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To cite this article: Euan David McArthur (2022) Northern echoes: regional identity in the early Quaker Movement, c.1650–1666, *The Seventeenth Century*, 37:2, 229–253, DOI: [10.1080/0268117X.2021.1936618](https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2021.1936618)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2021.1936618>



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Published online: 14 Jun 2021.



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Northern echoes: regional identity in the early Quaker Movement, c.1650–1666

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ABSTRACT

Studies of seventeenth-century Britain have increasingly recognised a multiplicity of centrifugal and centripetal identities at play. The early Quaker movement witnessed a dramatic convergence of such factors. Its founders came predominantly from the north and midlands of England, and they initially asserted themselves as such. This seemed to bely their theological universalism, and threaten national disintegration. Members appeared revulsed by London upon spreading south, but displayed a more accommodating attitude upon settling, and relaxed their former attitudes regarding region. Such a movement highlights the evolving relationship between religious thought and regional identity. Early Quakerism moved from provincial attachment to an increasingly national and universal register, but the relationship between these modes was continually negotiated throughout the century, and it provides a valuable case study for both historians of regional, religious, and political identity.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 20 December 2020
Accepted 26 May 2021

KEYWORDS

Quakerism; dissent;
nationalism; regional
identity; London

Introduction

Quakerism underwent rapid growth from its foundations in the late 1640s to the mid-1660s, propelled by the itinerant preaching of George Fox and other leaders. Previous studies have noted their demographic origins in the north of England and briefly analysed its use as a badge of identity,¹ but its foundations, trajectories in early debates, and afterlives following incursions to the south and London remain a lacuna in scholarship. London was a strong target of their critique and admiration and proves instructive for understanding their development away from local attachments and initial resentments. Regional identity was initially significant, as they propounded their status as a northern “army”, but faded from their rhetoric following this development. Visceral reactions to communities persisted, but any particular affinity was discarded. The importance, if ephemerality, of regional identity is evident, however, and such a lens enriches our understanding of locality and ideology during the seventeenth century, a period during which Britons could be “forraigners” to one another outside local boundaries.²

The Quakers’ early leadership structure was amorphous, and as such a broad range of Quaker publications and letters are analysed beneath. All self-identifying Quakers using

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these media are taken to be legitimate voices, with an emphasis on the early and most prominent leaders' shift in attitude. Fox's autobiographical *Journal* is drawn upon, despite being a product of the 1670s and later, as it provides a particularly appropriate picture of movement between geographical bases. Fox came from Leicestershire, but asserted a "northern" identity, unclearly defined as this was. The movement's relationship with place is traced from the early 1650s until 1666, with a focus upon the transition north to south in the mid-1650s. The establishment of a base in London from this point culminated in the 1666 *Testimony from the Brethren*,³ wherein London leaders codified and distributed national behavioural guidelines.

The foundations and emergence of regional identity

A rich seam of scholarship has acknowledged the regional pulls of early modern Britain. Power has been shown to be widely dispersed and contested amongst seventeenth-century British regions,⁴ particularly during the civil war.⁵ An abstract appreciation of localism has been noted in contemporary political theory,⁶ and the strengths of avowed national, regional, and corporate identities have been recognised.⁷ The political and religious orientation of Quaker contemporaries such as the Fifth Monarchists were influenced by their members' origins. Tracts such as *A Door of Hope*, linked to their 1661 London uprising, utilised the language of civic rights and privileges, drawn from their experience as apprentices, tradesmen, and burghers in the city.⁸ Philip Baker has shown the same influences at play at the Levellers' foundations, particularly in pamphlets such as *Londons Liberty in Chains Discovered* (1646).⁹ Mark Stoyle has done much to highlight the significance of regional affiliations in the south-west. Particularly notable were the puritan-leaning governors of Exeter, who derided "Londoners", and its preachers who lauded the town as a "beacon" to others, in the 1630s.¹⁰ On a national level, thinkers were increasingly pressing the qualities of their own people, and tying this to religious sanctity. Histories of the English, Scottish, and Irish were frequently linked to biblical genealogies, and trumpeted the primitivity and purity of national churches.¹¹

Such "conscious" identity¹² is evident amongst early Quakers, seen in an aggressive avowal of northernness which is analysed beneath. "Conscious" identity is distinguishable from identity as an aspect of being, or structural component of language, which remain, nonetheless, valid, and are perhaps worthy of further research in this case. The foundations of, and move to relative detachment from, this early identity have not been considered at length in previous scholarship. Most major histories of Quakerism from Braithwaite onwards have noted its origins in the north, and given some indication of its expression and derision by opponents.¹³ But the precise way in which this, ostensibly at odds with their theological universalism and boundless ambition, came to be a prominent feature of the early movement's thinking, has not been understood, nor its evolution following expansion south.

An outline of foundational Quaker ideas about place and community, focusing upon letters and pamphlets of the early 1650s, is initially necessary to understand their particular attachment to the north. Early Quakers typically judged localities schematically, as bearers of either grace or sin. Fox, and those hailing from Westmorland and Yorkshire such as James Nayler, William Dewsbury, Francis Howgill, and Edward Burrough compared their surrounds to Sodom,¹⁴ Babel,¹⁵ Babylon,¹⁶ and Egypt¹⁷;

identified the Quakers with the people of Zion or remnant of Israel¹⁸; and assimilated the commonwealths of England and Israel.¹⁹ Such comparisons were not unique. Scripture, which the Quakers were intimately familiar with, widely influenced early modern meditations upon nations' and cities' fate, and puritan literature commonly made analogies with scriptural communities.²⁰ This premise, although widespread, formed the initial context in which attribution of sanctity or wickedness to places and peoples was possible.

These associations were accompanied by tendencies disparaging place *per se*, founded in worldly renunciation and separatist criticism of ecclesiastical communities based on geographic units.²¹ Quakers trenchantly criticised worldliness, mostly prioritising the spiritual kingdom above territorial governments.²² Unease with the terrestrial world is broadly evident in the 1650s. Alexander Parker, a Lancashire Quaker, reflected in 1655 that God “has sent us abroad into the world”,²³ while a 1658 document of Friends described themselves as people in “strange lands”.²⁴ Burrough wrote of their spiritual estrangement in London,²⁵ and of Christ appearing in England as if in a “far Country”.²⁶ Signatures were often appended with “one known to the world as”,²⁷ and names with “according to the flesh”.²⁸ Places received this treatment, with Fox and Burrough referring to “this Island (called England)” and “this little Island”,²⁹ elsewhere calling “London (so called by name)”.³⁰

This indifference was at times explicit. Thomas Salthouse reflected that “We are resolved to meet, preach and pray, in public and private, in season and out of season, in city, town, or country, as if it had never been”.³¹ Burrough, although earlier a proclaimer of his northernness, followed the logic of such disavowals by 1662, stating that no worship was due to northern Quakers in London, only God within.³² Fox conveyed little attachment to his hometown, Drayton-in-the-Clay, only recounting the “snares” awaiting him on his return in his *Journal*;³³ a 1652 epistle addressed to his “mother and father in the flesh” urged them towards the holy spirit.³⁴ Sinners seeking worldly refuge were held to do so in vain: quoting Ezekiel, Fox warned the Lord was coming for those who have “hid yourselves some in mountains and some in green trees, and some under hills”.³⁵ George Fox the Younger advised sinners to return “home” from wandering the world, eschewing their “Lands” and other earthly associations.³⁶ Others overtly rejected conventional boundaries: Dewsbury and Burrough wrote positively of their calling “to run to and fro”, travel “up and down”, declaring the Word regardless of place,³⁷ and Morgan Watkins disdained the laziness of priests who were “put into Parishes and places”.³⁸ This tendency to “go hither and thither”,³⁹ “up and down the Country”, as “Journey-Men speakers [...] compassing the Country from place to place”⁴⁰ worried their critics, and speaking in unconsecrated spaces was mocked.⁴¹

Rather than presaging withdrawal or apathy, the rejection of worldliness was attached to renewed judgments of those places seen to embrace it. Within communities, everyday institutions were disparaged: “steeplehouses” (churches) and taverns were identified with “idols”⁴² and corruption, and true Christians were identified as in prisons,⁴³ or preaching in streets, “fairs and markets”, and alehouses.⁴⁴ Numerous individual tracts castigated and warned towns and communities. Quaker authors from 1652 to 1666 addressed themselves to Stalham, Uxbridge, Plymouth, Oxford (twice), Cambridge, Worcester, Barbados (three times), Leeds, Weymouth, Dartmouth, Whitwell, and London, amongst other locations.⁴⁵ Fox declaring “Woe unto ye bloody city of Lichfeild”⁴⁶ in 1651 is

infamous, but he was widely scathing. He predicted divine vengeance on the “hardened People” of Derby; called Gillslande a “theevish country” and Basingstoke “a very rude place”; and judged Coventry “closed uppe with darknesse” in 1655.⁴⁷ A flood was judged to have befallen Carlisle to prevent its ejection of Quakers in 1657.⁴⁸ Burrough wrote to “all you Inhabitants of Underbarrow [. . .] my neighbours and Countrey Men according to the flesh (but strangers to the spirit)” of how God’s wrath would fall upon them in 1654.⁴⁹ Nayler addressed Bradford in an early letter, criticising all its “priests, officers & people”. For setting a mob upon him and his fellow preachers, among other crimes, Bradford had made itself a sinful and inhospitable Sodom.⁵⁰ The English nation was, also, warned for its indiscretions.⁵¹

This recognition of geographic communities also prompted praise and persuasion. Burrough and Howgill recalled the benignity of Bristol’s “pretty people” in 1654,⁵² and Fox commented frequently on the hospitality of specific communities. His pastoral writings, particularly epistles, show tenderness towards the towns he had reached in his early northern travels.⁵³ An epistle for Swarthmoor Friends is indicative, conveying his care for them.⁵⁴ Nayler’s letters were expressed in similar terms, in particular proclaiming his love for Friends in Wakefield and Yorkshire, above and beyond their physical separation.⁵⁵ Positive and negative judgments were, therefore, newly formed in Quaker morality.

Letters recounting early missionary work frequently describe this opposition *within* particular locales, with achievements and persecutions noted in tandem. James Parnell poignantly wrote of a “great appearance in these parts” (Colchester), while recounting his ongoing imprisonment⁵⁶ (under which circumstances he shortly passed away from malnutrition). Burrough and Howgill wrote of adoring Bristol crowds, and adversarial ministers and civic authorities; it was both a “thirsty land” and one in which the establishment was arrayed against them.⁵⁷ Fox recalled being brought before the House of Correction in Chesterfield, but of how the “Lords Power began to spread mightily” in the area.⁵⁸ George Whitehead could compliment the “sober people” of Chesterton, amongst whom there were “many reached”, but also told of his disruption by scholars there.⁵⁹ Nayler wrote of a successful meeting, but immediately followed this by recounting the arrival of “12 lewd fellows” and a “priest”⁶⁰; he was effusive about Quaker prospects in Lancaster where, after describing a long struggle, he predicted the ministers would “lose all” (1652).⁶¹ Later, in 1654, he recalled a dispute with the dissident Quaker Rhys Jones in Nottingham, while noting that “The people here is much in love with truth”.⁶² Nayler’s letters were often wholly positive or negative, but there is a balance across the corpus, and the occasional equivocation seen here.

Individuals were keen to emphasise some success, even when sparse. Thomas Robertson wrote that in Hampton two “received the Truth gladly” and at Portsmouth that “there were several that owned us”.⁶³ Many leaders recalled the large number of places they visited and witnessed meetings,⁶⁴ and expressed a desire to gain a stronger footing in various counties.⁶⁵ Fox’s narrative is strewn with accounts of “great meetings” and “convincements” occurring across the country.⁶⁶ Cities, towns, and villages were looked upon as sites of a “great harvest” for the Lord⁶⁷; Nayler wrote approvingly of opponents’ fear in Barnard Castle that the “major part of the town is Quakers”.⁶⁸ A clear demarcation of holy and unholy places was made, with the latter being optimistically claimed by Friends. The contrast *between* or *within* places was usually presented as an

unequivocal difference, however, with the former gaining ascendancy in their northern consciousness.

The importance of evaluating spaces and communities is clear, with a theoretical underpinning that combined scriptural analogues with a qualifying coolness towards worldly attachments, without sliding into anomic rejection. Terrestrial distinctions remained important, and the universal and particular blurred into one another. Fox aimed his message at all “Nations and Kingdoms everywhere in all the world” while referencing biblical passages that identified the Quakers’ mission with Israel’s⁶⁹; to reach the “greatest to the least”, while quoting from Jeremiah on Israel’s fate and those scattered in the “land of the north”.⁷⁰ During the early to mid-1650s, the movement of Quakers through the north and midlands, and then south, was accompanied by expressions of northern identity. Little of its articulation was directly linked to scriptural passages, which did not unambiguously favour a particular compass point: Isaiah called out to the north and the south, Daniel prophesied a battle between northern and southern kings, and Jeremiah foretold a “foe from the North”.⁷¹ These were books favoured by early leaders, however, and their engagement with literature that distributed universal, spiritual qualities and assignments amongst regions, and underlined these contrasts, provided the intellectual framework in which their early identity was expressed.

Such features need not have provoked regional wrath; as noted, beyond absolute detachment, a balanced account of benign and malign forces within localities was made. But most early Quaker leaders came from, and organised themselves in, northern England,⁷² and this led to a stable association of northern identity with the Lord’s work, particularly when encountering forces outside the area. Peter Marshall has shown that “the north” was traditionally disparaged in English religious thought, but that the seventeenth century had proved ripe for positive re-appropriation, following James I’s accession, and in reflections upon northerly peoples of the European Reformation.⁷³ The Quakers’ theological emphasis on a new, voluntary covenant may have leant plausibility to the idea of regional pre-eminence. Equally, many early conversions were linked to pre-existing, localised religious gatherings, or the local ecclesiastical grievances of parishioners,⁷⁴ which may have contributed to feelings of parochialism. Regardless, the north appeared to have greater sanctity. Again, a *contrast* of grace and sin underpinned this; above, this was seen to apply flexibly, but here in more fixed form. This appears in their earliest writings. A 1650 letter of Fox’s referred to himself as “one of them in the north” guarding Truth, opposing himself to Colonel Bennett, a “Parliament man” who had slandered the Quakers in London,⁷⁵ while a 1652 epistle affirmed that “There is rising a new and living way out of the north”.⁷⁶ His letters and pamphlets up to 1654 identified the north as the site of the true faith,⁷⁷ entwining geographical specificity with universal themes.

Beyond internal testimony, Quaker pamphlets are particularly instructive. The early modern public sphere was a burgeoning, if fragile, reality,⁷⁸ and an attempt was made through these to designate a literary space for a geographic one. *Newes Coming up out of the North, Sounding towards the South* (1654), by Fox, warned England that, “The army is coming up out of the north against you terrible ones”. Fox disclaimed his person, writing that his words came from one “whose Name is not known to the World”, but that the movement has “risen up out of the North” is also propounded.⁷⁹ Fox’s *A Warning from the Lord* (1654) drew attention to the oppressions witnessed in the “Northern parts”.⁸⁰

He averred that the towns and cities of “Chester, Stafford, York, Lancaster, Kendal, Carlisle, and Newcastle”⁸¹ contained the greatest concentration of holiness; the “jails of the North” were fulfilling Peter’s prophecy⁸² of being a “light shining in a dark place”.⁸³ Scriptural imagery of the “seed” of God was used by George Whitehead to describe those “scattered” in “the North Country”.⁸⁴

Nayler’s 1653 *The Power and Glory of the Lord Shining Out of the North* proudly proclaimed that Christ had appeared in “the most brutish parts in the nation”.⁸⁵ In a 1654 swipe at Newcastle ministers he thundered that “all the North may witness against you”,⁸⁶ evincing solidarity with the several counties he had passed through, and invoking a wider entity against this specific settlement. Burrough agreed that Christ had been “made manifest” in the “North part of this nation” (1653),⁸⁷ and in 1654 rejoiced that “open war is proclaimed in the North parts of England”⁸⁸ between the Lord and his enemies, particularising the site of this conflict. Dewsbury, in *A True Propheisie*, affirmed that the “Day of the Lord [. . .] is appeared in the North of England, and is rising toward the South; and shall over spread this Nation, and all Nations of the World”.⁸⁹ He further stated that the Lord was gathering “his army which he hath raised up in the North of England”,⁹⁰ playing upon fears of alien influences and armed uprisings.⁹¹ Northern England had largely backed the royalist cause and was variously, and vaguely, reputed for Roman Catholicism,⁹² and wildness and marginality,⁹³ but its inhospitality was invoked here to different ends.

Early controversial literature, documenting contestations carried out in person and print, reflected the movement’s base. Narrative accounts retold persecutions, and queries set by northern clerics received systematic responses. This body of literature emphasised the importance of their regional contests, in competition with the London sectaries and university scholars Fox so disdained.⁹⁴ *Saul’s Errand to Damascus* (1653) alerted the “Christian Reader” to the “north parts of Lancashire”, describing Fox, Nayler, and John Lawson’s travails with the region’s authorities.⁹⁵ *Several Petitions Answered*, written several months later, responded to queries of Westmorland ministers, taking them as valid examples of the “priests of the world”,⁹⁶ and Howgill’s *Woe to the Magistrates of Kendal* (1653), railed against the justice system there, announcing its intention to “warn all persecuting Towns and Cities in the North”.⁹⁷ Other works of 1653 and 1654 attended to contests held in Lancashire and Yorkshire against “ministers in the North”,⁹⁸ identifying them with the divine enemy. These works show a clear attachment to place, in which the “northern parts” prove exemplary of universal contests, alerting other regions within England.

These advertisements were potentially damaging. Marshall has suggested that scriptural imagery and English ecclesiastical practice was hostile towards “the north”,⁹⁹ but a specifically religious denigration does not seem to have featured against the Quakers, who were attacked on more sociocultural grounds. The north was, outside its indefinitely defined boundaries, traditionally viewed as a hostile region, and writers sought to delegitimise the movement on this basis. For certain authors, this was ambiguous territory: George Emmot, who bathetically recounted the local squabbles among Yorkshire Friends in *A Northern Blast* (1655)¹⁰⁰ and Francis Higginson, who stressed their alien character and unlearned congregational base in *A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers* (1653),¹⁰¹ criticised the Quakers’ regional marginality from their own bases of Durham and Westmorland, respectively. Puritans and

conservative Anglicans of the south took a similarly critical line in 1655: Enoch Howet, long based in London, referred to Quaker opinions being found in “certain Northern people”,¹⁰² and Ephraim Pagitt’s editors warned that they were “thickest set in the north”.¹⁰³ Edmund Skipp of Herefordshire witnessed evil in their swift descent from the “North unto London”, and mocked the insignificance of Kendal.¹⁰⁴ Ralph Farmer of Bristol disparaged their origins in a tract addressed to John Thurloe, Secretary of State, warning of “Morice-dancers from the North” and “Northern locusts” setting upon his city.¹⁰⁵ The anonymous *The Quakers Terrible Vision; or, The Devils’s Progress from the North of England, to the City of London* also marked them out as intruders, drawing people in by the “illustrious Beame of the Northern Candle”.¹⁰⁶

Rather than deny this difference, Friends’ works revelled in it. Howgill wrote that the “North of England, who art counted as desolate and barren, and reckoned the least of the Nations, yet out of thee did the Branch spring, and the star arise, which gives light unto all the Regions round about” (1655).¹⁰⁷ Christopher Atkinson, another Westmorland Friend, rebuked a critic by observing that “for the Northern parts which thou wouldest make odious to all Nations, the Wilderness has become a garden inclosed”.¹⁰⁸ Their northernness was a plausible construction in the early to mid-1650s, becoming part of the arsenal of critique and inversion of values so beloved by the early movement: northerners from the “brutish” parts of the nation had punctured the pomp of the south. Certain factors tended against this: the parliamentary sympathies of early Quakers typically married with English patriotism in army and government circles,¹⁰⁹ while the north was associated with royalism and Roman Catholicism. But its purported rusticity did align with early Quaker simplicity, and they had been keen to foster their own characteristics, from idiosyncrasies such as Fox’s leathern breaches, to the refusal of common customs; they often defended appearing “strange” more broadly.¹¹⁰ It might, additionally, be viewed as a rejection of the geographies of puritanism, Anglicanism, and Catholicism, whether patriotic, cosmopolitan, or southern facing, alongside their theologies. An attachment to paradox, to confirmation rather than denial of others’ prejudices, combining with their demographic origins, therefore led to a vigorous assertion of northernness.

Quakers and the south

This began to diminish, however, from 1655. Fox wrote that in 1654 he and others were “sent abroade out of ye north Countryes”, them being settled, to preach elsewhere; Howgill and Burrough were formally assigned to London.¹¹¹ Most of their first pamphlets discussed above were, ironically, published *in* London, typically by dissenting publishers such as Giles Calvert and Thomas Simmons, with their initial literary endeavours already requiring geographical adjustment. References to northernness or northern conflicts diminished starkly, and the region appears in a more relative guise beyond this year. Debates were exported south: Atkinson’s *The Sword of the Lord Drawn*, a tract against three London ministers, was published in November 1654, following a 1653 tract concerning Kendal.¹¹² Naylor and Burrough soon took up this cudgel, publishing numerous debates from London.¹¹³ Certain works encapsulated this transformation: George Bishop and Fox’s *The West Answering to the North* documented their experiences in Cornwall in 1656,¹¹⁴ framing this as a collaborative exercise.

The Cry of the Oppressed, published in November 1656, also captured this transition. Authored by Fox and the Kendal-based Gervase Benson, it primarily documented those refusing tithe payments “in the Northern parts” (the north-west, Yorkshire, and midlands), while acknowledging those in “other parts of the nation” in shorter entries. A concluding exhortation by Fox revealed comprehensive ambitions, however: he despaired of the “prisons of the Nation”, directing readers to “witness Lancaster, Colchester, York and Excester”.¹¹⁵ Anti-Quaker literature also caught up, with William Prynne’s *The Quakers Unmasked* (1655) noting their northern origins, and now increasing western presence.¹¹⁶

Works addressed to England also appeared that, unlike *Saul’s Errand to Damascus* or *A True Prophesie*, were not accompanied by assertions of regional identity. Fox’s *Visitation to the Jews* (1656) conceived of a national mission, stating that now “thousands do witness” the covenant of the light.¹¹⁷ Fox, Burrough, and Nayler addressed themselves to parliament and Cromwell,¹¹⁸ intensifying this focus. Extended criticisms of “popery” appeared, aligning the Quakers with nationalistic criticism,¹¹⁹ and, beyond this, missions began across the British Isles and world, including Europe and the Americas.¹²⁰ The north now appeared as one region among many, if not subsumed under patriotic or international rallying. References amongst their opponents also diminished. Nayler, on trial for a series of messianic processions through the south-west in December 1656, witnessed parliamentarians state that “He came from the North. It verifies the proverb *ab aquilone nil boni*. I hope it will be a warning to them never to send us such cattle amongst us”, and that northerners are the “greatest pests of the nation”,¹²¹ but such criticism soon faded.

The London mission attracted intense focus from 1655 onwards, and highlights the evolution of their views from feelings of alienation to identification. They were initially dismayed. Benson wrote in 1653 that “I find nothing here that I can have any fellowship with”, and of its characteristic deceit and “jangling”.¹²² Burrough and Howgill wrote of its great “iniquity”, bound by the “subtlest serpents”,¹²³ Alexander Delamain of its “ravenous wolves”, identifying the Quakers as an alien movement, “out of the North” (1654).¹²⁴ Unawed, he disdained threats of being brought to the “chamberlain of London”, or losing his freedom of the city. Anthony Pearson of Durham wrote that Londoners were “high flown in wisdom and notions” and peculiarly disposed to “disputing and questioning”. London was particularly troublesome: none should go “but in the dear and pure movings of the Spirit of Life”.¹²⁵ Howgill reported that “our work is doubled in this city” and that “few are fitted” for it,¹²⁶ Nayler that London is a “great & wicked place where abomination is set up & spread over”.¹²⁷ Burrough noted a “great people in much weakness”,¹²⁸ again reversing spiritual and worldly values. Fox’s single-page broadsheet *A Warning to the City of London* (1654) summarised these positions well, calling London a “proud city”, warning that plagues are set to fall on its “inventions”.

London, on this view, symbolised the world’s ills. Superficially, this may be regarded as following from their theology or regional identity. But these were not prerequisites to such criticism. They were typical of seventeenth-century northerners’ reactions to the city’s opulence,¹²⁹ and were also taken up by groups such as the Levellers and Fifth Monarchists, who did not consider themselves outsiders.¹³⁰ For these demographics, as for the Quakers, criticism did not debar eventual positive engagement. Initial Quakers’

reactions were not, therefore, caused or bound by their northern identity, which makes their subsequent, autonomous development more intelligible.

It is also notable, following the pamphlet assertions of northernness, how little of this dismay was made public: Fox had also called London “this great City Sodom” in *Newes Coming up out of the North*¹³¹ but their negative reactions were mostly expressed in letters, conveying a struggle they were keener to overcome than petrify. The encounter between northern identity and London caused prolonged anguish amongst some contemporaries: a seventeenth-century ballad, “The Northern Lasses Lament”, told how,

*A North Countrey Lass
up to London did pass
Although with her Nature it did not agree
which made her repent
and so often Lament
Still wishing again in the North for to be*¹³²

But the Quakers’ universalist aspirations, or the lure of urban converts, quickly won out. Their regional consciousness cannot, therefore, be held to have a necessary role in determining, or significant role in restricting, their reactions and activities. Below, how this relationship with London changed is analysed, granting us two important lessons: signalling how quickly their initial identity receded with new concerns, and how, independently and additionally, views about a different region (London) adapted.

The anguished reactions examined above temporised with the passage of time. Early correspondences conveyed fascination with the city and its challenges. Letters of Pearson, Burrough, and Nayler celebrated converting its peculiar sects, including “Waiters”, Ranters, Baptists and independents of all stripes.¹³³ Nayler’s pamphlet literature also played out this battle, jostling with a wide array of thinkers in the city.¹³⁴ Howgill and Fox wrote approvingly of the “multitudes” and “tumult” that swelled in its boundaries.¹³⁵ The scale of public debates was new, and Benson’s earlier distaste can be contrasted with Howgill and Burrough’s,¹³⁶ and Parker’s,¹³⁷ positive reports of the rewards this offered. Nayler was similarly excited by the prospects for expansion, while revelling in the extent of opposition (“All is against me”).¹³⁸

The tendency of letters from localities to highlight successes and travails was eventually repeated in London, bringing it into the pastoral fold. Writers declared the movement’s growth in the city, accompanying this with accounts of London’s filthiness.¹³⁹ Burrough and Howgill reported great advances, whilst conceding that the “rude multitude” disrupted their meetings.¹⁴⁰ More broadly, the letters from 1654 to 1659 show clear growth in the size and number of meetings.¹⁴¹ Burrough, on a mission to Ireland in mid-1655, wrote of his wish to “hear of G.F. and J.N. and the rest in the south, where I know the word of the Lord is glorious”,¹⁴² and expressed confidence in the London crowd in 1654’s *Walls of Jericho*.¹⁴³ Parker noted in September 1655 “joy and rejoicement” in the city, intoning its praises with qualifications.¹⁴⁴ Howgill, roughly four months later, wrote that in London “Truth hath dominion over all; none will now stand to dispute, but turn away”.¹⁴⁵ Richard Hubberthorne of Lancashire reflected that, beyond the initial conversions, “There is great service in and about this city”.¹⁴⁶ A growing ease with London, and the diminishment of criticism, is evident.

Fox seemed less attached. He did not remain in London, and often felt called back to “ye Countryes againe”.¹⁴⁷ His *A Cry for Repentance unto the Inhabitants of London Cheiflie* (December 1656) revealed an accommodating approach, however, moving far beyond his 1654 broadsheet. Published shortly after Nayler’s processions, with a band of followers he had gathered from London, Fox’s work is notable not for its excoriation, but the attention it gives towards addressing specific needs and propensities of London classes. It lacks some precision, but nonetheless attempts to grasp the problem of social stratification the city presents.

Fox began by intoning, “Repent, repent, ye tradesman of London, repent ye merchants and great-men of the city”, and addressed himself to “watermen and fishermen”, “ye poorer sort of people who are drudging and toiling under the great ones”, teachers, and rulers, amongst others. Even ostensibly moral categories, such as “idle people” (presumably the innocently unemployed or hardened shirkers) refer to social strata in a novel way for the Quakers. These groups are linked to moral proclivities, with Fox cautioning traders against greed, farmers to keep their minds on lofty things, lawyers to show justice, and merchants to not “heap up Treasures”. The London “merchantmen” received lengthy advice to remain honest and not accumulate wealth or exploit others.¹⁴⁸ (Burrough reflected similarly a 1657 tract, condemning London’s “several sects” and deceitful merchants, while issuing advice to particular occupations).¹⁴⁹ This advice was repeated in a 1658 pamphlet, advising merchants to care for the poor and not deceive “Country people”.¹⁵⁰ These works show sensitivity to the peculiarities of London parishioners and their relationship with rural types; a shift in recognition, beyond calls to repent, was made, despite Fox’s continued attachment to itinerant preaching.

In late 1658, Burrough stated that “all things are very well” in London, his main concern being to find a bigger meeting room.¹⁵¹ It is beyond the scope of this study to review the history of London-based Quaker institutions, but several structures and engagements attest to a burgeoning amenability to London. Several Quakers presented letters of sufferings to Parliament in 1659, in earnest hope of judicious treatment.¹⁵² In 1660, the Quakers’ Yearly Meeting, established in the north, was moved to London thereafter (albeit not convening *annually* until 1668).¹⁵³ Although letters from 1659 onwards also tell of intensified persecution from army and Restoration authorities,¹⁵⁴ this was a reality congruent with their increased strength. Engagement with London-based national institutions continued, too: Thomas Moore pleaded to the King, and Burrough and Hubberthorne to Parliament, for clemency in 1661.¹⁵⁵ *A Declaration from the Harmless and Innocent People of God* was signed by twelve leading Quakers, including Fox, Hubberthorne, and Howgill, in 1660, setting their sights firmly on the national government¹⁵⁶; appeals were made to Charles II on a wide scale.¹⁵⁷ Positive assessments also continued: Henry Fell wrote that “Friends are well in general” (December 1661)¹⁵⁸; Parker reported similarly in July 1663.¹⁵⁹ A community remained, despite further disturbances. By 1665, things were “peaceable”, and the threat of disrupted meetings and venues facing closure¹⁶⁰ was occasional rather than absolute.

Further accommodation and fury

The period from 1656–1666 featured few references to northern identity. This early ideology did not restrict their aims or expansion. The success in London was paralleled in

England's second city, Bristol,¹⁶¹ and international missions proliferated. Interactions in these areas require further research, but notable in north–south relations is the fact that Quakers were, paradoxically, conscious of their differences and quick to discard them, perhaps because this expansion continued unabated, with acculturation occurring rapidly. Hailing predominantly from one region, and a marginal one, unlike the Levellers or Fifth Monarchists, but not content to hold forth on proselytising like many of the Seeker and semi-separatist communities they sprang from,¹⁶² they experienced feelings of both hostility and accommodation. Their judgment turned from righteous regionalism to broader attachment when meetings became successfully established elsewhere, and the tendency to analyse places in equivocal terms, anticipating their eventual capture, won over their early affinities and hostility, whatever the latter's source. A 1657 pamphlet of Hubberthorne's, addressed to the "wise men of London", linked Quaker activity to a Jeremiahan prophecy of the "North [spoiling] Babylon",¹⁶³ but he abandoned this line in subsequent works. The Kentish Thomas Howsegoe directed his 1657 *A Word from the North, Sounded into the South* from London towards his home county,¹⁶⁴ showing new forms of embeddedness. Some divergences emerged between London and northern Quakers,¹⁶⁵ but regional animosity did not follow. Burrough, in 1659, recalled how "we were set at nought and rejected by the fat beasts of the South", widely opposed by those "in this City and South cuntry", but considered this, on reflection, equivalent to the sufferings faced "in the North".¹⁶⁶ Dewsbury extolled the Quakers' origins in the "Northern Countrey" in 1661 and 1666, but now referred to England, and its position in the world,¹⁶⁷ echoing ideas of proud northern Protestantism. Similarly, Francis Ellington, a Northamptonshire Friend, used a 1664 pamphlet to link the Quakers' origins to Behemist prophecies of a northern rising, flitting between placing this in "the North Countrey" and "this Northern island" and "Nation". He portrayed it, regardless, as accomplished, rather than ongoing.¹⁶⁸ A Worcester mittimus of 1673 denigrating Quakers as "from the North" and other "remote parts" of England¹⁶⁹ appears, therefore, anomalous and sociologically inexact.

Alongside this growing comfortability, and the diminishment of avowed northern consciousness, there appeared regulation and advice issuing from the south to the north. Epistles from Fox "To Friends in the North" in 1653 and 1654 appeared as the movement spanned several northern counties.¹⁷⁰ Following this, advice began to emanate from the south. Regional references mostly occurred in internal letters or incidental, formal statements, and were couched in cooperative terms, rather than asserting identity and stoking fear or rivalry in the public sphere. Nayler sent letters advising "the churches of Christ in the North",¹⁷¹ and to Friends in York and Lincoln,¹⁷² between 1654 and 1656. Burrough wrote similarly to "Friends in Westmorland and Cumberland" (1658).¹⁷³ The north was no longer home, nor London an alien place, fit only for condemnation: coming full circle, Nayler wrote "To all Friends at London" in June 1656, whilst visiting his hometown of Wakefield.¹⁷⁴ Later, in 1664, Howgill wrote positively of a trip north that it "gives a goodly smell, now when the south wind blows upon it".¹⁷⁵ Such approaches were reflected on a structural level. The 1657 Yearly Meeting at John Crook's in Bedfordshire issued the first guidelines of Quaker discipline, addressing itself to "Friends in the North",¹⁷⁶ tacitly recognising the south's authority.

A distinction was maintained, but exchange between regions was now affirmed. Nayler meditated on this in a 1658 letter "To some Friends in the Northern parts".¹⁷⁷

He stated that “my soul salutes you all”, and expressed his gratitude and “remembrance” of them. His “calling” is now in London, but he continues to long for those in the north. Meditation upon their divided geographical vocation could now take place, without hostility. A broadening of sympathies had, therefore, occurred: early Quaker leaders from the “northern parts” had made theoretical and practical peace with the south, issuing advice in both directions. This culminated in the 1666 *Testimony from the Brethren*, considered by Moore to be the closing document of the early Quaker movement.¹⁷⁸ Ordered to be read in “several meetings across the kingdom”¹⁷⁹ this instituted the first national regulatory structure, and originated from London. The signatories were mostly from the north,¹⁸⁰ and included figures such as Parker and Whitehead (Burrough, Nayler, and Hubberthorne were now dead, and Fox once-again imprisoned), but no lingering affinities pervaded.

Contemporary Quaker histories acknowledged the London accommodation, without referencing their northern origins and affiliations. A 1662 “Testimony” concerning London by Burrough recounted the shifting attitudes that the mission experienced. Wickedness was found to abound initially, and the Quakers were “strangers both in body and spirit to the whole city”¹⁸¹; their growth is then recalled. The work attempted to justify regulations regarding “outward things”¹⁸² so often opposed by Friends,¹⁸³ and specialisation among Quaker ranks, on the grounds of expedience. Fox, in 1689, justified the institution of regional and national meetings using similar arguments.¹⁸⁴ He narrated that these developed organically in the north, finishing in London. Moving the Yearly Meeting to London, “a more convenient place”, was upheld; expedience again became the bottom line. Burrough’s and Fox’s reflections, as well as the content of their earlier and later tracts, tell of the transition from hostility, without directly acknowledging this, and dismay, to acceptance and wider accommodations.

Condemnatory attitudes to London continued to spark, particularly amongst new arrivals and in response to events. These sustained the reactions of 1653–1655. Hubberthorne condemned London’s “great excess and abomination” (1660) in an account of Restoration persecutions.¹⁸⁵ Margaret Fell, visiting that year to plead for Fox’s release on charges of having conspired against Charles II, published *The Citie of London Reproved* in July. This repeated the diatribes against worldliness, castigating London’s “Pride and Hipocrisie, Deceit and Dissembling”. London is a Sodom, whose conspicuously “odious” sins and “flatteries” will meet God’s justice.¹⁸⁶ In a letter to her children of October, however, she appeared to have made peace. She expresses a wish to return home, but states that she currently has dealings in London, with no criticisms attached.¹⁸⁷ Fox also reverted to previous views: his *For your Whoredoms in the City of London* (1660) repeated charges of materialism. This was consonant with Fell’s thoughts, and likely linked to the city’s welcoming the Restoration. Humphrey Wollrich, an arrival from Newcastle in 1658, more directly identified Charles and London authorities as their persecutors in *Oh London! With thy Magistrates and Rulers* (1660). His *To the Inhabitants of London* (1663) revived this attitude, arguing that the Lord has a particular “Controversie” with London and its rulers due to continuing legal actions.

Other leaders responded similarly to events. Howgill’s testimony to Burrough, who died in Newgate in 1663, lauded the progress Burrough instituted in London, but bewailed its “obdurateness and impertinency” in imprisoning the faithful, saying its “deeds are evil”.¹⁸⁸ Further tracts from 1661–1665 pleaded for mercy in the face of rising imprisonments.¹⁸⁹

Some warnings literature was addressed to London, clustered around 1660 and disruptions.¹⁹⁰ These do not represent a regionalist strand of critique: as noted, a critical stance towards localities, hypostatising their spiritual identities, was normal. These reactions focused upon persecution, and no region was presented as more righteous, Dewsbury's analysis aside. Quakers critical of London and Restoration policies, such as William Bayly, Fox the Younger, and Morgan Watkins, increasingly hailed from the south and London. London stood for the sins of all, or the same sins of many others. Ester Biddle's warning to London of 1660, for example, accompanied her earlier and later tracts warning Dartmouth, Cambridge, and her hometown of Oxford.¹⁹¹ The main leaders had temporised, and tracts from Quakers such as Isaac Penington (1660), the son of a Lord Mayor of London, and William Green (1663) even affirmed their love for the city.¹⁹²

The plagues and Great Fire of London were generally interpreted as divine justice.¹⁹³ Some, including Fox, claimed to have prophesied the latter, taking account of London's sins.¹⁹⁴ Ellis Hookes wrote that the fire had "just cause", breaking Londoners' "pride and vanity", and had followed the plagues and swords previously visited upon the city.¹⁹⁵ Howgill, going further, was "satisfied" with the Lord's judgment, and wrote that he had earlier foretold of pestilence. This "rebellious city" ignored the former warning, however, and "hardness of heart and wickedness abounded" again. He is ultimately disappointed that more unjust individuals did not perish.¹⁹⁶ Parker, meanwhile, wrote of his sadness but averred his trust in "the will of God" that "Truth shall arise and prosper".¹⁹⁷ Clearly, anger towards the city had been latent, or at least easily aroused.

It was typical, however, for Quakers to read historical events in theological terms.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, they were not staking an original regional or religious approach: providentialist beliefs were widespread during the mid-seventeenth century. The same lamentations and condemnations of London sprang up amongst Catholics, Anglicans, and other dissenting groups.¹⁹⁹ Parliament queried "whether it was by the hand of God", and secular tracts considered whether it was from "Hell" or the "just punishment of Heaven".²⁰⁰ The Restoration government sought to uphold its probity by casting it as purely accidental,²⁰¹ but royalist authors often interpreted catastrophes in moral terms.²⁰² The Quaker reaction was not atypical, nor did it presage a profound shift against London: anger was stoked, but when the flames subsided so did the attack.

The north retained some autonomy, despite such changes – Swarthmoor Hall, in Lancashire, remained a stable base under Fell's stewardship, and northern Friends continued to regulate themselves²⁰³ – but the movement increasingly looked to national and international missions, while centralising control within England, over the following decades. Prominent figures of the second generation, such as William Penn and Robert Barclay, accommodated Quakerism further to national creeds and governments, and Fox remained largely itinerant or London-based, despite marrying Fell in 1669. Any tension between their early, northern localism and universalist doctrines appears to have lapsed, with the latter more plausibly attached to their expansion.

Conclusion

Quaker thought on place took two distinct strands. It stood apart from worldly valuations and, at times, place more generally, but this engendered a distinct evaluation of concrete places and their communities' proximity to the true faith. This initially led to an assertion of

northern identity, as the movement expanded across several counties, and descended into southern England. The encounter with London was initially one of dismay, which dissipated, along with evocations of northernness, as conversions materialised, and an infrastructure formed in the city. It illustrates the retreat of their earlier identity, and a further example of regionalist attitudes changing. Their accommodations did not prevent the revival of condemnation, particularly following fresh causes of anguish, but these were not sustained. The northern affiliation appears anomalous in this wider context, modulating early rhetoric and dispositions, but ultimately discarded and superseded. The Quaker journey mirrored, therefore, broader shifts in early modern England from “territorial” and “interest” communities to “attachment” ones transcending time and place.²⁰⁴

This relationship need not be considered a concluded, pre-modern phenomenon, however, as both historical and contemporary ideologies of all stripes recurrently evince parochial features.²⁰⁵ Marshall has drawn attention to the ambiguous use of northernness across the early modern and medieval period, subject to negotiation depending on the circumstance.²⁰⁶ The phenomenon of regional identity amongst early Quakers should prompt wider consideration for intellectual historians. New lines of enquiry might be opened to other, contemporary forms of conscious appropriation and encounter. One Leveller author conveyed their message as a “light shining in Buckinghamshire”,²⁰⁷ while the Fifth Monarchist Anna Trapnel labelled Cornwall “Cornhell” on her travels, castigating its residents who “wondred what strange kinde of creature was come into their Country”, and expressed her desire to return to London.²⁰⁸ The comprehensive aims of the Fifth Monarchists and Levellers were also accompanied by nationalistic ideas towards continental polities,²⁰⁹ and Norman bondage, respectively, that were not paralleled in the Quakers’ simultaneously more parochial and universal thought. Such interactions highlight the necessity of further research into the interplay between local and national, universal and particular, identities in seventeenth-century “conscious” communities. In particular, subsequent Quaker identities, forged at home or abroad, might be further considered.

Notes

1. Hill, *World Turned Upside Down*, 73–86; Moore, *Light in their Consciences*, 69.
2. Games, “The English and ‘Others’”, 354. See also Green and Pollard, “Introduction”, 22.
3. See Moore, *Light in their Consciences*, 224–230.
4. See Games, “The English and ‘Others’”; Harris ed., *The Politics of the Excluded*; Rushton, “Law in North-East England”, 71–92; Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict*.
5. Everitt, *The Community of Kent*; Morrill, *The Revolt of the Provinces*; Sherwood, *Civil Strife in the Midlands*; Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality*.
6. Goldie, “The Unacknowledged Republic”, 176–178, 180–181.
7. Gaskill, “Little Commonwealths II: Communities”, 84–104; Green and Pollard, “Introduction”; Shrank, “Crafting the Nation”; Stoye, “English ‘Nationalism’”.
8. Capp, “*A Door of Hope*”, 16–17, 19. See also Burrage, “The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections”, 722–725 and *passim*.
9. Baker, “*Londons Liberty in Chains*”, 561–562, 567 and *passim*.
10. Stoye, *From Deliverance to Destruction*, 5, 32.
11. Kidd, *British Identities*.
12. Everitt, “Country, County and Town”, 80; Green and Pollard, “Introduction”, 10.
13. See note 1 and Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, Chapter VI, “Further Work in the North”, 111–128.

14. James Nayler to George Fox, Appleby, November 1652, in Nayler, *Works*, 2:571; Watkins, *Lamentation over England*, 24.
15. James Nayler to Margaret Fell, Co. Durham, mid-April 1654, in Nayler, *Works*, 2:580.
16. Dewsbury, *A True Prophecie*, title and 1; Farnsworth, *A Call out of Egypt and Babylon*.
17. Burrough, "To the Camp of the Lord", 67; Edward Burrough, "Warning from the Lord", 29.
18. Dewsbury, *A True Prophecie*, 1, 12; Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, 1:8; James Nayler to George Fox and Margaret Fell, Appleby, February 1652/53, in Nayler, *Works*, 2:571–572.
19. Fox, *A Message from the Lord*, 5 and *passim*; Fox, *A Warning to the World*, 5.
20. Barry Reay, "Radicalism and Religion", 2–3; Walsham, "History, Memory and the English Reformation", 923–924, 933 and *passim*. For examples of this in anti-Quaker literature, see Higginson, *A Brief Relation*, 26, 29–30; Skipp, *The Worlds Wonder*, 12, 42.
21. See Carson, introduction to *The Writings of Henry Barrow*, 1–2.
22. Dewsbury, *A True Prophecie*, 8; Fox, *This for each Parliament-man*, 1, 8 and *passim*; Watkins, *Lamentation over England*, 10. William Penn, although belonging to the second generation of Quakers, offered a stark alternative of high-political participation.
23. Alexander Parker to Margaret Fell, London, 3 July 1655, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 37.
24. A "meeting of Friends out of the Northern Counties", in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 286n.
25. Burrough, "A Testimony", in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 297.
26. Burrough, "A Message to the Present Rulers", 590.
27. James Nayler and John Audland, "An Answer", in Nayler, *Works*, 1:395, 398.
28. Burrough, "Inhabitants of Underbarrow", 34.
29. Burrough, "A Message to the Present Rulers", 589; Fox, *A Warning from the Lord*, 5, 21.
30. Fox, *A Warning to All in this Proud City called London*.
31. Thomas Salthouse to Margaret Fell, Somersetshire, 21 January, 1668, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 245–246.
32. Burrough, "A Testimony", 296–297.
33. Fox, *Journal*, 1:195.
34. Fox, *The Works of George Fox*, 7:Epistle V, "To his parents" [1652], 19.
35. Fox, *Newes Coming up*, title; see Ezek. 6:13.
36. Fox the Younger, "A Message of Tender Love", 170; Fox the Younger, "Several Epistles", 233.
37. Burrough, "A Message for Instruction", 359; Dewsbury, *A true prophesie*, 3.
38. Watkins, *Lamentation over England*, 19.
39. Skipp, *The Worlds Wonder*, 29, 31.
40. Higginson, *The Irreligion*, 14, 27, 29. See also *The Quakers Terrible Vision*, 1.
41. *Ibid.*, 12.
42. Watkins, *Lamentation over England*, 6.
43. See Dewsbury, *A True Prophesie*, 4; Fox, *Journal*, 1:118; Fox, *A Warning from the Lord*, 9.
44. Fox, *Journal*, 1:3, 46–47, 199–200, 281.
45. See Moore, "Quaker publications 1652/3–1659" and "Quaker publications 1660–1666".
46. Fox, *Journal*, 1:15.
47. *Ibid.*, 9–10 (Derby), 137 (Gillslande), 267 (Basingstoke), 199 (Coventry).
48. *Ibid.*, 291.
49. Burrough, "Inhabitants of Underbarrow", 1, 19 and *passim*.
50. Nayler, "To the town of Bradford", 1654/55, in Nayler, *Works*, 2:592–595.
51. Dewsbury, *The Discovery*, particularly 22, 26–29; Fox, *Newes Coming up*, particularly 5–6.
52. Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to Margaret Fell, Bristol, 1 September 1654, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 221.
53. See Fox, *Works*, 7:19–20 [Swarthmoor, 1652]; XIII, 21–22 [Sedbergh, 1652]; XV, 23–24, [Lancashire, 1652], XLVII, 59–61 [Cumberland and Northumberland, 1653], LXIX, 80–81 [Malton, 1654], LXXXVI, 96 [London, 1655].
54. Fox, *Works*, 7:Epistle VII, 19–20 [Swarthmoor, 1652].
55. Nayler, "To Friends at Yorkshire", Kellet, 30 August 1652, in Nayler, *Works*, 1:307–310; Nayler, "For Friends in the City of York", 1655/56, and "To Friends at Lincoln", 1655/56, in Nayler, *Works*, 3:748 and 758–759.

56. James Parnell to William Dewsbury, Colchester, 16 October 1655, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 224–225.
57. Howgill and Burrough to Fell, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 219–221.
58. Fox, *Journal*, 1:1.
59. George Whitehead to George Fox, Chesterton, 11 May 1659, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 229–231. For similar accounts, see Josiah Cole to George Fox, Launceston, 12 November 1664 in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 236–237; Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, Dublin, 30 July 1655, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 260–262.
60. James Nayler to George Fox and Margaret Fell, Mallerstang, 27 July 1653, in Nayler, *Works*, 2:574.
61. Nayler, “To Friends at Yorkshire”, 307–310.
62. James Nayler to George Fox, November 1654, in Nayler, *Works*, 2:589–590.
63. Thomas Robertson to Margaret Fell, Basingstoke, 30 October 1655, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 227.
64. Fox, *Journal*, 1:194–197, 200–202; previous James Nayler letters, and to George Fox, Shap, 31 July 1653, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 574–576; James Nayler to George Fox, Rampshaw Hall, March 1654, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 579.
65. James Nayler to George Fox, Durham, April 1654, April 1654, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 579–580.
66. Fox, *Journal*, 1:22, 28, 37, and *passim*.
67. From Barclay, *Letters &c.*: Alexander Delamain and John Bridges to Thomas Willan, London, 27 April 1654, 5; Anthony Pearson to George Fox, 30 May 1654, 13; Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to Thomas Aldam, London, 19 July 1656, 41; Howgill and Burrough to Fell, 1 September 1654.
68. Nayler to Fox, Rampshaw Hall, March 1654, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 579.
69. Fox, *Newes Coming up*, 18. The margins of this text reference Ps. 114, concerning the fate of Israel, and Joel 2:1, on the trumpet of Zion sounding.
70. George Fox, *The Second Covenant*, 9–10, quoting from Jer. 31. See also Jer. 23.
71. See Isa. 43:6; Dan. 10–12; Jer. 4, 5, 6, 8, 10.
72. See note 1, and Reay, *The Quakers*, 10–11, 27, for a demographic breakdown.
73. Marshall, “The Idea of the North”, 18–20. For an example shortly predating, and beginning to consider, Quakerism, see Erbury, *The Testimony*, 126, 140, cf. 128–146, on greatest hope inhering in churches of the “West” and “East”.
74. Blackwood, “Agrarian Unrest”; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 130–131; Mawdesley, “Quakers, Tithe Opposition”.
75. Fox, *Journal*, 1:5.
76. Fox, *Works*, 7: Epistle IX, 20.
77. Fox, *Journal*, 1:77, 101–102, 118, and *passim*.
78. Peters, *Print Culture*; Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*.
79. Fox, *Newes Coming up*, title.
80. Fox, *A Warning from the Lord*, 2, 6, 8.
81. *Ibid.*, 2.
82. 2 Pet. 1:19.
83. Fox, *A Warning from the Lord*, 16. Fox, *Journal*, 1:118 expressed similar sentiments.
84. George Whitehead, *Jacob found*, 5.
85. Nayler, *The Power and Glory*, 14.
86. Nayler, “A Discovery”, 523.
87. Burrough, “Inhabitants of Underbarrow”, 23. The phrase recurs in Burrough, “The Epistle”, 5 (unnumbered).
88. Edward Burrough, *For the Souldiers*, quoted in Moore, *Light in their Consciencs*, 69.
89. Dewsbury, *A True Prophetie*, title.
90. *Ibid.*, 1.
91. Stoye, “English Nationalism”.
92. Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 28–29; Sherwood, *Civil War*, 14.

93. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 154; Gaskill, "Little Commonwealths II", 87; Hill, *The World Turned*, 73; Diana Newton, "Borders and Bishopric", 51, 55–56 and *passim*.
94. Fox, *A Paper sent Forth*, 2.
95. Fox, Lawson, and Nayler, *Saul's Errand to Damascus*, A4.
96. Farnworth, Fox, and Nayler, *Several Petitions Answered*, title.
97. Howgill, *A Woe against the Magistrates*, title.
98. Burrough, "Inhabitants of Underbarrow"; Fox and Hubberthorne, *Truth's Defence*; Farnworth, *A Brief Discovery* and *A Return to the Priests*.
99. Marshall, "The Idea of the North", 3 and *passim*.
100. Emmot, *A Northern Blast*, 6–7.
101. Higginson, "A Brief Reply", 540.
102. Howet, *Quaking Principles Dashed*, title.
103. Paggitt, *Heresiography*, 136, quoted in Hill, *World Turned Upside Down*, 74.
104. Skipp, *The Worlds Wonder*, 11, 29.
105. Farmer, *The Great Mystery*, 1–2. See also Farmer, *Satan Enthroned*, 56.
106. *The Quakers Terrible Vision*, 8.
107. Burrough, "Camp of the Lord", 66.
108. Atkinson, *The Standard of the Lord Lifted*, 5.
109. Stoyle, "English Nationalism".
110. See Howgill, *A Woe against the Magistrates*, 2 and *passim*. Games, "The English and "Others"", 354, notes this too.
111. Fox, *Journal*, 1:137, 141–142.
112. Atkinson, *The Sword of the Lord Drawn*; Atkinson, *The Standard of the Lord Lifted*.
113. See Burrough, *The Memorable Works*, and Nayler pamphlets in Nayler, *Works*, vols. II and III especially.
114. Bishop and Fox, *The West Answering to the North*.
115. Benson and Fox, *The Cry of the Oppressed*, 1, 39.
116. Prynne, *The Quakers unmasked*, 10. See also the anonymous *The Quakers quaking*, 1.
117. Fox, *A Visitation to the Iewes*, 21.
118. See, for examples, Burrough, *A Trumpet of the Lord*; Fox, *This for each Parliament-man*; Fox and Nayler, *To Thee Oliver Cromwell*.
119. Bitterman, "The Early Quaker Literature", 204, 207–209. See works such as Fox, *A Warning from the Lord to the Pope*.
120. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, Chapter X, "The Wider Outlook", 206–240 and Chapter XVI, "Work Beyond Seas", 401–433.
121. Mr Bampfield and Mr Highland, quoted in Burton, *Diary of Thomas Burton*, 1:155–156.
122. Gervase Benson to George Fox and James Nayler, London, 29 September 1653, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 2–3.
123. Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, London, 29 June 1654, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 15.
124. Delamain and Bridges to Willan, London, 27 April 1654, 5.
125. Anthony Pearson to George Fox, London, 30 May 1654, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 11–14.
126. Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, London, 21 March 1655, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 33.
127. James Nayler to Margaret Fell, London, July 1655, in Nayler, *Works*, 2:601.
128. Francis Howgill to Robert Widders, London, 23 July 1654, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 18–19.
129. Jewell, *The North-South Divide*, 72–73.
130. Baker, "Londons Liberty in Chains"; Capp, "A Door of Hope".
131. Fox, *Newes Coming up*, 18.
132. *The Northern Lasses Lamentation*.
133. Burrough and Howgill to Fell, London, 29 July 1654, 16–17; James Nayler to Margaret Fell, London, 1 June 1656, in Nayler, *Works*, 3:759; Pearson to Fox, London, 30 May 1654, 13–14.
134. See Nayler, *Works*, vols. II and III.
135. Fox, *Journal*, 1:168; Howgill to Widders, London, 23 July 1654.

136. Howgill to Fell, London, 21 March 1655, 33; Howgill and Burrough to Aldam, London, 19 July 1656, 41.
137. Alexander Parker letter, 23 May 1655, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 37n.
138. Nayler to Fell, London, 1 June 1656, in Nayler, *Works*, 3:759; Nayler to Fell, London, July 1655, in Nayler, *Works*, 2:601.
139. Howgill to Widders, London, 23 July 1654, 18–19.
140. Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, London, 27 January 1655, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 26–27.
141. In addition to those above, see from Barclay, *Letters &c.*: Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, London, April/May 1655, 35–36; Alexander Parker to Margaret Fell, London, 3 July 1655, 36–38; Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, London, January 1656 [presumed], 40; Richard Hubberthorne to Margaret Fell, London, 10 December 1656, 47–49; Richard Hubberthorne to Margaret Fell, London, 5 November 1657, 53–54; Edward Burrough to Francis Howgill, London, 24 July 1658, 59–60; Richard Hubberthorne to Margaret Fell, London, 21 September 1659, 71–72.
142. Edward Burrough to Margaret Fell, Dublin(?), 1655, Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 263.
143. Edward Burrough “THE Walls of Jericho”, 20–21.
144. Parker to Fell, London, 3 July 1655, 36–37.
145. Howgill to Fell, London, January 1656 [presumed], 40.
146. Hubberthorne to Fell, London, 10 December 1656, 48.
147. Fox, *Journal*, 1:343.
148. Fox, *A Cry for Repentance*, 1–3.
149. Burrough, *The Testimony of the Lord Concerning London*.
150. Fox, *A Warning to All the Merchants*, 2, 5 and *passim*.
151. Burrough to Howgill, London, 24 July 1658, 59.
152. “To the Parliament and Commonwealth of England”, February 1659, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 62–63; Thomas Rawlinson to Margaret Fell, London, 11 March 1659, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 68.
153. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 337–339, although these were not held annually until 1668 – see *Quaker Faith and Practice* 5th edn.
154. Hubberthorne to Fell, London, 21 September 1659, 72–73. See also, from Barclay, *Letters &c.*: “E.B. to W.M.”, London, 1660, 75–79; Richard Hubberthorne to Margaret Fell, London, 20 January 1660, 79–80; Richard Hubberthorne to George Fox, London, 29 March 1660, 82.
155. “On the Proceedings in Parliament respecting the bill against Friends in 1661”, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 95–110.
156. Fox et. al, *A Declaration*.
157. See particularly works of the early Restoration in Burrough, *The Memorable Works* and Fox the Younger, *A Collection*.
158. Henry Fell to Thomas Salthouse, London, 3 December 1661, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 113.
159. Alexander Parker to George Fox, London, 7 May 1663, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 119–120.
160. From Barclay, *Letters &c.*: Josiah Cole to George Fox, London, 22 June 1664, 134–135; Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fell, London, 19 February 1665; Morgan Watkins to Margaret Fell, London, 5 October 1665, 154–157.
161. Mortimer, *Early Bristol Quakerism*.
162. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 25–26.
163. Hubberthorne, “The Cause of Stumbling”, 172. See Jer. 50:3–9.
164. Howsegoe, *A Word from the North*.
165. Morgan, *Lancashire Quakers*, 280–281 and *passim*.
166. Burrough, “The Epistle to the Reader”, 15 (unnumbered), see also 7, 14,
167. Dewsbury, “Oh King”, 190; Dewsbury, “The Word of the Lord”, 310–318; Dewsbury, “A General Epistle”, 319–327.
168. Ellington, *Christian Information*, title, 7, 10–11, 15.
169. Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings*, 1:72.
170. Fox, *Works*, 7: Epistle XXXIX [1653], 48–49; LIL [1653], 67–68; LXXII [1654], 82–83.

171. James Nayler, "To the Churches of Christ in the North", in Nayler, *Works*, 3:747–748.
172. Nayler, "To the Churches of Christ in the North", 748.
173. Burrough, "An Epistle", 363–365.
174. James Nayler, "To All Friends at London", in Nayler, *Works*, 3:760–761.
175. Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, Grayrigg, 29 July 1661, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 235.
176. "Documents Illustrative of the Early Discipline and Early Testimony of the Society", in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 276.
177. James Nayler, "To Some Friends in the Northern Parts" [1658], in Nayler, *Works*, 4:394–395.
178. Moore, *Light in their Consciences*, 227.
179. Farnsworth et al., "Testimony from the brethren", 318.
180. See Moore, *Light in their Consciences*, 226–228; "A Testimony" in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 324.
181. Burrough, "A Testimony", 297.
182. *Ibid.*, 301, 306.
183. See, for example, Dewsbury, *A True Prophesie*, 2.
184. Fox, "Concerning our Monthly and Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, wherein the Lord hath owned, prospered, and blessed them; which hath been of good service, to his glory, and the comfort of his people", in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 311–317.
185. Hubberthorne to Fox, London, 29 March 1660, 82.
186. Fell, *The Citie of London*.
187. Margaret Fell to her children, London, 25 August 1660, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 88–90.
188. Howgill, "Francis Howgill's Testimony", page 10 of prefatory materials (pages unnumbered).
189. See Crane, *The Cry of Newgate*; Higgins, *From New-Gate*; Watkins, *Lamentation over England*. See Greaves, "Shattered Expectations?", esp. 240–241 on early Restoration oppressions.
190. Bayly, *A Warning from the Lord*; Biddle, *O City of London*.
191. Biddle, *O City of London*; Biddle, *Wo to the city of Oxford*; Biddle, *Wo to Thee Town of Cambridge*; Biddle, *Oh Wo, Wo from the Lord* (1659), directed at Dartmouth.
192. Green, *Visitation of Love*; Pennington, *Some Considerations*.
193. On the plagues see, for example, Dewsbury, *The Discovery*, 18.
194. Carroll, "Sackcloth and Ashes", 324; Fox, *Journal*, 1:346.
195. Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fell, London, 2 August 1666, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 157–159.
196. Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, Appleby, 1666, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 244.
197. Alexander Parker to Margaret Fell, London, 12 September 1666, in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 161.
198. Bitterman, "Early Quaker Literature", 225–227.
199. Tinniswood, *By Permission of Heaven*, 181–185.
200. *Ibid.*, 144–145, 146–147, 153, and 213–219.
201. *Ibid.*, 186–187.
202. Hessayon, "Early Modern Communism", 6.
203. "At a Meeting of Friends at Four Counties Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire, at the Lodge near Horsham, these as followeth were judged necessary by friends there met, and by them owned, and tendered as their counsel and advice unto all Friends in those places", in Barclay, *Letters &c.*, 286n–290n.
204. Gaskill, "Little Communities II", 97.
205. On the continuing salience of national identity, see Malešević, *Nation-States and Nationalisms*; on its religious entwining in a contemporary context, see Whitehead and Perry, *Taking America Back for God*. On the continuing relevance of northern English identity, see Russell, *Looking North*.
206. Marshall, "The Idea of the North", 18–19 and *passim*.
207. *Light Shining in Buckinghamshire; More Light Shining in Buckinghamshire*.
208. Trapnel, *Report and Plea*, 20, 29. See also 52–53, and *passim*.
209. Capp, "A Door of Hope", 9; Solt, "The Fifth Monarchy Men", 318–319.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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Data availability statement

Data sharing is not applicable to this article as no new data were created or analysed in this study.

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