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'The Journeys of George Fox, 1652-1653': Interim Report on a Research Project and Website

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‘THE JOURNEYS OF GEORGE FOX, 1652–1653’:
INTERIM REPORT ON A RESEARCH PROJECT AND WEBSITE

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ABSTRACT

The research project on ‘Early Quakers in the North West’ recently issued a test version of the opening sections of the website in which it will publish its findings. Here the project member responsible for the website’s construction describes its structure and ethos, and explains why web-presentation is particularly well suited to this topic, as a research tool as well as a means of publication. At present the account by George Fox of his travels through ‘the 1652 country’ provides the organising narrative thread. A new electronic edition of the three versions of Fox’s *Journal* for 1652–53 showcases how the medium facilitates an editorial presentation and comparison of texts which is much more user-friendly than a printed book. High-resolution scans have highlighted Fox’s methods of oral composition. The supporting materials, contemporary and later, on places and routes show the extent of topographical change that has taken place. Biographies and associated contemporary texts are already shifting the focus from Fox’s programme to those of the other ‘Publishers of Truth’.

KEYWORDS

Electronic edition, George Fox, *Journal*, ‘Valiant Sixty’, digital images, manuscript studies, oral composition, topography

GENESIS

The genesis of this website was an academic research project entitled ‘Early Quakers in North-West England and the Politics of Space, 1652–1653’. Its aims were to map out the routes taken by George Fox in these two seminal years of the Quaker Movement, and try to determine why he followed them. Was there an existing network of Seekers and sympathisers connected by blood or shared interests who passed him on one to the other? How did he envisage the places he visited: as refuges, as pulpits (though he would vehemently reject the word) for preaching, as arenas for confrontation and for suffering? We initially characterised them as alehouses, safe

houses, marketplaces, mountain-tops, 'steeplehouses', court-houses, and prisons. We wanted to analyse how he and other Friends negotiated and colonised these different kinds of space, and what role they played in the concept of 'journeying for the Lord': what indeed this concept implied, both as an ethos and in practice.

WHY THE WEB?

From the beginning this was planned as a Web-based project: not just because it was likely to reach a much wider audience than a book (and be free at the point of delivery), but because it is a Web-shaped subject. Fifteen years ago at this stage in our argument we would be extolling the potential of hypertext: this is now taken for granted, but it is worth stopping for a moment to recapitulate what it means. It allows for a quantity and variety of material, particularly visual and interactive, that could never be included in a paper book; and it allows it to be linked in several different ways, not linearly as in a book. Readers can choose different paths through the material. It was noticeable at a trial demo in Kendal Meeting House that most readers made straight for the 'Image' section, not the texts:¹ and we expect that when the 'Maps' section is complete, many readers will go straight there to follow Fox's route, and only then look at the evidence for it. On both macro- and micro-levels it allows the reader to shift focus. The design of the site needs to support this, while its many layers and links reflect the complexity of the subject.

TARGET AUDIENCE

The original audience we envisaged was an academic one, made up of Quaker historians and seventeenth-century scholars: however, it became clear as we proceeded that our material would be of interest to a much wider audience. We have tried to make the website accessible without losing scholarly accuracy. These are not conflicting aims: the success story of *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674 to 1913*² shows that it is possible to attract a large following from the general public, especially, in that case, those investigating their family history, and provide an invaluable resource for scholars. When we demonstrated our test version to the Friends Historical Society at Kendal, we were overwhelmed with offers of help and contributions, and hope in the future to provide yet another outlet for this already lively research community.

TYPES OF MATERIAL

Our current categories are: (1) Texts: a. primary sources, b. secondary sources (e.g. biographies); (2) Maps, contemporary and modern; (3) Images; (4) Videos; (5) Discussions of research findings and conclusions. This list is not a hierarchy, even though as literary scholars we tend to prioritise text. Moreover, it is adaptable: we too can shift focus and redraft our categories as our research findings throw other areas into prominence or suggest previously unexpected links.

EDITION OF THE *JOURNAL*

Our starting point was the best-known firsthand account of the journeys, the *Journal* of George Fox. We decided to produce an entirely new edition for the Web of the three extant versions for the years 1652–53.

An electronic edition offers opportunities for presenting text and comparing different versions of the ‘same’ narrative which are just not available to a paper book. The three major versions of the *Journal* are: the *Short Journal* (dictated c. 1664); what we have christened the *Long Journal*³ (dictated c. 1675–78); and the printed edition produced after Fox’s death by Thomas Ellwood, *A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry of that Ancient, Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, George Fox...* (London: Thomas Northcott, 1694). All three are markedly different. Each is equally valid in its own terms. Because of this, we have presented each in a separate section as the centre of its own story, with the comparative materials clustered around it.

A transcription of each page of the original manuscript or printed edition appears on the left-hand side of the web page. On the right the reader has a choice of seeing an image of the original (the default version), or of comparing the text with either of the two other versions. (We tried to include all three versions on the same screen, but there was just not enough room.) The two manuscript transcriptions have also been provided with a modern-spelling version—the 1694 edition is fairly comprehensible to a modern reader. We hope this will be a useful corrective to the popular experience of the *Journal*, which almost inevitably has been of a one-version or composite text.

For many generations of Quakers, the 1694 edition was ‘the *Journal*’. Then in 1911 the Cambridge University Press edition of the *Long Journal* (Spence Manuscript) by Norman Penney, followed by its 1925 companion *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox*, introduced the manuscript versions to a wider audience;⁴ but both these were necessarily specialist, and the need to juggle two heavy volumes makes comparison of the two difficult. The more compendious edition of J.L. Nickalls (Cambridge University Press, 1952) produces a composite version from manuscripts and 1694 printed edition by Ellwood; the popular Penguin *Journal* edited by Nigel Smith (1998) is based on ‘Spence’, but omits the interpolated documents which comprise a substantial part of the manuscript. Both these editions are modern-spelling versions. The unspoken assumption behind all the popular editions, from Ellwood to Smith, is that there is an underlying master narrative which represents ‘what really happened’. Our edition, in contrast, raises questions about the reliability of memory. Psychological research suggests that there is no reason to believe that one remembers better the nearer the event is in time. When Fox dictated the *Long Journal* for 1652–53 some twenty years later, he seems to have had access to a sheaf of papers contemporary with the events he describes which could also have acted as memory-triggers.

These papers, interpolated in the Spence manuscript at intervals roughly corresponding to the dates in which they were originally written, provide another

challenge. There are a lot of them: the proportion of narrative to interpolated papers in the 1652/53 section alone is roughly 50:50, 61 pages of narrative to 59 pages of documents. (It was at this point that we started calling Spence 'the scrapbook of George Fox'.) Only one, in our two years, is written in Fox's own unpractised hand, apparently notes for his court appearance at the Quarter Sessions at Lancaster in October 1652.⁵ A few more are endorsed by him at a later date. Our favourite is the letter to Justice Sawrey:

g. f. to john saro	
the greatest percuter in	[persecutor]
in the north of ingland this	
was sent to him 1652	
whoe after was drovnded	[drowned]
this is to be retin	[written]

Some of these papers were later published: for example the transcript of the October 1652 trial possibly made by Henry Fell, Judge Fell's clerk (the hand seems to correspond with that of the *Short Journal*, though this needs detailed palaeographical comparison) appeared promptly in [Fox and Naylor's] *Saul's Errand to Damascus* (London: Giles Calvert, 1653). The relationship between these manuscripts and the printed versions needs investigating further.

All are in different hands. We are amassing a database of those hands, but really need to collect and identify all the hands available in the Swarthmoor and other papers in Friends House, which would throw valuable light on the scribal resources available to Fox in his campaign of publication and dissemination. This database, as well as the detailed identification of hands, is made possible by our acquisition of high-resolution digital scans.

Our British Academy Larger Research Grant enabled us to hire DIAMM, the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music, to bring their state-of-the-art equipment⁶ to Friends House, where their Project Manager, Dr Julia Craig-McFeely, made very high-resolution digital scans of the manuscript material, and a few sample ones of the 1694 printed edition. Each page was digitised at the optimum possible resolution.⁷ This produced TIFF files of between 110 MB and 160 MB: they are reduced to 300 ppi for ordinary editorial use, and very much reduced for display on the website. However, the existence of the larger files means that the editors can examine difficult readings, erasures, and alterations in very high magnification.⁸ Individual words can also be copied and displayed on the website if necessary.

The high resolution of these images enabled a new level of analysis of detail which in turn made us think about the process of composition. This is particularly useful, because not only did Fox dictate the *Long Journal* to an amanuensis, his son-in-law Thomas Lower;⁹ in the process he was a pro-active editor of his own work, reflected in the alterations made by Lower in the manuscript. Looked at in close-up, there are two layers of alteration. One layer appears to have been made as Lower was writing: the crossing-out is done with a slash, and the corrections are in the same ink and apparently with the same pen at the same speed. The other layer is conspicuously done later, probably on a read-back. Crossing-out is done with the 'barbed-wire-fence' technique in a series of tight loops, and alterations and additions in a much

tidier, slightly smaller script, apparently with a new or a newly mended pen. The nature of this second layer of alterations varies.¹⁰ Taken all together they give a vivid illustration of the processes of oral composition.

The challenge was to show these two layers of correction without resorting to the complex code of diacritics necessarily used by printed editions. Experience shows that the ordinary reader largely disregards these. Fortunately a web edition gives a wider range of possibilities. We decided on a diplomatic edition (i.e. transcriptions with almost no editorial intervention)¹¹ which would reproduce the layout of the original manuscript, using colour coding to show the different layers of correction: dark blue for the first layer, purple for the second. There is a third layer of apparently near-contemporary annotation which may well be mark-up for the printed edition, though this needs further investigation. We represent this in dark orange. These three colours are sufficiently distinctive, but not so glaring that they interrupt the flow of reading.¹²

However, colour-coding provided a further presentational problem. The web-reader expects coloured text to be a link of some sort. We wanted to provide links in the text for pop-up notes and further information, but not to prioritise these links visually over the flow of the text. Nor did we want to insert 'footnote' numbers, since our aim was to reproduce the manuscript text as closely as possible. Our solution is a compromise, but coherent, and we hope the reader will get used to it quickly. The coloured text is reserved for deletions and alterations (as above), and links are marked with an underlining of two-pixel-width dots in mid-grey, while text and background change colour discreetly when the mouse is run over them.

Presenting the images of the text produced a minor headache of its own. The images of the *Long Journal*, reduced to what we hope is still just-about-readable size, fit in the right-hand side of a 4:3 screen, but only just. Some pages are written with the lines much closer together than others. Laying out the transcription so that it corresponds with the line-widths of the original, or at least does not get too wildly out of synch with them, has involved at least four different line-spacings in the CSS,¹³ and a certain amount of condensing of the character-spacing. This is further complicated by the interlineation of Lower's corrections and additions. The *Short Journal* presents the reverse problem. Unusually written on a landscape-format page, rather like a modern autograph book, at a readable size it takes up the whole screen, so that the reader cannot follow the transcription at the same time. It has therefore had to be sliced horizontally into three or four sections, with the transcription following underneath each section. The modern-spelling version can only be arranged side by side with the original by sacrificing the line-ends completely. The papers interpolated in the *Long Journal* manuscript are another headache. They are all manner of shapes and sizes, and the handwriting varies from minuscule to standard size. Again, they have to be sliced, but not uniformly.

Comparing two versions side by side has involved splitting each text up into sections, and fitting them into an invisible table so that their subject matter corresponds. This can often leave quite large gaps of white space. But this is useful, as it draws attention to quite how different each version is. The biggest surprise is probably how different the 1694 printed edition is from the *Long Journal*, on which it appears to be

based.¹⁴ Ellwood clarifies references to people and places which would not be obvious to the general public, and censors some references which might lead to misunderstanding or possible scandal, or which were simply out of date. But he also tidied up Fox's original text into something that would not sound so 'Uncouth and Unfashionable to Nice Ears', as Penn describes Fox's expression in his preface to the 1694 edition.¹⁵ The result is often to iron out the energy of Fox's oral style.

We hope our edition will introduce the complexity and diversity of 'the *Journal*' in an easily assimilable visual fashion. The fact that it only covers two years (1652 and 1653) gives some idea of how immense the task of producing a similar edition of all three versions of the whole *Journal* would be. What is lacking at the moment is a search engine for the site: it would make sense to organise it on the modern-spelling versions of the manuscripts, as seventeenth-century spelling can be very variable.

NOTES AND CROSS REFERENCES

At the moment these mainly radiate out from links in the various texts of the *Journal*, but they will eventually be provided in the 'Maps' and 'Images' sections as well.¹⁶ For technical considerations, they are organised as pop-up windows of various sizes. These can be closed down so that readers can return easily to their original starting point.¹⁷ Notes appear in small windows near the links: other ancillary material is accessed by clicking the link in the text to call up a larger pop-up window that serves as a hub presenting a choice of appropriate routes: Maps, Images, Biographies, Video, and Other Texts. Each route returns the reader to the hub for another choice; both the hub and individual screens in each route can be closed down at any point, so the reader is back to where they started.

STILL IMAGES AND VIDEO

How do you convey the experience of the countryside through which Fox passed? He seldom if ever describes it. It might be argued that as a mid-seventeenth-century man, he would not expect to be affected by the scenery except as a physical challenge to the traveller and possibly a hindrance to the evangelist: as Margaret Fox says, 'Amongst the *Hills, Dales and Mountains* he came on, and *Convinced* many of the Eternal Truth'.¹⁸ Even if he were, he would not have the vocabulary to express it. Yet affected he certainly was, but articulates it biblically: he felt impelled by God to climb Pendle Hill, and on the top of it he was 'moved to sound the day of the Lord'; and on Firbank Fell 'to sett doune vpon ye: rocke in ye mountaine euen as Xt had donne before', and to tell his hearers 'yt ye steeplehouse & yt grounde \ on wch it stode \ was noe more holyer then yt mountaine'. Our short videos¹⁹ provide a visual interpretation of passages from the *Long Journal*²⁰ in an attempt to give a far-flung audience the sense of being in or moving through those places in the North West, open or enclosed, which Fox does not describe but indubitably experienced.

Currently the videos are streamed from the Google Video site, encoded as Adobe (previously Macromedia) Flash movies. This gets round the compatibility problems we encountered trying to stream them from the Lancaster University server for a

variety of different players (Windows Media, Real Media). However, we are vulnerable to the way Google encodes our files: the resulting quality is variable, and they can only be viewed via a relatively small window and still retain their sharpness. The compression involved in coding broadcast-quality videos like ours for delivery from a remote server, even via broadband, can degrade them conspicuously. Ironically, the thing that makes video desirable, the fact that the image moves, currently works against it. Rapid pans, tilts, and zooms create distracting motion artefacts; marked changes of scene can apparently stop the video altogether while it recalculates; and paradoxically the most satisfactory online video is the slide show. Fortunately technological advances should soon make these remarks obsolete, and the quality of delivery will improve.

We cannot show exactly what Fox saw: the landscape has changed since his time. Even without the effects of urbanisation, industrialisation, and new transport systems (canals, railways, the M6 motorway—the route from and to Lancaster across the Sands has become a purely recreational though still potentially dangerous walk) a glance at the 1834 engraving of Morecambe Bay from Lindale shows how the Bay has shifted, and is still shifting; the disconcerted inhabitants of Grange over Sands have recently found themselves living in Grange over Grass. Land-use has changed (in Fox's time the valley bottoms in the Dales were cultivated), and even the sheep are different.²¹

But the bones of the country are still there, and the passage from one kind of terrain to another. Time and again you come to a point where vistas open out, and give you a sense of possibilities. From the road above Over Kellett, where Robert Withers lived, the view lays out a choice of going up the Lune Valley to the east, the Kent Valley to the north, or westward to Morecambe Bay and Furness. Coming over the hills from John Audland's home at Crosslands towards Preston Patrick, Kendal is laid out temptingly in the distance. For an active young evangelist it must have presented an ever-enlarging prospectus of possible goals.

On-screen photographs, especially panoramic shots, can give something of the sense of light and space of travelling 'amongst the *Hills, Dales and Mountains*'—to which add the mud of Morecambe Bay and Walney Island. Our slide-box index, which introduces the 'Images' section, was created to give an overview of the images currently available in the on-line database; we then realised that the thumbnails incidentally gave a rapid visual tour of the type of terrain Fox passed through. Photographs (also accessible by links from the text of the *Journal*) are supplemented by late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century engravings which show the countryside before urban sprawl (across Lancaster to Morecambe Bay, Carlisle from the West), or structures which have since disappeared (Carlisle Jail, Lancaster Old Bridge off which the indignant citizens threatened to throw Fox in 1652). In the pop-up pages with larger-size images, at the moment the captions merely identify the scenes and give attributions to the photographers/artists. The next stage is to add detailed information about buildings and sites, initially linking through to the National Monuments Record's PastScape (www.pastscape.org.com), supplemented by near-contemporary descriptions such as those in Camden's *Britannia* (1610), Thomas Denton's *Perambulation of Cumberland* (1687–88)²² or the *Journeys* of Celia Fiennes, who, though half a century later, gives vivid accounts of road conditions, housing, and local food (she was

allergic to rye). These incidentally provide a useful comparison with Fox's journal/journey style.

MAPS

Maps can be a research tool as well as a means of presenting conclusions. To begin with we were bracing ourselves to adapt Ordnance Survey maps, with all the added copyright complications: but then Google Maps™ literally opened unexpected vistas. They can be embedded in your website. They are interactive: the reader can zoom in and out and move about in them. They give the satellite-image bird's eye view of the changing landscape, while the 'Terrain' view shows contours and suggests why Fox went one way rather than another. (Our one regret is that they do not show the sands in Morecambe Bay.) They can also be customised with markers for significant places, and routes can be drawn on them in different colours.

Having to be specific about possible routes in this way makes you conscious of your possibly anachronistic assumptions. The fact that Fox went on foot does not mean that he was walking for recreation. He would not necessarily take the road less travelled because it was a challenge or because it led to a particularly fine viewpoint. We conclude that he probably followed well-trodden paths from settlement to settlement because his trade was to 'declare the day of the Lord to the priests and people'. Boyd²³ and Lillian Millen of the [South Cumbrian] Long Distance Walkers' Association, who have an unrivalled local knowledge of highways and byways, reckon that 'they've Tarmac'd over the way he went'—in other words, most of the tracks he followed have become minor or major roads. There are some exceptions, especially in the Yorkshire Dales, where what used to be main or even (later) turnpike roads (like Cam High Road from Bainbridge to Gearstones)²⁴ have been superseded, and become walkers' paths, like the Pennine and Dales Ways.²⁵

We do not know if he used maps to plan his journeys or whether he proceeded by a blend of divine inspiration and word of mouth. Printed maps were a fairly recent phenomenon in his days. The county maps are surprising to modern eyes because they do not show roads:²⁶ but they do show rivers, bridges, parks, towns, churches, and chapels, so they give a useful idea of how his contemporaries perceived the landscape. Hills appear as individual humps, so one can only gauge contours by how thickly they are packed together.

There are also road maps which, like the old Automobile Association personalised maps, concentrate on the routes, orienting the traveller with a compass rose, and showing side roads, landmarks, and the type of terrain, hills to be surmounted, and rivers to be crossed. John Ogilby, the pioneer of route maps,²⁷ published his *Britannia* in 1675: the routes he shows would have been familiar to Fox. Each map is accompanied by a verbal account of the routes, with distances, comments on the quality of the road, landmarks, market days, likelihood of finding accommodation, and descriptions of the chief towns derived largely from Camden. Later versions, for example John Owen and Emmanuel Bowen's *Britannia Depicta or Ogilby Improved* (1725), place this information in the margins of the maps themselves. However, Ogilby and his imitators stick to the main post roads, largely radiating from London. There were

many well-trodden cross-country routes in the North; some we now think of as 'drove roads', whose zigzagging walls can still be seen in the Dales and the Lakes, now traversed by dedicated walkers. The website will eventually show a wide range of contemporary maps of both kinds, and images of surviving trackways.

SELECTIONS FROM OTHER QUAKER AND ANTI-QUAKER TESTIMONY

This has the greatest potential to change the focus of the whole site. As organised at present, it is ancillary to the *Journal*. But the stories according to Francis Howgill, Thomas Camm, George Whitehead, Margaret Fox, Ann Audland/Camm, Edward Burrough—there is no room to name all the Valiant Sixty, not to mention the Yorkshire apostles, especially James Nayler—are all equally valid in their own rights, and we need to show them if we are to pursue our original remit. Time and again the later seventeenth-century reports from local Monthly Meetings edited as *The First Publishers of Truth*²⁸ acknowledge the charisma of Fox, but mention others as the effective apostles:

But y^e afores[ai]d Gervast Benson, and Thomas Taylor, with severall othr publike Labourers, had Many Meetings in ye s[ai]d Dent (*FPT* 254).

Richard Farnsworth was the first that published Truth in Grayridge [Grayrigg] (*FPT* 247).

It was so ordered yt one of ye Servants & Messengers of Jesus Xt, Namely William Dewsbury, Came to a town cald Settle... And not Long after this...another Servnt & Minister of ye Lord Jesus Christ, called John Camm, Came into ye s[ai]d Town, on a Markett Day... (*FPT* 302).

or

About ye Year 1653...it pleased ye Lord to Send his faithful Servants, Georg ffox, Wm Dewsbury, James Lancaster, & Robert Withers [to Wigton]... (*FPT* 52).

The convincement of the North West was a team effort. This is well known: but it has repercussions for us. Is the website and so the project going to remain Fox-centred? Or are we going to follow our original remit with all the readjustment this implies?

There is no dearth of material. The early Quakers had a passion for memorialising each other in print. Here we are much indebted to EEBO, *Early English Books Online* (Chadwyck Healey), which gives electronic facsimiles from microfilm of all books published in English up to 1700, and to ECCO, *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* (Gale Publishing), which continues this through to 1800. Joseph Besse's *Sufferings* (1753) and John Field's *Piety promoted, in a collection of dying sayings of many of the people called Quakers. With a brief account of some of their labours* (the 1725 version) both appear in ECCO and are invaluable. And lest the site should become too hagiographic, anti-Quaker polemic, like Francis Higginson's *A brief relation of the irreligion of the northern Quakers* (London: H.R., 1653), Thomas Weld's *The Perfect Pharisee* (Gateshead ['Gateside']: S.B., 1653), or George Gilpin's *The Quakers shaken: or, A*

fire-brand snatch'd out of the fire (London: Simon Watersone, 1653), is also highly instructive as well as shamefully entertaining.

The website is not, as you might expect, the final presentation of our thinking. In fact, constructing the website has been and will continue to be part of the research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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The initial transcription of the various versions of the *Journal* was done by Dr Tom Charlton, currently of Girton College, Cambridge, and made possible by a Larger Research Grant of £9698 from the British Academy (2004–2005).

Lancaster University Research Committee gave the project a Research Grant of £5900 (2005) to enable the making of the videos.

NOTES

1. Or to the images of the text.
2. Online: <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/> (accessed 21 January 2010).
3. As editors, we depart from the traditional titles of 'Cambridge Journal' or 'Spence Manuscript' because, in our view, each of these are potentially misleading about the origins of the range of documents which are found in MSS Vols. 376–77 at Friends House, London. The manuscript only came into the hands of Robert Spence in 1861 and none of the materials that constitute it are from Cambridge; that title is purely because Norman Penney's edition of the manuscript was published by Cambridge University Press. The title *Long Journal*, though more neutral, is also more accurate in designating the way in which this document represents an expanded version of George Fox's travails and sufferings, in which letters and papers from a variety of sources are interpolated into the narrative account dictated by Fox to his son-in-law, Thomas Lower.
4. *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. Penney, N., with an Introduction by Harvey, T.E., 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911; *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox*, ed. Penney, N., with an Introduction by Harvey, T.E., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925.
5. Date from *Saul's Errand to Damascus*, sig. B2v (p. 2): 'as hath been attested at a late Quarter-Sessions holden at Lancaster in October last past'.
6. At that stage, a Phase One PowerPhase FX digital scanning back mounted on a Fuji GX 680 III professional SLR camera body with a medium-format lens. Images were taken as RGB under daylight-balanced 'cold light'.
7. The smaller the page, the higher the resolution: so the *Short Journal*, which is written in landscape format on pages measuring 8" (wide) by 6½" (high), was digitised at 797 pixels per inch; the *Long Journal*, which is mounted in boards c. 10" wide by 14" high, at 545 ppi; and the few sample pages of the 1694 printed edition [7⅞" wide x 12¾" high (195mm x 317mm)] at 670 ppi.
8. On the usefulness of high-resolution scans for the analysis of manuscript alterations, see Twycross, M., 'Virtual Restoration and Manuscript Archaeology', in Greengrass, M., and Hughes, L. (eds.), *The Virtual Representation of the Past*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, pp. 23–48.
9. He takes over from another amanuensis halfway down fol. 11v (p. 20).
10. We are writing another article about this.
11. The modern-spelling version for both manuscripts presents the 'final' corrected version.
12. We also had to avoid anything that would be confusing to the red/green colour-blind.

13. The Cascading Style Sheet which determines the layout of an individual screen.
14. For further discussion of the differences, see Hinds, H., and Findlay, A., 'The *Journal of George Fox: A Technology of Presence*', *Quaker Studies* 12 (2007), pp. 89–106. For a comprehensive comparison of Ellwood's first edition and the Spence MS, see Cadbury, H.J., 'The *Editio Princeps of Fox's Journal*', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 53 (1972), pp. 197–218. The question of which manuscript journal was the source for the 1694 printed *Journal* remains the subject of some uncertainty: see *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers, Compiled in 1694–1697*, ed. Cadbury, H.J., Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1939, p. 2.
15. Penn, W., *The preface, being a summary account of the divers dispensations of God to men from the beginning of the world to that of our present age, by the ministry and testimony of his faithful servant George Fox, as an introduction to the ensuing journal*, London: T. Sowle, 1694, sig. H (ii r). Usually bound into the front of Fox, G., *A journal or historical account of the life, travels, sufferings, Christian experiences and labour of love in the work of the ministry, of... George Fox, who departed this life in great peace with the Lord, the 13th of the 11th month, 1690, the first volume*, ed. Ellwood, T., London: Printed for Thomas Northcott, 1694.
16. Videos are cross-linked to the passages in the *Long Journal* which provide their narration.
17. The alternative without pop-up windows would create an unwieldy over-duplication of files.
18. 'The testimony of Margaret Fox concerning her late husband George Fox', in *Journal* (1694), p. ii. There seems to be a suggestion that the people will be as recalcitrant as the terrain.
19. Video made by Lancaster University Television (camera, David Blacow; technician, Andrew Sellars; encoded for transmission by Michael Bowen).
20. Read by Dr Steve Longstaffe (University of Cumbria).
21. See Winchester, A., with Crosby, A., *England's Landscape: The North West*, London: Collins, 2006.
22. Machell, T., manuscript notes towards an *Itinerary of Westmorland*, written early 1690s, Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle: MS D & C Thomas Machell, vol. 2. A somewhat misleadingly coherent edition of this is published as *Antiquary on Horseback*, transcribed and ed. Ewbank, J.M., Cumberland & Westmorland Archaeological & Antiquarian Society Extra Series, 19, Kendal, 1963.
23. Boyd Millen sadly died on 27 January 2006.
24. The turnpike road from Hawes to Ingleton (now the B6255) was built in 1795 when Hawes took over from Askrigg as the main market town of upper Wensleydale, and Cam High Road was demoted.
25. We are particularly indebted to and inspired by Boulton, D., and Boulton, A., *In Fox's Footsteps*, Dent: Dales Historical Monographs, 1998.
26. There are one or two exceptions, such as Norden, J., *England: An Intended Guyde for English Travailers*, London: Edward Allde, 1625, but they only appear in his Home Counties maps. Thomas Jenner's 1644 *The Kingdome of England and Principality of Wales exactly described in six maps portable for every man's pocket* (the Quartermasters Map), engraved by Wenceslas Hollar, was probably intended for the Civil War market: later impressions show some roads. The first set of county maps to show roads in any quantity are those of Robert Morden's 1695 versions for Camden's *Britannia*. He seems to have taken them from Ogilby.
27. He invented the strip map, which enabled him to show long routes in detail on the image of a continuous series of looped strips like a till roll. Two earlier cartographers, Norden (1625—see n. 26) and Simon, M., *A Direction for the English Traviller*, London, 1635 engraved by Jacob van Langeren, provided triangular distance tables with very small county maps. The towns named in the distance tables suggest which were considered to be the most important in each county.
28. *'The First Publishers of Truth' Being Early Records (Now First Printed) of the Introduction of Quakerism into the Counties of England and Wales*, ed. Penney, N., with an Introduction by Hodgkin, T., London: Headley Brothers, 1907.

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