

# Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions

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# Women, Gender and Radical Religion in Early Modern Europe

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SEVEN THOUSAND "HAND-MAIDS AND DAUGHTERS OF  
THE LORD": LINCOLNSHIRE AND CHESHIRE QUAKER  
WOMEN'S ANTI-TITHE PROTESTS IN LATE  
INTERREGNUM AND RESTORATION ENGLAND<sup>1</sup>

STEPHEN A. KENT

Hopes ran high among religious sectarians in 1659 that Parliament was about to abolish the widely-hated tithe system. With the sectarian sympathizer Henry Vane granting radicals an official ear inside the assembly, Quakers and others pinned their tithe abolition aspirations on his efforts.<sup>2</sup> Obligatory tithe payment was among the most bitterly contested issues of the day, with persons legally required to provide a tenth of their "annual produce of land or labour taken as a tax for the support of the Church and clergy".<sup>3</sup> On religious grounds, dissenters abhorred having to support a religious institution with whose teachings and practices they disagreed, not the least because they believed that the New Covenant announced by Jesus eliminated many practices (including mandatory tithes) described in the Old Testament (Matt. 23:23; Heb. 7:1–28). Moreover, to tithe opponents, their collection felt like a property rights violation,<sup>4</sup> and their payment caused severe financial hardship to many persons who lived on the margins of poverty and famine. They were disincentives to people who might otherwise attempt

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<sup>2</sup> See J. H. Adamson and H. F. Folland, *Sir Henry Vane: His Life and Times, 1613–1662* (Boston: Gambit, 1973), 389; William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 457–58; Barry Reay, "The Quakers, 1659, and the Restoration of the Monarchy", *History* 63 (1978): 196–203; Violet A. Rowe, *Sir Henry Vane the Younger: A Study in Political and Administrative History* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), 223–24.

<sup>3</sup> Laura Brace, *The Idea of Property in Seventeenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 15, see 17.

<sup>4</sup> Brace, *The Idea of Property*, 28, 37.

to improve their lives,<sup>5</sup> and the fact that some lay persons demanded tithes because they owned land with historical tithe-rights attached to them (called impropriations) was especially galling.<sup>6</sup> Attempting, therefore, to present a front of opposition to tithes in 1659 when it appeared that some parliamentary support existed for their position, Quakers organized two anti-tithe petitions, and the names of the signatories to one of those has survived.

On 14 June—almost two weeks before the first of the two Quaker petitions—Parliament received a petition from tithe opponents in the western counties, and Vane himself championed its conclusions about tithe abolition.<sup>7</sup> The resulting parliamentary discussion was inconclusive, with members agreeing to devise a tithes-substitute of some kind. Then, on 27 June, Friends (i.e., Quakers) resuscitated the debate when they turned over to Parliament a second anti-tithe petition, signed by more than 15,000 persons from around the country.<sup>8</sup> To their angry disappointment, however, Parliament decided to continue the tithe system in default of a suitable substitute for ministry support, and it underlined its decision by issuing a proclamation that “tithes should be paid properly now that it had decided for them”.<sup>9</sup> Regrettably, the signatories’ names on the first Quaker petition are not extant. On 20 July, however, the second collection of anti-tithe petitions that Quakers intended for Parliament was sent to the legislative body, although it is

<sup>5</sup> Barry Reay, “Quaker Opposition to Tithes, 1652–1660”, *Past and Present* 86 (February 1980): 106.

<sup>6</sup> Christopher Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church: From Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 155–167; see H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 57.

<sup>7</sup> *The Humble Petition of Many Well-affected Persons of Somerset, Wilts, and Some Part of Devon, Dorset and Hampshire, to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Against Tithes. Together with the Parliaments Answer Thereunto, and Resolves Thereupon* (London: Livewell Chapman, 1659) [Wing/H3479]; Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658–1667* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 49.

<sup>8</sup> *The Copie of A Paper Presented to the Parliament: And Read the 27th of the fourth Moneth, 1659. Subscribed by more than fifteen thousand hands. Thus Directed: To the Parliament of England, from many thousand of the free-born people of this Common-Wealth* (London, Giles Calvert, 1659), Thomason/147:E.988[24].

<sup>9</sup> Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658–1667* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 49; see also George Thomason, *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640–1661*, vol. 2 1908, Reprint. (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1961), 244 (669. f. 21 [56]).

not clear if any Quakers actually presented it to members themselves.<sup>10</sup> The collection contained the signatures of 7,746 women.<sup>11</sup> These petitions, complete with printed signatory names, were bound in a book that has survived, but the frequent mention of this book in discussions both of Quaker women and of the late Interregnum in general has not yet led to an extensive analysis of the signatories themselves.

This chapter makes a preliminary attempt to locate the petitions in the context of the lives of many of the women who signed it. Working with primary and secondary sources at the Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London, along with public records and printed sources in Chester and Lincoln, I have identified events in the biographies of many signatories that allow me to place their involvement with the anti-tithe petitions in a diachronic perspective.<sup>12</sup> Specifically, I used marriage, birth, and death records, sufferings accounts, and miscellaneous Quaker records to make tentative determinations about how many of the signatories and their relatives from these two shires were Quakers either when they signed or at a subsequent period in their lives. I paid special attention to instances, either before or after the petition-collection was sent to Parliament, in which the signatories or their immediate relatives were involved in other anti-tithe protests. By taking this biographical, diachronic approach to the lives of the signatories, I am able to provide a preliminary estimate of how many of the signatories were *not* Quakers and may have supported tithe abolition from within other religious backgrounds. Certainly the historical records from the mid-to-late 1650s are uneven, and many of the names that have survived present ambiguous evidence about the persons whom they represent. Undoubtedly, future scholars will both expand and correct this work. Nevertheless, it stands as an initial attempt to enter into the lives of women who chose to petition their government on a burning issue of the day.

<sup>10</sup> Hutton, *Restoration*, 47, indicates that the petition “was produced but not presented in July,” so it is not clear if Parliament as a body ever saw it.

<sup>11</sup> *These Several PAPERS Was [sic] sent to the PARLIAMENT the twentieth day of the fifth Moneth [sic], 1659. Being above seven thousand of the Names of the HAND-MAIDS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE LORD, And Such as feels the Oppression of Tithes...* (London: Mary Westwood, 1659).

<sup>12</sup> I chose to examine the signatories from these shires only because of the quality of the extant Quaker records that exist at Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London, and the respective public records offices. I plan to publish a similar analysis of Somerset.

*The "Hand-Maids and Daughters of the Lord" Book and the  
Petitions That It Contains*

The book itself consists of a two-page (unnumbered) preface by Mary Forster (1619?–86), followed by seventy-two pages of petitions and typeset signatures from various parts of England and one petition from Wales. A friend of George Fox, Forster was a Quaker who lived in London and wrote several pamphlets and testimonies.<sup>13</sup> Petitioners are identifiable from twenty-nine geographical locations (almost all of which are shires), although four petitions fail to identify the parts of the country from which they came. The appearance of the petitions does not follow any particular order, nor does the presentation of the signatories' names. While some names appear more than once, it may not be the case that, as Stevie Davies concludes, "a few signed twice",<sup>14</sup> but just as likely that the repetitions indicate relatives (including mothers and daughters) whose families circulated a small number of names.<sup>15</sup>

The introductions or prefaces to the various petitions themselves vary in content from very brief statements to rather long anti-tithe treatises, and no authors are given for any of the texts. (We cannot be certain, therefore, that women wrote any of them, but the fact that several introductions to petitions refer to the signatories as "we" makes it highly likely that women composed at least some of them.)<sup>16</sup> Since the petitions printed for Mary Westwood do not tell us how the names were collected, we can only speculate that Quakers gathered them at the same time that they collected the (presumably all male)

<sup>13</sup> "Dictionary of Quaker Biography", Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London; see also Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 181.

<sup>14</sup> Stevie Davies, *Unbridled Spirits: Women of the English Revolution: 1640–1660* (London: The Women's Press, 1998), 92.

<sup>15</sup> Working with the birth records from this period, for example, one is struck by how frequently a child has the same name as the parent of the same sex. Moreover, a number of women among the shires' petitions have names qualified as "senior", "elder", or "junior". See, for example, "Ellen Burgess, elder" followed by "Ellen Burgess" in the Cheshire petition. See *These Several PAPERS*, 25. "Eliz. Smith, junior" appears in the Lincolnshire petition. See *These Several PAPERS*, 32.

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps the clearest example appears in the introduction to the petition from London and Southwark, which begins, "To you which should do justice, we who are of the female kind, whose names are underwritten, do bear Testimony against Priests and Tithes..." *These Several PAPERS*, 53.

signatories for the 27 June petition.<sup>17</sup> Most historians probably share the assumptions expressed by Davies, that "[t]he ranks of names are arranged by area, just as they were gathered in by nationwide local [Quaker] Meetings",<sup>18</sup> and some evidence from the book itself supports this view. The petitions from Lancashire and Nottingham identify the signatories as Friends,<sup>19</sup> but no other prefaces mention Quakerism. It may well have been that, in some shires, Quakers, who indisputably were key figures in the petitions' production, went outside their own group in order to boost the number of names and show the extent of opposition that diverse women felt toward tithe payment. (This issue will reappear in the conclusion of this study.) We do not even know whether the women were able to sign their names, a skill sometimes taken to be a minimal indicator of writing ability.<sup>20</sup> We do know, however, that Quakerism's central figure, George Fox, probably initiated the idea for a petition of this kind in 1657, realizing that tithes burdened women as well as men.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, the names-collection effort may have extended over a considerable length of time.

<sup>17</sup> See Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 458.

<sup>18</sup> Davies, *Unbridled Spirits*, 92.

<sup>19</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 8, 31.

<sup>20</sup> Margaret Spufford, "First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth Century Spiritual Autobiographers", *History* 4, no. 3 (October 1979): 427, 435. I have my doubts, however, whether all of the signatories were actually able to sign their names. Margaret Fell's daughter, Sarah, for example, appears in the Lancashire petition, even though she was only six years old at the time. See Isabel Ross, *Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949), 43 and *These Several PAPERS*, 8. People in that era were most likely to begin writing at age seven, if they were fortunate enough in their education to get that far. See Spufford, "First Steps", 410. In the Lincolnshire petition, Elizabeth Robinson's name appears (*These Several PAPERS*, 32), but in a January 1654/5 deed involving land use in which seven people were involved, she was the only person simply to leave her mark (which were her initials, 'ER') and not her signature (Index of Names, BRA 1765/1/8/2, Lincoln Records Office, Lincoln).

<sup>21</sup> The editor of Fox's "Cambridge Journal", Norman Penney, included a footnote about the 1659 petition. Referring to a manuscript in the Religious Society of Friends Library, he concluded, "[t]his paper against tithes was apparently suggested by Fox. He writes, under the date 1657, 'For all women friends to sett their hands against tythes they may freely as they are moved... for the women in the truth feelles the weight as well as the men.... And soe if all the women friends in England, send up their hands against Tythes, I shall send them by women to the parliament, for many have sent up their names and some have not, but have been stopped... G: ff'". George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. Norman Penney, 2 vols. 1911, Reprint. (New York: Octagon Press, 1973), 1:468 n. for p. 385.

Scholars seem divided as to whether all of the signatories were Quakers—as Isabel Ross and Barry Reay claim<sup>22</sup>—or Quakers and other sectarian women. Maureen Bell, for example, identified two Baptists who signed from London.<sup>23</sup> Certainly, women's economic plight, especially when caused by widowhood, could have contributed to many non-Quakers signing the local petitions.<sup>24</sup> Twenty signatories, for example, from the sixty-two recorded from Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, were widows, and signers from other areas occasionally designated themselves in that manner.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, the Cheshire petition specifically mentioned the plight of widows.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps worth noting is that the lead names in the first petition reproduced in the 1659 book are those of the prominent Quaker leader and widow, Margaret Fell, along with seven daughters, listed from oldest to youngest.<sup>27</sup> Most religious organizations that co-existed with Quakerism did not share early Friends' penchant for record-keeping, so it will be impossible to discover much, if anything, about most non-Quaker women, if any of their names (beyond the ones Bell identified) now stare at us from across three centuries. I will be able to draw cautious conclusions, however, about the number of non-Quaker and Quaker signatories from Cheshire and Lincoln after analysing the names from those shires, but these conclusions must not be generalized to the signatories from other parts of the country.

<sup>22</sup> Ross indicates that the petition bore "the signatures of 7,000 women Friends". Ross, *Margaret Fell*, 42. Reay says that the petition was "signed by seven thousand Quaker women from all over the nation". Reay, "Quaker Opposition", 110.

<sup>23</sup> Maureen Bell named Elizabeth Poole and Sarah Attaway as Baptists. "Mary Westwood Quaker Publisher", *Publishing History* 23 (1988): 25.

<sup>24</sup> On the plight of widows in the seventeenth century, see Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 86–87, 137; and Miranda Chaytor and Jane Lewis's introduction therein (xxx–xxxi). Also, Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser, *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 1:140–45. Michael Roberts concluded that "[b]etween a fifth and a half of all women may have been left in this position [of widowhood] in different early modern communities". See his "Words They are Women, and Deeds They are Men: Images of Work and Gender in Early Modern England", in *Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. Lindsey Charles and Lorna Duffin (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 127–28.

<sup>25</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 37, 49.

<sup>26</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 20.

<sup>27</sup> Bonnelyn Young Kunze, *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), x–xi, 134.

### *The Lincolnshire Petition*

Quakers first entered Lincolnshire in 1654 when George Fox and several others challenged ministers in their "steeplehouses" and spoke to congregants in independent "separate" meetings.<sup>28</sup> Within a short time, Quakers had established meetings in Gainsborough, Glentworth, Sturton, and Lincoln.<sup>29</sup> In 1654 also, William Dewsbury travelled through Lincoln, and at different times in 1656 Quakers James Naylor and Richard Farnsworth visited that city in attempts to mediate unspecified issues within the Quaker community.<sup>30</sup> Lincoln donated £12 for "service abroad" to help offset Friends' missionary expenses between March 1657 and March 1658.<sup>31</sup>

Table 1: Analysis of Lincolnshire's 1659 "Handmaids"

# of Women in Quaker Records						# of Women Not in Quaker Records			180
Pre-signing			Post-Signing						
possible	probable	certain	possible	probable	certain	possible	probable	certain	
(a)*	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	
4	0	10	23	36	21	0	5	81	
n = 14 (= 8%)			n = 80 (= 44%)			n = 86			
n = 94 (= 52%)						(= 48%)			= 100%

\* See Appendix A for the names in each lettered category.

Despite the fact that Fox won over the sheriff of Lincoln during his 1654 trip,<sup>32</sup> persecution of Quakers began that same year. In Ninth Month (November), a crowd descended on John Whitehead after he apparently challenged the minister in Lincoln Cathedral, and soldiers who intervened probably saved his life.<sup>33</sup> Also that month, Elizabeth Hooton challenged the minister at Beckingham, which landed her in Lincoln Castle prison for five months.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Journal of George Fox*, vol. 1, 149.

<sup>29</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, Map 1.

<sup>30</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 174, 244, 565; see also 127.

<sup>31</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 324.

<sup>32</sup> *Journal of George Fox*, vol. 1, 150.

<sup>33</sup> *Journal of George Fox*, vol. 1, 152.

<sup>34</sup> Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London: Luke Hinde, 1753), vol. 1, 346; *Journal of George Fox*, vol. 1, 152.

Beckingham was also the location where, in 1655, John Pidd suffered ten weeks' imprisonment for tithe payment refusal.<sup>35</sup> Again in 1658, he spent six months in prison, presumably for the same offence.<sup>36</sup> A woman named Anne Pid (spelled with one 'd') was a petition signatory from the shire, and Quaker death records from Lincolnshire indicate that an "Ann Pidd", married to John and residing in Barmbee [*sic*: Barnby?], Nottinghamshire, died in 1675.<sup>37</sup>

If, in fact, this Ann(e) Pidd was the wife of tithe resister John, then she was one of nine Quaker signatories whose husbands were tithe resisters either before or after their wives signed. Elizabeth Pid's husband, Richard "and Joseph Stokes were detained several Weeks in Lincoln Castle for Tithes, till discharged by Order of a Committee of Parliament".<sup>38</sup> Over a decade later, Richard (listed as being from Beckingham), had goods worth £17 3s. 6d. taken from his household for holding Quaker meetings at the Pid(d) house.<sup>39</sup> In the same year that Ann Frotheringham's name appeared on the anti-tithe petition, both her husband Vincent and their son were imprisoned for their tithe resistance,<sup>40</sup> along with Robert Whitman, whose wife, Susanna, also

<sup>35</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 346. See also entry for "John Pidd", Clerk of Monthly Meeting, Society of Friends in Lincolnshire, Harold W. Brace Collection, 2 Brace 3/20 2,000, Lincolnshire Records Office.

<sup>36</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 347.

<sup>37</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 32. Marriage records indicate that Ann Handley of Long Lednam, Lincolnshire, married John Pidd of Beckingham in 1657. They were members of Broughton and Gainsboro Monthly Meeting. See Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Lincolnshire [1632-1837], Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London. On the death of Ann Pidd of Barmbee [*sic*?], Nottinghamshire, see Digested Copy of the Registers of Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Lincolnshire [1656-1837], Book 807:338, Library of the Religious Society of Friends.

<sup>38</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 347.

<sup>39</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 351. I cannot determine whether the families of Anne Pid(d) and Elizabeth Pidd were related, but evidence exists that the husbands, John and Richard, suffered together for their tithe opposition: "Richard Pidd, John Pidd, & Arnold Trueblood of Beckingham were upon the three & twentieth Day of the ninth Month 1658 brought to Lincoln Goale [*sic*] for Tithes at the suit of George Farthing where they Remained many weeks[.] Arnold Trueblood died in the Goale[.] The other was Released by Committee of Parliament". See entry for "Richard Pidd, John Pidd, & Arnold Trueblood", 2 Brace 3/20 2,000.

<sup>40</sup> Ann was the "wife/widow of Vincent of [South Hykeham/] Welbourn [yeoman]" who had seven children and whose husband died in 1682. See entry for "Frotheringham, Ann", Index of Quaker Names, Harold W. Brace Cards, Lincolnshire Records Office.

affixed her name to the petition.<sup>41</sup> Subsequently, in 1668, Vincent again went to prison for his tithe opposition.<sup>42</sup> Signatory Martha Teff risked serious injury for her beliefs as Quaker persecution accounts report:

*William Teff*, of Middle Rason, for going into the Steeplehouse there, and witnessing against the Priest's Deceit in the yeare 1655 was Knockt downe by John Wetherhog of the same Towne, and then ha[u]led out. The said William Teff for Reproving some people for their swearing and prophaneness in Markett Rason in the yeare 1655 [*sic*: 1658?], the Rude Multitude fell upon him & his wife [Martha] Stoning and beating them and driving them out of towne.<sup>43</sup>

Subsequently, William went to prison in 1660 for his tithe resistance.<sup>44</sup> Another Quaker woman who signed the 1659 petition from Lincolnshire was Mary Trueblood, whose husband Arnold had died in Lincoln gaol after having been imprisoned along with Richard and John Pidd in late 1658.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 347. Robert and Susana (with one 'n') Whitman had a son, Robert, in 1654 and another son, John, in 1660. See Births to 1690, Digested Copy of Supplement Registers of Marriages, Births and Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Lincolnshire [1618 {*sic*} to 1672], Book 826:55, Library of the Religious Society of Friends.

<sup>42</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 349.

<sup>43</sup> "Sufferings" entry under "William Teff", 2 Brace 3/20 2,000. The problem over dating the incident in Markett Rason (or Market-Raison) stems from the fact that Besse described what seems to be the same incident, and dates it to 1658 (Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 347). Quaker birth records indicate that William and Martha Teff had two sons: John (b. 1650) and Nathan (b. 1660). See "Supplemental Births", Digested Copy of Supplement Registers of Marriages, Births and Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Lincolnshire. Daughter Jane died in 1670 (see "Death, Lincolnshire" *ibid.*).

<sup>44</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 347.

<sup>45</sup> Entry for "Richard Pidd, John Pidd & Arnold Trueblood", 2 Brace 3/20, 2,000. In 1660, Mary remarried with William Burdett of Beckingham ("Marriages to 1700", Digested Copy of Supplement Registers of Marriages, Births, and Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Lincolnshire, Book 807:129). In 1670, Burdett suffered a fine of £2 12s. 4d. for having Quaker meetings at his house (Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 351). Mary had at least three children with Arnold: Elizabeth, John (b. 1654), and William (b. 1658). See "Index of Quaker Names", Harold W. Brace Cards.

Table 2: Persecuted Female Quakers and their Relatives—Lincolnshire's 1659 Signatories

	Refusing to Pay Tithes		Disrupting Sermons and Challenging Ministers		Refusing to Pay Church Maintenance		Refusing to Swear Oaths		Hosting Quaker Meetings		Public Disruptions		Contempt of Authority		Unspecified	
	Pre-signing	Post-signing	Pre-signing	Post-signing	Pre-signing	Post-signing	Pre-signing	Post-signing	Pre-signing	Post-signing	Pre-signing	Post-signing	Pre-signing	Post-signing	Pre-signing	Post-signing
RELATIVES	*Pd, Anne	*Telf, Martha	*Telf, Martha	*Telf, Martha	*Thorton, Anne											
	(Q) 1655	(Q) 1660	(B) 1655	(Q) 1657	(Q) 1657											
	*Pd, Elizabeth	*Davie, Elizabeth														
	(Q) 1658	(Q) 1661														
	*Trueblood, Mary	*Tate, Alice														
	(Q) 1658	(Q) 1662														
	*Poothering, ham, Ann	*Garland, Mary														
	(Q) 1659	(Q) 1667														
	Whitman, ham, Ann	*Poothering, ham, Ann														
	Susanna	(Q) 1668														
SELVES	(Q) 1659															

KEY  
 \* = multiple persecutions  
 ■ = spelling discrepancy  
 ▲ = cannot date event within 1659  
 • = reason for imprisonment unspecified

(B) = Beaten  
 (D) = Distraint  
 (E) = Excommunicated from Established Church  
 (F) = Fines  
 (I) = Imprisoned  
 ft = future husband  
 h = husband  
 s = son

N.B. because of multiple persecutions, the total number of incidents = 23, involving 12 relatives (10 husbands and 2 sons) and 6 female signatories

Four women whose names appear on the Lincolnshire anti-tithe petition—Mary Parker, Margaret Smith, Alice Tate, and Ellen Wilson—suffered for their Quaker faith in subsequent years. In 1670, both Mary Parker and Alice Tate suffered distraints for holding Quaker meetings in their houses.<sup>46</sup> Earlier, Alice's husband, Charles, refused to take an oath in 1662, for which he suffered a month's imprisonment and a 30s. fine.<sup>47</sup> That year must have been a difficult one for the Tate family, since Quaker records report: "Taken from Charles Tate A Poore man for Priest Healy for tithes to the value of 12s., one cow worth 40s".<sup>48</sup> In addition, at another (but undated) time, "Priest Healy" took another 17s. 6d. worth of hemp for a 5s. tithe owed to him.<sup>49</sup> In 1662, Margaret Smith and Ellen Wilson were among a number of Quakers who were committed to prison for refusing to swear,<sup>50</sup> they had signed the anti-tithe petition roughly three years earlier. Elizabeth Davie's husband, "Samuell Davey had taken from him two Calves worth £1. 13s. 4d. for the Steeplehouse Assessment by Edward Austin & Robert [?], the demand was 6s. 7d. in the year 1661".<sup>51</sup> The following year his travails continued: he first suffered imprisonment for unspecified reasons but then returned to gaol for twenty-two weeks for refusing to swear the Oath of Allegiance.<sup>52</sup> Mary Garland's husband, William, went to gaol in 1667/68 for his tithe refusal.<sup>53</sup> Jane Harrison's husband, Robert, had to appear before a judge in May 1660 for not paying toward the repairs of the local church. In typical Quaker fashion, he refused to remove his hat in court and was thrown in gaol for Contempt of Authority.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 351.

<sup>47</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 348. Quaker records indicate that Charles Tate of Newbigg was buried in 1666. Alice Tate of Haxey, the widow of Charles, remarried with John Barrow of Haxey in 1671 and was buried in 1672. See "Tate, Alice" of Haxey, Index of Quaker Names, Harold W. Brace Cards.

<sup>48</sup> 2 Brace 3/20, 2,022.

<sup>49</sup> 2 Brace 3/20, 2,028.

<sup>50</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 348.

<sup>51</sup> Entry for "Samuell Davey", 2 Brace 3/20, 2,000.

<sup>52</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 348. Samuel and Elizabeth Davie became the parents of a daughter, Marie, in 1656. See Digested Copy of the Registers of Marriages of the Quarterly Meeting of Lincolnshire [1657-1836], Book 826:55, Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London. I am assuming that Samuel Davie, Samuell Davey, and Samuel Davey were the same man.

<sup>53</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 349.

<sup>54</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 347. Jane Smith and Robert Harrison married in 1657 and had a child named Jane in 1661. See Digested Copy of the Registers of

The number of signatories that we can identify (with varying degrees of certainty) as having involvement in Lincolnshire Quakerism is around 52%. These numbers can never be taken as precise representations, given the uneven nature of the records. That caution acknowledged, it is still worth considering the interpretation that a substantial portion of the women who signed the anti-tithe petition in this shire were not Friends. The likely impact of tithes on others in the communities in which Friends lived makes it probable that people outside of Quakerism shared some of the resentments that Quakers felt and were willing to go at least as far as signing the anti-tithe petition.

#### *The Cheshire Petition*

The first Quaker convert in Cheshire had been a member of an Independent congregation whose preacher had sent him to a northern shire in order to enquire about the Quakers in July 1653.<sup>55</sup> Later that year, Quakers John Lawson and Richard Hubberthorne travelled to various Cheshire locations (including Chester, Malpas, Morley, and Wrexham), recruiting extensively among existing Independent communities. These Quaker missionaries, and a few of their converts, quickly drew the ire of Presbyterian ministers, their congregations, and local officials. By November 1653, Hubberthorne sat in Chester's Northgate Prison,<sup>56</sup> and other Friends suffered at the hands of angry mobs and furious preachers. Among these early Quaker sufferers was Richard Hitchcock, who in 1653 "utter[ed] a Christian Exhortation to the People" at the end of public worship, which led to the mayor sending him to gaol. The gaoler put "him in Irons in a dark Place called *Dead Man's Room*, where condemned Persons were usually put; there was he kept above thirteen Weeks from his Wife and many Children".<sup>57</sup> Extant Quaker

Marriages of the Quarterly Meeting of Lincolnshire, Book 807:127 and Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Lincolnshire, Book 823:2.

<sup>55</sup> Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 49; Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 123; Norman Penney, ed., *The First Publishers of Truth* (London: Headley Brothers, 1907), 16–19.

<sup>56</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 125.

<sup>57</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 99. A manuscript on file in the Mayors' Files 1 of the Chester Corporation (probably from 1656) indicates that Hitchcock was gaoled for fifteen weeks. See S. B., "Quakers in Chester 1653–1656", *The Cheshire Sheaf* 5 (January–December 1970): 12.

records do not provide us with the name of Richard Hitchcock's wife, but an "Ursala Hitchcock" was among the Cheshire signatories.<sup>58</sup>

Table 3: Analysis of Cheshire's 1659 "Handmaids"

# of Women in Quaker Records						# of Women Not in Quaker Records			
Pre-Signing			Post-Signing						
possible	probable	certain	possible	probable	certain	possible	probable	certain	
(a)*	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	
4	20	28	10	52	41	14	9	271	
n = 52 (= 12%)			n = 103 (= 23%)			n = 294			449
n = 155 (= 35%)						n = 294 (= 65%)			449 (= 100%)

\* See Appendix B for the names in each lettered category.

An examination of Quaker records does indicate, however, that seven or more of the women who signed the petition had been involved with protesting against tithes and the ministers who received them in the years before 1659. For challenging a preacher after a sermon, Mary Endon suffered four days' imprisonment in 1654.<sup>59</sup> In 1656, Margret Wood was imprisoned for four weeks for "sundry causes" involved with her testifying "against the Vices and Corruptions of those Times".<sup>60</sup> Two years later, signatory Mary Milner was imprisoned seven weeks for tithe refusal, and the goods that she lost in payment were worth three

<sup>58</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 25.

<sup>59</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 100; Anthony Hutchins, *Caines Bloody Race Known by Their Fruits. Or, a True Declaration of the Innocent Sufferings of the Servants of the Living God* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1657), reprinted in F. Sanders, "The Quakers in Chester Under the Protectorate", *Chester Archaeological Society Journal* ns, XIV (1908): 42; see also Mack, *Visionary Women*, 421.

<sup>60</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 100. Another account gives a somewhat clearer picture of what happened: "Sarah Adgit and Margret Wood, coming to this City [Chester], were moved to go to a Steeple-house; Sarah spake a few Words when the Priest had done; Margret Spake not in the Steeple-house at all; they were both taken before William Wright, and by him committed to prison, and kept above four Weeks, though (as aforesaid) one of them spoke not at all in the Steeple-house". See Hutchins, *Caines Bloody Race*, 43. Apparently Wood was imprisoned because of the actions of her friend. For a general discussion of Quaker women challenging clergymen and others, see Phyllis Mack, "Gender and Spirituality in Early English Quakerism, 1650–1665", in *Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women over Three Centuries*, ed. Elisabeth Potts Brown and Susan Mosher Stuard (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 38, 43–45. On Margaret Wood, see Mack, *Visionary Women*, 417.



times the value of the initial tithe demand.<sup>61</sup> Three years before Mary died in 1673, her husband, Richard, was "fined 20£ for a Meeting at his House, [and] had Goods taken from him worth 37£".<sup>62</sup> Some time between 1653 and 1656, Sisly (or Cisly) Cleaton of Runkorn Parish "had taken from her one Warming-Pan worth 6s. for tythe-flax, and she had none, being sued at Law, and cast [i.e. decided] by a false Oath for the use of Coll. [Colonel] Brook". She signed the 1659 petition,<sup>63</sup> as did Margret Royl, who may have been the "Widow Royle" who had a cow, a load of beans, and a bed hilling (i.e. a quilt or covering) taken for refusal to pay tithes in the early-to-mid 1650s.<sup>64</sup> During the mid 1650s, Anne Janney (whom I presume to be the "Ann Janney Senior" who signed the petition) lost a cow and a heifer worth considerably more than the 13s. that she owed in tithe payments.<sup>65</sup> Also during this period, Ellin Boulton (presumably the same "Elin Boulton" who signed the petition) had four pewter dishes, a pewter bowl, a pot, and a candlestick confiscated after not paying for the repair of the "steeplehouse" at Runkorn.<sup>66</sup> In the mid 1650s, Deborah Maddock ran afoul of the mayor after she delivered a letter to him from the imprisoned Edward Morgan. The mayor was offended at how "unreverently" she behaved toward him—even telling him that "there is no respect of persons with God"—so he got a constable to throw her in the hole in prison called "Little Ease" for four hours.<sup>67</sup> A parish register from Nantwich indicates

<sup>61</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 102; *These Several PAPERS*, 24.

<sup>62</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 104. Quaker burial records indicate that Mary Milner of Helsebey [sic: Helsby], wife of Richard, and a member of the Cheshire Monthly Meeting, died in 1673 and was buried in Whitley.

<sup>63</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 78; *These Several PAPERS*, 22.

<sup>64</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 78. When Margaret Royle died in 1668, Quaker records indicated that she was a widow. See Digested Copy of the Registers of Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire [1655–1837], Book 218:15, Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London.

<sup>65</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 24; Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 80.

<sup>66</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 22; Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 81.

<sup>67</sup> Quoted in Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 49. Besse described Little Ease as a place "devised for Torture, of which we find the following Description: 'It was an Hole hewed out in a Rock, the Breadth and Cross from Side to Side was seventeen Inches, from the Back to the Inside of the great Door at the Top, seven Inches, at the Shoulders eight Inches, at the Breast nine Inches and a Half; from the Top to the Bottom one Yard and a Half, with a Device to lessen the Height, as they are minded to torment the Person put in, by Draw-boards, which shoot over the two Sides to a Yard Height, or thereabout.' In this Place they tormented many of those who were induced with Christian Courage to reprove the Vices either of Ministers, Magistrates, or People." *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 100.

that a "Margret Knevit" married John Faulkner in 1648, and in the mid 1650s "John Falkener" had goods taken from him for not paying tithes. It seems likely that the Margret Falkner who signed the petition was his wife.<sup>68</sup> Finally, we also know that Oliver Cromwell's second son, Henry, had imprisoned signatory Elizabeth Morgan (d. 1666)<sup>69</sup> and Richard Hickock (both from Chester) early in 1656 as they ministered to English troops in Dublin, Ireland, probably because he feared the group's influence on soldiers and thought that Quakers were "not very consistent with civil government".<sup>70</sup>

At least five women suffered for their Quaker beliefs several years after signing the petition. Dorothy Deane was imprisoned in 1663 for her tithe opposition, and Anne Janney had goods distressed to the value of £28 18s. for an unpaid tithe of £7 4s. 10d.<sup>71</sup> In August 1670, Ann Marsland of Hanford was fined a substantial amount—£20—for holding numerous meetings at her house.<sup>72</sup> Margret Coppock, whose name appears twice on the petition,<sup>73</sup> suffered two fines in 1670 and one in 1671. Quaker persecution records do not indicate what the first fine in 1670 was for, but the second one that year and the fine in 1671 were for attending meetings. Mary Stretch (who may have been the signatory Mary Strach) had the misfortune of being thrown in prison in 1665 simply for attempting to visit her fellow Quakers who were already in gaol.<sup>74</sup>

One of the people whom Stretch was attempting to visit was Edward Alcock, who was sent to prison for two months (along with seventeen other attenders) for holding a Quaker meeting in his family's house.<sup>75</sup> From serving time in winter without receiving necessary food, one person died. Soon after Alcock's release, he was gaoled for another

<sup>68</sup> Nantwich Parish Register, vol. 1, Cheshire Records Office; Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 83; *These Several PAPERS*, 25.

<sup>69</sup> Digested Copy of the Registers of Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 218:7, 13; see also Mack, *Visionary Women*, 416 and Davies, *Unbridled Spirits*, 239–40. Elizabeth Morgan and her husband resided in Chester.

<sup>70</sup> Quoted in Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 215; see also 216, 388 n. 10.

<sup>71</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 104. I am assuming that the "Dorothy Deane" mentioned in Besse is the same "Dorothy Deen" who signed the petition (*These Several PAPERS*, 23).

<sup>72</sup> Davies, *Unbridled Spirits*, 240–41.

<sup>73</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 22, 25.

<sup>74</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 23; Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 104.

<sup>75</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 104.

four months, this time for attending a meeting.<sup>76</sup> His difficulties with authorities, however, dated back to 1653, when he and five other men suffered distress of £11 10s. for travelling two miles to a Quaker meeting.<sup>77</sup> The following year, Edward married Ellen Halle before a justice of the peace, and in 1657 Ellen Alcock gave birth to a daughter whom they named Marie. Living in Moberly, she signed Cheshire's anti-tithe petition, and before the end of 1659 she gave birth to another daughter, Martha.<sup>78</sup>

The five other men whose goods were distrained along with Alcock's in 1653 were John Worthington, Thomas Jannery, Thomas Potts, Richard Burgess, and Robert Milner. Most (if not all) of these men were related to women who would sign the anti-tithe petitions six or so years later. In this incident from 1653, John Worthington lost a young horse, and in subsequent confrontations over the next few years lost a brass pan, two pewter dishes, and one pair of iron-bound cart wheels because he failed to meet his tithe obligations.<sup>79</sup> At some point John was married to Mary Worthington, since a few months after Mary signed the petition she gave birth to a daughter named Hannah, while she and her husband lived at Pownal. In 1669 another daughter, Martha, died.<sup>80</sup> The names of both Mary and Martha Worthington appeared as signatories on the list, as did six others with the same last name. Five signatories share the surname Janney, although Thomas Janney appears to have been married to a woman named Margery whose name does not appear. Two of his daughters, however, were Martha and Elizabeth, and both of those names appear as signatories.<sup>81</sup> Thomas Janney had numerous run-ins with officials throughout the mid 1650s for his tithe resistance, losing at various times a mare, two cows, a pewter dish, and four stools.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 104.

<sup>77</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 100.

<sup>78</sup> Entry for "Alcock, Ellen", MF 63/1, Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 232:151, 152 and Book 217:3, 5; *These Several PAPERS*, 24.

<sup>79</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 79, 82.

<sup>80</sup> Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 217:5 and Book 232:151; Digested Copy of the Registers of Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 235:11 and Book 218:17.

<sup>81</sup> Digested Copy of the Registers of Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 235:8.

<sup>82</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 79, 82.

Two signatories named "Mary Pot" appear in the 1659 petition, and we cannot know if one woman signed twice or two signatories shared the same name. In any case, a "Thomas Pott" shows up in Quaker records, and in October 1655, a justice of the peace married Mary Heald and Thomas Pott, the two having publicized their marriage intention over several market days.<sup>83</sup> At various times throughout the mid 1650s, Mary and Thomas lost two heifers, a brass pot, and a coat for refusing to pay tithes that they owed.<sup>84</sup> Mary and Thomas Pott buried a daughter, Marie, in 1665, and in that same year Thomas was among the eighteen persons imprisoned for attending a Quaker meeting at Edward Alcock's house and subsequently imprisoned with Alcock for another four months.<sup>85</sup> He lost goods in 1671 for refusing tithes,<sup>86</sup> and by 1684 the condition of his family's finances was dire. He received a £20 fine for holding a meeting in his house:

but he being very poor, the Officers, who broke open his doors, and rifled his House, could find no more Goods than amounted to 3*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* Which they took, and the poor Man and his Family were obliged to seek Lodging at their Neighbours Houses.<sup>87</sup>

We know nothing more about the family's fate.

Three other women who shared Mary Pott's maiden name, Heald, signed the anti-tithe petition, typically with variant spellings—although it is impossible to determine if they were related through either blood or marriage. According to Quaker records, signatory "Elizabeth Heald" gave birth to a son, James, in 1658, and died in Moberly (i.e., Mobberley), Cheshire, in 1664.<sup>88</sup> She and her husband, Thomas, lost a heifer in the mid 1650s for his failure to provide tithe-corn to the local minister, Robert Barlow.<sup>89</sup> Margaret Heald of Mobberley also appears in Quaker

<sup>83</sup> Entry under "Pott, Mary", October 1655, MF 63/1.

<sup>84</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 79, 82.

<sup>85</sup> Digested Copy of the Registers of Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 235:7 and Book 218:11; Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 104.

<sup>86</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, 105.

<sup>87</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, 105.

<sup>88</sup> Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 232:151 and Book 217:3; Digested Copy of the Registers of Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 235:6 and Book 218:9.

<sup>89</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 80.

<sup>95</sup> *These Several Papers*, 24; Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 232:151 and Book 217:5; Digested Copy of the Registers of Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 235:1 and Book 218:3. The child's name was recorded as "Milnor, Samuel", and he was listed as the "son of Robert and Ann" from "Pownall Sec. Cheshire".

[illegible]

KEY \* = multiple persecutions  
= spelling discrepancy

	125/1063
(D) = Discreant	d = daughter
(F) = Fines	f = father
(I) = Imprisoned	fh = future husband
(i) = imprisoned for actions of another	h = husband
(i) = imprisoned for actions of another	

N.B. Because of multiple persecutions, the total number of incidents = 49, involving 17 relatives (3 fathers and 14 future husbands and husbands) and 10 signatories

! = Quaker records do not indicate the reason for this fine  
! = The precise reason for her imprisonment in Ireland is unclear  
! = Was not relevant to a mayor  
! = Absence from the national worship

A few other signatories were married to men who had histories of tithe-opposition dating back into the 1650s. James Brown, husband to Elin (Ellin), was one of several persons in 1658 who had 50s. taken from him for refusal to pay a 2s. fee in relation to the operation of the local church.<sup>96</sup> Previously, on two occasions between 1653 and 1656, James had lost goods, including one yoke of oxen, for tithe refusal.<sup>97</sup> Edward Morgan, husband of signatory Elizabeth (whom Henry Cromwell had imprisoned), suffered because of his faith numerous times in the 1650s. In 1653, he went to gaol for nine weeks for attending a Quaker meeting.<sup>98</sup> Some time later, a Quaker named Edmond Ogden challenged a minister after a sermon, and apparently as a 'guilt-by-association' punishment, the angry mayor brought Morgan out of his own house and imprisoned him (as well as Ogden himself) for Ogden's impertinence.<sup>99</sup> Again, at some unspecified time between 1653 and 1656, this same mayor, Richard Bird (or Burd), threw Morgan into prison for apparently no other reason than that the official saw the Quaker walking down the street.<sup>100</sup> In 1656, Morgan complained "to the Mayor against a Servant who had robbed him, but refusing to Swear, the Mayor discharged the Thief, and sent Edward himself to Prison, where he was detained eleven Weeks, and then privately released".<sup>101</sup> The next year, 1657, he had another unfortunate encounter with the mayor when he complained to the official about "a drunken Fellow, who had grossly abused him, [and] was sent to *Little Ease* for not pulling off his Hat when he made that Complaint, and the drunkard went unpunished".<sup>102</sup> The gross abuse involved Joh. [John?] Fletcher, "a notorious common drunkard known to be all the City over... [who] came and called Edw. Morgan Cuckold, and his Wife a Whore in the presence of many people, and railed so on Edw. that he could not in

<sup>96</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 102. In 1648, James and Elin Browne had a son named James, then a daughter, Elin, in 1653 (Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 217:1).

<sup>97</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 78.

<sup>98</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 39; Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 99.

<sup>99</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 41-42.

<sup>100</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 42.

<sup>101</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 100; see also Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 45-49.

<sup>102</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 101. The account in Hutchins differs slightly from Besse's account, having Morgan thrown into *Little Ease* for refusing to swear when he made his complaint (*Caines Bloudy Race*, 60-61, 74).

quiet follow his employment...."<sup>103</sup> Morgan appears again in 1670 as a person who suffered greatly under the Conventicle Act when officers distressed goods "five or six Times the Value of the fines".<sup>104</sup>

Signatory Mary Burtonwood and her husband Henry were members of Cheshire Monthly Meeting, and Henry had a long history of tithe resistance that Mary seems to have supported. During the period 1653 to 1656, Henry lost three cows to the local parish minister, which were worth roughly three times what he owed in tithes. Previously he had lost another cow to the same minister for tithe-payment refusal.<sup>105</sup> Mary may already have been married to Henry during this period and hence felt the loss of these goods directly, because Quaker records list them as having buried a daughter, Mary, in 1657, and as parents to Samuel (b. 1655) and another Mary (b. 1658). They resided in Ashton, a village seven miles northeast of Chester.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, William Sarret had goods taken worth £5 10s. for failure to provide tithe-corn worth £1 6s. 8d., and spent seven weeks in prison for his resistance.<sup>107</sup> The exact date of this incident is uncertain, but around the same period (1655) he and his wife Eliz[abeth] became parents to a son named John.<sup>108</sup> Elizabeth was a signatory to the petition, and a few months after signing it she once again gave birth to a son whom they named John.<sup>109</sup> (Probably the earlier son died, but no records indicate this.) Elizabeth suffered distraint in 1683 for tithe refusal, and in the next

<sup>103</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 60-61.

<sup>104</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 105. "[T]he Conventicle Act of 1664 struck at the rank and file of nonconformity. Any one over 16 years of age apprehended at a meeting held under pretext of religious worship but not conducted according to the liturgy of the Church of England became subject to the penalties of the Act, provided that more than five persons other than members of the household were present. In the first instance the punishment was to be three months' imprisonment or a fine of not more than five pounds; for a second offence the penalties were doubled; on the third occasion, after a trial by jury, the accused was to be sentenced to transportation for seven years to one of the American colonies, Virginia and New England excepted" (Gerald Cragg, *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution, 1660-1688* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957], 11-12).

<sup>105</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 77; *These Several PAPERS*, 22.

<sup>106</sup> Digested Copy of the Registers of Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 218:3; Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 217:1, 3.

<sup>107</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 78.

<sup>108</sup> Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 217:1.

<sup>109</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 22; Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 217:5.

year she suffered substantial goods-confiscation (worth £17 8s.) for her absence from the national worship.<sup>110</sup>

An interesting commentary appeared in a Quaker account of the goods-confiscation suffered by Hugh Strettle during the mid-1650s. (Unfortunately, the text gave no dates for the incidents, but subsequent scholarship determined that all of them occurred between 1653 and 1656.)<sup>111</sup> According to the account,

Hugh Strettle for tythe-Corn of the value of 11s. 6d. Had taken from him by two Justice Writs, two Sacks of Oats worth 1£ 8s. and the Constable of the Town being troubled at it, asked the priest how he took so much, seeing he professed not to take trebble [triple] damage of any: The Priest answered, That it cost him so much in Justices Dinners, and their men, for Warrants, and for a Judgment....<sup>112</sup>

Presumably Strettle could have used those sacks of oats, since in 1655 his wife Mary gave birth to a son, James, and then in 1657 to another son, Amos. Mary (spelling her surname as "Strettel") included her name on the 1659 petition.<sup>113</sup>

Finally, and in addition to several husbands already discussed, John Falkner (husband of probable signatory Margret) was imprisoned six months for attending a Quaker meeting in 1666 at Thomas Janney's house.<sup>114</sup> James Harrison, who was married to signatory Ann, lost goods valued at £28 18s. over his refusal to pay tithes in 1663, and three years later spent five months in gaol for attending a Quaker meeting.<sup>115</sup>

The Cheshire petition carried by far the most signatures of the two that I examined here, and what is striking about it, and was also true of the Lincolnshire petition, was the number of women in the same families who signed it. This petition contained thirty-two clusters of two or more consecutively listed people with the same surnames (seven

<sup>110</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 110, 111. As an aside, Elizabeth appears to have had a long life, with her death not being recorded until 1712 (Digested Copy of the Registers of Burials of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 218:109).

<sup>111</sup> S.B., "Quakers in Chester", 10.

<sup>112</sup> Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race*, 80.

<sup>113</sup> Digested Copy of the Registers of Births of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Book 217:3, Book 232:152, Book 222:151, and Book 217:1; *These Several PAPERS*, 24.

<sup>114</sup> *These Several PAPERS*, 25; Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 104. Cheshire Records Office, Nantwich Parish Register 1 has John Faulkner marrying a widow named Margret Knevit on 7 April 1648.

<sup>115</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 104.

consecutive names in the case of the 'Worthington' signatories) which suggests that relatives—mothers and daughters, sisters, or other relatives sharing the same name—expressed together their opposition to tithes.<sup>116</sup> By no means should we assume that all (or in some cases, any) of the women within each cluster of surnames were necessarily Quakers, since women within families could have shared opposition to tithes but not been involved in the Quaker faith. These clusters of names, however, suggest that tithe opposition was strong among the women of many families, and that their shared experience of kinship and gender gave them a common basis for opposing tithes, possibly across denominational and sectarian lines.

### Conclusion

Despite inevitable imprecision, these findings allow us to make a few observations about both the signatories and their possible meaning for Quaker history. First, the large percentage of apparent non-Quakers who signed the 1659 petition strongly suggests that many Baptists, extreme Independents, and members of various sects like the Fifth Monarchists affixed their names in these two shires.<sup>117</sup> Based upon available evidence, only about 50% of the signatories to the petition in Lincoln appear in Quaker records, as do only about 35% of the names in the Cheshire petition (see Tables 1 and 3, and Appendices A and B). Isabel Ross's belief, shared by Barry Reay and Stevie Davies, that the "7,000 Handmaids" petition contains strictly Quaker names therefore seems unlikely, however true it may be for some shires. More appropriate seems to be Maureen Bell's conclusion about it, which is that

[t]here is at least a suggestion here that the petition might provide evidence of a common cause between different sects in the summer of 1659 and of the way in which a shared political objective, for sectarian women at least, might cut across the boundaries separating sects which were in other respects hostile to each other.<sup>118</sup>

Tithe-opposition cut across several theological boundaries, and some women may have realized the heightened vulnerability that destitute

<sup>116</sup> Lincolnshire had seven clusters of two or more consecutive surnames.

<sup>117</sup> See Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 151.

<sup>118</sup> Bell, "Mary Westwood", 25.

widows faced when having to meet tithe obligations. Moreover, tithe-payment burdened everyone whose families had to pay them, so it is likely that a number of relatives and friends supported the Quakers' anti-tithe efforts while continuing to pay them themselves. As historian Barry Reay pointed out, "[w]hen a [Q]uaker labourer was imprisoned in 1658 for small tithes the townspeople of Leverton in Lincolnshire paid the amount due and he was let free". Likewise, Reay said Wiltshire and Somerset records suggest that sometimes neighbours harvested the crops of Quakers who were imprisoned because of their opposition to tithes.<sup>119</sup> Clearly, therefore, non-Quakers in various communities either shared Quakers' hostilities to tithe-payment, or felt driven by friendship or family ties to support them in their efforts. Social radicals like the Quakers "saw tithes as the issue which could unite the concerns of the rural population with the religious programme of the separatists".<sup>120</sup>

Second, researchers must wonder about how many women were partners with their spouses in tithe-resistance but whose contributions were buried by patriarchal assumptions among the recorders of early Quaker history (see Tables 2 and 4). In the best of moments, records from the first decades of Quakerism are uneven in their quality and quantity (although far better than other Interregnum and Restoration groups), and many women's stories have likely been lost. Most tithe-sufferings records, for example, describe the punishment that occurred to the man of the household when he refused tithe payment, yet the distraints and property confiscations that subsequently befell him certainly impacted his wife along with other family members. One wonders about the extent to which women's suffering in domestic settings remains lost to the historian's gaze. Reading, however, the extant accounts of the Quaker women who suffered and occasionally died opposing tithes, it becomes clear that their numerous acts of resistance were simultaneously socio-political, religious, and deeply personal.

Third, analyses of persons' names in relation to the geographical locations in which they lived might reveal significant patterns about the collection of the signatures. Women who were supportive of the anti-tithe campaign may not have signed the petitions simply because the name-collectors did not get to particular sections of the shires or collect at particular Quaker, Independent, or Baptist meetings. While

<sup>119</sup> Reay, "Quaker Opposition", 113.

<sup>120</sup> Brace, *The Idea of Property*, 49.

collecting signatures at religious services would have been the most efficient way to gather names, we simply do not know who did the collecting and how they did it. Moreover, it seems impossible for us ever to know anything about most of the signatories, and their names in the petition may be the only historical evidence that these women ever lived, struggled, and died.

### *Appendices*

#### *Appendix A: the Relationships Between Lincolnshire's 1659 Signatories and Quakerism*

(Names [totalling 180] taken from *These Several PAPERS*, 32–33)

*a: Surnames and Names (4) that Possibly Appear in Pre-Signing Quaker Records:*  
Makaril, Katharine; Makaril, Katheren; Marshall, Hollen; Thorton, Anne

*b: Names (0) that Probably Appear in Pre-Signing Quaker Records:*

*c: Names (10) that Certainly Appear in Pre-Signing Quaker Records and 1659 Records Without a Specified Month:*  
Ashley, Margaret; Davie, Elizabeth; Fotherby, Sarah; Frotheringham, A.; Garland, Mary; Harrison, Jane; Harvey, Anne; Thorton, Anne; Whitman, Susanna; Wright, Martha

*d: Surnames and Names (23) that Possibly Appear in Post-Signing Quaker Records:*  
Bainton, Eliz.; Berrier, Anne; Berrier, Mary; Boot, Eliz.; Brown, Anna; Carie, Didolis; Crosby, Anne; Cussons, Susanna; Fisher, Anne; Foster, Anne; Mathews, Elizabeth; Morris, Anne; Pheasant, Anne; Pheasant, Anne; Pheasant, Mary; Phillips, Jane; Rosse, Anne; Rose, Mary; Trueblood, Mary; Waterfal, Anne; Waterfool, Eliz.; Waterfal, Elizabeth; Williamson, Eliz.

*e: Names (36) that Probably Appear in Post-Signing Quaker Records:*  
Barnard, Eliz.; Bëck, Anne; Billidge, Susanna; Clark, Eliz.; Fisher, Prudens; Foster, Mary; Gathorn, Eliz.; Gibson, Mary; Greswel, Mary; Harpham, Eliz.; Harrison, Eliz.; Hempsted, Mary; Higham, Eliz.;

Hobson, Anne; Holland, Susanna; Makepeace, Anne; Manby, Anne; Maple, Mary; Northern, Anne; Northern, Eliz.; Northern, Sence; Parker, Anne; Parker, Eliz.; Robinson, Eliz.; Scot, Mary; Sharp, Alice; Smith, Eliz.; Robinson, Eliz.; Scot, Mary; Sharp, Alice; Smith, Eliz.; Smith, Eliz., junior; Smith, Ellen; Smith, Mary; Sowter, Mary; Spain, Anne; Turner, Mary; West, Eliz.; White, Bridget; Winsor, Alice

*f: Names (21) That Certainly Appear in Post-Signing Quaker Records:*

Armstrong, Dorothy; Chapman, Cassandra; Hempsted, Jane; Hooton, Ursala; Hudson, Mary; Hutchinson, Eliz.; Jackson, Eliz.; Leverton, Anne; Marshal, Eliz.; Mell, Dorcas; Northern, Mary; Oliver, Mary; Parker, Mary; Pid, Anne; Pid, Eliz.; Pid, Kath.; Recket, Anne; Smith, Margaret; Tate, Alice; Teff, Martha; Wilson, Ellen

*g: Surnames and Names (0) That Possibly Do Not Appear in Quaker Records:*

*h: Surnames and Names (5) that Probably Do Not Appear in Quaker Records:*  
Brumby, Ellen; Classon, Sarah; Mason, Eliz.; Mosse, Sarah; Wilson, Mary

*i: Surnames and Names (81) that Do Not Appear in Quaker Records:*

Bagaley, Anne; Beck, Alice; Beck, Rachel; Bellamy, Anne; Blackney, Mary; Brinckler, Alice; Burroughs, Ursala; Chandler, Mary; Chanler, Mary; Cook, Anne; Crosby, Mary; Cussons, Mary; Darlinton, Margaret; Day, Rebecca; Dounham, Margaret; Drury, Isabel; Fletcher, Eliz.; Foster, Dorothy; Foster, Ellen; Freestone, Anne; Garton, Anne; Gaskin, Eliz.; Gaunt, Anne; Gaunt, Ellen; Gibson, Ellenor; Gilliot, Ellin; Haigham, Elizabeth; Haldenby, Anne; Harris, Anne; Hart, Ester; Hempsted, Anne; Hird, Anne; Hobson, Eliz.; Hobson, Frances; Jarnil, Eliz.; Johnson, Anne; Kirk, Eliz.; Kirk, Sarah; Lee, Eliz.; Lightfoot, Jane; Lumkin, Mary; Marston, Margaret; Milner, Anne; Norton, Thomasin; Otter, Sarah; Packins, Mary; Pannel, Ruth; Parrot, Susanna; Pickaver, Dorothy; Pickaver, Katherine; Preston, Jane; Rawbuck, Dorothy; Robinson, Grace; Rogers, Eliz.; Sanders, Jane; Scot, Grace; Seagrave, Frances; Seaton, Hannah; Sharp, Anne; Sherman, Anne; Shoreman, Anne; Smith, Susan; Stelworth, Anne; Stoker, Anne; Streaton, Alice; Swayer, Katheren; Thistleton, Mary; Thomlinson, Anne; Thompson, Sarah; Thorton, Rebecca; Torksey, Susanna; Trevis, Mary; Turlington, Bridget; Westwood, Jane; White, Mary; Whitworth, Anna; Wilkinson, Elizabeth; Wilkinson, Jane; Winch, Anne; Woolsey, Eliz.; Wray, Eliz.

*Appendix B: The Relationships Between Cheshire's 1659 Signatories and Quakerism*

(Names [totalling 449] taken from *These Several PAPERS*, 21-25)

*a: Surnames and Names (4) that Possibly Appear in Pre-Signing Quaker Records:*

Baddeley, Eliz.; Baddeley, Margaret; Hitchcock, Ursala; Janyou, Anne

*b: Names (20) that Probably Appear in Pre-Signing Quaker Records:*

Andrews, Kathern; Ashbrook, Eliz.; Clare, Mary; Edge, Jane; Falkner, Margaret; Hall, Eliz.; Hall, Eliz.; Heeld, Anne; Heeld, Elizabeth; Heeld, Margaret; Higenson, Margaret; Monk, Margaret; Moor, Eliz.; Pot, Mary; Pot, Mary; Royle, Margaret; Steward, Elin; Strach, Mary; Sudlow, Elizabeth; Wyrall, Eliza

*c: Names (28) that Certainly Appear in Pre-Signing Quaker Records and 1659 Records Without a Specified Month:*

Alcock, Ellen; Boulton, Sarah; Bradbury, Eliz.; Bradford, Mary; Bradford, Mary; Brock, Mary; Brown, Elin; Burtonwood, Mary; Bushel, Deborah; Cleaton, Cissy; Endon, Mary; Harrison, Ann; Hobson, Elizabeth; Hough, Sebel; Janney, Ann Senior; Maddock, Deborah; Milner, Ann; Milner, Mary; Morgan, Eliz.; Parker, Margaret; Pritchard, Mary; Sarrat, Eliz.; Shield, Constant; Smith, Alice; Smith, Eliz.; Stretch, Elin; Strettel, Mary; Wood, Margaret

*d: Surnames and Names (10) that Possibly Appear in Post-Signing Quaker Records:*

Baker, Margaret; Baker, Margaret; Barker, Elliner; Bradshaw, Sarah; Crosby, Kathern; Eaton, Kathern; Jackson, Mary; Lamb, Elizabeth; Painter, Juliana; Parcival, Widdow

*e: Names (52) that Probably Appear in Post-Signing Quaker Records:*

Amery, Anne; Barker, Margaret; Barker, Margaret; Baxter, Elin; Boare, Ann; Briggs, Eliz.; Brown, Sarah; Burges, Elizabeth; Burges, Elizabeth; Burges, Ellen; Burges, Margery; Burges, Margaret; Burgess, Ellen elder; Cawly, Mary; Chorley, Eliz.; Crosby, Eliz.; Crosby, Eliz.; Croxton, Eliz.; Davenport, Alice; Hall, Mary; Hall, Mary; Hill, Kathern; Hucksly, Jane; Janney, Martha; Janney, Mary; Janney, Mary; Jones, Elin; Lamb, Ann; Lewis, Eliz.; Loanes, Mary; Lownds, Jane;

Maddock, Anne; Miller, Mary; Milner, Eliz.; More, Jane; Moreton, Anne; Mosse, Alice; Oakes, Margery; Owen, Sarah; Pickring, Eliz.; Pickring, Elizabeth; Pickring, Mary; Rowland, Margret; Shaw, Elin; Shaw, Mary; Shepherd, Kathern; Smith, Mary; Smith, Mary; Stoniard, Eliz.; Swan, Eliz.; Touchet, Margret; Wardley, Anne

*f: Names (41) That Certainly Appear in Post-Signing Quaker Records:*

Armit, Fran.; Ashton, Elizabeth; Barker, Elinor; Bower, Anne; Buckly, Alice; Bushel, Eliz.; Bushel, Eliz.; Cash, Mary; Challiner, Alice; Coppock, Margret; Coppock, Margret; Davenport, Mary; Deen, Dorothy; Hall, Hester; Hand, Dorothy; Hare, Dorothy; Hatton, Eliz.; Holm, Joan; Key, Mary; Lownds, Margery; Marbury, Hannah; Marsland, Anne; Pass, Eliz.; Pickring, Margret; Pickring, Margret; Rylance, Kathern; Sarra, Anne; Sharples, Margery; Sharples, Mary; Sheild, Ann; Steel, Dorothy; Taylor, Alice; Taylor, Mary; Walley, Alice; Worthington, Frances; Worthington, Martha; Worthington, Mary; Worthington, Mary; Worthington, Mary; Worthington, Sarah; Yarwood, Margret

*g: Surnames and Names (14) That Possibly Do Not Appear in Quaker Records:*

Buckly, Amy; Burges, Alice; Dicks, Anne; Eaton, Margery; Eaton, Margret; Furnifall, Kathern; Gandy, Elizabeth; Hatton, Elinor; Hatton, Kathern; Hatton, Priscilla; Hignet, Alice; Pearson, Cisly; Peirson, Elizabeth; Simpson, Ann

*h: Surnames and Names (9) that Probably Do Not Appear in Quaker Records:*

Crosby, Elin; Croxton, Mary; Griffeth, Eliz.; Greffeth, Mary; Hill, Jone; Hill, Mary; Hill, Sarah; Janney, Elizabeth; Ridgway, Alice

*i: Surnames and Names (271) that Do Not Appear in Quaker Records:*

Adlington, Eliz.; Alexander, Dorothy; Allen, Dorothy; Anderton, Elin; Anderton, Eliza.; Anderton, Kathern; Anderton, Mary; Andrews, Eliz.; Andrews, Jane; Antrobus, Elin; Armstrong, Joan; Arnefield, Hester; Arstenstal, Ellen; Astel, Eliz.; Baker, Anne; Baker, Hannah; Barrow, Margret; Bealy, Ellen; Bealy, Margret; Beard, Sibel; Beck, Kathern; Becket, Ann; Beely, Mary; Beeston, Eliz.; Berrington, Mercy; Berry, Ann; Bertles, Elin; Bettily, Anne; Blemily, Anne; Booth, Dorothy; Bostock, Mary; Boulton, Elin; Bowdon, Elizabeth; Bowler, Ann; Bradshaw, Eliz.; Bradshaw, Mary; Bramal, Ann; Bramal, Elizabeth; Bretton, Marget; Brierwood, Kathern; Brierwood,

Mary; Bristoe, Eliz.; Broadhouse, Margret; Browant, Mary; Brown, Anne; Brown, Grace; Brownant, Eliz.; Brownant, Mary; Brumbly, Hester; Burdiken, Jane; Bushel, Mary; Buttely, Eliza.; Candwel, Margret; Carrington, Elin; Cartwright, Margret; Cash, Anne; Chanler, Jane; Chorley, Margret; Colley, Jane; Cook, Elin; Cordal, Margret; Cotgrean, Elinor; Court, Sarah; Cowley, Eliz.; Crabb, Priscilla; Crosby, Hannah; Davenport, Elin; Dawson, Elin; Dawson, Mary; Deakin, Jane; Dewsberry, Elinor; Dewsberry, Margret; Ducker, Eliz.; Dunbabin, Jane; Dunbabin, Margret; Ellet, Grace; Falkner, Eliz.; Evans, Eliz.; Felor, Elizabeth; Felor, Sibel; Fisher, Mary; Forrest, Elnor; Foxley, Kathern; Frinson, Anne; Fryer, Eliz.; Garnet, Margret; Gatlist, Margret; Gerrard, Mary; Ghorst, Sarah; Gilbert, Mary; Glover, Elizabeth; Glover, Elin; Goulden, Elizabeth; Grange, Elin; Gravener, Jane; Graves, Mary; Green, Eliz.; Green, Mary; Hale, Eliz.; Hall, Ann; Hall, Elin; Hall, Elin; Hall, Elin; Hampton, Jone; Hamsley, Mary; Hamson, Margret; Hare, Jane; Hare, Mary; Harrup, Margret; Hasel, Eliz.; Hasfort, Mary; Hasul, Margret; Haywort, Amy; Heath, Margery; Hilbert, Elizabeth; Hibert, Mary; Hide, Elin; Hitchin, Margery; Hitchinson, Kathern; Hollenshed, Ellen; Holm, Ann; Holm, Elin; Holm, Rebecca; Holm, Margret; Hoyd, Elizabeth; Husall, Eliz.; Hutton, Eliz.; Jackson, Jane; Jamon, Mary; Johnson, Alice; Johnson, Anne; Jones, Alice; Kalshaw, Kathern; Kelshal, Eliz.; Kerkcum, Kathern; Kilshaw, Eliz.; Lagh, Isabel; Ledsome, Anne; Leech, Elizabeth; Leigh, Ann; Leigh, Mary; Liversticke, Susanna; Lloyd, Dorothy; Lloyd, Jane; Lloyd, Margret; Loranson, Ann; Lounds, Anne; Lownds, Alice; Maddock, Sarah; Maddocks, Susanna; Madley, Kathern; Mallory, Mary; Mear, Dorothy; Mear, Eliz.; Meer, Margret; Mercer, Sarah; Middlehurst, Margret; Miller, Jane; Miller, Margret; Millington, Anne; Millington, Kathern; Millington, Mary; Millor, Alice; Mills, Kathern; Milner, Margret; Moberly, Elin; Moberly, Eliz.; Moreton, Eliz.; Moreton, Margret; Morral, Elizabeth; Morrice, Eliz.; Morrice, Mary; Mountford, Mary; Naylor, Dorothy; Newby, Elizabeth; Nicklas, Jane; Nicholas, Alice; Nicholas, Jane; Nicson, Elin; Norman, Margret; Oussoncroft, Anne; Owen, Martha; Owen, Margery; Pasley, Alice; Perrin, Eliz.; Perrin, Lettice; Picker, Elin; Picker, Margret; Pickring, Alice; Pike, Anne; Pike, Eliz.; Pike, Mary; Plant, Isabel; Pownal, Margret; Pownal, Mary; Preston, Elin; Pricket, Ermine; Probbin, Fran.; Read, Anne; Ridgway, Margret; Robinson, Elizabeth; Rowbottom, Ann; Rowlison, Elinor; Royle, Frances; Ryther, Kathren; Sanders, Alice; Sanderson,



Mary; Sanky, Margret; Sargeant, Darcas; Sarrat, Eliz; Sergeant, Hannah; Shak-shaff, Alice; Sharples, Anne; Shaw, Hester; Shaw, Jane; Shaw, Rebecca; Sheart, Kathren; Sheply, Elizabeth; Sibert, Anne; Sikes, Sibel; Simcock, Widdow; Skelton, Fran.; Stockley, Katheren; Stringer, Eliz.; Suddern, Mary; Sutton, Ann; Swan, Mary; Taylor, Tomasine; Thorncroft, Isabel; Thorncroft, Sarah; Tomasin, Mary; Tomlisson, Dorothy; Tomlisson, Fran.; Tomlisson, Jane; Tomlisson, Jane; Tomlisson, Margret; Tomlisson, Mary; Tomson, Anne; Tumkin, Dorothy; Underwood, Elinor; Underwood, Margaret; Vandrey, Mary; Walker, Fran.; Walker, Kathern; Warrington, Margret; Warrington, Mary; Warton, Mary; Watmore, Hannah; Weaver, Eliz.; Wharmbee, Lydia; Whitakers, Elin; Whitcars, Cisly; Widart, Eliz.; Widdens, Alice; Williams, Margaret; Williams, Mary; Williamson, Elin; Williamson, Martha; Wooly, Margaret; Wood, Eliz.; Wood, Elizabeth; Wood, Jones; Wooker, Anne; Worthington, Anna; Worthington, Elizab.; Woyd, Ann; Yardly, Dorothy; Yardly, Eliz.; Yardly, Fran.; Yate, Eliz.; Yayler, Eliz.

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