The 7th of the 1st mo: being the 1st day of the week he had a meeting att Edw: Manns with some friends that were come to see him & after some time sitting in Silence he went to prayer and soe Concluded the meeting."

The *Journal* records Fox's presence also at the great gatherings of Friends held at longer intervals, like the yearly

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meetings; in 1687 we find him attending a “generall meeting of men friends in the Ministry at the Bull and Mouth,” which lasted “from Early in the morning till towards the 12th hour,” Penn, Barclay and other eminent Ministers taking part, besides Fox: “all that declared & prayed were said to be 23,” so that we cannot wonder that he left the meeting “being weary,” and lay down upon a bed, before going to a business meeting later in the afternoon. Until the accession of James II, all these meetings were held under the shadow of the danger of arrest, and the frequent entry that the meeting was held “within doors” recalls the fact that often the authorities closed the meetinghouses and posted constables to guard them.

Frequent as the entries in the Journal are, they omit some material, dictated or written by Fox himself, which Ellwood has made use of; an instance of this is to be found in a folio page preserved at Devonshire House amongst the few leaves known as the “foul copy” of the Journal. The whole of one side of this page is a journal narrative, entirely in Fox’s writing, describing vividly a meeting held in 1683 in the yard of Gracechurch Street meetinghouse, when the constables had closed the meetinghouse and hindered “john tisa¹” from speaking, but when Fox himself intervenes most effectually and after his words of exhortation and prayer the constable cannot refrain from expressing his approval and even praying for a blessing upon Fox and his people.

Public opinion was doubtless slowly changing towards a friendlier attitude, which prepared the way for the coming of the Act of Toleration a few years later.

During all these years Fox is living for his work, moving from house to house continually, with no permanent resting place, and only at long intervals able to be with his wife; but the record makes us realize the wealth of friendship that was his, as we read of the many homes thrown open to him,

¹ Probably John Tyso (c. 1626—1700) of London. [ED.]

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and the way in which his presence is sought, whether it be when he is called out into the country, a ten miles' journey, to visit a sick woman and bring her refreshment of spirit, or to pass the night at the house of another Friend on her deathbed, or when his help is needed in lesser cares and troubles.

We get but the briefest glimpses of Fox's family life, but we can see what a welcome guest he was in the homes of his wife's married daughters, and note how he is called from London to Kingston on several occasions to the sick beds of his wife's grandchildren, to whom he was deeply attached.

The intense affection which Fox inspired may be seen again and again in letters and documents written by his contemporaries, though he himself is so reserved in expressing his personal feelings that we do not at first realize this tenderer side of his nature, to which the devotion of his friends bears witness.

The last of the three documents now printed we owe to the care of Fox's faithful attendant Edward Haistwell, a young Friend who writes of him as "my dear master." He gives us detailed notes of the long journey made by Fox in 1677 across England from Swarthmoor Hall to the South, holding meetings as he went, and of his missionary voyage in company with William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and a group of other Friends to Holland and North Germany. This narrative has been made full use of by Ellwood in preparing the first edition of Fox's Journal, but it is satisfactory to have it as it was actually written, rather than in the form in which it hitherto was known to us, where the account has been put by Ellwood into Fox's own mouth.

Some day, perhaps, similar manuscript volumes to these may come to light giving us itinerary notes for the years 1678—1681, and for the year 1682, but the material here

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available helps us, in a way that has never before been possible, to fill in the background of that inimitable picture of George Fox which William Penn has drawn, which, better than any modern writer's words, reveals to us the man himself, as his friends beheld him, and the love that he inspired in others and still inspires to-day.

T. EDMUND HARVEY.

LEEDS, ENGLAND.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE volume now in the hands of the reader consists of three sections:—I. The Short Journal. II. The Itinerary Journal. III. The Haistwell Diary.

I. THE SHORT JOURNAL.

This is a manuscript of 126 oblong pages measuring 8 inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches (see illustration). It is endorsed on the last leaf: “a short jorvall of gff never wer printd of some short things from ab^t y^e year 1648 to King Charles y^e 2^d Dayes,” the first eight words being written by George Fox. Below is the following: “N^o (g) n^o 1, 13, A 1648,” which was doubtless some guide to the use of the manuscript in the preparation of the first edition of the Journal of George Fox shortly after Fox’s death¹. The handwriting is believed to be that of Henry Fell, who, though probably not a relative of Judge Fell, was “Judge ffells clark,” according to a paper, in D, written by Richard Richardson, second clerk to Friends from 1681 to 1689. In volume i. of the Cambridge Journal, page 469, it is stated that Fell frequently wrote letters for Margaret (Fell) Fox, some of which, with some of his own letters, preserved in D, bear a close resemblance to the style of writing of the Short Journal. Fell was a preacher as well as a scrivener, and when in Norfolk he was arrested as a “vagrant,” and sent home with the following pass:

Burrow of Thetford

Henry fell an Idle vagrant person & a seducer of the people, a very suspicious Jesuited deluder & one who denyeth y^e Oath of Alleageance & Supremasy, a man of midle statur of some thirty yeares of Age, with browne Curled haire, was this 28 day of May in y^e twelwe yeare of his Mat^{ties} raigne of England &c. openly whipped in Thetford affores^d, according to Law, for a wandering Rogue, & is

¹ For evidence of such use of the ms. see pp. 298, 301, 304, 342, 345, 354, 366, 372.

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assigned to pass from pish to pish by y^e officers thereof the next straight way to Ulverstone in Lancashire, where as he confesseth he last dwelt, & he is Lyमिते to be at Ulverston affores^d with in 20 dayes next ensuing the date hereof at his pill given under my hand & seale of office, the date above s^t

JOHN KENDALL
mayor

To the Constables of Croxton & to all other Constables & other officers whom these presents may concerne for y^e due execution herof

From a facsimile in D, original endorsed by George Fox: "a uen cry after h fell 1660 norfolk". See note 48. 2.

There is no indication, in this section of the book, of the personality of the writer. There are signs of the Journal having been written up at various times; the whole bears evidence of having been copied from other papers. The pages have headings: "The Commonwealthes Dayes," "In the Protectors dayes," "In Olivers Time," "In the Kings Time." There are very few corrections. W. C. Braithwaite writes: "The Short Journal is defective in chronological sequence in some details, though the general arrangement of the sections follows the order of Fox's travels. It has the appearance of being an abridgment for the purpose of bringing all his sufferings together" (*Beginnings of Quakerism*, 1912, page 536). Reference to pages 10—13, 24—26, 47, 60 will indicate sufferings described in greater length than before printed. Other variations from the hitherto published Journals of George Fox include: more detailed reports of sermons (pages 1, 3, 6, 9, 12, 13, 17—20, 30, 34, 41); some excess in record of numbers (pages 18, 35, 51, 54, 62; see note 45. 2); and many statements and incidents of interest (pages 2, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20, 21, 23, 27—29, 31, 32, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 58, 60, 64, 65, 68; see Introduction). It is not known when this manuscript first became part of the Friends' Reference Library (D).

There is also in D another seventeenth-century writing covering the same ground as the Short Journal and following it closely. It is comprised in seventy-six folios, enclosed

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in a much soiled paper cover overrun with figures, and is entitled: "This is a Book of some of the Travells and passages of G ffs." It is represented by the letter A. See footnotes. In D are modern copies of the Short Journal—B is a copy made by Emily Jermyn about 1866, and C is a copy made by Ellen M. Dawes in 1906. Another Jermyn copy is in the Library of Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

II. THE ITINERARY JOURNAL.

This is contained in two small books, each measuring 6 inches by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The first book, bound in vellum with metal fastener on side, has 468 pages; and book two, bound in rough leather with clasps, has 191 pages, through the whole of which runs a worm-hole. These are doubtless the "Little Journall Books," mentioned by Fox as available for a Journal of his life and sufferings. The first volume is prefaced as follows: "A Journall of {Some of} y^e Meetings and Travills of G ff & other passages Beginning 1681 & Continued to y^e 28 :6: mo: 1687. The year 1682 is wanting." The title of the second volume runs: "A Journall of the Travells of G: ff. and the Meetings hee hath been att &c: {from y^e 23 :4: mo:} in y^e Year: 1688: {to y^e 13: of y^e 11: mo: 1690: on w^{ch} hee Dyed}." Attached to a blank leaf is the following: "Haveing Read G: ff Journall from the 23^d $\frac{4}{mo}$ 1688 To the 13th $\frac{11}{mo}$ 1690 on which day he dyed finde it mentiod, y^e severall places where he lay, & severall meetings he had bin att & hints of his declareing: severall docktrins & exhortations, & passages betweene frinds to be mentioned in a generall way. BENJ: ANTROBUS."

Between the two books there is a break of nearly ten months; the movements of George Fox during this time are outlined in note 182. 2. These little books have been in the Reference Library for many years. Extracts from them appeared in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, January,

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1918, under the heading: "George Fox as Home Mission Worker." See *Second Period of Quakerism*, by W. C. Braithwaite, 1919, p. 433.

Though in diary form these books were composed from earlier documents and notes of travel, and not by daily or regular entry of events. A document of eleven pages, brown with age, is in D, endorsed: "A Journall y^e foul Coppy 1682 $\frac{11}{mo}$. 14. The substance in y^e Journall, laid by." From the 11th of the First Month, 1682/3 (see page 77), to the end of the first paragraph of page 81, the "foul Journall" and the Itinerary Journal follow one another closely. Matter not in the latter appears in the first six pages of the former. On the last page of the former is the account of the Ringwood incident, given on pages 79 and 80; its presence here serves to explain its inclusion in the Itinerary Journal, the copyist having included the last page without consideration of the nature of its contents. See note 79. 7.

The writer of the Itinerary Journal, or perhaps it would be better to describe him as copyist, was, in all probability, John Field, of London (see note 112. 3), the handwriting closely resembling Field's autograph in letters and other documents in D (see illustration). We are told in *The First Publishers of Truth* that Field "seems to have assisted in some way with the entry of Sufferings on the official records" (page 157 n.). Endorsements to a letter in D, dated 1693, were made by Benjamin Bealing (Recording Clerk) and John Field. It may be that about this time Field wrote the two little books. It is to be feared that we must remain in ignorance of the personality of the annalist if we regard John Field as the copyist only. The original writer associates himself at times with the events recorded by the use of the word "we" (pages 97, 100, 105, 116, 188 ("our")). Other appearances of the first person are: "I think" (page 162), "as I take itt" (page 165), "my Master" (page 131, and compare "my dear Master" of the Haistwell Diary,

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page 273), and “that Night my ffather Came to visit us at Hartford” (page 216).

This Journal supplies many dates omitted from the Journal of George Fox as first published—the sneer of Thomas Carlyle is not applicable to the Itinerary Journal: “George dates nothing and his facts everywhere lie around him like the leather parings of his old shop” (*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, part x.). Yet the writer has not been very successful with his dates, as may be seen by reference to the following pages: 97, 146, 166, 186, 187, 204, 209, 216, 220, 302, 303, 305, 308, 311, 316, 342.

These books throw a flood of light upon the last few years of the life of George Fox, spent principally in and near London. The change from the work of the evangelist in earlier years (often viewed as the work of his life-time), to that of the pastor or bishop of an active settled Church, is noteworthy, and is pictorially pourtrayed in the difference between the mystic of thirty represented in the frontispiece to vol. i. of the Cambridge Journal and the Lely portrait of Fox as a statesman some 25 years later, reproduced in vol. ii. The reader will find evidence of this change by reference to notes 80. 8, 100. 5, 201. 1.

Though far away from his northern home at Swarthmoor, and seeing his wife only twice (page 313), George Fox was within reach of two homes of his wife's children, Rous at Kingston and Meade at Gooseyes, and at these homes he was a frequent and welcome visitor. He had no home of his own in the London area (page 295); there is an inserted reference to “his house” on page 174, but this statement is balanced by that on page 87, where, “‘being a Lodger,’ said Justice Guy, ‘I cannot come by his fine’.” However, many houses were opened to him and a warm welcome extended. Rebecka Travers expressed the feelings of many when she wrote: “I was never better pleased with my house then when hee was in It” (page 312). There are records in the

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Itinerary Journal of some sixty of the houses of his friends where he was entertained over night more or less frequently, and on one occasion he “lodged at one of y^e worlds house” (page 208). One wonders how arrangements beforehand for nights at so many different homes could have been made, but probably such were not required by either visitor or visited. In Tudor times night garments were not worn and the custom of “the naked bed,” referred to by Pepys, May 21, 1660, and explained by his editor, H. B. Wheatley: “It was formerly the custom for both sexes to sleep in bed without any night linen,” still lingered throughout the seventeenth century. (In *The Yea and Nay Academy of Compliments*, 1770, a scurrilous piece aimed at early Friends, page 80, we read: “We were conducted to our lodging, caps and neck-cloths being brought into the chamber”; perhaps the otherwise uncovered parts only being provided with night-wear. In his *Christian Progress*, 1725, page 393, George Whitehead tells us: “On 1st days I took my night caps in my pocket when I went to meetings.”) Fox also frequently dropped in to a midday dinner, which was the only meal eaten in common during the day. (Supper is mentioned only twice in this volume (pages 110, 238) and breakfast not at all.) Dinners were important functions—Pepys’s menu, on one occasion, consisted of “oysters, a hash of rabbits, a lamb, a chine of beef, a dish of roasted fowl, tart, fruit and cheese,” which he considered “noble and enough”! (*Diary*, January 13, 1662/3; Wheatley, *Pepysiana*, 1899, page 95). But Fox was too busy, at times, to undertake a full meal, and would merely “Eate Something” (pages 133, 137, 143) and pass away. In any case he was “very temperate, eating little and sleeping less, though a bulky person.”

Though constantly speaking in the meetings he attended, Fox was thoughtful for the service of others and frequently gave an opportunity for his companions to speak before he rose (see pages 105, 114, 120, 127, 139, 145, 163, 171, 185,