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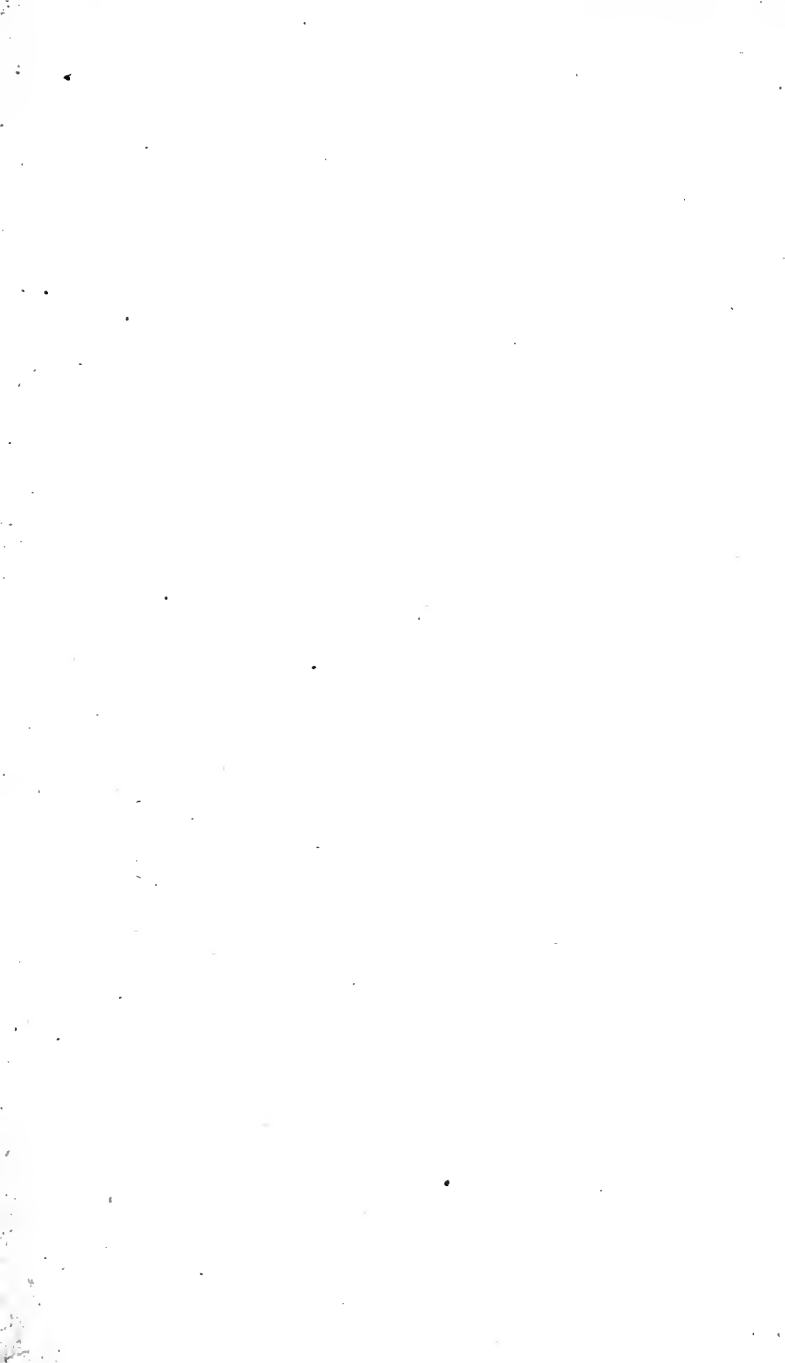
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
Thomas Ellwood:

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- BIOLOGICAL SERV

OR,

An Account of his BIRTH, EDUCATION, &c.
with divers Observations on his Life and
Manners when a Youth: And how he came
to be convinced of the TRUTH; with his
many Sufferings and Services for the same.

ALSO,

Several other remarkable Passages and Occurrences.

Written by his own Hand.

To which is added,

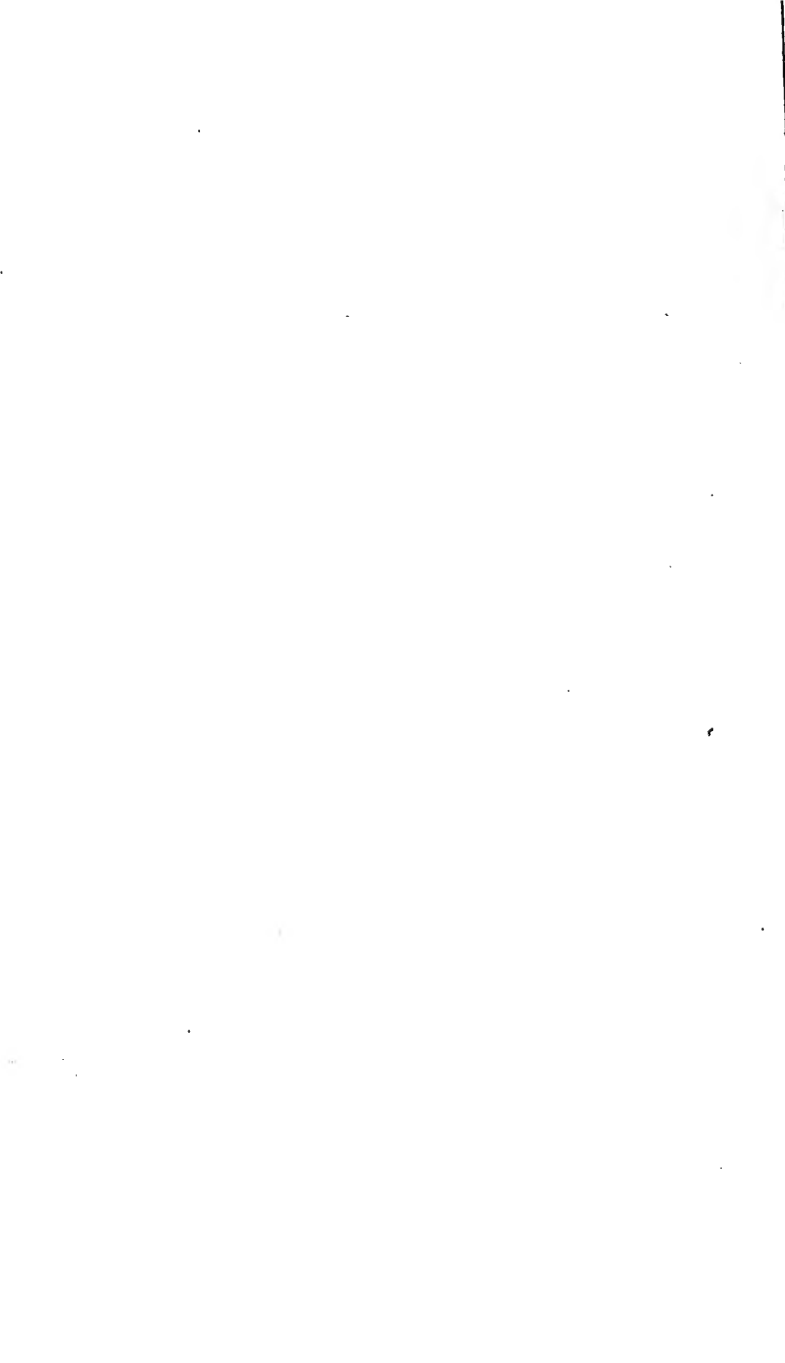
A S U P P L E M E N T
by J. W.

Heb. xi. 2. *By Faith the Elders obtained a good Report.*

The THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by LUKE HINDE, at the Bible
in George-yard, Lombard-street, 1765.



T H F

P R E F A C E.

Gather up the Fragments that John 6. remain, that nothing be lost; 12. was the Direction of our Saviour to His Disciples, after He had fed the Multitude. Which may well and usefully be applied, to the collecting and preserving the Accounts of the *Lives of good Men*: Men, who in their Day have been eminently useful in those Stations of Life wherein God, by His good Providence, hath placed them. And this preserving, by Publication, is the rather to be done, when themselves do leave behind them, in writing, an Account of their Lives, and of the signal Mercies of God to them therein: For from such Accounts may best

be gathered, by the Reader, the Man's particular State, Exercise and Growth in the Work of Restoration, out of the Fall and Degeneracy; and, in the reading thereof, be not only excited to bless the Name of the Lord, on his Behalf, but also gain some Direction from the Path so fairly tract out, and Ground of *Hope*; that by being *faithful*, they may likewise attain to the same good *Experience*.

There is not with me any Doubt, but something of this kind may be the Lot of many, into whose Hands this *Treatise* may happen to come; for that they will herein meet with Variety of *Exercises*, and the *Providences* of God therein, all related with great Strength and Plainness of Speech: Our deceased Friend *Thomas Ellwood*, having been a Man whom God had endued with *singular Abilities*, both as a Man, and as a *Christian*; which is evident,
not

not only from this short Account of his *Life*, which was written by himself, and by the *Supplement* added hereunto; but more largely from his many useful Labours and Services in the many Books which he writ in the Defence of *Truth*, and the *Friends* thereof: For which *Service*, he was in a particular manner qualified by *Spiritual Wisdom* and *Christian Obedience*; to which, in him, was added great Strength and Depth of *Judgment*, wherein he could discern the Spirits of others, and was very much the Master of his own, as did appear to such who knew him, not only by the Soundness of his *Reasoning*, and the Seasonableness of his *Words*; but also by his great and exemplary *Modesty*, in that he was not hasty to propose, nor rudely tenacious to insist on what he had proposed, if any thing, though not well exprest, yet well intended, was offered by any one

much weaker, nay, though but by a *Babe* in *Christ*.

His *Countenance* was manly and chearful; his *Department* grave, yet affable and courteous, even to the meanest Person; his *Conversation* innocent, pleasant and instructive, yet severe against any thing that was beyond the *Liberty of Truth*. These, with his other *Qualifications of Body and Mind*, did render him both very acceptable and very useful, as a *Friend*, as a *Neighbour*, and as a *Member and Elder* in the *Church of Christ*; and the more, for that his *Time* was chiefly employed in being serviceable in one or other of these *Capacities*.

I might here particularly mention the several *Labours* of our *deceased Friend*, according to their respective *Times*, and the *Nature* of their several *Subjects*; but much of this being already done in the ensuing

ensuing Pages, I chuse to remit the *Reader* thither; by which possibly he may be excited to the Perusal of them, and shall only say concerning them, *That the judicious Reader will easily observe, that his Method and Stile do denote him to have been a Scholar: And yet not farther so, than the Simplicity and Purity of the Truth, whereof he made Profession, would permit him.*

I was with our Friend *Thomas Ellwood* the greater Part of his *Sickness*: In which he was also very frequently visited by our Friend *George Bowles*, who was his Neighbour; to whom therefore I refer, for the Account which he may give of his *Sickness* and *dying Words*.

As it was my good Lot to be well acquainted with him (though only in the latter Years of his Life) and know that he did neither use nor encourage the bestowing elaborate

Encomiums upon Persons deceased :
 So neither shall I add further con-
 cerning him, than to say with the
Apostle concerning the Faithful,
 Heb. 11. *That he was righteous, God testify-*
 4. *ing of his Gifts ; and by it being*
dead, yet speaketh.

London, the 12th of the
 second Month, 1714.

J. W.

George

George Bowles *his* TESTIMONY
concerning THOMAS ELLWOOD.

Dear Friends,

I *is in my Heart briefly, on this Occasion, to commemorate the tender Dealings of the Lord with His People in this latter Age of the World, when it hath pleased Him, in Love to poor lost Man, graciously to appear, by the breaking forth of His glorious Gospel-day. And by the secret divine Reaches of the Hand of God, which hath been felt and seen in the Light of it, many have been drawn in their Spirits to seek after the Lord, and to enquire after the Knowledge of the Way of Life and Salvation ; and blessed be His holy Name, who was graciously pleased, by the Inshinings of this divine Light in the Hearts of many, to expel the Darkness and rend the Vail. And then was the Arm of His mighty Power made bare, for the gathering many Thousands to the saving Knowledge of Himself. And in that Day was the Lord pleased, according to His Promise, to pour forth of His Spirit upon Sons and upon Daughters ; yea, upon Servants and upon Handmaids, and many were made to prophesy ; and being qualified by the holy Spirit which they received, and were baptized by it into His Name, became willing, and were freely given up in Obedience to the Lord, and in Bowels of tender Love to the Souls of Mankind, in His Power to preach the Gospel of Life and Salvation to those to whom they were sent, and many were*
turned

turned from Darknes to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God, by their Ministry : Amongst whom our dear deceased Friend and Brother, THOMAS ELLWOOD, was one, whose Conscience was reached and awakened by the powerful Ministry of dear Edward Burrough, as I have heard him relate (and as by the following Sheets will more plainly appear.) And of that Day and Time, and the worthy Instrument by whose Ministry he was convinced, and turned unto God, and made sensible of the divine Principle of Life and Light in his own Heart, have I heard him speak with great Regard ; and also of the Sufferings which did attend him, after he received the Truth, in his Father's Family, for the Truth's Sake ; and how the Lord preserved him in that Time, under the various Exercises which he passed through for Truth's Testimony ; which for Christ's Sake he was conscientiously concerned to stand in, according to that Plainness and Simplicity which Truth then led, and still continues to lead the sincere Disciples of Christ into, by which they were distinguished from the World ; and, for the Sake thereof, they were despised of Men, and hated of the World. Such was the plain Language of Thou to one, and refusing the Hat-Honour ; for which, dear T. Ellwood suffered not a little in that Day, as, by the following Account of his Life more fully appears. And it were well if all, who come up in a Profession of the blessed Truth in this Time, were faithful in these, and in the other Branches of its Testimony. And let all consider, that the neglecting thereof, is, in a Degree, a making void the Sufferings of the Faithful

Faithful (and strengthening the Hands of evil Doers) who for the Sake of their Testimony, loved not their Lives to the Death ; but underwent cruel Mockings, Buffetings, Stonings, Whippings, Stockings, Revilings, Imprisonments, and Spoiling of Goods ; rejoicing in the Lord, that they were counted worthy to suffer, either less or more, for His Name Sake. In respect of which, this my dear Friend was a good Example, he being a Man of a steady Mind, and very patient in Suffering, as well as faithful in his Testimony for Truth, and took joyfully the Spoiling of his Goods, wherein he was tried but a few Years before his Death. He was often concerned in Defence of Truth's Testimony, both against our professed Adversaries, and also against the libertine Spirit which appeared in some, professing the same Truth with us, who opposed themselves against that good Order and Discipline which the Truth led Friends into. All which will abundantly appear from the Books themselves, which are in print, which he writ upon various Occasions, and upon divers Subjects ; and let not his great Labour and Industry be forgotten, in his writing those Two Historical Volumes, relating to the Old and New Testament : A Work truly great, and is, and may be of great Use and Service. By all which his many Labours, it may be perceived by the wary and inlightned Reader, that the Lord had endowed him with an excellent Gift, and qualified him for the Service of Truth, His Church and People ; in which he employed the Talent which the bountiful Lord had given him, to the Honour of the great Giver, and to the Com-

fort

fort and Edification of the Church of Christ: But more especially were his Services known to the Brethren in this County of Bucks; most of which are fallen asleep, and but few remaining here, who knew him in his Beginning, or his first Services for the Lord, His Church and People; amongst whom he was a zealous Asserter of that excellent Discipline the Lord had opened in, and led His People to, for the preserving His Church as a Garden enclosed: For which Cause, how did many of those Libertines set themselves fiercely against him, and shot their Arrows at him; but the Lord defended him, and covered his Head in the Day of Battle, and his Bow abode in Strength, and his Bough spread over the Wall, and continued fresh and green: But a Blast from the Lord came upon their evil Work; and how have they melted away? And how is their Strength failed, and their Work brought to naught? But the Blessing of the Lord is with His People, even with the Faithful, to this Day, whom He hath preserved as a peculiar Treasure to Himself: Blessed be His holy Name for evermore. And furthermore, it may be truly said of this our dear Friend, that as the Lord fitted him for His Service, so was he eminently serviceable in His Hand, in the Church of Christ; particularly in these Parts, of which there are many living Witnesses, in this and the adjacent Counties, of his great Labour of Love, having served the Church freely, with great Diligence and Faithfulness: The true Sense of which, toucheth me and others, with the deeper Sense of the great Loss the Church hath by his Removal; but being also sensible through
the

the Lord's Goodness, that our Loss is his eternal Gain, I feel in my Heart an humble Submission to the Will of Him, who doth whatsoever pleaseth Him, both in Heaven and in Earth; and who shall say unto him, What doest Thou? And it is the tender Breathing of my Spirit to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He would be graciously pleased, in Pity and Compassion to His poor People, to raise up, fit and furnish more faithful Servants for His Work and Service, and make them zealous for His Name and Truth upon the Earth, that the Place of this my dear Friend, and other faithful Servants of the Lord and His People, of late removed from amongst us in these Parts, may be supplied; and that the Spouse of Christ may, amidst all her Tribulations, Afflictions and sore Exercises, be made to praise the Lord, and bless His holy Name, who taketh away one, and raiseth up another, and bleisseth His Children with His Goodness, according to His Promise made of old by the holy Prophet, Isa. xlv. ver. 3. saying, I will pour my Spirit upon thy Seed, and my Blessing upon thine Off-spring. And thus hath the Lord preserved Zion from Age to Age: And I doubt not, but am fully perswaded, that He will still bless His People, and preserve Zion, and deliver her from all her Enemies.

And my dear Friends, Brethren, and Sisters, although it be matter of Sorrow to us, to part with our dear Friends, especially such as have been made serviceable in their Day, and have faithfully served the Lord and His People in their Generation, as it may (I hope without just Occasion of
Offence

Offence to any) be said of dear T. Ellwood, that he was a Man who served the Lord in Faithfulness, and His People with Chearfulness, and his Neighbours with Uprightness and Integrity: And therefore both they and we have the greater Loss; yet may we not sorrow unseasonably, as those which sorrow without Hope, but believing that the Lord hath taken him to Himself in Mercy (though it may be in Judgment to some who were unworthy) let us all learn Resignation to His blessed Will, and say with holy Job, The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away: Blessed be the Name of the Lord. And dear Friends, I may farther signify unto you, that it being my Lot to be with this our dear Friend (of whom I am speaking) almost every Day of his last Illness, I did observe in him, to my great Comfort and Satisfaction, a quiet composed Frame of Mind and Spirit, and Resignation to the Will of God. When I came first to him, which was soon after I heard of his being taken ill, which was the 24th of the second Month, I found him very much disabled by the Distemper, which was thought to be a Palsy, that had seized him, especially on his right Side, so that he could not stand alone, nor help himself, but a little with his left Hand; and his Speech was also very much interrupted, insomuch that it was with great Difficulty, for the most part, that he expressed himself so as to be understood: Some Time after I came to him, there being also other Friends with him, we sat down together under a weighty Exercise of Spirit, waiting upon the Lord in deep Silence, with our Eye to Him; it pleased the Lord eminently

nently to appear amongst us, and to fill our Hearts with the refreshing Streams of His divine Love, and to open the Mouth of one of us in Prayer and Supplication; and the Lord was graciously pleased abundantly to replenish our Spirits, to our mutual Comfort, in a living Sense of divine Goodness; and this our dear Friend, expressed himself in great Tenderness and Brokenness of Spirit, on this wise, I am sensibly comforted and refreshed in this Visit. And that Afternoon, he, fixing his Eyes upon me, with great Earnestness of Spirit expressed, as well as he could at that Time, a great Concern that was upon his Mind for Truth, and the Friends of it, in divers Particulars; especially, in relation to our own Monthly and Quarterly-meetings, the Writings of both which, had been under his Care for more than forty Years: After which, he was much eased in his Spirit, and so continued to the last, so far as I perceived; often saying, when asked how he did? I am easy, I am quiet. And he was often very tender in his Spirit, expressing his Resignation to the Will of God, whether in Life or Death, saying, If the Lord hath no more Work for me to do, I am content and resigned to His Will; and my hearty Farewel to all my Brethren. And at another Time, nearer his End, he said to us present, in much Brokenness of Heart, I am full of Joy and Peace, my Spirit is filled with Joy; or to this Effect: For by reason that his Speech was so weakned, several Things could not be so well collected, which he at Times spake, in a tender Sense of the Lord's Goodness; the Sense of which
deeply

deeply affected some of us who were with him. And my Heart is sorrowfully affected at this Time, in a Sense of the great Loss which the Church of Christ (in these Parts especially) hath by his Removal: But in this I am comforted, in a living Sense of the Lord's Mercy and Goodness towards him, in carrying him through his Affliction in great Patience and Quietness; under which he was sweetly refreshed by the Streams of divine Love, and his Cup was often made to overflow: And we, who were present, being touched with a Sense thereof, were comforted therein, being in a Travail of Spirit for him, and did in our Measures truly sympathize with him under his Affliction. And I am fully satisfied, he laid down his Head in Peace with the Lord, and is gathered to his everlasting Rest. He departed this Life the 1st of the third Month, 1713, about the second Hour in the Morning, in the seventy fourth Year of his Age. He received the Truth in the Year 1659, and lived in Fellowship with the Friends of it about fifty three Years. And I think it may be truly said of him, that as he lived so he died, the Servant of the LORD and His People, and hath left a sweet Savour behind him, and his Memory is blessed with the Righteous for ever. Amen.

The eighth Month,
1713.

GEORGE BOWLES.

A TESTIMONY from the Monthly-meeting at *Hunger-hill*, the 7th of the fourth Month, 1713, concerning our dear and well-beloved Friend and Brother in the Truth, THOMAS ELLWOOD, deceased.

THAT the Dead which die in the Lord, are blessed of Him, we have great Assurance of, from John the Divine his writing to the seven Churches, Rev. xiv. 13. Where he tells them, that he heard a Voice from Heaven, saying, write, Blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth : Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their Labours, and their Works do follow them. Of which Number, we have no Cause to doubt, but this our dear Friend is one ; who was eminently serviceable in the Church of Christ. A Man to whom the Lord had given a large Capacity beyond many, and furnished him with an excellent Gift ; whereby he was qualified for those Services in the Church, in the Performance of which he did shine as a Star, which received its Luster and Brightness from the glorious Sun of Righteousness. He was wise, but humble ; condescending to the Weak, and ready to help where he saw and felt Sincerity ; but sharp to that which he apprehended to be insincere and deceitful ; for which Cause, he was not acceptable to Hypocrites and disorderly Walkers : Yet he was a Man of a very acceptable and agreeable Conversation, as well as sober and religious, both in the Church and in the World, being of a free and affable Temper and Disposition, far from Affectation ; but of a courteous Behaviour and graceful Carriage to all, and very serviceable to and amongst his Neighbours : He was very near and dear to many of us, who were most intimately acquainted with him, and his Memorial is sweet to us : His Services in our Meetings, and in the Quarterly-meeting for the

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County of Bucks, were very great, and of many Years Continuance ; in which he shewed great Diligence, being of a ready Mind, willing to serve the Church, according to that Ability which the Lord had given him ; and his Heart and House was open to his Friends, and the Monthly-meeting was kept there more than Forty Years, and remains there to this Day. Our Loss is great by his Removal : But in this we are satisfied, that it is his everlasting Gain ; being gathered, as we have good Cause to believe, to his eternal Rest. The Knowledge we had of him, and the good Account which we have received of him, in the Time of his last Illness, by those who were most constantly with him, and of his quiet and peaceable Departure, doth sensibly engage our Hearts to acquiesce in the Will of the Lord ; and therein we have Peace and Comfort. He departed this Life, the 1st of the third Month 1713, and was honourably buried in Friends Burying-place at New Jourdans, in the Parish of Giles-Chalfont, in the County of Bucks, the 4th Day of the same Month.

Signed by the Appointment of the Monthly-meeting, by us,

*George Bowles,
William Grimsdall,
James Smith,
Daniel Wharley,*

*Daniel Roberts,
Abraham Barber,
Thomas Olliffe.*

A TESTIMONY from the Womens-meeting,
concerning THOMAS ELLWOOD.

A Concern is upon our Spirits, to write somewhat concerning our dear deceased Friend and Elder, Thomas Ellwood, who was highly valued by us, for that Wisdom and Counsel which were with him; and being of a free and affable Temper, ready to assist those which stood in need thereof, encouraged many to apply to him for Advice, under the divers Circumstances and various Exercises which this uncertain World affords; which we have found to be for our Good, as we followed it. He was an early Comer to Meetings, seldom hindered by Weather (though he lived three Miles distant) when bodily Weakness did not hinder of late Years, being oft indisposed as to his Health. The Monthly-meeting was held at his House about forty Years, and he always look'd very kind and courteous on Friends when they came there, and took Care and Notice of the meanest, who came in Sincerity. He was zealous for good Order, and against such, who, being in an apostatized Spirit, opposed it; and may well be numbered amongst the Worthies, whose Names are upon Record for their Valour; so is this our Friend worthy to be, who never turned his Back on such who opposed the Truth; but stood his Ground, as his printed Sheets on such Occasions do shew. As also his other Works of several kinds, do manifest how great Endowments God had bestowed on him, (yet we, who knew him in his Conversation, are engaged to set forth how kind and condescending he was to the weakest Capacity, and would help out when they wanted a Word) that Generations to come may learn how good it is to forsake All, and follow Christ Jesus, as this our Friend did, and the Account of his Life, following, shews; who not only gives Wisdom, but teacheth Humility also.

He was greatly respected by his Neighbours, for his Services amongst them; his Heart and Doors were open to the Poor, both sick and lame, who wanted Help, and had it freely, taking Care to provide Things useful for such Occasions, (blest also with good Success) often saying, He mattered not what Cost he was at, to do Good. Such lament their Loss: What then may we do, who miss him in an higher Station, in his great Service in the Church of Christ, but even desire to be resigned to the Will of the Lord? who preserved him through all his Hardships, to a Dominion over false Brethren, and is now out of their Reach, and of Temptation too; on whose Head the Blessing, ask'd for Joseph, rests; who as a fruitful Bough his Branch spreads over the Wall of Opposition, and his Bow abode in Strength; the Hands of whose Arms were made strong, by the Help of the mighty God of Jacob, to whom be the Glory for what He hath wrought in our Day, whose own Works praise Him for evermore. And the Tears of Sorrow that we shed, for the Loss of this our deceased Friend, let them be remembred to bow our Spirits, each of us, into a godly Care, that we may come up according to our several Capacities, to follow the Lord faithfully, in a godly Zeal for His Honour; and so come to lay down our Heads in Joy and Peace, as this our Friend expressed he did.

This eminent Servant of Christ, was early convinced of the Way of Truth, wherein he continued to the finishing of his Days; for the Sake of which, he soon became a Sufferer; not only by Imprisonment, for worshipping God in the Assemblies of His People, but also, from his Father, by whom he was made as an Outcast, for no other Cause, but for his faithful Testimony in taking up the Cross to the World's Behaviour and Language: Whereupon he was invited by his much valued Friend Isaac Penington, to his House, where he abode several Years, until he Married. He was a Blessing in, as well as a great Comfort and Help to that Family; and by
his

his wise Conduct therein, gained much Esteem, not only from the Elders, but the Youth, whom he instructed in Learning; and though most of them are by Death removed, yet One still remains, who from certain and experimental Knowledge, can commemorate his Worth; being engaged thereto, from a Sense of the Benefit of his good and wholesome Advice, given at sundry Times and on divers Occasions. Which Friendship continued firm to the last.

His natural Capacity was large, and his Understanding, in the Things of God, very deep; which excellent Qualifications meeting in one, rendred him useful beyond many to his Country, as well as very serviceable in the Church; by both which he is, and will be greatly missed. But he is gone to his Grave in a full Age, and gathered as a Shock of Corn in its Season, having done his Day's-work faithfully: So that Saying may be verified in him, The END crowns all.

His Sicknefs was sudden, which soon deprived him of the Use of his Limbs; yet he retained the Faculties of his inward and outward Senses clear all along; and notwithstanding at times, his Pains were great, his exemplary Patience, and composed Resignation, was remarkable apparent to those that visited and attended him; so that their Sorrow in parting with so dear a Friend, was intermixed with Comfort in beholding the heavenly Frame of Mind wherewith he was adorned.

Thus after all his Labours, he entred into everlasting Rest, and left many behind weeping, though not without Hope, that they shall again meet at the general Assembly of Saints, where the Redeemed shall sing Praises to their blessed Redeemer, whose Right it is to reign for ever.

We have this farther to add, namely, That our Esteem of him was great, because of that real Worth that was in him, through the Operation of the mighty Power of the Lord that separated him from the Love of the World: So that he chose (with Moses) rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures
of

of Sin for a Season, and it pleased the Lord to fit him with Wisdom and Counsel, so that he was made able to give Judgment in difficult Cases, wherein many of us have particularly received Benefit, and therefore have Cause to lament the Loss we have by his Removal. And oh! say our Souls, That the Lord would raise up many more in his Room, to the Praise and Honour of the good Husbandman. And it is our Desire that we, who are yet behind, may be made able so to steer our Course through this troublesome World, that when our End comes, we may lay down our Heads in Peace with the Lord, and leave a good Savour behind us, as this our Friend hath done.

This is written in true Love and Respect to the Memory of our deceased Friend, as it pleased the Lord to move upon our Hearts, And being read and approved in our Womens-meeting at Hungerhill, the 4th of the eleventh Month 1713, was subscribed in Behalf of the said Meeting by us,

MARY BAKER,
 MARY WHARLEY,
 MARY LARCUM,

Concerning our dear Friend THOMAS ELLWOOD,
of *Hunger-bill.*

HE was much esteemed amongst good Men: Good Men, in their Day and Station upon the Earth, represent Him who made all Things good in the Beginning, who said, Gen. i. 3. Let there be Light, and there was Light. And also said, ver. 26. Let us make Man in our Image, after our Likeness. *Oh, high Favour!* So God created Man in His own Image, in the Image of God created He him; Male and Female created He them, ver. 27, and blessed them, and gave them Dominion under Himself; for He was chief Commander then; and so He is witnessed to be now, where His heavenly Image is come into again, and Men live in it, as did this our dear Friend, who did Good in his Day and Generation: Counsel was with him, to give to such as needed, and did apply to him: He was of a tender Spirit, and had Dominion over Passion, over Pride, and over Covetousness: So he was comfortable to, and in his Family. He was amiable in the Church of Christ, and a Doer of Good amongst his Neighbours. And being an Elder amongst, and with the Elders, he hath not only obtained a good Report, but also the Blessing in the promised Seed, which bruises the Serpent's Head. He was valiant in suffering for his Testimony which he held in the Truth; and may not I say, unwearied in his Labours for the setting forth the Fame and Excellency of it: Whereby we see what the Truth makes Men to be, who do come under the Conduct and Power of it; even as fixed Stars in the Firmament of His divine Power, who has caused the Morning of His heavenly and glorious Gospel-day to break forth; and as with the Day that springs from high, in tender Mercy hath He visited many Souls. And early did this our worthy deceased Friend embrace it, as it appears by his Testimony concerning that eminent and blessed Messenger and Minister of the Gospel, George Fox.

And

And now, he having endured the Times of Proving, and the Days of Tribulation and Suffering, together with the Perils and Sights, and Undervaluings of false Brethren, against whose ungodly Work he was engaged to stand as a noble Warrior, in the Defence of, and for the glorious Gospel of Christ: Not admiring Mens Persons, but the Work of the Gospel-power. And although he was endowed with Parts and Accomplishments above many, he was humble and grave; not Self-seeking, but esteeming the Power of Truth, though it did appear through mean Instruments. He was honourable, and honoured, for that he sought not his own Honour, but the Honour of Truth; not only by his Sufferings for it, and Labours in it, but also, in standing firmly against the loose libertine Ones, who would have thrust in amongst the Lambs and Flock of Christ, in an unclean adulterating Spirit, from the Life of the true Shepherd, and heavenly Husband, Christ Jesus: But to the tender hearted, and sincere minded, he was strengthening and comfortable. I knew him when I was but young, and I can truly say, my Heart has often been affected, on his Behalf, with Thankfulness to the Lord, who made him as a strong Pillar, in His spiritual House, with many more of His dear Servants and Children, who shall no more go out. His Memory is in my Heart esteemed beyond what I can write. Oh surely! The Righteous shall be had in everlasting Remembrance, *Psal. cxii. 6.* And they that be wise, shall shine as the Brightness of the Firmament: And they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for ever and ever, *Dan. xii. 3.*

*Hunger-hill, the
5th of the seventh
Month, 1713.*

ELIZ. RICHARDSON.

RICHARD VIVERS his Testimony
concerning THOMAS ELLWOOD.

HE was a Man of great Wisdom and Understanding, and the Lord, the Giver of it, being pleased to visit him in his early Days, made Choice of him, and by the Sanctification of His holy Spirit, fitted and prepared him for His Work and Service, whereunto he was called. And altho' he did not often appear as a Minister, yet in those Meetings set apart for the Affairs of Truth, he often appeared in great Wisdom, having an extraordinary Talent given of the Lord for that Work, more than many other Brethren; and faithful he was in waiting for Instruction from God, to improve the same to His Glory, and the Churches Advantage; for nothing was more desirable to him, than to be employed in the Lord's Service: So it pleased the Almighty to furnish him with Understanding and Strength, faithfully to do his Day's-work. And now He hath taken him to Himself, where his Soul is at Rest; and altho' our Loss be his Gain, therein I with many more are greatly comforted, for I can truly say, I loved him, in the Truth, from the first of my Acquaintance with him, and so it remained to the End of his Course, being near forty Years since we knew each other: And whenever we conversed together, our Discourse was chiefly concerning heavenly Things, and the Affairs of the Church; and I always thought my Time well spent with him, although Opportunity would not serve for so much of it as I desired, had it been the Will of God.

And this I can say, according to my Observation, He was a Man true to his Friend, and deliberate in the Choice of his Acquaintance, to whom he shewed real Love and Sincerity of Heart. And he was one of a steady and sound Judgment, as to the Things of God; often desiring, that those who came amongst us, especially Children of believing Parents, might not settle down only in a Form of Godliness, without the Power (at which Door the Apostacy entred) but that they might be raised up to walk in that, wherein the Saints Fellowship doth stand, which is the Light of our Lord Jesus Christ, enlightening every Man that cometh into the World: And then the ancient Testimony of Truth will be more and more raised up in their Hearts, and they being preserved of the Lord in it, it will more be maintained in its several Branches, as in former Days. Blessed be the Name of the Lord, who hath a People in these latter Ages of the World, to whom He hath given Power to stand for His Truth, whilst on Earth, and to be tender of the Honour of His Name; of the Number of whom, this our deceased Friend and Brother was; who, altho' dead, yet his Memory liveth, and will be preserved amongst the Righteous in Generations yet to come.

Banbury the 30th of the }
Eleventh Month 1714. }

RICHARD VIVERS.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
Thomas Ellwood.

ALTHOUGH my Station not being so eminent either in the Church of Christ, or in the World, as others who have moved in higher Orbs, may not afford such considerable Remarks as theirs; yet, inasmuch as in the Course of my Travels through this Vale of Tears, I have passed through various, and some uncommon Exercises, which the Lord hath been graciously pleased to support me under, and conduct me through; I hold it a matter excusable at least, if not commendable, to give the World some little Account of my Life, that in recounting the many Deliverances and Preservations, which the Lord hath vouchsafed to work for me, both I, by a

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grateful

grateful Acknowledgment thereof, and Return of Thanksgivings unto Him therefor, may in some measure set forth His abundant Goodness to me ; and others, whose Lot it may be to tread the same Path, and fall into the same or like Exercises, may be encouraged to persevere in the Way of Holiness, and, with full Assurance of Mind, to trust in the Lord, whatsoever Trials may befall them.

1639. To begin therefore with mine own Beginning. I was born in the Year of our Lord 1639, about the Beginning of the eighth Month, (so far as I have been able to inform myself) for the Parish Register, which relates to the Time (not of Birth, but) of Baptism, as they call it, is not to be relied on.

The Place of my Birth was a little Country-town called *Crowell*, situate in the upper Side of *Oxfordshire*, three Miles East-ward from *Thame* the nearest Market-town.

My Father's Name was *Walter Ellwood* ; and my Mother's Maiden-name was *Elizabeth Potman* ; both well descended, but of declining Families. So that what my Father possessed (which was a pretty Estate in Lands, and more as I have heard in Monies) he received, as he had done his Name *Walter*, from his Grandfather *Walter Gray*, whose Daughter and only Child was his Mother.

1641. In my very Infancy, when I was but about two Years old, I was carried to *London*. For the Civil War, between King and Parliament breaking then forth, my Father, who favoured the

the Parliament-side, though he took not Arms, 1641. not holding himself safe at his Country Habitation, which lay too near some Garrisons of the King's, betook himself to *London*, that City then holding for the Parliament.

There was I bred up, though not without much Difficulty, the City-Air not agreeing with my tender Constitution, and there continued until *Oxford* was surrendered, and the War in Appearance ended.

In this Time, my Parents contracted an Acquaintance and intimate Friendship with the Lady *Springett*, who being then the Widow of Sir *William Springett*, who died in the Parliament Service, was afterwards the Wife of *Isaac Penington*, eldest Son of Alderman *Penington* of *London*. And this Friendship devolving from the Parents to the Children, I became an early and particular Play-fellow to her Daughter *Gulielma*; being admitted, as such, to ride with her in her little Coach, drawn by her Footman about *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*.

I mention this in this Place, because the Continuation of that Acquaintance and Friendship, having been an occasional Means of my being afterwards brought to the Knowledge of the blessed TRUTH, I shall have frequent Cause, in the Course of the following Discourse, to make honourable Mention of that Family, to which I am under so many and great Obligations.

Soon after the Surrender of *Oxford*, my Father returned to his Estate at *Crowell*; which

1646. by that Time he might have Need enough to
 look after, having spent, I suppose, the greatest
 Part of the Monies which had been left him
 by his Grandfather, in maintaining himself and
 his Family at an high Rate in *London*.

My elder Brother (for I had one Brother
 and two Sisters, all elder than myself) was,
 while we lived in *London*, boarded at a private
 School, in the House of one *Francis Atkinson*, at
 a Place called *Hadley* near *Barnet* in *Hertford-*
shire, where he had made some good Profi-
 ciency in the *Latin* and *French* Tongues. But
 after we had left the City, and were resettled in
 the Country, he was taken from that private
 School, and sent to the Free-school at *Thame* in
Oxfordshire.

Thither also was I sent, as soon as my ten-
 der Age would permit; for I was indeed but
 young when I went, and yet seemed younger
 than I was, by reason of my low and little
 Stature. For it was held, for some Years a
 doubtful Point, whether I should not have
 proved a Dwarf. But after I was arrived to the
 fifteenth Year of my Age, or thereabouts, I
 began to shoot up, and gave not over growing
 till I had attained the middle Size and Stature
 of Men.

At this School, which at that Time was in
 good Reputation, I profited apace, having then
 a natural Propensity to Learning; so that at
 the first reading over of my Lesson, I com-
 monly made myself Master of it: And yet,
 which is strange to think of, few Boys in the
 School

School wore out more Birch than I. For tho' I was never, that I remember, whipt upon the Score of not having my Lesson ready, or of not saying it well ; yet being a little busy Boy, full of Spirit, of a working Head and active Hand, I could not easily conform myself to the grave and sober Rules, and, as I then thought, severe Orders of the School ; but was often playing one waggish Prank or other among my Fellow-scholars, which subjected me to Correction, so that I have come under the Discipline of the Rod twice in a Forenoon ; which yet brake no Bones.

Had I been continued at this School, and in due Time preferred to an higher, I might in likelihood have been a Scholar ; for I was observed to have a Genius apt to learn. But my Father having, so soon as the Republican Government began to settle, accepted the Office of a Justice of the Peace (which was no way beneficial, but meerly honorary, and every way expensive) and put himself into a Port and Course of Living agreeable thereunto ; and having also removed my Brother from *Thame* School to *Merton* College in *Oxford*, and entered him there in the highest and most chargeable Condition of a *Fellow-Commoner*, he found it needful to retrench his Expences elsewhere ; the Hurt of which fell upon me. For he thereupon took me from School, to save the Charge of maintaining me there ; which was somewhat like plucking green Fruit from the Tree, and laying it by before it was come to its due Ripeness,

ness, which will thenceforth shrink and wither, and loose that little Juice and Relish which it began to have.

Even so it fared with me. For being taken home when I was but young, and before I was well settled in my Studies, (though I had made a good Progress in the *Latin* Tongue, and was entred in the *Greek*) being left too much to myself, to ply or play with my Books, or without them, as I pleased, I soon shook Hands with my Books, by shaking my Books out of my Hands, and laying them, by degrees, quite aside, and addicted myself to such youthful Sports and Pleasures as the Place afforded, and my Condition could reach unto.

By this Means, in a little Time, I began to lose that little Learning I had acquired at School; and, by a continued Disuse of my Books, became at length so utterly a Stranger to Learning, that I could not have read, far less have understood, a Sentence in *Latin*. Which I was so sensible of, that I warily avoided reading to others, even in an *English* Book, lest, if I should meet with a *Latin* Word, I should shame myself by mispronouncing it.

Thus I went on, taking my Swing in such vain Courses as were accounted harmless Recreations; entertaining my Companions and familiar Acquaintance, with pleasant Discourses in our Conversations, by the meer Force of Mother-wit and natural Parts, without the Help of school Cultivation; and was accounted good Company too.

But

But I always sort'd myself with Persons of Ingenuity, Temperance and Sobriety; for I loathed Scurrilities in Conversation, and had a natural Aversion to immoderate Drinking. So that in the Time of my greatest Vanity, I was preserv'd from Prophaneness, and the grosser Evils of the World; which render'd me acceptable to Persons of the best Note in that Country then. I often waited on the Lord *Wenman*, at his House *Thame-Park*, about two Miles from *Crowell* where I lived; to whose Favour I held myself intitled in a two-fold Respect, both as my Mother was nearly related to his Lady, and as he had been pleas'd to bestow his Name upon me, when he made large Promises for me at the Font. He was a Person of great Honour and Virtue, and always gave me a kind Reception at his Table, how often soever I came. And I have Cause to think, I should have received from this Lord some advantageous Preferment in this World, as soon as he had found me capable of it (though betwixt him and my Father there was not then so good an Understanding as might have been wish'd) had I not been, in a little Time after, called into the Service of the best and highest Lord; and thereby lost the Favour of all my Friends, Relations and Acquaintance of this World. To the Account of which most happy Exchange I hasten, and therefore willingly pass over many Particularities of my youthful Life. Yet one Passage I am willing to mention, for the Effect it had upon me afterwards, which was thus:

My

1657. My Father being then in the Commission
 of the Peace, and going to a Petty Sessions at
Watlington, I waited on him thither. And
 when we came near the Town, the Coachman
 seeing a nearer and easier Way (than the com-
 mon Road) through a Corn-field, and that it
 was wide enough for the Wheels to run, with-
 out endamaging the Corn, turned down there.
 Which being observed by an Husbandman,
 who was at plow not far off, he ran to
 us, and stopping the Coach, poured forth a
 Mouthful of Complaints, in none of the best
 Language, for driving over the Corn. My
 Father mildly answered him, *That if there was*
an Offence committed, he must rather impute it
to his Servant, than himself; since he neither
directed him to drive that Way, nor knew which
Way he drove. Yet added, *that he was going*
to such an Inn at the Town; whither if he
came, he would make him full Satisfaction for
whatsoever Damage he had sustained thereby.
 And so on we went, the Man venting his
 Discontent, as he went back, in angry Accents.
 At the Town, upon Enquiry, we understood
 that it was a Way often used, and without
 Damage, being broad enough; but that it
 was not the common Road, which yet lay
 not far from it, and was also good enough;
 wherefore my Father bid his Man drive home
 that Way.


It was late in the Evening when we return-
 ed, and very dark; and this quarrelsome Man,
 who had troubled himself and us in the Morn-
 ing,

ing, having gotten another lusty Fellow, like ^{1657.} himself, to assist him, way-lay'd us in the Night, expecting we would return the same Way we came. But when they found we did not, but took the common Way, they angry that they were disappointed, and loth to lose their Purpose, (which was to put an Abuse upon us) coasted over to us in the dark, and laying hold on the Horses Bridles, stopt them from going on. My Father asking his Man, what the Reason was that he went not on, was answered, *That there were two Men at the Horses Heads, who held them back, and would not suffer them to go forward.* Whereupon my Father opening the Boot, stepped out, and I followed close at his Heels. Going up to the Place where the Men stood, he demanded of them the Reason of this Assault. They said, *We were upon the Corn.* We knew, by the Routs, we were not on the Corn, but in the common Way, and told them so. But they told us, *They were resolved they would not let us go on any farther, but would make us go back again.* My Father endeavoured, by gentle Reasoning, to perswade them to forbear, and not run themselves farther into the Danger of the Law, which they were run too far into already; but they rather derided him for it. Seeing therefore fair Means would not work upon them, he spake more roughly to them, charging them to deliver their Clubs (for each of them had a great Club in his Hand, somewhat like those which are called *Quarter-Staves.*) They thereupon, laughing, told him,
They

1657. *They did not bring them thither for that End.*

Thereupon my Father, turning his Head to me, said, TOM, *disarm them.*

I stood ready at his Elbow, waiting only for the Word of Command. For being naturally of a bold Spirit, full then of youthful Heat, and that too heightened by the Sense I had, not only of the Abuse, but insolent Behaviour of those rude Fellows; my Blood began to boil, and my Fingers itch'd, as the Saying is, to be dealing with them. Wherefore stepping boldly forward, to lay hold on the Staff of him that was nearest to me, I said, *Sirrab, deliver your Weapon.* He thereupon raised his Club, which was big enough to have knockt down an Ox, intending no doubt to have knockt me down with it, as probably he would have done, had I not, in the Twinkling of an Eye, whipt out my Rapier and made a Pass upon him. I could not have failed running of him through up to the Hilt, had he stood his Ground; but the suddain and unexpected Sight of my bright Blade, glistering in the dark Night, did so amaze and terrify the Man, that slipping aside, he avoided my Thrust; and letting his Staff sink, betook himself to his Heels for Safety, which his Companion seeing, fled also. I followed the former as fast as I could, but *Timor addidit Alas*, Fear gave him Wings, and made him swiftly fly; so that although I was accounted very nimble, yet the farther we ran, the more Ground he gain'd on me, so that I could not overtake him; which made me think he
took

took Shelter under some Bush, which he knew ^{1657.} where to find, though I did not. Mean while  the Coachman, who had sufficiently the Outside of a Man, excus'd himself from intermedling, under Pretence that he durst not leave his Horses, and so left me to shift for myself. And I was gone so far beyond my Knowledge, that I understood not which Way I was to go, till by hollowing, and being hollowed to again, I was directed where to find my Company.

We had easy Means to have found out who these Men were (the principal of them having been in the Day-time at the Inn, and both quarrelled with the Coachman, and threatned to be even with him when he went back;) but since they came off no better in their Attempt, my Father thought it better not to know them, than to oblige himself to a Prosecution of them.

At that Time, and for a good while after, I had no Regret upon my Mind for what I had done, and designed to have done, in this Case; but went on, in a sort of Bravery, resolving to kill, if I could, any Man that should make the like Attempt, or put any Affront upon us; and for that Reason, seldom went afterwards upon those publick Services, without a loaded Pistol in my Pocket. But when it pleased the Lord, in His infinite Goodness, to call me out of the Spirit and Ways of the World, and give me the Knowledge of His saving Truth, whereby the Actions of my fore-past Life were set in Order before me; a sort of Horror seized on me, when I considered how near I had been to
the

1657. the staining of my Hands with human Blood.

W And whensoever afterwards I went that Way, and indeed as often since as the Matter has come into my Remembrance, my Soul has blessed the Lord for my Deliverance, and Thanksgivings and Praises have arisen in my Heart (as now, at the relating of it, they do) to Him who preserved and with-held me from shedding Man's Blood. Which is the Reason, for which I have given this Account of that Action, that others may be warned by it.

1658. About this Time my dear and honoured Mother, who was indeed a Woman of singular Worth and Virtue, departed this Life, having a little before heard of the Death of her eldest Son; who (falling under the Displeasure of my Father, for refusing to resign his Interest in an Estate which my Father sold, and thereupon desiring that he might have Leave to travel, in hopes that Time and Absence might work a Reconciliation) went into *Ireland* with a Person powerful there in those Times, by whose Means he was quickly preferred to a Place of Trust and Profit, but lived not long to enjoy it.

I mentioned before, that during my Father's Abode in *London*, in the Time of the Civil Wars, he contracted a Friendship with the Lady *Springton*, then a Widow, and afterwards married to *Isaac Penington*, Esq; to continue which, he sometimes visited them at their Country Lodgings, as at *Datchet*, and at *Causham* Lodge near *Reading*. And having heard, that they were come to live upon their own Estate at *Chalfont*

in *Buckinghamshire*, about fifteen Miles from *Crowell*, he went one Day to visit them there, and to return at Night, taking me with him.

But very much surprized we were, when, being come thither, we first heard, then found, they were become *Quakers*; a People we had no Knowledge of, and a Name we had, till then, scarce heard of.

So great a Change from a free, debonair and courtly sort of Behaviour, which we formerly had found them in, to so strict a Gravity as they now received us with, did not a little amuse us, and disappoint our Expectation of such a pleasant Visit as we used to have, and had now promised ourselves. Nor could my Father have any Opportunity, by a private Conference with them, to understand the Ground or Occasion of this Change, there being some other Strangers with them (related to *Isaac Penington*) who came that Morning from *London* to visit them also.

For my part I fought, and at length found Means to cast myself into the Company of the Daughter, whom I found gathering some Flowers in the Garden, attended by her Maid who was also a *Quaker*. But when I addressed myself to her after my accustomed Manner, with Intention to engage her in some Discourse, which might introduce Conversation, on the Foot of our former Acquaintance; though she treated me with a courteous Mein, yet, as young as she was, the Gravity of her Look and Behaviour struck such an Awe upon me, that

1659. that I found myself not so much Master of myself, as to pursue any further Converse with her. Wherefore asking Pardon for my Boldness, in having intruded myself into her private Walks, I withdrew, not without some Disorder (as I thought at least) of Mind.

We staid Dinner, which was very handsome, and lacked nothing to recommend it to me, but the want of Mirth and pleasant Discourse, which we could neither have with them, nor, by reason of them, with one another amongst ourselves; the Weightiness that was upon their Spirits and Countenances, keeping down the Lightness that would have been up in us. We staid notwithstanding till the rest of the Company took Leave of them, and then we also, doing the same, returned, not greatly satisfied with our Journey, nor knowing what in particular to find Fault with.

Yet this good Effect that Visit had upon my Father, who was then in the Commission for the Peace, that it disposed him to a more favourable Opinion of, and Carriage towards those People when they came in his Way; as not long after one of them did. For a young Man, who lived in *Buckinghamshire*, came on a First-day to the Church (so called) at a Town called *Chinner*, a Mile from *Crowell*, having it seems, a Pressure on his Mind to say something to the Minister of that Parish. He being an Acquaintance of mine, drew me sometimes to hear him, as it did then. The young Man stood in the Isle before the Pulpit, all the Time of the

Sermon,

Sermon, not speaking a Word till the Sermon ¹⁶⁵⁹ and Prayer after it was ended; and then spake a few Words to the Priest. Of which, all that I could hear was, That *the Prayer of the Wicked is Abomination to the Lord; and that God heareth not Sinners.*

Somewhat more, I think, he did say, which I could not distinctly hear for the Noise the People made; and more probably he would have said, had he not been interrupted by the Officers who took him into Custody, and led him out in order to carry him before my Father.

When I understood that, I hastened home, that I might give my Father a fair Account of the Matter before they came. I told him the young Man behaved himself quietly and peaceably, spake not a Word till the Minister had quite done his Service; and that what he then spake was but short, and was delivered without Passion or ill Language. This I knew would furnish my Father with a fair Ground, whereon to discharge the Man if he would.

And accordingly when they came, and made an high Complaint against the Man (who said little for himself) my Father having examined the Officers who brought him, *what the Words that he spake were?* (which they did not well agree in) and *at what Time he spake them?* (which they all agreed to be after the Minister had done) and then, *whether he gave the Minister any reviling Language, or endeavoured to raise a Tumult among the People?*

1659. (which they could not charge him with;) not finding that he had broken the Law, he counselled the young Man to be careful that he did not make or occasion any publick Disturbances; and so dismissed him. Which I was glad of.

Some Time after this, my Father having gotten some further Account of the People called *Quakers*, and being desirous to be informed concerning their Principles, made another Visit to *Isaac Penington* and his Wife, at their House called the *Grange* in *Peter's Chalfont*, and took both my Sisters and me with him.

It was in the tenth Month, in the Year 1659, that we went thither, where we found a very kind Reception, and tarried some Days; one Day at least the longer, for that, while we were there, a Meeting was appointed at a Place about a Mile from thence, to which we were invited to go, and willingly went.

It was held in a Farm-house called *The Grove*, which having formerly been a Gentleman's Seat, had a very large Hall, and that well filled.

To this Meeting came *Edward Burrough*, besides other Preachers, as *Thomas Curtis* and *James Nailor*; but none spake there at that Time but *Edward Burrough*. Next to whom (as it were under him) it was my Lot to sit on a Stool by the Side of a long Table on which he sate, and I drank in his Words with Desire; for they not only answered my Understanding, but warmed my Heart with a certain

tain Heat, which I had not till then felt from the Ministry of any Man. 1659.
w

When the Meeting was ended, our Friends took us home with them again; and after Supper, the Evenings being long, the Servants of the Family, who were *Quakers*, were called in, and we all sat down in Silence. But long we had not so sat before *Edward Burrough* began to speak among us. And although he spake not long, yet what he said did touch, as I suppose, my Father's (religious) Copy-hold, as the Phrase is. And he having been from his Youth a Professor (though not join'd in that which is call'd *close Communion* with any one Sort) and valuing himself upon the Knowledge he esteemed himself to have, in the various Notions of each Profession, thought he had now a fair Opportunity to display his Knowledge, and thereupon began to make Objections against what had been delivered.

The Subject of the Discourse was, *The universal free Grace of God to all Mankind*. To which he opposed the *Calvinistical* Tenet of *particular* and *personal Predestination*. In Defence of which indefensible Notion, he found himself more at a Loss than he expected. *Edward Burrough* said not much to him upon it, though what he said was close and cogent. But *James Nailor* interposing, handled the Subject with so much Perspicuity and clear Demonstration, that his Reasoning seemed to be irresistible; and so I suppose my Father found it, which made him willing to drop the Discourse.

1659. As for *Edward Burrough*, he was a brisk young Man, of a ready Tongue, and might have been, for ought I then knew, a Scholar, which made me the less to admire his Way of Reasoning. But what dropt from *James Nailor* had the greater Force upon me, because he look'd but like a plain simple Country-man, having the Appearance of an Husbandman or a Shepherd.

As my Father was not able to maintain the Argument on his Side; so neither did they seem willing to drive it on to an Extremity on their Side. But treating him in a soft and gentle Manner, did after a while let fall the Discourse, and then we withdrew to our respective Chambers.

The next Morning we prepared to return home (that is, my Father, my younger Sister, and myself; for my elder Sister was gone before by the Stage Coach to *London*) and when, having taken our Leaves of our Friends, we went forth; they, with *Edward Burrough*, accompanying us to the Gate, he there directed his Speech in a few Words to each of us severally, according to the Sense he had of our several Conditions. And when we were gone off, and they gone in again, they asking him what he thought of us? he answered them, (as they afterwards told me) to this Effect; *As for the old Man, he is settled on his Lees; and the young Woman is light and airy; but the young Man is reach'd, and may do well if he don't lose it.* And surely that which he said to me, or rather

rather that Spirit in which he spake it, took such fast hold on me, that I felt Sadness and Trouble come over me, though I did not distinctly understand what I was troubled for. I knew not what I ailed, but I knew I ailed something more than ordinary, and my Heart was very heavy.

I found it was not so with my Father and Sister; for as I rode after the Coach, I could hear them talk pleasantly one to the other, but they could not discern how it was with me, because I, riding on Horseback, kept much out of Sight.

By that Time we got home it was Night. And the next Day, being the First-day of the Week, I went in the Afternoon to hear the Minister of *Chinner*; and this was the last Time I ever went to hear any of that Function. After the Sermon I went with him to his House, and in a Freedom of Discourse (which, from a certain Intimacy that was between us, I commonly used with him) told him where I had been, what Company I had met with there, and what Observations I had made to myself thereupon. He seemed to understand as little of them as I had done before, and civilly abstained from casting any unhandsome Reflections on them.


I had a Desire to go to another Meeting of the *Quakers*, and bid my Father's Man enquire, if there was any in the Country thereabouts? He thereupon told me, he had heard at *Isaac*

1659. *Penington's*, that there was to be a Meeting at
 w *High-Wiccomb* on *Thursday* next.

Thither therefore I went, though it was seven Miles from me. And that I might be rather thought to go out a Courting, than to a Meeting, I let my Greyhound run by my Horse-side.

When I came there, and had set up my Horse at an Inn, I was at a Loss how to find the House where the Meeting was to be. I knew it not, and was ashamed to ask after it. Wherefore having order'd the Hostler to take Care of my Dog, I went into the Street and stood at the Inn-gate, musing with myself what Course to take. But I had not stood long, e're I saw an Horseman riding along the Street, whom I remember'd I had seen before at *Isaac Penington's*, and he put up his Horse at the same Inn. Him therefore I resolved to follow, supposing he was going to the Meeting, as indeed he was.

Being come to the House, which proved to be *John Raunce's*, I saw the People sitting together in an outer Room; wherefore I stept in and sat down on the first void Seat, the End of a Bench just within the Door, having my Sword by my Side and black Cloaths on, which drew some Eyes upon me. It was not long e're one stood up and spake, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with, his Name was *Samuel Thornton*; and what he spake was very suitable and of good Service to me, for
 it

it reached home as if it had been directed 1659.
to me. 

As soon as ever the Meeting was ended, and the People began to rise, I being next the Door stepped out quickly, and hastning to my Inn took Horse immediately homewards; and (so far as I remember) my having being gone was not taken Notice of by my Father.


This latter Meeting was like the clinching of a Nail; confirming, and fastening in my Mind, those good Principles which had sunk into me at the former. My Understanding began to open, and I felt some Stirrings in my Breast, tending to the Work of a new Creation in me. The general Trouble and Confusion of Mind, which had for some Days lain heavy upon me, and pressed me down, without a distinct Discovery of the particular Cause for which it came, began now to wear off, and some Glimmerings of Light began to break forth in me, which let me see my inward State and Condition towards God. The Light, which before had shone in my Darknes, and the Darknes could not comprehend it, began now to shine out of Darknes, and in some measure discovered to me, what it was that had before clouded me, and brought that Sadness and Trouble upon me. And now I saw, that although I had been, in a great degree, preserved from the common Immoralities and gross Pollutions of the World, yet the Spirit of the World had hitherto ruled in me, and led me into Pride, Flattery, Vanity and Superfluity

1659. fluity ; all which was naught. I found there
 were many Plants growing in me, which were
 not of the *heavenly Father's planting* ; and that
 all these, of whatever sort or kind they were,
 or how specious soever they might appear,
 must be plucked up.

Now was all my former Life ripped up, and
 my Sins, by degrees, were set in Order before
 me. And though they looked not with so black
 a Hue and so deep a Dye, as those of the
 lewdest Sort of People did, yet I found that
 all Sin (even that which had the fairest or
 finest Shew, as well as that which was more
 course and foul) brought Guilt, and *with* and
for Guilt, Condemnation on the Soul that sin-
 ned. This I felt, and was greatly bowed
 down under the Sense thereof.

Now also did I receive a new Law, (an *in-
 ward Law* superadded to the *outward*) *the Law
 of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus*, which
 wrought in me against all Evil, not only *in
 Deed*, and *in Word*, but even *in Thought* also ;
 so that every Thing was brought to Judgment,
 and Judgment passed upon all. So that I could
 not any longer go on in my former Ways and
 Course of Life, for when I did, Judgment took
 hold upon me for it.

Thus the Lord was graciously pleased to
 deal with me, in somewhat like manner as He
 had dealt with His People *Israel* of old (when
 they had transgressed His righteous LAW)
 whom, by His Prophet He called back, re-
 quired *to put away the Evil of their Doings* ;
 bidding

bidding them, first, *Cease to do Evil*; then, ^{1659.} *Learn to do well*; before He would admit them  to *reason with Him*; and before He would impart to them the *Effects of His free Mercy*, Isa. i. 16, 17.

I was now required by this inward and spiritual Law (*the Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus*) to *put away the Evil of my Doings*, and to *cease to do Evil*. And what, in Particulars, the *Evil* was which I was required to *put away*, and to *cease from*, that Measure of the divine LIGHT, which was now manifested in me, discovered to me; and what the Light made manifest to be *Evil*, Judgment passed upon.

So that here began to be a Way cast up before me, for me to walk in; a direct and plain Way; so plain, that a *way-faring Man*, how weak and simple soever (*though a Fool* to the Wisdom, and in the Judgment of the World) *could not err*, while he continued to walk in it; the Error *coming in* by his *going out of* it. And this Way with respect to me, I saw was that Measure of *divine Light* which was manifested in me, by which the *Evil of my Doings* which I was to put away and to cease from, was discovered to me.

By this *divine Light* then I saw, that though I had not the Evil of the *common Uncleanness, Debauchery, Profaneness, and Pollutions of the World* to put away, because I had, through the great *Goodness of GOD*, and a *civil Education*, been preserved out of those *grosser Evils*; yet

1650. yet I had many other Evils to *put away*, and to *cease from*; some of which were not by the World (*which lies in Wickedness*, 1 John v. 19.) accounted *Evils*; but by the *Light of Christ* were made manifest to me to be *Evils*, and as such condemned in me.

As particularly, those *Fruits and Effects* of *PRIDE*, that discover themselves in the *Vanity and Superfluity* of *APPAREL*; which I, as far as my Ability would extend to, took alas, too much Delight in. This *Evil of my Doings* I was required to *put away* and *cease from*; and Judgment lay upon me till I did so. Wherefore in Obedience to the *inward Law* (which agreed with the *outward*, 1 Tim. ii. 9. 1 Pet. iii. 3. 1 Tim. vi. 8. Jam. i. 21.) I took off from my Apparel those unnecessary Trimmings of *Lace, Ribbands* and *useless Buttons*, which had no real Service, but were set on only for that which was, by Mistake, called *Ornament*. And I ceased to wear *Rings*.

Again, the giving of *flattering Titles* to Men, between whom and me there was not any Relation, to which such Titles could be pretended to belong. This was an *Evil* I had been much addicted to, and was accounted a ready Artist in; therefore this *Evil* also was I required to *put away* and *cease from*. So that thenceforward I durst not say *Sir, Master, My Lord, Madam* (or *My Dame*) or say *Your Servant*, to any one to whom I did not stand in the real Relation of a Servant; which I had never done to any.

Again,

Again, *Respect of Persons*, in uncovering the ^{1659.} *Head*, and *bowing the Knee or Body in Salutations*, was a Practice I had been much in the Use of. And this being one of the *vain Customs* of the World, introduced by the Spirit of the World, instead of the true *Honour*, which this is a false Representation of, and used in Deceit, as a Token of *Respect*, by Persons one to another, who bear no *real Respect* one to another. And besides, this being a *Type* and proper *Emblem* of that *divine Honour* which all ought to pay to Almighty *G O D*, and which all, of all Sorts, who take upon them the *Christian Name*, appear in when they offer their Prayers to Him, and therefore should not be given to Men. I found this to be one of those *Evils* which I had been too long doing, therefore I was now required to put it away, and cease from it.

Again, *the corrupt and unsound Form of speaking in the Plural Number to a single Person, YOU to One*, instead of *THOU*, contrary to the *pure, plain, and single Language* of *TRUTH*, *THOU to One*, and *YOU to more than One*, which had always been used by *G O D* to Men, and Men to *G O D*, as well as one to another, from the oldest Record of Time, till corrupt Men, for corrupt Ends, in later and corrupt Times, to flatter, fawn, and work upon the corrupt Nature in Men, brought in that false and senseless Way of speaking *YOU to One*; which hath since corrupted the modern Languages, and hath grealy debased the Spirits, and depraved the Manners of Men. This *evil Custom*

1659. *Custom* I had been as forward in as others, and this I was now called out of, and required to cease from.

These, and many more *evil Customs*, which had sprung up in the Night of Darkness, and general Apostacy from the TRUTH, and true RELIGION, were now by the Inshining of this pure Ray of *divine Light* in my Conscience, gradually discovered to me to be what I ought to cease from, shun, and stand a Witness against.

But so subtilly, and withal so powerfully did the Enemy work upon the weak Part in me, as to perswade me that in these Things, I ought to make a Difference between my Father and all other Men; and that therefore, though I did disuse these Tokens of Respect to others, yet I ought still to use them towards him, as he was my Father. And so far did this Wile of his prevail upon me, through a Fear lest I should do amiss, in withdrawing any Sort of Respect or Honour from my Father, which was due unto him, that being thereby beguiled, I continued for a while to demean myself in the same manner towards him, with respect both to *Language* and *Gesture*, as I had always done before. And so long as I did so (standing *bare* before him, and giving him the accustomed Language) he did not express, whatever he thought, any Dislike of me.

But as to myself, and the Work begun in me, I found it was not enough for me to *cease to do Evil*; though that was a good and a great Step. I had another Lesson before me, which


was

was, *to learn to do well*; which I could by no means do, till I had given up, with full Purpose of Mind, to *cease from doing Evil*. And when I had done that, the Enemy took Advantage of my Weakness to mislead me again. 1659. W

For whereas I ought to have waited in the Light, for Direction and Guidance into and in the Way of *Well-doing*, and not to have moved till the *divine Spirit* (a Manifestation of which the Lord has been pleased to give unto me, for me to profit with, or by) the Enemy transforming himself into the Appearance of an Angel of Light, offered himself in that Appearance, to be my Guide and Leader into the Performance of *religious Exercises*. And I, not then knowing the Wiles of Satan, and being eager to be doing some acceptable Service to God, too readily yielded myself to the Conduct of my Enemy, instead of my Friend.

He thereupon humouring the Warmth and Zeal of my Spirit, put me upon religious Performances in my *own Will*, in my *own Time*, and in my *own Strengths*; which in themselves were good, and would have been profitable unto me, and acceptable unto the Lord, if they had been performed in *His Will*, in *His Time*, and in the Ability which *He gives*. But being wrought in the Will of Man, and at the prompting of the *evil One*, no wonder that it did me Hurt instead of Good.

I read abundantly in the BIBLE, and would set myself Tasks in reading; enjoyning myself to read so many Chapters, sometimes an whole Book,

1659. Book, or long Epistle, at a Time. And I  thought that Time well spent, though I was not much the wiser for what I had read, reading it too cursorily, and without the true Guide, the *Holy Spirit*, which alone could open the Understanding, and give the true Sense of what was read.

I prayed often, and drew out my Prayers to a great Length ; and appointed unto myself certain set Times to pray at, and a certain Number of Prayers to say in a Day ; yet knew not, mean while, what *true Prayer* was. Which stands not in Words, though the Words which are uttered in the *Movings* of the *Holy Spirit*, are very available ; but in the breathing of the Soul to the heavenly Father, through the Operation of the *Holy Spirit*, who maketh *Intercession* sometimes in Words, and sometimes with Sighs and Groans only, which the Lord vouchsafes to hear and answer.

This *Will-worship*, which all is, that is performed in the Will of Man, and not in the *Movings* of the *Holy Spirit*, was a great Hurt to me, and Hinderance of my spiritual Growth in the Way of Truth. But my heavenly Father, who knew the Sincerity of my Soul to Him, and the hearty Desire I had to serve Him, had Compassion on me ; and in due Time was graciously pleased to illuminate my Understanding farther, and to open in me an Eye to discern the *false Spirit*, and its Way of working, from the *true* ; and to reject the former, and cleave to the latter.

But

But though the Enemy had by his Subtilty, ^{1659.} gain'd such Advantages over me, yet I went on notwithstanding, and firmly persisted in my godly Resolution of ceasing from, and denying those Things which I was now convinced in my Conscience were evil. And on this Account a great Trial came quickly on me. For the general Quarter-Sessions for the Peace coming on, my Father, willing to excuse himself from a dirty Journey, commanded me to get up betimes and go to *Oxford*, and deliver in the Recognizances he had taken; and bring him an Account what Justices were on the Bench, and what principal Pleas were before 'em; which he knew I knew how to do, having often attended him on those Services.

I, who knew how it stood with me better than he did, felt a Weight come over me as soon as he had spoke the Word. For I presently saw it would bring a very great Exercise upon me. But having never resisted his Will in any Thing that was lawful, as this was, I attempted not to make any Excuse, but ordering an Horse to be ready for me early in the Morning, I went to Bed, having great Struglings in my Breast.


For the Enemy came in upon me like a Flood, and set many Difficulties before me, swelling them up to the highest Pitch, by representing them as Mountains which I should never be able to get over; and, alas! that *Faith* which could remove such Mountains, and cast them

1659. them into the Sea, was but very small and
 weak in me.

He cast into my Mind, not only how I should behave myself in Court, and dispatch the Business I was sent about; but how I should demean myself towards my Acquaintance, of which I had many in that City, with whom I was wont to be jolly; whereas now I could not put off my Hat, nor bow to any of them, nor give them their honorary Titles (as they are called) nor use the corrupt Language of *You* to any one of them, but must keep to the plain and true Language of *Thou* and *Thee*.

Much of this Nature revolved in my Mind, thrown in by the Enemy to discourage and cast me down. And I had none to have Recourse to for Counsel or Help, but the Lord alone. To whom therefore I poured forth my Supplications, with earnest Cries and Breathings of Soul, that HE, in whom all Power was, would enable me to go through this great Exercise, and keep me faithful to Himself therein. And after some Time, He was pleased to compose my Mind to Stillness, and I went to Rest.

Early next Morning I got up, and found my Spirit pretty calm and quiet, yet not without a Fear upon me, lest I should slip and let fall the Testimony which I had to bear. And as I rode, a frequent Cry ran through me to the Lord, on this wise; *O my God, preserve me faithful, whatever befalls me! Suffer me not to be*
drawn

drawn into Evil, how much Scorn and Contempt 1659,
soever may be cast upon me! 

Thus was my Spirit exercised on the Way almost continually. And when I was come within a Mile or two of the City, whom should I meet upon the Way, coming from thence, but *Edward Burrough!* I rode in a Mountier-cap (a Dress more used then than now) and so did he; and because the Weather was exceeding sharp, we both had drawn our Caps down, to shelter our Faces from the Cold, and by that means neither of us knew the other, but passed by without taking Notice one of the other, till a few Days after meeting again, and observing each others Dress, we recollected where we had so lately met. Then thought I with myself, O! *how glad should I have been of a Word of Encouragement and Counsel from him, when I was under that weighty Exercise of Mind!* But the Lord saw it was not good for me; that my Reliance might be wholly upon Him, and not on Man.

When I had set up my Horse, I went directly to the Hall where the Sessions were held, where I had been but a very little while, before a Knot of my old Acquaintances espying me, came to me. One of these was a Scholar in his Gown; another a Surgeon of that City (both my School-fellows and Fellow-boarders at *Thame* School) and the third, a Country Gentleman, with whom I had long been very familiar.

When they were come up to me, they all saluted me after the usual Manner, putting off
E their

1659. their Hats and bowing, and saying, *Your humble*
 { *Servant, Sir* ; expecting, no doubt, the like
 from me. But when they saw me stand still,
 not moving my Cap, nor bowing my Knee in
 way of *Congee* to them, they were amazed,
 and looked first one upon another, then upon
 me, and then one upon another again for a
 while, without a Word speaking.

At length the Surgeon, a brisk young Man,
 who stood nearest to me, clapping his Hand in
 a familiar way upon my Shoulder, and smiling
 on me, said, *What ! Tom, a Quaker !* To
 which I readily and cheerfully answered, *Yes,*
a Quaker. And as the Words passed out of my
 Mouth, I felt Joy spring in my Heart ; for I
 rejoiced that I had not been drawn out by
 them, into a Compliance with them, and that
 I had Strength and Boldness given me, to con-
 fess myself to be one of that despised People.

They staid not long with me, nor said any
 more, that I remember, to me ; but looking
 somewhat confusedly one upon another, after a
 while took their Leave of me, going off in the
 same ceremonious Manner as they came on.

After they were gone, I walked a while about
 the Hall, and went up nearer to the Court,
 to observe both what Justices were on the
 Bench, and what Business they had before
 them. And I went in Fear, not of what they
 could or would have done to me, if they should
 have taken Notice of me, but lest I should be
 surprized, and drawn unwarily into that which
 I was to keep out of.

It was not long before the Court adjourned 1659. to go to Dinner, and that Time I took to go to the Clerk of the Peace at his House, whom I was well acquainted with. So soon as I came into the Room where he was, he came and met me, and saluted me after his Manner; for he had a great Respect for my Father, and a kind Regard for me. And tho' he was at first somewhat startled at my Carriage and Language, yet he treated me very civilly, without any Reflection or Shew of Lightness. I delivered him the Recognizances which my Father had sent, and having done the Business I came upon, withdrew, and went to my Inn to refresh myself, and then to return home.

But when I was ready to take Horse, looking out into the Street, I saw two or three Justices standing just in the Way where I was to ride. This brought a fresh Concern upon me. I knew if they saw me, they would know me; and I concluded if they knew me, they would stop me to enquire after my Father; and I doubted how I should come off with them.

This Doubting brought Weakness on me, and that Weakness led to Contrivance, how I might avoid this Trial. I knew the City pretty well, and remembered there was a Back-way, which though somewhat about, would bring me out of Town, without passing by those Justices; yet loth I was to go that Way. Wherefore I staid a pretty Time, in hopes they would have parted Company, or removed to some other Place out of my Way. But when

1659. I had waited till I was uneasy for losing so much Time, having entred into Reasonings with Flesh and Blood, the Weakness prevailed over me, and away I went the Back-way; which brought Trouble and Grief upon my Spirit for having shunned the Cross.

But the Lord looked on me with a tender Eye, and seeing my Heart was right to Him, and that what I had done was meerly through Weakness and Fear of falling, and that I was sensible of my Failing therein, and sorry for it, He was graciously pleased to pass it by, and speak Peace to me again. So that before I got home, as when I went in the Morning, my Heart was full of breathing Prayer to the Lord, that He would vouchsafe to be with me, and uphold and carry me through that Day's Exercise; so now at my Return in the Evening, my Heart was full of thankful Acknowledgments, and Praises unto Him for His great Goodness and Favour to me, in having thus far preserved, and kept me from falling into any Thing that might have brought Dishonour to His holy Name, which I had now taken on me.

But notwithstanding that it was thus with me, and that I found Peace and Acceptance with the Lord in some good degree, according to my Obedience to the Convictions I had received by His *holy Spirit* in me; yet was not the Vail so done away, or fully rent, but that there still remained a Cloud upon my Understanding, with respect to my Carriage towards my Father. And that Notion which the Enemy had

had brought into my Mind, that *I ought to put* 1659.
such a Difference between him and all others, as ~
that, on the Account of paternal Relation, I should
still deport myself towards him, both in Gesture
and Language, as I had always heretofore done ;
 did yet prevail with me. So that when I came
 home, I went to my Father bare-headed as I
 used to do, and gave him a particular Account
 of the Business he had given me in Command,
 in such manner, that he observing no Alteration
 in my Carriage towards him, found no Cause
 to take Offence at me.


I had felt for some Time before, an earnest
 Desire of Mind to go again to *Isaac Penington's*.
 And I began to question whether, when my
 Father should come (as I concluded e're long
 he would) to understand I enclined to settle
 among the People called *Quakers*, he would per-
 mit me the Command of his Horses as before.
 Wherefore, in the Morning when I went to
Oxford, I gave Direction to a Servant of his, to
 go that Day to a Gentleman of my Acquaint-
 ance, who I knew had a riding Nag to put off
 either by Sale, or to be kept for his Work, and
 desire him, in my Name, to send him to me ;
 which he did, and I found him in the Stable
 when I came home.

On this Nag I designed to ride next Day to
Isaac Penington's ; and in order thereunto, arose
 betimes and got myself ready for the Journey.
 But because I would pay all due Respects to
 my Father, and not go without his Consent, or
 Knowledge at the least, I sent one up to him

1659. (for he was not yet stirring) to acquaint him, that I had a Purpose to go to *Isaac Penington's*; and desired to know if he pleased to command me any Service to them. He sent me Word, *He would speak with me before I went, and would have me come up to him*; which I did, and stood by his Bed-side.

Then in a mild and gentle Tone he said, *I understand you have a Mind to go to Mr. Penington's. I answered, I have so. Why, said he, I wonder why you should. You were there, you know, but a few Days ago, and unless you had Business with them, don't you think it will look odly?* I said, *I thought not. I doubt, said he, You'll tire them with your Company, and make them think they shall be troubled with you.* If, replied I, I find any Thing of that, I'll make the shorter Stay. *But, said he, can you propose any sort of Business with them, more than a meer Visit?* Yes, said I, I propose to myself not only to see them, but to have some Discourse with them. *Why, said he, in a Tone a little harsher, I hope you don't encline to be of their Way.* Truly, answered I, I like them and their Way very well, so far as I yet understand it; and I am willing to go to them, that I may understand it better.

Thereupon he began to reckon up a Bead-roll of Faults against the *Quakers*; telling me *They were a rude unmannerly People, that would not give civil Respect or Honour to their Superiors, no not to Magistrates; that they held many dangerous Principles; that they were an immodest, shameless People; and that one of them stript himself*

himself stark naked, and went in that unseemly ^{1659.}
manner about the Streets, at Fairs, and on Mar- 
ket-days in great Towns.

To all the other Charges, I answered only, That perhaps they might be either misreported or misunderstood, as the best of People had sometimes been. But to the last Charge, of *going naked*, a particular Answer, by way of Instance, was just then brought into my Mind, and put into my Mouth, which I had not thought of before ; and that was the Example of *Isaiab*, who went *Naked* among the People for a long Time, (*Isa. xx. 4.*) *Aye*, said my Father, *but you must consider that he was a Prophet of the Lord, and had an express Command from God to go so.* Yes, Sir, replied I, I do consider that ; but I consider also, that the *Jews* among whom he lived, did not own him for a Prophet, nor believe that he had such a Command from God. And, added I, how know we but that this *Quaker* may be a Prophet too, and might be commanded to do as he did, for some Reason which we understand not ?

This put my Father to a stand ; so that letting fall his Charges against the *Quakers*, he only said, *I would wish you not to go so soon, but take a little Time to consider of it ; you may visit Mr. Penington hereafter.* Nay, Sir, replied I, pray don't hinder my going now, for I have so strong a Desire to go, that I do not well know how to forbear. And as I spake those Words, I withdrew gently to the Chamber-door, and then hastning down Stairs, went immediately

1659. to the Stable, where finding my Horse ready
bridled, I forthwith mounted and went off, left
I should receive a Countermand.

This Discourse with my Father had cast me somewhat back in my Journey, and it being fifteen long Miles thither, the Ways bad, and my Nag but small, it was in the Afternoon that I got thither. And understanding by the Servant that took my Horse, that there was then a Meeting in the House (as there was Weekly on that Day, which was the Fourth-day of the Week, though I till then understood it not) I hastened in; and knowing the Rooms, went directly to the little Parlour, where I found a few Friends sitting together in Silence, and I sat down among them well satisfied, though without Words.

When the Meeting was ended, and those of the Company, who were Strangers, withdrawn, I addressed myself to *Isaac Penington* and his Wife, who received me courteously; but not knowing what Exercise I had been in and yet was under, nor having heard any Thing of me, since I had been there before in another Garb, were not forward at first to lay sudden Hands on me; which I observed, and did not dislike. But as they came to see a Change in me, not in Habit only, but in Gesture, Speech and Carriage, and which was more, in Countenance also, (for the Exercise I had passed through, and yet was under, had imprinted a visible Character of Gravity upon my Face;) they were exceeding kind and tender towards me.

There

There was then in the Family a Friend, ^{1659.} whose Name was *Anne Curtis*, the Wife of *Thomas Curtis* of *Reading*, who was come upon a Visit to them, and particularly to see *Mary Penington's* Daughter *Guli*, who had been ill of the Small-pox since I had been there before. Betwixt *Mary Penington* and this Friend, I observed some private Discourse and Whispersings, and I had an Apprehension that it was upon something that concerned me. Wherefore I took the Freedom to ask *Mary Penington*, If my coming thither had occasioned any Inconvenience in the Family? She asked me, *If I had had the Small-pox?* I told her no. She then told me, *Her Daughter had newly had them, and though she was well recovered of them, she had not as yet been down amongst them; but intended to have come down, and sate with them in the Par-lour that Evening; yet would rather forbear till another Time, than endanger me. And that that was the Matter they had been discoursing of.* I assured her, that I had always been, and then more especially, was free from any Apprehension of Danger in that respect; and therefore intreated, that her Daughter might come down. And although they were somewhat unwilling to yield to it, in regard of me, yet my Importunity prevailed, and after Supper she did come down and sit with us; and tho' the Marks of the Distemper were fresh upon her, yet they made no Impression upon me, *Faith* keeping out *Fear*.

1659. We spent much of the Evening in Retirement of Mind, our Spirits being weightily gathered inward; so that not much Discourse passed among us, neither they to me, nor I to them, offered any Occasion. Yet I had good Satisfaction in that Stillness, feeling my Spirit drawn near to the Lord, and to them therein.

Before I went to Bed, they let me know, that there was to be a Meeting at *Wiccomb* next Day, and that some of the Family would go to it. I was very glad of it; for I greatly desired to go to Meetings, and this fell very aptly, it being in my Way home. Next Morning *Isaac Penington* himself went, having *Anne Curtis* with him, and I accompanied them.

At *Wiccomb* we met with *Edward Burrough*, who came from *Oxford* thither, that Day that I, going thither, met him on the Way; and having both our Montier-caps on, we recollected that we had met, and passed by each other on the Road unknown.

This was a Monthly-meeting, consisting of Friends chiefly, who gathered to it from several Parts of the Country thereabouts; so that it was pretty large, and was held in a fair Room in *Jeremiah Stevens's* House; the Room, where I had been at a Meeting before in *John Raunce's* House, being too little to receive us.

A very good Meeting was this in itself and to me. *Edward Burrough's* Ministry came forth among us in Life and Power, and the Assembly was covered therewith. I also, according to my small Capacity, had a Share therein.

therein. For I felt some of that divine Power ^{1659.} working my Spirit into a great Tenderness, and not only confirming me in the Course I had already entred, and strengthening me to go on therein; but rending also the Vail somewhat further, and clearing my Understanding in some other Things which I had not seen before. For the Lord was pleased to make His Discoveries to me by degrees, that the Sight of too great a Work, and too many Enemies to encounter with at once, might not discourage me and make me faint.

When the Meeting was ended, the Friends of the Town taking Notice, that I was the Man that had been at their Meeting the Week before, whom they then did not know, some of them came and spake lovingly to me, and would have had me staid with them; but *Edward Burrough* going home with *Isaac Penington*, he invited me to go back with him, which I willingly consented to. For the Love I had more particularly to *Edward Burrough*, through whose Ministry I had received the first awakening Stroke, drew me to desire his Company, and so away we rode together.

But I was somewhat disappointed of my Expectation; for I hoped he would have given me both Opportunity and Encouragement to have opened myself to him, and to have poured forth my Complaints, Fears, Doubts and Questionings into his Bosom. But he, being sensible that I was truly reach'd, and that the Witness of GOD was raised, and the Work of GOD rightly

1659. rightly begun in me ; chose to leave me to the
 W *Guidance of the good Spirit in myself* (the Counsellor that could resolve all Doubts) that I might not have any Dependance on Man. Wherefore, although he was naturally of an open and free Temper and Carriage, and was afterwards always very familiar and affectionately kind to me ; yet at this Time he kept himself somewhat reserved, and shewed only common Kindness to me.

Next Day we parted. He for *London*, I home, under a very great Weight and Exercise upon my Spirit. For I now saw, in and by the farther *Openings* of the DIVINE LIGHT in me, that the Enemy, by his false Reasonings, had beguiled and misled me, with respect to *my Carriage towards my Father*. For I now clearly saw, that the *Honour* due to *Parents*, did not consist in *uncovering the Head*, and *bowing the Body* to them ; but in a *ready Obedience to their lawful Commands*, and in *performing all needful Services unto them*. Wherefore, as I was greatly troubled for what I already had done in that Case, though it was through Ignorance ; so I plainly felt I could no longer continue therein, without drawing on myself the Guilt of *wilful Disobedience* ; which I well knew, would draw after it *divine Displeasure and Judgment*.

Hereupon the Enemy assaulted me afresh, setting before me the *Danger* I should run myself into, of provoking my Father to use Severity towards me ; and perhaps to the casting
 me

me utterly off. But over this Temptation the Lord, whom I cried unto, supported me, and gave me Faith to believe, that He would bear me through whatever might befall me on that Account. Wherefore I resolved, in the Strength which He should give me, to be faithful to His *Requirings*, whatever might come on it.

Thus labouring under various Exercises on the Way, I at length got home, expecting I should have but a rough Reception from my Father. But when I came home, I understood my Father was from home. Wherefore I sat down by the Fire in the Kitchen, keeping my Mind retired to the Lord, with Breathings of Spirit to Him, that I might be preserved from falling.

After some Time I heard the Coach drive in, which put me into a little Fear, and a sort of Shivering came over me. But by that Time he was alighted and come in, I had pretty well recovered myself; and as soon as I saw him, I rose up, and advanced a Step or two towards him, with my Head covered, and said, *Isaac Penington* and his Wife remember their Loves to thee.

He made a Stop to hear what I said, and observing that I did not stand bare, and that I used the Word [*Thee*] to him; he, with a stern Countenance, and Tone that spake high Displeasure, only said, *I shall talk with you, Sir, another Time*; and to hastening from me went into the Parlour, and I saw him no more that Night.

Tho'

1659. Tho' I forefaw there was a Storm arifing,
 W the Apprehenfion of which was uneasy to me,
 yet the Peace which I felt in my own Breaft,
 raifed in me a Return of Thankfgivings to the
 Lord, for His gracious fupporting Hand, which
 had thus far carried me through this Exercife ;
 with humble Cries in Spirit to Him, that He
 would vouchfafe to ftand by me in it to the
 End, and uphold me, that I might not fall.

My Spirit longed to be among Friends, and
 to be at fome Meeting with them on the Firft-
 day, which now drew on, this being the Sixth-
 day Night. Wherefore I purpofed to go to
Oxford on the Morrow (which was the Seventh-
 day of the Week) having heard there was a
 Meeting there. Accordingly, having ordered
 my Horfe to be made ready beftimes, I got up
 in the Morning and made myfelf ready alfo.
 Yet before I would go, (that I might be as ob-
 fervant to my Father as poffibly I could) I de-
 fired my Sifter to go up to him in his Chamber,
 and acquaint him, that I had a Mind to go to
Oxford ; and defired to know, if he pleased to
 command me any Service there. He bid her
 tell me, *He would not have me go, till he had
 fpoken with me.* And getting up immediately,
 he haftened down to me before he was quite
 drefled.

As foon as he faw me ftanding with my Hat
 on, his Paffion tranfporting him, he fell upon
 me with both his Fifts ; and having by that
 Means fomewhat vented his Anger, he plucked
 off my Hat and threw it away. Then step-
 ping

ping hastily out to the Stable, and seeing my ^{1659.} borrowed Nag stand ready saddled and bridled, he asked his Man, *Whence that Horse came?* who telling him, he fetcht it from Mr. ——— such an One's: *Then ride him presently back,* said my Father, *and tell Mr. ——— I desire he will never lend my Son an Horse again, unless he brings a Note from me.*

The poor Fellow, who loved me well, would fain have made Excuses and Delays; but my Father was positive in his Command, and so urgent, that he would not let him stay so much as to take his Breakfast (though he had five Miles to ride) nor would he himself stir from the Stable, till he had seen the Man mounted and gone.

Then coming in, he went up into his Chamber, to make himself more fully ready, thinking he had me safe enough now my Horse was gone; for I took so much Delight in riding, that I seldom went on Foot.

But while he was dressing himself in his Chamber, I (who understood what had been done) changing my Boots for Shoes, took another Hat, and acquainting my Sister, who loved me very well, and whom I could confide in, whither I meant to go, went out privately and walked away to *Wiccomb*, having seven long Miles thither, which yet seem'd little and easy to me, from the Desire I had to be among Friends.

As thus I travelled all alone, under a Load of Grief, from the Sense I had of the Opposition
and


1659. and Hardship I was to expect from my Father ;
 the Enemy took Advantage to assault me again,
 casting a Doubt into my Mind, *Whether I had
 done well, in thus coming away from my Father,
 without his Leave or Knowledge ?*

I was quiet and peaceable in my Spirit before
 this Question was darted into me ; but after
 that, Disturbance and Trouble seized upon me,
 so that I was at a stand what to do ; whether
 to go forward or backward ? Fear of *offending*
 inclined me to go back ; but *Desire of the Meeting,*
 and to be with Friends, pressed me to go forward.

I stood still a while, to consider and weigh,
 as well as I could, the Matter. I was sensibly
 satisfied, that I had not left my Father with any
 Intention of *Undutifulness* or *Disrespect* to him ;
 but meerly in Obedience to that Drawing of
 Spirit, which I was perswaded was of the
 LORD, to join with *His People in worshipping*
Him ; and this made me easy.

But then the Enemy, to make me uneasy
 again, objected, *But how could that Drawing be of
 the LORD, which drew me to disobey my Father ?*

I considered thereupon the Extent of *Pater-
 nal Power* ; which I found was not wholly ar-
 bitrary and unlimited, but had Bounds set unto
 it. So that as in civil Matters, it was restrained
 to *Things lawful* ; so in spiritual and religious
 Cases, it had not a *compulsory Power* over *Con-
 science* ; which ought to be subject to the *hea-
 venly Father*. And therefore, though *Obedience*
 to *Parents* be enjoined to *Children* ; yet it is
 with this Limitation, [IN THE LORD:]
Children,

Children, obey your Parents in the Lord; for this ^{1659.}
is right, 1 Pet. vi. 1. 


This turned the Scale for going forward, and so on I went. And yet I was not wholly free from some Fluctuations of Mind, from the Befettings of the Enemy. Wherefore, altho' I knew that *outward Signs* did not properly belong to the Gospel Dispensation; yet for my better Assurance, I did, in Fear and great Humility, beseech the Lord, that He would be pleased so far to condescend to the Weakness of His Servant, as to give me a Sign, by which I might certainly know, whether my Way was right before Him or not?

The Sign which I asked was, *That if I had done wrong in coming as I did, I might be rejected, or but coldly received at the Place I was going to; but if this mine Undertaking was right in His Sight, He would give me Favour with them I went to, so that they should receive me with hearty Kindness and Demonstrations of Love.* Accordingly, when I came to *John Rance's* House (which, being so much a Stranger to all, I chose to go to, because I understood the Meeting was commonly held there;) they received me with more than ordinary Kindness, especially *Frances Rance*, *John Rance's* then Wife, who was both a grave and motherly Woman, and had a hearty Love to Truth, and Tenderness towards all that in Sincerity sought after it. And this so kind Reception, confirming me in the Belief that my Undertaking was *Approved of by the LORD*, gave great Satisfaction and Ease

1659. to my Mind ; and I was thankful to the Lord
 W therefor.

Thus it fared with me there ; but at home it fared otherwise with my Father. He supposing I had betaken myself to my Chamber, when he took my Hat from me, made no Enquiry after me till Evening came ; and then sitting by the Fire, and considering that the Weather was very cold, he said to my Sister, who sat by him, *Go up to your Brother's Chamber, and call him down ; it may be he will sit there else, in a sullen Fit, till he has caught Cold. Alas !* Sir, said she, *He is not in his Chamber, nor in the House neither.* At that my Father startling, said, *Why where is he then ?* I know not, Sir, said she, *where he is ; but I know that, when he saw you had sent away his Horse, he put on Shoes, and went out on Foot, and I have not seen him since.* And indeed, Sir, added she, *I don't wonder at his going away, considering how you used him.* This put my Father into a great Fright, doubting I was gone quite away ; and so great a Passion of Grief seized on him, that he forbore not to weep, and to cry out aloud, so that the Family heard him, *Oh ! my Son ! I shall never see him more ! For he is of so bold and resolute a Spirit, that he will run himself into Danger, and so may be thrown into some Goal or other, where he may lie and die before I can hear of him.* Then bidding her light him up to his Chamber, he went immediately to Bed, where he lay restless and groaning, and often bemoaning himself and me, for the greatest Part of the Night.

Next

Next Morning my Sister sent a Man (whom, ^{1659.} for his Love to me, she knew she could trust)  to give me this Account; and though by him she sent me also fresh Linen for my Use, in case I should go farther, or stay out longer; yet she desired me to come home as soon as I could.

This Account was very uneasy to me. I was much grieved that I had occasioned so much Grief to my Father. And I would have returned that Evening after the Meeting, but the Friends would not permit it; for the Meeting would in likelihood end late, the Days being short, and the Way was long and dirty. And besides, *John Rance* told me, that he had something on his Mind to speak to my Father, and that if I would stay till the next Day, he would go down with me; hoping perhaps, that while my Father was under this Sorrow for me, he might work some good upon him. Hereupon, concluding to stay till the Morrow, I dismiss'd the Man with the Things he brought, bidding him tell my Sister, *I intended* (God willing) *to return home To-morrow*; and charging him not to let any Body else know that he had seen me, or where he had been.

Next Morning *John Rance* and I set out, and when we were come to the End of the Town, we agreed that he should go before and knock at the great Gate, and I would come a little after, and go in by the Back-way. He did so; and when a Servant came to open the Gate, he asking if the Justice were at home, she told

1659. him, *Yes*; and desiring him to come in and
 W sit down in the Hall, went and acquainted her
 Master, that there was one who desired to speak
 with him. He, supposing it was one that came
 for Justice, went readily into the Hall to him.
 But he was not a little surprized when he found
 it was a *Quaker*. Yet not knowing on what
 Account he came, he staid to hear his Business.
 But when he found it was about me, he fell
 somewhat sharply on him.

In this Time I was come by the Back-way
 into the Kitchen, and hearing my Father's Voice
 so loud, I began to doubt Things wrought not
 well; but I was soon assured of that. For my
 Father having quickly enough of a *Quaker's*
 Company, left *John Rance* in the Hall, and
 came into the Kitchen, where he was more
 surprized to find me.

The Sight of my Hat upon my Head, made
 him presently forget that I was that Son of his,
 whom he had so lately lamented as lost; and
 his Passion of Grief turning into Anger, he
 could not contain himself; but running upon
 me, with both his Hands, first violently snatcht
 off my Hat, and threw it away; then giving
 me some Buffets on my Head, he said, *Sirrah,*
get you up to your Chamber.

I forthwith went; he following me at the
 Heels, and now and then giving me a Whirret
 on the Ear; which (the Way to my Chamber
 lying through the Hall where *John Rance* was)
 he, poor Man, might see and be sorry for (as
 I doubt not but he was) but could not help me.

This

This was sure an unaccountable thing, That ^{1659.} my Father should, but a Day before, express so high a Sorrow for me, as fearing he should never see me any more; and yet now, so soon as he did see me, should fly upon me with such Violence, and that only because I did not put off my Hat, which he knew I did not keep on in *Disrespect* to him, but upon a *religious Principle*. But as this *Hat-honour* (as it was accounted) was grown to be a great *Idol*, in those Times more especially, so the Lord was pleased to engage his Servants in a steady Testimony against it, what Suffering soever was brought upon them for it. And though some, who have been called into the Lord's Vineyard at latter Hours, and since the Heat of that Day hath been much over, may be apt to account this Testimony a *small Thing* to suffer *so much* upon, as some have done, not only to *Beating*, but to *Fines*, and *long and hard Imprisonments*; yet they who, in those Times, were faithfully exercised in and under it, durst not despise the *Day of small Things*; as knowing that he who should do so, would not be thought worthy to be concerned in *higher Testimonies*.

I had now lost one of my Hats, and I had but one more. That therefore I put on, but did not keep it long; for the next Time my Father saw it on my Head, he tore it violently from me, and laid it up with the other, I knew not where. Wherefore I put on my Moun-tier-cap, which was all I had left to wear on my Head, and it was but a very little while

1659. that I had that to wear ; for as soon as my
 Father came where I was, I lost that also.
 And now I was forced to go bare-headed,
 wherever I had Occasion to go, within Doors
 and without.

This was in the Eleventh Month, called
January, and the Weather sharp ; so that I,
 who had been bred up more tenderly, took so
 great a Cold in my Head, that my Face and
 Head were much swelled ; and my Gums had
 on them Boils so fore, that I could neither chew
 Meat, nor without Difficulty swallow Liquids.
 It held long, and I underwent much Pain,
 without much Pity, except from my poor
 Sister, who did what she could to give me
 Ease ; and at length, by frequent Applications
 of Figs and stoned Raisins toasted, and laid to
 the Boils as hot as I could bear them, they
 ripened fit for lancing, and soon after sunk ;
 then I had Ease.

Now was I laid up, as a kind of Prisoner,
 for the rest of this Winter, having no means
 to go forth among Friends, nor they Liberty to
 come to me. Wherefore I spent the Time much
 in my Chamber, in waiting on the LORD,
 and in reading, mostly in the Bible.

But whenever I had Occasion to speak to my
 Father, though I had no Hat now to offend
 him, yet my Language did as much ; for I
 durst not say [YOU] to him ; but THOU, or
 THEE, as the Occasion required, and then
 would he be sure to fall on me with his Fists.


At one of these Times, I remember, when he had beaten me in that Manner, he commanded me, as he commonly did at such Times, to go to my Chamber; which I did, and he followed me to the Bottom of the Stairs. Being come thither, he gave me a Parting-blow, and in a very angry Tone said, *Sirrah, if ever I hear you say Thou or Thee to me again, I'll strike your Teeth down your Throat.* I was greatly grieved to hear him say so. And feeling a Word rise in my Heart unto him, I turned again, and calmly said unto him, *Would it not be just, if God should serve thee so, when thou sayest Thou or Thee to Him?* Though his Hand was up, I saw it sink and his Countenance fall, and he turned away and left me standing there. But I notwithstanding went up into my Chamber, and cried unto the Lord, earnestly beseeching Him, that He would be pleased to open my Father's Eyes, that he might see whom he fought against, and for what; and that He would turn his Heart.

After this I had a pretty time of Rest and Quiet from these Disturbances; my Father not saying any Thing to me, nor giving me Occasion to say any Thing to him. But I was still under a kind of Confinement, unless I would have run about the Country bare-headed like a Mad-man; which I did not see it was my Place to do. For I found that, although to be abroad and at Liberty among my Friends, would have been more pleasant to me; yet Home was at present my proper Place, a

1659. School in which I was to learn with *Patience* to bear the Cross, and I willingly submitted to it.

But after some Time a fresh Storm, more fierce and sharp than any before, arose and fell upon me ; the Occasion whereof was this : My Father, having been in his younger Years, more especially while he lived in *London*, a constant Hearer of those who are called *Puritan* Preachers, had stored up a pretty Stock of *Scripture Knowledge*, did sometimes (not constantly, nor very often) cause his Family to come together on a First-day in the Evening, and expound a Chapter to them, and pray. His Family now, as well as his Estate, was lessen'd ; for my Mother was dead, my Brother gone, and my elder Sister at *London* ; and having put off his Husbandry, he had put off with it most of his Servants, so that he had now but one Man and one Maid-servant. It so fell out, that on a First-day Night he bid my Sister, who sat with him in the Parlour, Call in the Servants to Prayer.

Whether this was done as a Trial upon me or no, I know not ; but a Trial it proved to me : For they, loving me very well, and disliking my Father's Carriage to me, made no haste to go in, but staid a second Summons. This so offended him, that when at length they did go in, he instead of going to *Prayer*, examined them, *Why they came not in when they were first called ?* and the Answer they gave him being such as rather heightned, than abated his

his Displeasure, he, with an angry Tone, said, ^{1659.}
Call in that Fellow (meaning me, who was left 
alone in the Kitchen) *for he is the Cause of all
this.* They, as they were backward to go in
themselves, so were not forward to call me in,
fearing the Effect of my Father's Displeasure
would fall upon me, as it soon did; for I
hearing what was said, and not staying for the
Call, went in of myself. And as soon as I
was come in, my Father discharged his Dis-
pleasure on me, in very sharp and bitter Ex-
pressions; which drew from me (in the Grief
of my Heart, to see him so transported with
Passion) these few Words; *They that can pray
with such a Spirit let 'em; for my part I cannot.*
With that my Father flew upon me with both
his Fists, and not thinking that sufficient, stepped
hastily to the Place where his Cane stood, and
catching that up, laid me on, I thought, with
all his Strength. And, I being bare-headed, I
thought his Blows must needs have broken my
Skull, had I not laid mine Arm over my Head
to defend it.

His Man seeing this, and not able to con-
tain himself, stepped in between us, and laying
hold on the Cane, by Strength of Hand held
it so fast, that though he attempted not to take
it away, yet he with-held my Father from
striking with it; which did but enrage him the
more. I disliked this in the Man, and bid him
let go the Cane, and be gone; which he imme-
diately did, and turning to be gone, had a
Blow

1659. Blow on the Shoulders for his Pains, which yet **W** did not much hurt him.

But now my Sister, fearing lest my Father should fall upon me again, besought him to forbear ; adding, *Indeed Sir, if you strike him any more, I will throw open the Casement and cry Murther ; for I am afraid you will kill my Brother.* This stopt his Hand ; and after some threatenng Speeches, he commanded me to *Get to my Chamber,* which I did ; as I always did whenever he bid me.

Thither, soon after, my Sister followed me to see my Arm and dress it, for it was indeed very much bruised and swelled between the Wrist and the Elbow ; and in some Places the Skin was broken and beaten off. But though it was very sore, and I felt for some Time much Pain in it, yet I had Peace and Quietness in my Mind, being more grieved for my Father than for myself, who I knew had hurt himself more than me.

This was, so far as I remember, the last Time that ever my Father called his Family to *Prayer.* And this was also the last Time that he ever fell, so severely at least, upon me.

Soon after this, my elder Sister, who in all the Time of these Exercises of mine, had been at *London,* returned home ; much troubled to find me a *Quaker,* a Name of Reproach and great Contempt then ; and she, being at *London,* had received, I suppose, the worst Character of them. Yet, though she disliked the
 People,

People, her affectionate Regard to me, made ^{1659.} her rather pity than despise me; and the more, when she understood what hard Usage I had met with.

The rest of this Winter I spent in a lonesome solitary Life, having none to converse with, none to unbosom myself unto, none to ask Counsel of, none to seek Relief from, but the LORD alone; who yet was more than All. And yet the Company and Society of faithful and judicious Friends, would, I thought, have been very welcome, as well as helpful to me in my spiritual Travel; in which I thought I made but a slow Progress, my Soul breathing after further Attainments: The Sense of which drew from me the following Lines;

The Winter Tree
 Resembles me,
 Whose Sap lies in its Root:
 The Spring draws nigh;
 As it, so I
 Shall bud, I hope, and shoot.

At length it pleased the Lord to move *Isaac* ^{1660.} *Penington* and his Wife to make a Visit to my Father, and see how it fared with me: And very welcome they were to me, whatever they were to him; to whom I doubt not but they would have been more welcome, had it not been for me.

They tarried with us all Night, and much Discourse they had with my Father both about
 the


1660. the Principles of TRUTH in general, and me
 in particular; which I was not privy to. But
 one Thing, I remember, I afterwards heard of,
 which was this:

When my Father and we were at their
 House some Months before, *Mary Penington*,
 in some Discourse between them, had told him
 how hardly her Husband's Father (Alderman
Penington) had dealt with him about his Hat;
 which my Father (little then thinking that it
 would, and so soon too, be his own Case) did
 very much censure the Alderman for; won-
 dring that so wise a Man as he was, should
 take Notice of such a trivial Thing as the *put-*
ting of, or keeping on a Hat; and he spared
 not to blame him liberally for it.

This gave her a Handle to take hold of him
 by. And having had an ancient Acquaintance
 with him, and he having always had an high
 Opinion of and Respect for her; she, who
 was a Woman of great Wisdom, of ready
 Speech, and of a well-resolved Spirit, did press
 so close upon him with this Home-argument,
 that he was utterly to seek, and at a loss how
 to defend himself.

After Dinner next Day, when they were
 ready to take Coach to return home, she de-
 sired my Father that, since my Company was
 so little acceptable to him, he would give me
 Leave to go and spend some Time with them,
 where I should be sure to be welcome.

He was very unwilling I should go, and
 made many Objections against it; all which
 she

she answered and removed so clearly, that ^{1660.} not finding what Excuse further to alledge, he  at length left it to me ; and I soon turned the Scale for going.

We were come to the Coach-side before this was concluded on, and I was ready to step in ; when one of my Sisters privately put my Father in Mind, that I had never a Hat on. That somewhat startled him ; for he did not think it fit I should go from home (and that so far, and to stay abroad) without a Hat. Wherefore he whispered to her, to *fetch me a Hat*, and he entertained them with some Discourse in the mean Time. But as soon as he saw the Hat coming, he would not stay till it came, lest I should put it on before him ; but breaking off his Discourse abruptly, took his Leave of them, and hastened in before the Hat was brought to me.

I had not one Penny of Money about me, nor any, indeed, elsewhere. For my Father, so soon as he saw that I would be a *Quaker*, took from me both what Money I had, and every Thing else of Value, or that would have made Money, as some Plate Buttons, Rings, &c. pretending that he would keep them for me, till I came to myself again, lest I in the mean time should destroy them.

But as I had no Money, so being among my Friends, I had no need of any, nor ever honed after it ; though once upon a particular Occasion I had like to have wanted it. The Case was thus :


I had

1660. I had been at *Reading*, and fet out from
 W thence on the First-day of the Week in the
 Morning, intending to reach (as, in point of
 Time I well might) to *Isaac Penington's*, where
 the Meeting was to be that Day ; but when I
 came to *Maidenhead*, a thorough-fair Town on
 the Way, I was stopt by the Watch for riding
 on that Day.

The Watchman laying hold on the Bridle,
 told me *I must go with him to the Constable* ;
 and accordingly I, making no Resistance, suf-
 fered him to lead my Horse to the Constable's
 Door. When we were come there, the Con-
 stable told me, *I must go before the Warden*,
 who was the chief Officer of that Town, and
 bid the Watchman bring me on, himself walk-
 ing before.

Being come to the Warden's Door, the Con-
 stable knockt, and desired to speak with Mr.
 Warden. He thereupon quickly coming to the
 Door, the Constable said, *Sir, I have brought*
a Man here to you, whom the Watch took riding
through the Town. The Warden was a budge
 old Man ; and I looked somewhat big too,
 having a good Gelding under me, and a good
 Riding-coat on my Back, both which my
 Friend *Isaac Penington* had kindly accommo-
 dated me with for that Journey.

The Warden therefore taking me to be (as
 the Saying is) *Somebody*, put off his Hat and
 made a low Congee to me ; but when he saw
 that I fate still, and neither bowed to him, nor
 moved my Hat, he gave a Start, and said to
 the

the Constable, *You said you had brought a Man,* 1660. *but he don't behave himself like a Man.* 

I sat still upon my Horse, and said not a Word, but kept my Mind retired to the Lord, waiting to see what this would come to.

The Warden then began to examine me, asking me *Whence I came?* and *Whither I was going?* I told him I came from *Reading*, and was going to *Chalfont*. He asked me, *Why I did travel on that Day?* I told him, I did not know that it would give any Offence barely to ride or walk on that Day, so long as I did not carry or drive any Carriage, or Horses laden with Burthens. *Why*, said he, *if your Business was urgent, did you not take a Pass from the Mayor of Reading?* Because, replied I, I did not know, nor think I should have needed one. *Well*, said he, *I will not talk with you now, because it is Time to go to Church; but I will examine you further anon.* And turning to the Constable, *Have him*, said he, *to an Inn, and bring him before me after Dinner.*

The naming of an Inn put me in Mind, that such publick Houses were Places of Expence, and I knew I had no Money to defray it. Wherefore I said to the Warden, Before thou sendest me to an Inn, which may occasion some Expence, I think it needful to acquaint thee, that I have no Money.

At that the Warden startled again; and turning quick upon me, said, *How! no Money! How can that be? You don't look like a Man that has no Money.* However I look, said I, I tell thee

1660. thee the Truth, that I have no Money ; and I
 W tell it to forewarn thee, that thou mayst not
 bring any Charge upon the Town. *I wonder,*
 said he, *what Art you have got, that you can*
travel without Money ; you can do more, I assure
you, than I can.

I making no Answer, he went on and said,
Well, well ! but if you have no Money, you have
a good Horse under you, and we can distrain him
for the Charge. But, said I, the Horse is not
 mine. *No !* said he, *But you have a good Coat*
on your Back, and that, I hope, is your own.
 No, said I, but it is not ; for I borrowed both
 the Horse and the Coat.

With that the Warden holding up his Hands
 and smiling, said, *Bless me ! I never met with*
such a Man as you are before ! What ! were you
set out by the Parish ? Then turning to the
 Constable, he said, *Have him to the Greyhound,*
and bid the People be civil to him. Accordingly
 to the Greyhound I was led, my Horse set up,
 and I put into a large Room ; and some Ac-
 count, I suppose, given of me to the People
 of the House.

This was new Work to me, and what the
 Issue of it would be, I could not foresee ; but
 being left there alone, I fate down and retired
 in Spirit to the Lord, in whom alone my
 Strength and Safety was, and beg'd Support of
 Him ; even that He would be pleased to give
 me Wisdom and Words to answer the Warden,
 when I should come to be examined again
 before him.

After

After some Time, having Pen, Ink and Paper ^{1660.} about me, I set myself to write what I thought might be proper, if Occasion served, to give the Warden. And while I was writing, the Master of the House being come home from his Worship, sent the Tapster to me, to invite me to dine with him. I bid him tell his Master, that I had not any Money to pay for my Dinner. He sent the Man again to tell me, *I should be welcome to dine with him, though I had no Money.* I desired him to tell his Master, that I was very sensible of his Civility and Kindness, in so courteously inviting me to his Table; but I had not Freedom to eat of his Meat, unless I could have paid for it. So he went on with his Dinner, and I with my writing.

But before I had finished what was on my Mind to write, the Constable came again, bringing with him his fellow Constable. This was a brisk, genteel young Man, a Shopkeeper in the Town, whose Name was *Cherry*. They saluted me civilly, and told me they were come to have me before the Warden. This put an End to my writing; which I put into my Pocket, and went along with them.

Being come to the Warden's, he asked me again the same Questions he had asked me before; to which I gave him the like Answers. Then he told me the Penalty I had incurred; which, he said, was *either to pay so much Money, or lie so many Hours in the Stocks*; and asked me, *which I would chuse?* I reply'd, I shall not chuse either. And said I, I have told

1660. thee already that I have no Money ; though if I
 W had, I could not so far acknowledge myself an
 Offender, as to pay any. But as to lying in the
 Stocks, I am in thy Power, to do unto me what
 it shall please the Lord to suffer thee.

When he heard that, he paused a while, and
 then told me, *He considered that I was but a
 young Man, and might not, perhaps, understand
 the Danger I had brought myself into, and there-
 fore he would not use the Severity of the Law upon
 me ; but in hopes that I would be wiser hereafter,
 he would pass by this Offence and discharge me.*

Then putting on a Countenance of the greatest
 Gravity, he said to me ; *But, young Man, I
 would have you know, that you have not only
 broken the Law of the Land, but the Law of God
 also ; and therefore you ought to ask Him For-
 giveness, for you have highly offended Him.* That,
 said I, I would most willingly do, if I were
 sensible that, in this Case, I had offended Him
 by breaking any Law of His. *Why,* said he,
do you question that ? Yes truly, said I ; for I
 do not know that any Law of God doth forbid
 me to ride on this Day.

No ! said he, *that's strange ! Where, I wonder,
 were you bred ? You can read ; can't you ?* Yes
 said I, that I can. *Don't you read then,* said he,
*the Commandment ; Remember the Sabbath-
 day to keep it holy. Six Days shalt thou la-
 bour, and do all thy Work ; but the Seventh-
 day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God ; in it
 thou shalt not do any Work.* Yes, replied I, I
 have both read it often, and remember it very
 well.

well. But that Command was given to the ^{1660.} *Jews*, not to *Christians*; and this is not that ^w Day, for that was the Seventh-day, but this is the first. *How!* said he, *do you know the Days of the Week no better? you had need then be better taught.*

Here the younger Constable, whose Name was *Cherry*, interposing, said, *Mr. Warden, the Gentleman is in the right as to that; for this is the First-day of the Week, and not the seventh.*

This the old Warden took in dudgeon; and looking severely on the Constable, said, *What! do you take upon you to teach me! I'll have you know, I will not be taught by you. As you please for that, Sir,* said the Constable, *but I am sure you are mistaken in this Point; for Saturday, I know, is the Seventh-day, and you know Yesterday was Saturday.*

This made the Warden hot and testy, and put him almost out of all Patience, so that I fear'd it would have come to a downright Quarrel betwixt them; for both were confident, and neither would yield. And so earnestly were they engaged in the Contest, that there was no room for me to put in a Word between them.

At length the old Man, having talk'd himself out of Wind, stood still a while as it were to take Breath, and then bethinking himself of me, he turn'd to me and said, *You are discharged, and may take your Liberty to go about your Occasions.* But, said I, I desire my Horse may be discharged too, else I know not how to go. *Ay, ay,* said he, *you shall have your Horse;* and

1660. turning to the other Constable who had not
 W offended him, he said, *Go, see that his Horse be delivered to him.*

Away thereupon went I with that Constable, leaving the old Warden and the young Constable to compose their Difference as they could. Being come to the Inn, the Constable called for my Horse to be brought out. Which done, I immediately mounted and began to set forward. But the Hostler, not knowing the Condition of my Pocket, said modestly to me, *Sir, don't you forget to pay for your Horse's standing?* No truly, said I, I don't forget it, but I have no Money to pay it with, and so I told the Warden before. *Well, hold you your Tongue,* said the Constable to the Hostler, *I'll see you paid.* Then opening the Gate they let me out, the Constable wishing me a good Journey, and through the Town I rode without further Molestation; though it was as much Sabbath, I thought, when I went out, as it was when I came in.

A secret Joy arose in me as I rode on the Way, for that I had been preserved from doing or saying any Thing, which might give the Adversaries of TRUTH Advantage against it, or the Friends of it; and Praises sprang in my thankful Heart to the Lord, my Preserver.

It added also not a little to my Joy, that I felt the Lord near unto me, by His Witness in my Heart, to check and warn me; and my Spirit was so far subjected to Him, as readily to
 take

take Warning, and stop at His Check ; an Instance of both, that very Morning I had. 1660.
W

For as I rode between *Reading* and *Maidenhead*, I saw lying in my Way the Scabbard of an Hanger, which, having lost its Hook, had slipt off, I suppose, and dropt from the Side of the Wearer ; and it had in it a Pair of Knives, whose Hafts being inlaid with Silver, seemed to be of some Value. I alighted and took it up, and clapping it between my Thigh and the Saddle, rode on a little Way ; but I quickly found it too heavy for me, and the Reprover in me soon began to check. The Word arose in me, *What hast thou to do with that? Doth it belong to thee?* I felt I had done amiss in taking it ; wherefore I turned back to the Place where it lay, and laid it down where I found it. And when afterwards I was stopt and seized on at *Maidenhead*, I saw there was a Providence in not bringing it with me ; which, if it should have been found (as it needs must) under my Coat when I came to be unhorsed, might have raised some evil Suspicion or sinister Thoughts concerning me.

The Stop I met with at *Maidenhead* had spent me so much Time, that when I came to *Isaac Penington's*, the Meeting there was half over ; which gave them Occasion, after Meeting, to enquire of me, *If any Thing had befallen me on the Way, which had caused me to come so late?* Whereupon I related to them what Exercise I had met with, and how the Lord had helped me through it : Which when


1660. they had heard, they rejoiced with me, and
 W for my Sake.

Great was the Love, and manifold the Kindnesses, which I received from these my worthy Friends, *Isaac* and *Mary Penington*, while I abode in their Family. They were indeed as affectionate Parents, and tender Nurses to me, in this Time of my *religious Childhood*. For besides their weighty and seasonable Counsels, and exemplary Conversations, they furnished me with Means to go to the other Meetings of Friends in that Country, when the Meeting was not in their own House. And indeed, the Time I staid with them was so well spent, that it not only yielded great Satisfaction to my Mind; but turned, in good measure, to my spiritual Advantage in the TRUTH.

But that I might not, on the one hand, bear too hard upon my Friends; nor on the other hand, forget the House of Thraldom; after I had staid with them some six or seven Weeks (from the Time called *Easter*, to the Time called *Whitsuntide*) I took my Leave of them to depart home, intending to walk to *Wiccomb* in one Day, and from thence home in another.

That Day that I came home I did not see my Father, nor until Noon the next Day, when I went into the Parlour where he was, to take my usual Place at Dinner.

As soon as I came in, I observed by my Father's Countenance, that my Hat was still an Offence to him; but when I was sitten down, and before I had eaten any Thing, he made me understand

understand it more fully, by saying to me, but ^{1660.} in a milder Tone than he had formerly used  to speak to me in, *If you cannot content yourself to come to Dinner without your Hive on your Head* (so he called my Hat) *pray rise, and go take your Dinner somewhere else.*

Upon those Words I arose from the Table, and leaving the Room, went into the Kitchen, where I staid till the Servants went to Dinner, and then sat down very contentedly with them. Yet I suppose my Father might intend that I should have gone into some other Room, and there have eaten by myself. But I chose rather to eat with the Servants; and did so from thenceforward, so long as he and I lived together. And from this Time he rather chose, as I thought, to avoid seeing me, than to renew the Quarrel about my Hat.


My Sisters, mean while observing my Wariness in Words and Behaviour, and being satisfied, I suppose, that I acted upon a *Principle of Religion and Conscience*, carried themselves very kindly to me, and did what they could to mitigate my Father's Displeasure against me. So that I now enjoyed much more Quiet at home, and took more Liberty to go abroad amongst my Friends, than I had done, or could do before. And having informed myself, where any Meetings of Friends were holden, within a reasonable Distance from me, I resorted to them.

At first I went to a Town called *Haddenham* in *Buckinghamshire*, five Miles from my Father's,

1660. ther's, where, at the House of one *Belfon*, a few who were called *Quakers* did meet sometimes on a First-day of the Week; but I found little Satisfaction there. Afterwards, upon further Enquiry, I understood there was a settled Meeting at a little Village called *Meadle*, about four long Miles from me, in the House of one *John White*, which is continued there still; and to that thenceforward I constantly went, while I abode in that Country and was able. Many a fore Day's Travel have I had thither and back again; being commonly in the Winter-time (how fair soever the Weather was over head) wet up to the Ancles at least; yet through the Goodness of the Lord to me, I was preserved in Health.

A little Meeting also there was, on the Fourth-day of the Week, at a Town called *Bledlow* (two Miles from me) in the House of one *Thomas Saunders*, who professed the Truth; but his Wife, whose Name was *Damaris*, did possess it (she being a Woman of great Sincerity and lively Sense) and to that Meeting also I usually went.

But though I took this Liberty for the Service of GOD, that I might worship Him in the Assemblies of His People, yet did I not use it upon other Occasions; but spent my Time, on other Days for the most part in my Chamber, in Retiredness of Mind, waiting on the LORD. And the LORD was graciously pleased to visit me, by His quickening *Spirit* and *Life*; so that I came to feel the *Operation of His Power*

Power in my Heart, working out that which ^{1660.} was contrary to His Will, and giving me, in  measure, Dominion over it.


And as my Spirit was kept in a due Subjection to this *divine Power*, I grew into a nearer Acquaintance with the LORD; and the LORD vouchsafed to speak unto me in the Inward of my Soul, and to open my Understanding in His Fear, to receive *Counsel* from Him; so that I not only at some Times heard His Voice, but could distinguish His Voice from the Voice of the Enemy.

As thus I daily waited on the LORD, a weighty and unusual Exercise came upon me, which bowed my Spirit very low before the LORD. I had seen, in the *Light of the LORD*, the horrible Guilt of those deceitful *Priests*, of divers Sorts and Denominations, who made a *Trade* of PREACHING, and for *filthy Lucre's sake* held the People *always learning*; yet so taught them, as that, by their *Teaching* and *Ministry*, they were never able to come to the *Knowledge* (much less to the Acknowledgement) of the *Truth*: For as they themselves hated the *Light*, because their own *Deeds were evil*; so by *reviling, reproaching, and blaspheming* the TRUE LIGHT, (*wherewith every Man that cometh into the World is enlightned, John i. 9.*) they begat in the People a Dis-esteem of the *Light*; and laboured, as much as in them lay, to keep their Hearers in the *Darkness*, that they might not be turned to the *Light* in themselves, lest by the *Light* they should discover the *Wickedness*

1660. *ness* of these their *deceitful Teachers*, and turn
 W from them.

Against this Practice of these *false Teachers*, the Zeal of the LORD had flamed in my Breast for some Time ; and now the Burthen of the Word of the LORD against them fell heavy upon me, with Command to proclaim His Controversy against them.

Fain would I have been excused from this Service, which I judged too heavy for me : Wherefore I besought the Lord to take this Weight from off me, who was, in every respect, but young, and lay it upon some other of His Servants, of whom He had many, who were much more able and fit for it. But the Lord would not be intreated, but continued the Burden upon me with greater Weight ; requiring *Obedience* from me, and promising to assist me therein. Whereupon I arose from my Bed, and in the Fear and Dread of the Lord, committed to Writing what He, in the Motion of His *divine Spirit*, dictated to me to write. When I had done it, though the Sharpness of the Message therein delivered, was hard to my Nature to be the Publisher of ; yet I found Acceptance with the Lord, in my Obedience to His Will, and His Peace filled my Heart. As soon as I could, I communicated to my Friends what I had written ; and it was printed in the Year 1660, in one Sheet of Paper, under the Title of *An Alarm to the PRIESTS ; or, a Message from Heaven to forewarn them, &c.*

Some Time after the publishing of this Paper, 1660. having Occasion to go to *London*, I went to visit  *George Fox* the younger, who, with another Friend, was then a Prisoner in a Messenger's Hands. I had never seen him, nor he me before; yet this Paper lying on the Table before him, he pointing to it, asked me, *If I was the Person that writ it?* I told him, I was. *It's much*, said the other Friend, *that they bear it.* *It is*, replied he, *their Portion; and they must bear it.*


While I was then in *London*, I went to a little Meeting of Friends, which was then held in the House of one *Humphry Bache* a Goldsmith, at the Sign of the *Snail* in *Tower-street*. It was then a very troublesome Time, not from the Government, but from the Rabble of Boys and rude People, who upon the Turn of the Times (at the Return of the King) took Liberty to be very abusive.

When the Meeting ended, a pretty Number of these unruly Folk were got together at the Door, ready to receive the Friends as they came forth, not only with evil Words, but with Blows; which I saw they bestowed freely on some of them that were gone out before me, and expected I should have my Share of when I came amongst them. But quite contrary to my Expectation, when I came out, they said one to another, *Let him alone; don't meddle with him; he is no Quaker I'll warrant you.*

This struck me, and was worse to me than if they had laid their Fists on me, as they did
on

1660. on others. I was troubled to think what the
 W Matter was, or what these rude People saw in
 me, that made them not take me for a *Quaker*.
 And upon a close Examination of myself, with
 respect to my Habit and Deportment, I could
 not find any Thing to place it on, but that I
 had then on my Head a large Montier-cap of
 black Velvet, the Skirt of which being turned
 up in Folds, looked (it seems) somewhat above
 the then common Garb of a *Quaker*; and this
 put me out of Conceit with my Cap.

I came, at this Time, to *London* from *Isaac Penington's*, and thither I went again in my way home; and while I staid there, amongst other Friends who came thither, *Thomas Loe* of *Oxford* was one. A faithful and diligent Labourer he was in the Work of the Lord, and an excellent ministerial Gift he had. And I, in my Zeal for Truth, being very desirous that my Neighbours might have the Opportunity of hearing the Gospel, the glad Tidings of Salvation, livingly and powerfully preached among them, entered into Communication with him about it; offering to procure some convenient Place, in the Town where I lived, for a Meeting to be held, and to invite my Neighbours to it, if he could give me any Ground to expect his Company at it. He told me, *he was not at his own Command, but at the Lord's; and he knew not how He might dispose of him; but wish'd me, if I found when I was come home, that the Thing continued with Weight upon my Mind, and that I could get a fit Place for a Meeting, I would*

would advertize him of it by a few Lines, direct-^{1660.}
ed to him in Oxford, whither he was then going, 
and he might then let me know how his Freedom
stood in that Matter.

When therefore I was come home, and had treated with a Neighbour for a Place to have a Meeting in, I wrote to my Friend *Thomas Loe*, to acquaint him that I had procured a Place for a Meeting, and would invite Company to it, if he would fix the Time, and give me some Ground to hope that he would be at it.

This Letter I sent by a Neighbour to *Thame*, to be given to a *Dyer* of *Oxford*, who constantly kept *Thame* Market, with whom I was pretty well acquainted, having sometimes formerly used him, not only in his Way of Trade, but to carry Letters between my Brother and me, when he was a Student in that University, for which he was always paid; and had been so careful in the Delivery, that our Letters had always gone safe until now. But this Time (Providence so ordering, or at least for my Trial permitting it) this Letter of mine, instead of being delivered according to its Direction, was seized and carried, as I was told, to the Lord *Faulkland*, who was then called Lord-Lieutenant of that County.

The Occasion of this Stopping of Letters at that Time, was that mad Prank of those infatuated *Fifth-monarchy-men*, who from their Meeting-house in *Coleman-street*, *London*, breaking forth in Arms, under the Command of
their

1660. their Chieftain *Venner*, made an Infurrection in the City, on Pretence of setting up the *Kingdom of Jesus*; who it is said, they expected would come down from Heaven to be their Leader. So little understood they the *Nature of His Kingdom*; though He Himself had declared, *it was not of this World*.

The King, a little before his Arrival in *England*, had, by his *Declaration from Breda*, given Assurance of Liberty to *tender Consciences*; and that no Man should be disquieted, or called in Question for *Difference of Opinion* in Matters of *Religion*, who do not disturb the *Peace of the Kingdom*: Upon this Assurance, Dissenters of all Sorts relied, and held themselves secure. But now, by this frantick Action of a few hot-brain'd Men, the King was, by some, holden discharged from this his ROYAL WORD and PROMISE, in his foregoing *Declaration* publicly given. And hereupon Letters were intercepted and broken open, for Discovery of suspected Plots and Designs against the Government; and not only Dissenters Meetings, of all Sorts, without Distinction were disturbed, but very many were imprisoned in most Parts throughout the Nation; and great Search there was, in all Countries, for suspected Persons, who, if not found at Meetings, were fetch'd in from their own Houses.

The Lord-Lieutenant (so called) of *Oxfordshire* had on this Occasion taken *Thomas Loe*, and many other of our Friends, at a Meeting, and sent them Prisoners to *Oxford Castle*, just before

before my Letter was brought to his Hand, 1660. wherein I had invited *Thomas Loe* to a Meeting; and he, putting the worst Construction upon it, as if I (a poor simple Lad) had intended a *seditious Meeting*, in order to raise *Rebellion*, ordered two of the Deputy-Lieutenants, who lived nearest to me, to send a Party of Horse to fetch me in.

Accordingly, while I (wholly ignorant of what had passed at *Oxford*) was in daily Expectation of an agreeable Answer to my Letter; came a Party of Horse one Morning to my Father's Gate, and asked for me.

It so fell out, that my Father was at that Time from home, I think in *London*; whereupon he that commanded the Party alighted, and came in. My eldest Sister, hearing the Noise of Soldiers, came hastily up into my Chamber, and told me there were Soldiers below who enquired for me. I forthwith went down to them, and found the Commander was a *Barber of Thame*, and one who had always been my *Barber* till I was a *Quaker*. His Name was *Whately*, a bold brisk Fellow.

I asked him, what his Business was with me? He told me, *I must go with him*. I demanded to see his Warrant: He laid his Hand on his Sword and said, *That was his Warrant*. I told him, Though that was not a legal Warrant, yet I would not dispute it; but was ready to bear Injuries. He told me, *He could not help it; he was commanded to bring me forthwith before the Deputy-Lieutenants*; and therefore

1660. therefore desired me *to order an Horse to be got*
 ready, because *he was in haste*. I let him know,
 I had no Horse of my own, and would not
 meddle with any of my Father's Horses, in his
 Absence especially; and that therefore, if he
 would have me with him, he must carry me
 as he could.

He thereupon taking my Sister aside, told
 her *he found I was resolute*, and *his Orders were*
peremptory; wherefore he desired, *that she would*
give Order for an Horse to be made ready for
me; for otherwise he should be forced to mount
me behind a Trooper, which would be very unsuit-
able for me, and which he was very unwilling to
do. She thereupon ordered an Horse to be got
 ready, upon which, when I had taken Leave
 of my Sisters, I mounted and went off, not
 knowing whither he intended to carry me.

He had Orders, it seems, to take some others
 also in a neighbouring Village, whose Names
 he had, but their Houses he did not know.
 Wherefore, as we rode, he asked me, *If I*
knew such and such Men (whom he named) and
where they lived; and when he understood
 that I knew them, he *desired me to shew him*
their Houses. No, said I, I scorn to be an In-
 former against my Neighbours, to bring them
 into Trouble. He thereupon riding to and fro,
 found by Enquiry most of their Houses; but,
 as it happened, found none of them at home,
 at which I was glad.

At length he brought me to the House of
 one called Esquire Clark of Weston by Thame,
 who

who being afterwards Knighted, was called ^{1660.} Sir *John Clark*; a jolly Man, too much addicted to Drinking in *soberer* Times, but was now grown more *licentious* that way, as the Times did now more favour *Debauchery*. He and I had known one another for some Years, though not very intimately, having met sometimes at the Lord *Wenman's* Table.


This *Clark* was one of the Deputy-Lieutenants, whom I was to be brought before. And he had gotten another thither, to join with him in tendering me the Oaths, whom I knew only by Name and Character; he was called Esquire *Knowls of Grays by Henley*, and reputed a Man of better Morals than the other.

I was brought into the Hall, and kept there. And as *Quakers* were not so common then, as they now are (and indeed even yet, the more is the pity, they are not common in that Part of the Country) I was made a Spectacle and Gazing-stock to the Family, and by divers I was diversly set upon. Some spake to me courteously, with Appearance of Compassion; others ruggedly, with evident Tokens of Wrath and Scorn. But though I gave them the Hearing of what they said, which I could not well avoid, yet I said little to them; but keeping my Mind as well retired as I could, I breathed to the Lord for Help and Strength from Him, to bear me up and carry me through this Trial, that I might not sink under it, or be prevailed on by any Means, fair or foul, to do any Thing that might dishonour or displease my GOD.

1660. At length came forth the Justices themselves, W (for so they were, as well as Lieutenants) and after they had saluted me, they discoursed with me pretty familiarly: And though *Clark* would sometimes be a little jocular and waggish (which was somewhat natural to him) yet *Knowls* treated me very civilly, not seeming to take any Offence at my not standing bare before him. And when a young Priest, who, as I understood was Chaplain in the Family, took upon him pragmatically to reprove me for standing with my Hat on before the Magistrates, and snatch'd my Cap from off my Head, *Knowls* in a pleasant manner corrected him, telling him *he mistook himself, in taking a Cap for a Hat* (for mine was a Mountier-cap) and bid him *give it me again*; which he (though unwillingly) doing, I forthwith put it on my Head again, and thenceforward none meddled with me about it.

Then they began to examine me, putting divers Questions to me, relating to the present Disturbances in the Nation, occasioned by the late foolish Insurrection of those frantick *Fifth-monarchy-men*. To all which I readily answered, according to the Simplicity of my Heart, and Innocency of my Hands; for I had neither done nor thought any Evil against the Government.

But they endeavoured to affright me with Threats of Danger; telling me (with *Innuendo's*) that for all my Pretence of Innocency, there was high Matter against me, which, if
I would

I would stand out, would be brought forth, and 1660.
 that under my own Hand. I knew not what 
 they meant by this; but I knew my Innocency,
 and kept to it.

At length, when they saw I regarded not
 their Threats in general, they asked me, *If I*
knew one Thomas Loe, and had written of late
to him. I then remembered my Letter, which
 till then I had not thought of, and thereupon
 frankly told them, That I did both know *Tho-*
mas Loe, and had lately written to him; but
 that as I knew I had written no Hurt, so I did
 not fear any Danger from that Letter. They
 shook their Heads, and said, *It was dangerous to*
write Letters to appoint Meetings in such trouble-
some Times.

They added, *That by appointing a Meeting,*
and endeavouring to gather a Concourse of People
together, in such a Juncture especially as this was,
I had rendered myself a dangerous Person. And
therefore they could do no less, than tender me the
Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; which
therefore they required me to take.


I told them, If I could take any Oath at all,
 I would take the Oath of *Allegiance*; for I owed
 Allegiance to the King. But I durst not take
 any Oath, because my Lord and Master JESUS
 CHRIST, had commanded me not to *swear at*
all; and if I brake His Command, I should
 thereby both dishonour and displease Him.

Hereupon they undertook to reason with me,
 and used many Words to perswade me, That
that Command of Christ related only to common and

1660. *prophane Swearing, not to Swearing before a Magistrate.* I heard them and saw the Weakness of their Arguings, but did not return them any Answer; for I found my present Business was not to dispute, but to suffer; and that it was not safe for me, in this my weak and Childish State especially, to enter into Reasonings with sharp, quick, witty and learned Men, lest I might thereby hurt both the Cause of Truth, which I was to bear Witness to, and myself: Therefore I chose rather to be a Fool, and let them triumph over me, than by my Weakness give them Advantage to triumph over the Truth. And my Spirit being closely exercised in a deep Travail towards the Lord, I earnestly begged of Him, that He would be pleased to keep me faithful to the Testimony He had committed to me, and not suffer me to be taken in any of the Snares which the Enemy laid for me. And, blessed be His holy Name, He heard my Cries, and preserved me out of them.

When the Justices saw they could not bow me to their Wills, they told me *they must send me to Prison.* I told them, I was contented to suffer whatsoever the Lord should suffer them to inflict upon me. Whereupon they withdrew into the Parlour, to consult together what to do with me; leaving me mean while to be gazed on in the Hall.

After a pretty long Stay, they came forth to me again with great Shew of Kindness, telling me, They were *very unwilling to send me to Goal,*
but

but would be as favourable to me as possibly they ^{1660.} could; and that, if I would take the Oaths, they  would pass by all the other Matter, which they had against me. I told them, I knew they could not justly have any Thing against me, for I had neither done, nor intended any Thing against the Government, or against them. And as to the Oaths, I assured them, that my refusing them was meerly Matter of Conscience to me, and that I durst not take any Oath whatsoever, if it were to save my Life.

When they heard this, they left me again, and went and signed a *Mittimus* to send me to Prison at *Oxford* and charged one of the Troopers that brought me thither, who was one of the newly raised Militia-troop, to convey me safe to *Oxford*. But before we departed, they called the Trooper aside, and gave him private Instructions, what he should do with me; which I knew nothing of till I came thither, but expected I should go directly to the Castle.

It was almost dark when we took Horse, and we had about nine or ten Miles to ride, the Weather thick and cold (for it was about the Beginning of the twelfth Month) and I had no Boots, being snatch'd away from home on a sudden, which made me not care to ride very fast. And my Guard, who was a Tradesman in *Thame*, having Confidence in me, that I would not give him the Slip, jogged on without heeding how I followed him.

1660. When I was gone about a Mile on the Way, I overtook my Father's Man, who, without my Knowledge, had followed me at a Distance to *Weston*, and waited there abroad in the Stables, till he understood by some of the Servants, that I was to go to *Oxford*; and then ran before, resolving not to leave me till he saw what they would do with me.

I would have had him return home, but he desired me not to send him back, but let him run on till I came to *Oxford*. I considered that it was a Token of the Fellow's affectionate Kindness to me, and that possibly I might send my Horse home by him; and thereupon stopping my Horse, I bid him, if he would go on, get up behind me. He modestly refused, telling me, *He could run as fast I rid*. But when I had told him, if he would not ride, he should not go forward; he, rather than leave me, leap'd up behind me, and on we went.

But he was not willing I should have gone at all. He had a great Cudgel in his Hand, and a strong Arm to use it; and being a stout Fellow, he had a great mind to fight the Trooper and rescue me. Wherefore he desired me to turn my Horse and ride off. And if the Trooper offered to pursue, leave him to deal with him.

I check'd him sharply for that, and charged him to be quiet, and not think hardly of the poor Trooper, who could do no other nor less than he did; and who, though he had an ill
Journey

Journey in going with me, carried himself ^{1660.} civilly to me. I told him also, that I had no need to fly, for I had done nothing that would bring Guilt or Fear upon me; neither did I go with an ill Will; and this quieted the Man. So on we went; but were so far cast behind the Trooper, that we had lost both Sight and Hearing of him, and I was fain to mend my Pace to get up to him again.

We came pretty late into *Oxford* on the Seventh-day of the Week, which was the Market-day; and contrary to my Expectation (which was to have been carried to the Castle) my Trooper stop'd in the *High-Street*, and calling at a Shop, asked for the Master of the Houle; who coming to the Door, he delivered to him the *Mittimus*, and with it a Letter from the Deputy-Lieutenants (or one of them) which when he had read, he asked *where the Prisoner was*. Whereupon the Soldier pointing to me, he desired me to alight and come in; which when I did, he received me civilly.

The Trooper, being discharged of his Prisoner, marched back, and my Father's Man, seeing me settled in better Quarters than he expected, mounted my Horse and went off with him.


I did not presently understand the Quality of my Keeper; but I found him a genteel, courteous Man, by Trade a *Linen-drapeer*; and, as I afterwards understood, he was the City-Marshall, had a Command in the County

1660. Troop, and was a Person of good Repute in the *W* Place ; his Name was ——— *Galloway*.

Whether I was committed to him out of Regard to my Father, that I might not be thrust into a common Goal ; or out of a politick Design, to keep me from the Conversation of my Friends, in hopes that I might be drawn to abandon this Profession, which I had but lately taken up ; I do not know. But this I know, that though I wanted no civil Treatment, nor kind Accommodations where I was, yet after once I understood, that many Friends were Prisoners in the Castle, and amongst the rest, *Thomas Loe*, I had much rather have been among them there, with all the Inconveniencies they underwent, than where I was with the best Entertainment. But this was my present Lot ; and therefore with this I endeavoured to be content.

It was quickly known in the City, that a *Quaker* was brought in Prisoner and committed to the Marshall. Whereupon, the Men Friends being generally Prisoners already in the Castle, some of the Women Friends came to enquire after me and to visit me ; as *Silas Norton's* Wife, and *Thomas Loe's* Wife, who were Sisters, and another Woman Friend who lived in the same Street where I was, whose Husband was not a *Quaker*, but kindly affected towards them ; a *Baker* by Trade, and his Name, as I remember, ——— *Ryland*.

By some of these an Account was soon given to the Friends, who were Prisoners in the Castle,

Castle, of my being taken up and brought ^{1660.} Prisoner to the Marshall's. Whereupon it  pleased the Lord to move on the Heart of my dear Friend *Thomas Loe*, to salute me with a very tender and affectionate Letter in the following Terms :

My beloved FRIEND,

IN the Truth and Love of the Lord Jesus, by which Life and Salvation is revealed in the Saints, is my dear Love unto thee, and in much Tenderness do I salute thee. And dear Heart, a Time of Trial God hath permitted to come upon us, to try our Faith and Love to Him; and this will work for the Good of them, that through Patience endure to the End. And I believe GOD will be glorified through our Sufferings, and His Name will be exalted in the Patience and Long-suffering of His Chosen. When I heard that thou wast called into this Trial, with the Servants of the Most High, to give thy Testimony to the Truth of what we have believed, it came into my Heart to write unto thee, and to greet thee with the Embraces of the Power of an endless Life; where our Faith stands, and Unity is felt with the Saints for ever. Well, my dear Friend, let us live in the pure Counsel of the Lord, and dwell in His Strength, which gives us Power and Sufficiency to endure all Things, for His Name's-sake; and then our Crown and Reward will be with the Lord for ever, and the Blessings of His heavenly Kingdom will be our Portion.

Oh,

1660. *Ob, dear Heart, let us give up all freely into
 W the Will of God, that God may be glorified by us,
 and we comforted together in the Lord Jesus;
 which is the Desire of my Soul, who am*

Thy dear and loving Friend in the
 eternal Truth,

THOMAS LOE.

We are more than Forty here, who suffer innocently for the Testimony of a good Conscience; because we cannot Swear, and break Christ's Commands: And we are all well; and the Blessing, and Presence of God is with us. Friends here salute thee. Farewel.

The Power and the Wisdom of the Lord God be with thee, Amen.

Greatly was my Spirit refreshed, and my Heart gladdened, at the reading of this consoling Letter from my Friend; and my Soul blessed the Lord for His Love and tender Goodness to me, in moving His Servant to write thus unto me.

But I had Cause soon after to double, and redouble my thankful Acknowledgment to the Lord my God, who put it into the Heart of my dear Friend *Isaac Penington* also, to visit me with some encouraging Lines from *Aylesbury Goal*, where he was then a Prisoner; and from whence (having heard that I was carried Prisoner to *Oxford*) he thus saluted me:

Dear

Dear THOMAS,

1660.
W

Great hath been the Lord's Goodness to thee, in calling thee out of that Path of Vanity and Death, wherein thou wast running towards Destruction; to give thee a living Name, and an Inheritance of Life among His People; which certainly will be the End of thy Faith in Him, and Obedience to Him. And let it not be a light Thing in thine Eyes, that He now accounteth thee worthy to suffer among His choice Lambs, that He might make thy Crown weightier, and thy Inheritance the fuller. O that that Eye and Heart may be kept open in thee, which knoweth the Value of these Things! And that thou mayst be kept close to the Feeling of the Life, that thou mayst be fresh in thy Spirit in the midst of thy Sufferings, and mayst reap the Benefit of them; finding that pared off thereby, which hindereth the Bubbings of the everlasting Springs, and maketh unfit for the breaking forth and Enjoyment of the pure Power! This is the brief Salutation of my dear Love to thee, which desireth thy Strength and Settlement in the Power, and the utter weakning of thee as to Self. My dear Love is to thee, with dear Thomas Goodyare, and the rest of imprisoned Friends. I remain

Thine in the Truth, to which, the Lord
my God preserve thee single and faithful.

From Aylesbury Goal, the
14th of the twelfth
Month, 1660.

I. PENINGTON.


Though

1661. Though these epistolary Visits in the Love
 of God, were very comfortable and confirm-
 ing to me, and my Heart was thankful to the
 Lord for them; yet I honed after personal Con-
 versation with Friends, and it was hard, I
 thought, that there should be so many faithful
 Servants of God so near me, yet I should not
 be permitted to come at them, to enjoy their
 Company, and reap both the Pleasure and Be-
 nefit of their sweet Society.

For although my Marshall-keeper was very
 kind to me, and allowed me the Liberty of his
 House, yet he was not willing I should be
 seen abroad; the rather perhaps, because he
 understood I had been pretty well known in
 that City. Yet once the friendly *Baker* got
 him to let me step over to his House; and once
 (and but once) I prevailed with him, to let me
 visit my Friends in the Castle; but it was with
 these Conditions, That I should not go forth
 till it was dark; That I would muffle myself
 up in my Cloak; and that I would not stay
 out late. All which I punctually observed.

When I came thither, though there were
 many Friends Prisoners, I scarce knew one of
 them by Face, except *Thomas Loe*, whom I
 had once seen at *Isaac Penington's*: Nor did any
 of them know me, though they had generally
 heard, that such a young Man as I, was con-
 vinced of the Truth and come among Friends.

Our Salutation to each other was very grave
 and solemn; nor did we entertain one another
 with much Talk, or with common Discourses;
 but

but most of the little Time I had with them, ^{1661.} was spent in a silent Retiredness of Spirit,  waiting upon the Lord. Yet, before we parted, we imparted one to another some of the Exercises we had gone through; and they seeming willing to understand the Ground and Manner of my Commitment, I gave them a brief Account thereof, letting *Thomas Loe* more particularly know, that I had directed a Letter to him, which, having fallen into the Hand of the Lord-Lieutenant, was (so far as I could learn) the immediate Cause of my being taken up.

Having staid with them as long as my limited Time would permit (which I thought was but very short) that I might keep Touch with my Keeper, and come home in due Time, I took Leave of my Friends there, and with mutual Embraces parting, returned to my (in some sense more easy, but in others less easy) Prison, where after this, I staid not long before I was brought back to my Father's House.

For after my Father was come home, who, as I observed before, was from home when I was taken, he applied himself to those Justices that had committed me, and not having disoblinded them when he was in Office, easily obtained to have me sent home; which between him and them was thus contrived.

There was about this Time a general Muster and Training of the militia Forces at *Oxford*; whither, on that Occasion, came the Lord-Lieutenant, and the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County

1661. County, of which Number, they who committed me were two.

When they had been a while together, and the Marshall with them, he stept suddenly in, and in haste told me, *I must get ready quickly to go out of Town, and that a Soldier would come by and by to go with me.* This said, he hastned to them again, not giving me any Intimation how I was to go, or whither.

I needed not much Time to get ready in ; but I was uneasy in thinking what the Friends of the Town would think of this my sudden and private Removal ; and I feared lest any Report should be raised, that I had purchased my Liberty by an unfaithful Compliance. Wherefore I was in Care how to speak with some Friend about it ; and that friendly *Baker*, whose Wife was a Friend, living on the other Side of the Street at a little Distance, I went out at a back Door, intending to step over the Way to their House, and return immediately.

It so fell out, that some of the Lieutenants (of whom Esquire *Clark*, who committed me, was one) were standing in a Balcony at a great Inn or Tavern, just over the Place where I was to go by ; and he spying me, called out to the Soldiers, who stood thick below in the Street, to stop me. They, being generally Gentlemens Servants, and many of them knowing me, did civilly forbear to lay hold on me, but calling modestly after me, said, *Stay, Sir, stay ; pray come back.* I heard, but was not willing to hear, therefore rather mended my Pace, that I might

might have got within the Door. But he calling ^{1661.} earnestly after me, and charging them to stop ^w me, some of them were fain to run, and laying hold on me before I could open the Door, brought me back to my Place again.

Being thus disappointed, I took a Pen and Ink and wrote a few Lines, which I sealed up, and gave to the Apprentice in the Shop, who had carried himself handsomely to me, and desired him to deliver it to that Friend who was their Neighbour, which he promised to do.

By that Time I had done this, came the Soldier that was appointed to conduct me out of Town. I knew the Man, for he lived within a Mile of me, being through Poverty reduced to keep an Ale-house; but he had lived in better fashion, having kept an Inn at *Thame*, and by that means knew how to behave himself civilly, and did so to me.

He told me, he was ordered to wait on me to *Whately*, and to tarry there at such an Inn, till Esquire *Clark* came thither, who would then take me home with him in his Coach. Accordingly to *Whately* we walked (which is from *Oxford* some four or five Miles) and long we had not been there, before *Clark* and a great Company of rude Men came in.

He alighted, and staid a while to eat and drink (though he came but from *Oxford*) and invited me to eat with him; but I, though I had need enough, refused it, for indeed their Conversation was a Burthen to my Life, and made me often think of, and pity good *Lot*.


He

1661. He seem'd at that Time to be in a sort of
 W mixt Temper, between Pleasantness and Sour-
 ness. He would sometimes joke (which was
 natural to him) and cast out a jesting Flirt at
 me ; but he would rail maliciously against the
Quakers. *If, said he to me, the King would*
authorize me to do it, I would not leave a Quaker
alive in England, except you. I would make no
more, added he, *to set my Pistol to their Ears,*
and shoot them through the Head, than I would to
kill a Dog. I told him, I was sorry he had so
 ill an Opinion of the *Quakers*, but I was glad
 he had no Cause for it, and I hoped he would
 be of a better Mind.

I had in my Hand a little Walking-stick
 with a Head on it, which he commended, and
 took out of my Hand to look on it ; but I saw
 his Intention was to search it, whether it had
 a Tuck in it, for he tried to have drawn the
 Head ; but when he found it was fast, he re-
 turned it to me.

He told me, *I should ride with him to his*
House in his Coach, which was nothing pleasant
 to me ; for I had rather have gone on Foot (as
 bad as the Ways were) that I might have been
 out of his Company. Wherefore I took no
 Notice of any Kindness in the Offer, but only
 answered, *I was at his Disposal, not mine own.*

But when we were ready to go, the Marshall
 came to me, and told me, *If I pleas'd I should*
ride his Horse, and he would go in the Coach with
Mr. Clark. I was glad of the Offer, and only
 told him, he should take out his Pistols then,
 for

for I would not ride with them. He took them ^{1661.} out, and laid them in the Coach by him, and  away we went.

It was a very fine Beast that I was set on, by much the best in the Company. But tho' she was very tall, yet the Ways being very foul, I found it needful, as soon as I was out of Town, to alight and take up the Stirrups. Mean while, they driving hard on, I was so far behind, that being at length missed by the Company, a Soldier was sent back to look after me.

As soon as I had fitted my Stirrups and was remounted, I gave the Rein to my Mare, which being courageous and nimble, and impatient of Delay, made great Speed to recover the Company. And in a narrow Passage, the Soldier, who was my *Barber* that had fetch'd me from home, and I met upon so brisk a Gallop, that we had enough to do on either Side, to take up our Horses and avoid a Brush.

When we were come to *Weston* where Esquire *Clark* lived, he took the Marshall and some others with him into the Parlour; but I was left in the Hall, to be exposed a second Time for the Family to gaze on.

At length himself came out to me, leading in his Hand a beloved Daughter of his, a young Woman of about eighteen Years of Age, who wanted nothing to have made her comely, but Gravity. An airy Piece she was; and very merry she made herself at me. When she had thoroughly viewed me, he, putting her a little
I forward

1661. forward towards me, said, *Here, Tom, will you*
 W *kiss her?* I was grieved and ashamed at this
 frothy Lightness, and I suppose he perceived it ;
 whereupon he drew nearer, as if he would
 have whispered, and then said, *Will you lie with*
her? At which I, with a disdainful Look, turn-
 ing away, he said, *I think it would be better for*
you, than to be a Quaker ; and so little Con-
 sideration and Regard to Modesty had she, that
 she added, *I think so too.*

This was all by Candle-light. And when
 they had made themselves as much Sport with
 me as they would, the Marshall took his Leave
 of them, and mounting me on a Horse of
 Clark's, had me home to my Father's that
 Night.

Next Morning, before the Marshall went
 away, my Father and he consulted together
 how to intangle me. I felt there were Snares
 laid, but I did not know in what Manner or to
 what End, till the Marshall was ready to go.
 And then, coming where I was to take his
 Leave of me, he desired me to take Notice,
That altho' he had brought me home to my Father's
House again, yet I was not discharged from my
Imprisonment, but was his Prisoner still ; and
that he had committed me to the Care of my
Father, to see me forth-coming whenever I should
be called for. And therefore he expected I should
in all Things observe my Father's Orders ; and
not go at any Time from the House without his
Leave.

Now

Now I plainly saw the Snare, and to what End it was laid. And I asked him, if this Device was not contrived to keep me from going to Meetings? He said, *I must not go to Meetings.* Whereupon I desired him to take Notice, That I would not own myself a Prisoner to any Man while I continued here. That if he had Power to detain me Prisoner, he might take me back again with him if he would, and I should not refuse to go with him. But I bid him assure himself, that while I was at home, I would take my Liberty both to go to Meetings and to visit Friends. He smiled and said, *If I would be resolute, he could not help it*; and so took his Leave of me,

By this I perceived that the Plot was of my Father's laying, to have brought me under such an Engagement, as should have tied me from going to Meetings; and thereupon I expected I should have a new Exercise from my Father.

It was the constant manner of my Father, to have all the Keys of the Out-doors of his House (which were four, and those linkt upon a Chain) brought up into his Chamber every Night, and fetch'd out from thence in the Morning; so that none could come in or go out, in the Night, without his Knowledge.

I knowing this, suspected that if I got not out before my Father came down, I should be stopped from going out at all that Day. Wherefore (the Passage from my Chamber lying by his Chamber-door) I went down softly without my Shoes, and as soon as the Maid had opened

1661. the Door, I went out (though too early) and
 walk'd towards the Meeting at *Meadle*, four long
 Miles off.

I expected to have been talked with about it
 when I came home, but heard nothing of it,
 my Father resolving to watch me better next
 Time.

This I was aware of ; and therefore on the
 next First-day I got up early, went down softly,
 and hid myself in a Back-room before the Maid
 was stirring.


When she was up, she went into my Father's
 Chamber for the Keys ; but he bid her leave
 them till he was up, and he would bring
 them down himself ; which he did, and tarried
 in the Kitchen, through which he expected I
 would go.

The manner was, That when the common
 Doors were opened, the Keys were hung upon
 a Pin in the Hall. While therefore my Father
 staid in the Kitchen expecting my coming, I
 stepping gently out of the Room where I was,
 reached the Keys, and opening another Door
 (not often used) slipped out and so got away.

I thought I had gone off undiscovered. But
 whether my Father saw me through a Win-
 dow, or by what other means he knew of my
 going, I know not ; but I had gone but a little
 Way, before I saw him coming after me.

The Sight of him put me to a Stand in my
 Mind, whether I should go on or stop. Had
 it been in any other Case than that of going to
 a Meeting, I could not in any wise have gone a

Step

Step further. But I considered, that the Intent ^{1661.} of my Father's endeavouring to stop me, was  to hinder me from obeying the Call of my heavenly Father, and to stop me from going to worship Him in the Assembly of His People; upon this I found it my Duty to go on, and observing that my Father gained Ground upon me, I somewhat mended my Pace.

This he observing, mended his Pace also, and at length ran. Whereupon I ran also; and a fair Courte we had through a large Meadow of his, which lay behind his House and out of Sight of the Town. He was not, I suppose, then above fifty Years of Age, and being light of Body and nimble of Foot, he held me to it for a while. But afterwards slackening his Pace to take Breath, and observing that I had gotten Ground of him, he turned back and went home; and (as I afterwards understood) telling my Sisters how I had served him, he said, *Nay, if he will take so much Pains to go, let him go if he will.* And from that Time forward he never attempted to stop me, but left me to my Liberty, to go when and whither I would; yet kept me at the usual Distance, avoiding the Sight of me as much as he could, as not able to bear the Sight of my Hat on, nor willing to contend with me again about it.

Nor was it long after this, before I was left not only to myself, but in a manner by myself. For the Time appointed for the Coronation of the King (which was the 23d of the second Month, called *April*) drawing on, my Father

1661. taking my two Sisters with him, went up to
 W London some Time before, that they might be
 there in Readiness, and put themselves into a
 Condition to see that so great a Solemnity,
 leaving no body in the House but myself and
 a couple of Servants. And though this was in-
 tended only for a Visit on that Occasion, yet it
 proved the Breaking of the Family; for he be-
 stowed both his Daughters there in Marriage,
 and took Lodgings for himself, so that after-
 wards they never returned to settle at *Crowell*.

Being now at Liberty, I walked over to *Ayles-
 bury*, with some other Friends, to visit my dear
 Friend *Isaac Penington*, who was still a Prisoner
 there. With him I found dear *John Whithead*,
 and between sixty and seventy more, being
 well nigh all the Men Friends that were then
 in the County of *Bucks*; many of them were
 taken out of their Houses by armed Men, and
 sent to Prison (as I had been) for refusing to
 Swear. Most of these were thrust into an old
 Room behind the Goal, which had anciently
 been a Malt-house, but was now so decayed,
 that it was scarce fit for a Dog-house. And so
 open it lay, that the Prisoners might have gone
 out at pleasure. But these were purposely put
 there, in Confidence that they would not go
 out, that there might be Room in the Prison
 for others, of other Professions and Names,
 whom the Goaler did not trust there.

While this Imprisonment lasted, which was
 for some Months, I went afterwards thither
 sometimes to visit my suffering Brethren; and
 because

because it was a pretty long Way (some eight ^{1661.} or nine Miles) too far to be walked forward ^w and backward in one Day, I sometimes staid a Day or two there, and lay in the Malt-house among my Friends, with whom I delighted to be.

After this Imprisonment was over, I went sometimes to *Isaac Penington's* House at *Chalfont*, to visit that Family and the Friends thereabouts. There was then a Meeting, for the most part, twice a Week in his House; but one First-day in four, there was a more general Meeting (which was thence called the *Monthly-Meeting*) to which resorted most of the Friends of other adjacent Meetings; and to that I usually went, and sometimes made some Stay there.

Here I came acquainted with a Friend of *London*, whose Name was *Richard Greenaway*, by Trade a *Taylor*, a very honest Man, and one who had received a Gift for the Ministry.

He, having been formerly in other Professions of Religion, had then been acquainted with one *John Ovy* of *Watlington* in *Oxfordshire*, (a Man of some Note among the Professors there) and understanding, upon Enquiry, that I knew him, he had some Discourse with me about him. The Result whereof was, that he, having an Intention then shortly to visit some Meetings of Friends in this County, and the adjoining Parts of *Oxfordshire* and *Berkshire*, invited me to meet him (upon Notice given) and to bear him Company in that Journey;

1661. and in the Way bring him to *John Ovy's* House, with whom I was well acquainted; which I did.

We were kindly received, the Man and his Wife being very glad to see both their old Friend *Richard Greenaway* and me also, whom they had been very well acquainted with formerly, but had never seen me since I was a *Quaker*.

Here we tarried that Night, and in the Evening had a little Meeting there with some few of *John Ovy's* People, amongst whom *Richard Greenaway* declared the TRUTH; which they attentively heard and did not oppose, which at that time of Day we reckoned was pretty well; for many were apt to cavil.

This Visit gave *John Ovy* an Opportunity to enquire of me after *Isaac Penington*, whose Writings (those which he had written before he came among Friends) he had read, and had a great Esteem of; and he express'd a Desire to see him, that he might have some Discourse with him, if he knew how. Whereupon I told him, that if he would take the Pains to go to his House, I would bear him Company thither, introduce him, and engage he should have a kind Reception.

This pleased him much; and he embracing the Offer, I undertook to give him Notice of a suitable Time; which (after I had gone this little Journey with my Friend *Richard Greenaway*, and was returned) I did, making Choice of the *Monthly-meeting* to go to.

We

We met by Appointment at *Stoken-Church*, 1661. with our Staves in our Hands like a couple of Pilgrims, intending to walk on Foot; and having taken some Refreshment and Rest at *Wiccomb*, went on cheerfully in the Afternoon, entertaining each other with grave and religious Discourse, which made the Walk the easier, and so reached thither in good Time, on the Seventh-day of the Week.

I gave my Friends an Account who this Person was, whom I had brought to visit them, and the Ground of his Visit. He had been a Professor of Religion, from his Childhood to his old Age (for he was now both grey-headed, and elderly) and was a Teacher at this Time, and had long been so amongst a People, whether *Independants* or *Baptists*, I do not well remember. And so well thought of he was, for his Zeal and Honesty, that in those late professing Times, he was thrust into the *Commission of the Peace*, and thereby lifted up upon the Bench; which neither became him, nor he it. For he wanted indeed most of the Qualifications requisite for a Justice of the Peace; an Estate to defray the Charge of the Office, and to bear him up in a Course of living above Contempt; a competent Knowledge in the Laws, and a Presence of Mind or Body, or both, to keep Offenders in some Awe; in all which he was deficient. For he was but a *Fellmonger* by Trade, accustomed to ride upon his Pack of Skins; and had very little Estate; as little Knowledge in the Law; and of but a mean

1661. mean Prefence and Appearance to look on.
 But as my Father I suppose, was the Means of getting him put into the Commission, so he, I know, did what he could to countenance him in it, and help him through it at every Turn, till that Turn came (at the King's Return) which turned them both out together.

My Friends received me in affectionate Kindness, and my Companion with courteous Civility. The Evening was spent in common, but grave Conversation; for it was not a proper Season for private Discourse, both as we were somewhat weary with our Walk, and there were other Companies of Friends come into the Family, to be at the Meeting next Day.

But in the Morning I took *John Ovy* into a private Walk, in a pleasant Grove near the House, whither *Isaac Penington* came to us; and there, in Discourse, both answered all his Questions, Objections and Doubts, and opened to him the Principles of TRUTH, to his both Admiration and present Satisfaction. Which done, we went in to take some Refreshment before the Meeting began.

Of those Friends who were come over Night, in order to be at the Meeting, there was *Isaac's* Brother *William Penington*, a Merchant of *London*; and with him a Friend (whose Name I have forgotten) a *Grocer* of *Colchester* in *Essex*; and there was also our Friend *George Whitehead*, whom I had not, that I remember, seen before.

The Nation had been in a Ferment ever ^{1661.} since that mad Action of the frantick *Fifth-monarchy-men*, and was not yet settled; but Storms, like Thunder-showers, flew here and there by Coast, so that we could not promise ourselves any Safety or Quiet in our Meetings. And though they had escaped Disturbance for some little Time before, yet so it fell out, that a Party of Horse were appointed to come and break up the Meeting that Day, though we knew nothing of it, till we heard and saw them.

The Meeting was scarce fully gathered when they came. But we that were in the Family, and many others, were settled in it in great Peace and Stillness, when on a sudden the prancing of the Horses gave Notice that Lightning was at hand.

We all sat still in our Places, except my Companion *John Ovy*, who sat next to me. But he being of a Profession that approved *Peter's* Advice to his Lord, *To save himself*, soon took the Alarm; and with the Nimbleness of a Stripling, cutting a Caper over the Form that stood before him, ran quickly out at a private Door (which he had before observed) which led through the Parlour into the Gardens, and from thence into an Orchard; where he hid himself in a Place so obscure, and withal so convenient for his Intelligence by Observation of what passed, that no one of the Family could scarce have found a likelier.

1661. By that Time he was got into his Burrow, came the Soldiers in, being a Party of the County Troop, commanded by *Matthew Archdale* of *Wiccomb*. He behaved himself civilly, and said, *He was commanded to break up the Meeting, and carry the Men before a Justice of the Peace; but, he said, he would not take all;* and thereupon began to pick and chuse, chiefly as his Eye guided him, for I suppose he knew very few.

He took *Isaac Penington* and his Brother, *George Whitehead* and the Friend of *Colchester*, and me, with three or four more of the Country, who belonged to that Meeting.

He was not fond of the Work, and that made him take no more. *But he must take some,* he said; and bid us provide to go with him before *Sir William Boyer* of *Denbam*, who was a Justice of the Peace. *Isaac Penington* being but weakly, rode; but the rest of us walked thither, it being about four Miles.

When we came there, the Justice carried himself civilly to us all, courteously to *Isaac Penington*, as being a Gentleman of his Neighbourhood, and there was nothing charged against us, but that we were met together without Word or Deed. Yet this being contrary to a late Proclamation (given forth upon the rising of the *Fifth-monarchy-men*) whereby all Dissenters Meetings were forbidden, the Justice could do no less than take Notice of us.

Wherefore he examined all of us (whom he did not personally know) asking our Names, and

and the Places of our respective Habitations. 1661. But when he had them, and considered from what distant Parts of the Nation we came, he was amazed. For *George Whitehead* was of *Westmorland* in the North of *England*; the *Grocer* was of *Essex*; I was of *Oxfordshire*; and *William Penington* was of *London*.

Hereupon he told us, *That our Case look'd ill, and he was sorry for it: For how, said he, can it be imagined that so many could jump altogether at one Time and Place, from such remote Quarters and Parts of the Kingdom, if it was not by Combination and Appointment?*

He was answered, That we were so far from coming thither by Agreement or Appointment, that none of us knew of the others coming, and for the most of us, we had never seen one another before; and that therefore he might impute it to *Chance*, or, if he pleased, to *Providence*.

He urged upon us, *That an Insurrection had been lately made by armed Men, who pretended to be more religious than others; that that Insurrection had been plotted and contrived in their Meeting-house, where they assembled under Colour of worshipping GOD; that in their Meeting-house they hid their Arms, and armed themselves, and out of their Meeting-house issued forth in Arms, and killed many; so that the Government could not be safe, unless such Meetings were suppress'd.*

We reply'd, We hoped he would distinguish, and make a Difference between the *Guilty* and the *Innocent*; and between those who were principled

1661. principled for *Fighting*, and those who were
 principled *against it*; which we were, and had
 been always known to be so. That our Meet-
 ings were publick, our Doors standing open
 to all Comers, of all Ages, Sexes and Perswa-
 sions; Men, Women and Children, and those
 that were not of our Religion, as well as those
 that were; and that it was next to Madness,
 for People to plot in such Meetings.

He told us, *We must find Sureties for our good Behaviour, and to answer our Contempt of the King's Proclamation at the next General Quarter-Sessions; or else he must commit us.*

We told him, That knowing our Innocency, and that we had not mis-behaved ourselves, nor did meet in Contempt of the King's Authority, but purely in Obedience to the LORD's Requirings, to worship Him, which we held ourselves in Duty bound to do, we could not consent to be bound, for that would imply Guilt, which we were free from.

Then, said he, *I must commit you*: And ordered his Clerk to make a *Mittimus*. And divers *Mittimusses* were made, but none of them would hold; for still, when they came to be read, we found such Flaws in them, as made him throw them aside and write more.

He had his Eye often upon me, for I was a young Man, and had at that Time a black Suit on. At length he bid me follow him, and went into a private Room and shut the Door upon me.

I knew not what he meant by this ; but I^{1661.} cried in Spirit to the Lord, that He would be pleased to be a Mouth and Wisdom to me, and keep me from being entangled in any Snare.

He asked me many Questions concerning my Birth, my Education, my Acquaintance in *Oxfordshire* ; particularly *what Men of Note I knew there*. To all which I gave him brief, but plain and true Answers, naming several Families of the best Rank, in that Part of the Country where I dwelt.

He asked me, *How long I had been of this Way, and how I came to be of it ?* Which when I had given him some Account of, he began to persuade me to leave it, and return to the right Way (the *Church*, as he called it.) I desired him to spare his Pains in that Respect, and forbear any Discourse of that kind, for that I was fully satisfied, the Way I was in was the right Way, and hoped the Lord would so preserve me in it, that nothing should be able to draw or drive me out of it. He seemed not pleased with that ; and thereupon went out to the rest of the Company, and I followed him, glad in my Heart that I had escaped so well, and praising God for my Deliverance.

When he had taken his Seat again at the upper End of a fair Hall, he told us, he was not willing to take the utmost Rigour of the Law against us, but would be as favourable to us as he could. And therefore he would discharge, he said, Mr. *Penington* himself, because
he

1661. he was but at home in his own House. And
 W he would discharge Mr. *Penington* of *London*,
 because he came but as a Relation to visit his
 Brother. And he would discharge the *Grocer*
 of *Colchester*, because he came to bear Mr. *Pen-*
ington of *London* Company, and to be acquaint-
 ed with Mr. *Isaac Penington*, whom he had
 never seen before. And as for those others of
 us, who were of this Country, he would dis-
 charge them, for the present at least, because
 they being his Neighbours, he could fend for
 them when he would. *But as for you*, said he
 to *George Whitehead* and me, *I can see no Business*
you had there ; and therefore I intend to hold you
to it, either to give Bail, or go to Goal.

We told him we could not give Bail. *Then*,
 said he, *you must go to Goal* ; and thereupon he
 began to write our *Mittimus* ; which puzzled
 him again. For he had discharged so many,
 that he was at a Loss what to lay as the
 Ground of our Commitment, whose Case dif-
 fered nothing in reality from theirs whom he
 had discharged.

At length, having made divers Draughts
 (which still *George Whitehead* shewed him the
 Defects of) he seemed to be weary of us ; and
 rising up said unto us, *I consider that it is grown*
late in the Day, so that the Officer cannot carry
you to Aylesbury to Night, and I suppose you
will be willing to go back with Mr. Penington ;
therefore if you will promise to be forth-coming
at his House To-morrow Morning, I will dismiss

you for the present, and you shall hear from me again To-morrow. 1661
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We told him, we did intend, if he did not otherwise dispose of us, to spend that Night with our Friend *Isaac Penington*, and would (if the LORD gave us Leave) be there in the Morning, ready to answer his Requirings. Whereupon he dismiss us all, willing, as we thought, to be rid of us; for he seemed not to be of an ill Temper, nor desirous to put us to Trouble if he could help it.

Back then we went to *Isaac Penington's*. But when we were come thither, O the Work we had with poor *John Ovy*! He was so dejected in Mind, so covered with Shame and Confusion of Face for his Cowardliness, that we had enough to do to pacify him towards himself.

The Place he had found out to shelter himself in, was so commodiously contrived, that undiscovered he could discern when the Soldiers went off with us, and understand when the Bustle was over, and the Coast clear. Whereupon he adventured to peep out of his Hole, and in a while drew near, by degrees, to the House again; and finding all Things quiet and still, he adventured to step within the Doors, and found the Friends, who were left behind, peaceably settled in the Meeting again.

The Sight of this smote him, and made him sit down among them. And after the Meeting was ended, and the Friends departed to their several Homes, addressing himself to *Mary Penington* (as the Mistress of the House)

1661. he could not enough magnify the Bravery and
 W Courage of the Friends, nor sufficiently debase
 himself. He told her how long he had been
 a Professor, what Pains he had taken, what
 Hazards he had run, in his youthful Days, to
 get to Meetings; how, when the Ways were
 forelaid, and Passages stopt, he swam through
 Rivers to reach a Meeting; *And now, said*
he, that I am grown old in the Profession of Re-
ligion, and have long been an Instructor and En-
courager of others; that I should thus shamefully
fall short myself, is matter of Shame and Sorrow
to me.

Thus he bewailed himself to her. And
 when we came back, he renewed his Com-
 plaints of himself to us, with high Aggrava-
 tions of his own Cowardice. Which gave
 Occasion to some of the Friends, tenderly to
 represent to him the Difference between *Pro-*
fession and Possession; Form and Power.

He was glad, he said, on our Behalfts, that we
came off so well, and escaped Imprisonment.

But when he understood that *George White-*
head and I were liable to an After-reckoning
 next Morning, he was troubled; and wish'd the
 Morning was come and gone, that we might
 be gone with it.

We spent the Evening in grave Conversa-
 tion, and in religious Discourses, attributing
 the Deliverance, we hitherto had, to the LORD.
 And the next Morning when we were up and
 had eaten, we tarried some Time to see what
 the Justice would do further with us, and to
 discharge

discharge our Engagement to him ; the rest of ^{1661.} the Friends, who were before fully discharged, ^W tarrying also with us to see the Event.

And when we had staid so long, that on all Hands it was concluded we might safely go, *George Whitehead* and I left a few Words in Writing, to be sent to the Justice, if he sent after us, importing that we had tarried till such an Hour, and not hearing from him, did now hold ourselves free to depart ; yet so, as that if he should have Occasion to send for us again, upon Notice thereof we would return.

This done, we took our Leave of the Family, and one of another ; they who were for *London* taking Horse, and I and my Companion, setting forth on Foot for *Oxfordshire*, went to *Wiccomb*, where we made a short Stay to rest and refresh ourselves, and from thence reached our respective Homes that Night.

After I had spent some Time at home, where, as I had no Restraint, so (my Sisters being gone) I had now no Society, I walked up to *Chalfont* again, and spent a few Days with my Friends there.

As soon as I came in, I was told, that my Father had been there that Day to see *Isaac Penington* and his Wife ; but they being abroad at a Meeting, he returned to his Inn in the Town, where he intended to lodge that Night. After Supper, *Mary Penington* told me, she had a mind to go and see him at his Inn (the Woman of the House being a Friend of ours) and I went with her. He seem'd somewhat


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surprized

1661. surprized to see me there, because he thought I had been at home at his House ; but he took no Notice of my Hat, at least shewed no Offence at it ; for, as I afterwards understood, he had now an Intention to sell his Estate, and thought he should need my Concurrence therein ; which made him now hold it necessary to admit me again into some degree of Favour. After we had tarried some little Time with him, she rising up to be gone, he waited on her home, and having spent about an Hour with us in the Family, I waited on him back to his Inn. On the Way, he invited me to come up to *London* to see my Sisters ; the younger of whom was then newly married, and directed me where to find them ; and also gave me Money to defray my Charges. Accordingly I went ; yet staid not long there, but returned to my Friend *Isaac Penington's* where I made a little Stay, and from thence went back to *Crowell*.

When I was ready to set forth, my Friend *Isaac Penington* was so kind to send a Servant with a Brace of Geldings, to carry me as far as I thought fit to ride, and to bring the Horses back. I, intending to go no farther that Day than to *Wiccomb*, rode no farther than to *Beaconsfield* Town's-end, having then but five Miles to walk. But here a new Exercise befel me, the manner of which was thus :

Before I had walked to the Middle of the Town, I was stopt and taken up by the Watch. I asked the Watchman, What Authority he had to stop me, travelling peaceably
on

on the High-way? He told me he would shew ^{1661.} me his Authority; and in order thereunto,  had me into an House hard-by, where dwelt a *Scrivener* whose Name was *Pepys*. To him he gave the Order which he had received from the Constables, which directed him to take up all Rogues, Vagabonds and sturdy Beggars. I asked him, For which of these he stopped me; but he could not answer me.

I thereupon informed him, what a *Rogue* in Law is, *viz.* One, who for some notorious Offence was burnt on the Shoulder; and I told them, they might search me if they pleased, and see if I was so branded. A *Vagabond*, I told them, was One that had no Dwelling-house, nor certain Place of abode; but I had, and was going to it; and I told them where it was. And for a *Beggar*, I bid them bring any one that could say, I had begged or asked Relief.

This stopt the Fellow's Mouth, yet he would not let me go; but, being both weak-headed and strong-willed, he left me there with the *Scrivener*, and went out to seek the Constable; and having found him, brought him thither. He was a young Man, by Trade a *Tanner*, somewhat better mannered than his Wardsmen, but not of much better Judgment.

He took me with him to his House. And having settled me there, went out to take Advice, as I supposed, what to do with me; leaving no Body in the House to guard me,

1661. but his Wife, who had a young Child in her Arms.


She enquired of me, upon what Account I was taken up ; and seeming to have some Pity for me, endeavoured to perswade me not to stay, but to go my way ; offering to shew me a Back-way from their House, which would bring me into the Road again beyond the Town, so that none of the Town should see me, or know what was become of me. But I told her, I could not do so.

Then having sate a while in a muze, she asked me, *If there was not a Place of Scripture which said, Peter was at a Tanner's House?* I told her there was such a Scripture, and directed her where to find it.

After some Time, she laid her Child to sleep in the Cradle, and slept out on a sudden ; but came not in again in a pretty while.

I was uneasy that I was left alone in the House, fearing lest, if any Thing should be missing, I might be suspected to have taken it ; yet I durst not go out to stand in the Street, lest it should be thought I intended to slip away.

But besides that, I soon found Work to employ myself in ; for the Child quickly waking, fell to crying, and I was fain to rock the Cradle in my own Defence, that I might not be annoyed with a Noise, to me not more unpleasant than unusual. At length the Woman came in again, and finding me nursing the Child,

Child, gave me many Thanks, and seemed ^{1661.} well pleased with my Company. 

When Night came on, the Constable himself came in again, and told me, *Some of the Chief of the Town were met together, to consider what was fit to do with me; and that I must go with him to them.* I went, and he brought me to a little nasty Hut, which they called a *Town-house* (adjoining to their Market-house) in which dwelt a poor old Woman whom they called *Mother Grime*, where also the Watch used by Turns, to come in and warm themselves in the Night.

When I came in among them, they looked (some of them) somewhat sourly on me, and ask'd me some impertinent Questions; to which I gave them suitable Answers.

Then they consulted one with another, how they should dispose of me that Night, till they could have me before some Justice of Peace to be examined. Some proposed, *That I should be had to some Inn, or other publick House, and a Guard set on me there.* He that started this was probably an Inn-keeper, and consulted his own Interest. Others objected against this, *That it would bring a Charge on the Town.* To avoid which, they were for having the Watch take Charge of me, and keep me walking about the Streets with them till Morning. Most Voices seemed to go this Way; till a third wished them to consider, *Whether they could answer the doing of that, and the Law would bear them out in it?* And this put them to a

1661. Stand. I heard all their Debates, but let them
 alone, and kept my Mind to the LORD.


While they thus bandied the Matter to and fro, one of the Company asked the rest, *If any of them knew who this young Man was, and whither he was going?* Whereupon the Constable (to whom I had given both my Name, and the Name of the Town where I dwelt) told them my Name was *Ellwood*, and that I lived at a Town called *Crowell* in *Oxfordshire*.

Old mother *Grime*, sitting by and hearing this, clap'd her Hand on her Knee, and cry'd out, *I know Mr. Ellwood of Crowell very well. For when I was a Maid I lived with his Grandfather there, when he was a young Man.* And thereupon she gave them such an Account of my Father, as made them look more regardfully on me; and so Mother *Grime's* Testimony turned the Scale, and took me off from walking the Rounds with the Watch that Night.

The Constable hereupon bid them take no further Care, I should lie at his House that Night, and accordingly took me home with him, where I had as good Accommodation as the House did afford. Before I went to Bed, he told me, *That there was to be a Visitation, or Spiritual Court (as he called it) holden next Day at Amersham, about four Miles from Beaconsfield, and that I was to be carried thither.*

This was a new Thing to me, and it brought a fresh Exercise upon my Mind. But being given up, in the Will of God, to suffer what

He

He should permit to be laid on me, I endeavoured to keep my Mind quiet and still. 166r. 

In the Morning, as soon as I was up, my Spirit was exercised towards the Lord, in strong Cries to Him, that He would stand by me, and preserve me, and not suffer me to be taken in the Snare of the Wicked. While I was thus crying to the LORD, the other Constable came, and I was called down.


This was a budge Fellow, and talked high. He was a *Shoe-maker* by Trade, and his Name was *Clark*. He threat'ned me with the *Spiritual Court*. But when he saw I did not regard it, he stopt, and left the Matter to his Partner, who pretended more Kindness for me, and therefore went about to perswade *Clark*, to let me go out at the Back-door, so slip away.

The Plot, I suppose, was so laid, that *Clark* should seem averse, but at length yield, which he did; but would have me take it for a Favour. But I was so far from taking it so, that I would not take it at all; but told them plainly, That as I came in at the Fore-door, so I would go out at the Fore-door. When therefore they saw they could not bow me to their Will, they brought me out at the Fore-door into the Street, and wished me a good Journey. Yet before I went, calling for the Woman of the House, I paid her for my Supper and Lodging, for I had now got a little Money in my Pocket again.


1661. After this I got home (as I thought) very well; but I had not been long at home, before an Illness seized on me, which proved to be the *Small-pox*. Of which, so soon as Friends had Notice, I had a Nurse sent me; and in a while *Isaac Penington*, and his Wife's Daughter *Guilhelma Maria Springett* (to whom I had been Play-fellow in our Infancy) came to visit me, bringing with them our dear Friend *Edward Burrough*, by whose Ministry I was called to the Knowledge of the Truth.

It pleased the Lord to deal favourably with me in this Illness, both inwardly and outwardly. For His supporting Presence was with me, which kept my Spirit near unto Him; and though the Distemper was strong upon me, yet I was preserved through it, and my Countenance was not much altered by it. But after I was got up again, and while I kept my Chamber, wanting some Employment for Entertainment-sake, to spend the Time with, and there being at hand a pretty good Library of Books (amongst which were the Works of *Augustine*, and others of those ancient Writers, who were by many called the *Fathers*) I betook myself to Reading. And these Books being printed in the old Black-letter, with Abbreviations of the Words, difficult to be read, I spent too much Time therein, and thereby much impaired my Sight, which was not strong before, and was now weaker than usual, by reason of the Illness I had so newly had,

which

which proved an Injury to me afterwards ; for 1661.
 which Reason I here mention it. 

After I was well enough to go abroad, with respect to my own Health, and the Safety of others, I went up (in the Beginning of the Twelfth Month 1661) to my Friend *Isaac Pennington's* at *Chalfont*, and abode there some Time, for the airing myself more fully, that I might be more fit for Conversation.

I mentioned before, that when I was a Boy, 1662.
 I had made some good Progress in Learning, and lost it all again before I came to be a Man ; nor was I rightly sensible of my Loss therein, until I came amongst the *Quakers*. But then I both saw my Loss, and lamented it ; and applied myself with utmost Diligence, at all leisure Times, to recover it ; so false I found that Charge to be, which in those Times was cast, as a Reproach upon the *Quakers*, That *they despised and decried all human Learning* ; because they denied it to be essentially necessary to a *Gospel-ministry*, which was one of the Controversies of those Times. 

But though I toiled hard and spared no Pains, to regain what once I had been Master of ; yet I found it a Matter of so great Difficulty, that I was ready to say as the noble Eunuch to *Philip* in another Case, *How can I, unless I had some Man to guide me ?*

This I had formerly complained of to my especial Friend *Isaac Pennington*, but now more earnestly ; which put him upon considering, and contriving a Means for my Assistance.

He

1662. He had an intimate Acquaintance with Dr. **W** Paget, a Physician of Note in *London*, and he with *John Milton*, a Gentleman of great Note for Learning throughout the learned World, for the accurate Pieces he had written on various Subjects and Occasions.

This Person, having filled a publick Station in the former Times, lived now a private and retired Life in *London*; and having wholly lost his Sight, kept always a Man to read to him, which usually was the Son of some Gentleman of his Acquaintance, whom, in Kindness, he took to improve in his Learning.

Thus, by the Mediation of my Friend *Isaac Penington* with Dr. *Paget*, and of Dr. *Paget* with *John Milton*, was I admitted to come to him; not as a Servant to him (which at that Time he needed not) nor to be in the House with him; but only to have the Liberty of coming to his House, at certain Hours, when I would, and to read to him what Books he should appoint me; which was all the Favour I desired.

But this being a Matter which would require some Time to bring it about, I, in the mean while, returned to my Father's House in *Oxfordshire*.

I had before received Direction, by Letters from my eldest Sister (written by my Father's Command) to put off what Cattle he had left about his House, and to discharge his Servants; which I had done at the Time called *Michaelmas* before. So that all that Winter, when I was
at

at Home, I lived like an *Hermit* all alone, ^{1662.} having a pretty large House, and no Body in it but myself, a-nights especially; but an elderly Woman, whose Father had been an old Servant to the Family, came every Morning and made my Bed, and did what else I had occasion for her to do, till I fell ill of the *Small-pox*, and then I had her with me, and the Nurse. But now, understanding by Letter from my Sister, that my Father did not intend to return to settle there, I made off those Provisions which were in the House, that they might not be spoiled when I was gone; and because they were what I should have spent, if I had tarried there, I took the Money made of them to myself, for my Support at *London*, if the Project succeeded for my going thither.

This done, I committed the Care of the House to a Tenant of my Father's, who lived in the Town, and taking my Leave of *Crowell*, went up to my sure Friend *Isaac Penington* again. Where understanding that the Mediation used for my Admittance to *John Milton*, had succeeded so well, that I might come when I would, I hastned to *London*, and in the first Place went to wait upon him.


He received me courteously, as well for the sake of *Dr. Paget* who introduced me, as of *Isaac Penington* who recommended me; to both whom he bore a good Respect. And having enquired divers Things of me, with respect to my former Progression in Learning, he dismissed me, to provide myself of such Accommodations

1662. modations as might be most suitable to my
 future Studies.

I went therefore and took myself a Lodging as near to his House (which was then in *Jewen-street*) as conveniently as I could, and from thenceforward went every Day in the Afternoon, except on the First-days of the Week, and sitting by him in his Dining-room, read to him in such Books in the *Latin* Tongue as he pleased to hear merread.

At my first sitting to read to him, observing that I used the *English* Pronunciation, he told me, *If I would have the Benefit of the Latin Tongue, not only to read and understand Latin Authors, but to converse with Foreigners, either abroad or at home, I must learn the foreign Pronunciation.* To this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the Vowels; so different from the common Pronunciation used by the *English*, who speak *Anglice* their *Latin*, that (with some few other Variations in sounding some Consonants, in particular Cases; as *C* before *E* or *I*, like *Ch*. *Sc* before *I*, like *Sh*, &c.) the *Latin* thus spoken, seemed as different from that which was delivered, as the *English* generally speak it, as if it were another Language.

I had before, during my retired Life at my Father's, by unwearied Diligence and Industry, so far recovered the Rules of *Grammar* (in which I had once been very ready) that I could both read a *Latin* Author, and after a Sort hammer out his Meaning. But this Change of Pronunciation proved a new Difficulty to me.

me. It was now harder to me to read, than it ^{1662.} was before to understand when read. But 

————— *Labor omnia vincit*
Improbis. —————

Incessant Pains,
 The End obtains.

And so did I. Which made my Reading the more acceptable to my Master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earnest Desire I pursued Learning, gave me not only all the Encouragement, but all the Help he could. For, having a curious Ear, he understood by my Tone, when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and accordingly would stop me, examine me, and open the most difficult Passages to me.

Thus went I on for about six Weeks time, reading to him in the Afternoons; and exercising myself with my own Books, in my Chamber in the Forenoons, I was sensible of an Improvement.

But, alas! I had fixed my Studies in a wrong Place. *London* and I could never agree for Health; my Lungs, as I suppose, were too tender to bear the sulphurous Air of that City, so that I soon began to droop; and in less than two Months time, I was fain to leave both my Studies and the City, and return into the Country to preserve Life; and much ado I had to get thither.

I chose

1662. I chose to go down to *Wiccomb*, and to *John Rance's* House there; both as he was a Physician, and his Wife an honest, hearty, discreet and grave Matron, whom I had a very good Esteem of, and who I knew had a good Regard for me.

There I lay ill a considerable Time, and to that degree of Weakness, that scarce any who saw me, expected my Life. But the Lord was both gracious to me in my Illness, and was pleased to raise me up again, that I might serve Him in my Generation.

As soon as I had recovered so much Strength as to be fit to travel, I obtained of my Father (who was then at his House in *Crowell* to dispose of some Things he had there, and who in my Illness had come to see me) so much Money as would clear all Charges in the House, for both Physick, Food and Attendance; and having fully discharged all, I took Leave of my Friends in that Family and in the Town, and returned to my Studies at *London*.

I was very kindly received by my Master, who had conceived so good an Opinion of me, that my Conversation (I found) was acceptable to him, and he seem'd heartily glad of my Recovery and Return; and into our old Method of Study we fell again, I reading to him, and he explaining to me, as Occasion required.

But, as if Learning had been a forbidden Fruit to me, scarce was I well settled in my Work, before I met with another Diversion, which turned me quite out of my Work.

For

For a sudden Storm arising, from I know not ^{1662.} what Surmise of a Plot, and thereby Danger to the Government; and the Meetings of Dissenters (such I mean as could be found, which perhaps were not many besides the *Quakers*) were broken up throughout the City, and the Prisons mostly filled with our Friends.

I was that Morning, which was the 26th Day of the eighth Month 1662, at the Meeting at the *Bull and Mouth* by *Aldersgate*, when on a sudden, a Party of Soldiers (of the Trained-bands of the City) rushed in with Noise and Clamour, being led by one who was called Major *Rosewell*, an *Apothecary* (if I misremember not) and at that Time under the ill Name of a *Papist*.

As soon as he was come within the Room, having a File or two of Musketeers at his Heels, he commanded his Men to present their Muskets at us, which they did; with Intent, I suppose, to strike a Terror into the People. Then he made a Proclamation that all, who were not *Quakers*, might depart if they would.

It so happened, that a young Man, an Apprentice in *London*, whose Name was — *Dove*, (the Son of Dr. *Dove* of *Chinner*, near *Crowell* in *Oxfordshire*) came that Day in Curiosity to see the Meeting; and coming early, and finding me there (whom he knew) came and sat down by me.

As soon as he heard the Noise of Soldiers, he was much startled, and asked me softly, *if I would not shift for myself, and try to get out.*

L

I told

1662. I told him, No ; I was in my Place, and was willing to suffer if it was my Lot. When he heard the Notice given, that *they who were not Quakers might depart*, he solicited me again to be gone. I told him, I could not do so, for that would be to renounce my Profession, which I would by no means do. But as for him, who was not one of us, he might do as he pleased. Whereupon, wishing me well, he turned away, and with Cap in Hand went out. And truly I was glad he was gone, for his Master was a rigid *Presbyterian*, who, in all likelihood, would have led him a wretched Life, had he been taken and imprisoned among the *Quakers*.

The Soldiers came so early, that the Meeting was not fully gathered when they came ; and when the mixt Company were gone out, we were so few, and fate so thin in that large Room, that they might take a clear View of us all, and single us out as they pleased.

He that commanded the Party, gave us first a general Charge to come out of the Room. But we, who came thither at God's Requirings, to worship Him (like that good Man of old, who said, *We ought to obey God rather than Men*, Acts v. 29.) stirred not, but kept our Places. Whereupon he sent some of his Soldiers among us, with Command to drag or drive us out ; which they did roughly enough.

When we came out into the Street, we were received there by other Soldiers, who with their Pikes holden length-ways from one another, encompassed

encompassed us round as Sheep in a Pound ; ^{1662.} and there we stood a pretty Time, while they were picking up more to add to our Number.

In this Work none seemed so eager and active as their Leader, Major *Roswell*. Which I observing, stept boldly to him, as he was passing by me, and asked him, If he intended a *Massacre*? For of that, in those Times, there was a great Apprehension and Talk. The Suddenness of the Question, from such a young Man especially, somewhat startled him ; but recollecting himself, he answered, *No ; but I intend to have you all hanged by the wholesome Laws of the Land.*

When he had gotten as many as he could, or thought fit, which were in Number *Thirty-two*, whereof two were catch'd up in the Street, who had not been at the Meeting, he ordered the Pikes to be opened before us ; and giving the Word to March, went himself at the Head of us, the Soldiers with their Pikes making a Lane to keep us from scattering.

He led us up *Martins*, and so turned down to *Newgate*, where I expected he would have lodged us. But, to my Disappointment, he went on through *Newgate*, and turning through the *Old-Bailey*, brought us into *Fleet-street*. I was then wholly at a Loss, to conjecture whither he would lead us, unless it were to *Whitehall*, for I knew nothing then of *Old-Bridewell* ; but on a sudden he gave a short Turn, and brought us before the Gate of that Prison, where knocking, the Wicket was forthwith

L 2

opened,

1662. opened, and the Master with his Porter ready
 to receive us.

One of those two who were picked up in the Street, being near me, and telling me his Case, I stept to the Major, and told him, That this Man was not at the Meeting, but was taken up in the Street ; and shew'd him how hard and unjust a Thing it would be, to put him into Prison.

I had not pleased him before in the Question I had put to him about a Massacre ; and that, I suppose, made this Solicitation less acceptable to him from me, than it might have been from some other. For looking sternly on me, he said, *Who are you, that take so much upon you ? Seeing you are so busy, you shall be the first Man that shall go into Bridewell ;* and taking me by the Shoulders, he thrust me in.

As soon as I was in, the Porter pointing with his Finger, directed me to a fair Pair of Stairs on the further Side of a large Court, and bid me *go up those Stairs, and go on till I could go no further.*

Accordingly I went up the Stairs ; the first Flight whereof brought me to a fair Chapel on my left Hand, which I could look into through the iron Grates, but could not have gone into if I would.

I knew that was not a Place for me. Wherefore following my Direction, and the winding of the Stairs, I went up a Story higher, which brought me into a Room, which I soon perceiv'd to be a *Court-room*, or Place of *Judicature*.

After

After I had stood a while there, and taken a ^{1662.} View of it, observing a Door on the further Side, I went to it and opened it, with Intention to go in; but I quickly drew back, being almost affrighted at the Dismalness of the Place. For besides that the Walls quite round were laid all over, from Top to Bottom in Black, there stood in the Middle of it a great Whipping-post, which was all the Furniture it had.

In one of these two Rooms Judgment was given, and in the other it was executed on those ill People, who for their Lewdness were sent to this Prison, and there sentenced to be whip'd. Which was so contrived, that the Court might not only hear, but see, if they pleased, their Sentence executed.

A Sight so unexpected, and withal so unpleasing, gave me no Encouragement either to rest, or indeed to enter at all there; till looking earnestly, I spy'd on the opposite Side a Door, which giving me Hopes of a further Progress, I adventured to step hastily to it, and opened it.

This let me into one of the fairest Rooms that, so far as I remember, I was ever in, and no wonder; for though it was now put to this mean Use, it had, for many Ages past, been the Royal Seat or Palace of the Kings of *England*, until Cardinal *Woolsey* built *Whitehall*, and offered it as a Peace Offering to King *Henry* the eighth; who until that Time had kept his Court in this House, and had this, as the People in the House reported, for his Dining-room, by which Name it then went.

1662. This Room in Length, for I lived long enough in it to have Time to measure it, was Threescore Feet ; and had Breadth proportionable to it. In it, on the Front-side, were very large Bay-windows, in which stood a large Table. It had other very large Tables in it, with Benches round ; and at that Time the Floor was covered with Rushes, against some solemn Festival, which I heard it was bespoken for.

Here was my *Nil ultra*, and here I found I might set up my Pillar ; for although there was a Door out of it, to a Back-pair of Stairs which led to it, yet that was kept locked. So that finding I had now followed my Keeper's Direction to the utmost Point, beyond which I could not go, I sat down and considered that rhetorical Saying, *That the Way to Heaven lay by the Gate of Hell* ; the Black-room, through which I passed into this, bearing some Resemblance to the latter, as this comparatively and by way of Allusion, might in some sort be thought to bear to the former.

But I was quickly put out of these Thoughts by the flocking in of the other Friends my Fellow-prisoners ; amongst whom yet, when all were come together, there was but one whom I knew so much as by Face, and with him I had no Acquaintance. For I having been but a little while in the City, and in that Time kept close to my Studies, I was by that Means known to very few.

Soon after we were all gotten together, came up the Master of the House after us, and demanded

manded our Names; which we might reasonably have refused to give, till we had been legally convened before some Civil Magistrate, who had Power to examine us and demand our Names. But we, who were neither guilful nor wilful, simply gave him our Names, which he took down in Writing. 1662. W

It was, as I hinted before, a general Storm which fell that Day, but it lighted most, and most heavy, upon our Meetings; so that most of our Men-Friends were made Prisoners, and the Prisons generally filled. And great Work had the Women, to run about from Prison to Prison to find their Husbands, their Fathers, their Brothers, or their Servants; for accordingly as they had disposed themselves to several Meetings, so were they dispersed to several Prisons. And no less Care and Pains had they, when they had found them, to furnish them with Provisions and other necessary Accommodations.

But an excellent Order, even in those early Days, was practised among the Friends of that City, by which there were certain Friends of either Sex, appointed to have the Oversight of the Prisons in every Quarter, and to take Care of all Friends, the *Poor* especially, that should be committed thither.


This Prison of *Bridewell* was under the Care of two honest, grave, discreet and motherly Women, whose Names were *Anne Merrick* (afterwards *Vivers*) and *Anne Travers*, both Widows.

1662. They, so soon as they understood that there were Friends brought into that Prison, provided some hot Victuals, Meat and Broth, for the Weather was cold ; and ordering their Servants to bring it them, with Bread, Cheese and Beer, came themselves also with it ; and having placed it on a Table, gave Notice to us, *That it was provided for all those that had not others to provide for them ; or were not able to provide for themselves.* And there wanted not among us a competent Number of such Guests.

As for my part, though I had lived as frugally as possibly I could, that I might draw out the Thread of my little Stock to the utmost Length, yet had I, by this Time, reduced it to Tenpence, which was all the Money I had about me, or any where else at my Command.

This was but a small Estate to enter upon an Imprisonment with, yet was I not at all discouraged at it, nor had I a murmuring Thought. I had known what it was (moderately) to *abound*, and if I should now come to suffer *Want*, I knew I ought to be content ; and through the Grace of G O D I was so. I had lived by Providence before (when for a long Time I had no Money at all) and I had always found the L O R D a good Provider. I made no doubt therefore that He, who sent the Ravens to feed *Elijah*, and who cloaths the Lilies, would find some Means to sustain me with needful Food and Raiment ; and I had learn'd by Experience the Truth of that Saying,

Natura

Natura paucis contenta ; i. e. Nature is content with few Things, or a little. 1662. 

Although the Sight and Smell of hot Food, was sufficiently enticing to my empty Stomach, for I had eaten little that Morning, and was hungry ; yet considering the Terms of the Invitation, I questioned whether I was included in it ; and after some Reasonings, at length concluded, That while I had Ten-pence in my Pocket, I should be but an injurious Intruder to that Mess, which was provided for such as, perhaps, had not Two-pence in theirs.

Being come to this Resolution, I withdrew as far from the Table as I could, and sat down in a quiet Retirement of Mind till the Repast was over, which was not long ; for there were Hands enough at it, to make light Work of it.

When Evening came, the Porter came up the Back-stairs, and opening the Door, told us, *If we desired to have any Thing that was to be had in the House, he would bring it us ; for there was in the House a Chandler's Shop, at which Beer, Bread, Butter, Cheese, Eggs and Bacon might be had for Money.* Upon which many went to him, and spake for what of these Things they had a Mind to, giving him Money to pay for them.

Among the rest went I, and intending to spin out my Ten-pence as far as I could, desired him to bring me a Penny-loaf only. When he returned, we all resorted to him to receive our several Provisions, which he delivered ; and when

1662. when he came to me, he told me, *He could not get a Penny-loaf, but he had brought me two Half-penny-loaves.*

This suited me better ; wherefore returning to my Place again, I fate down and eat up one of my Loaves, reserving the other for the next Day.

This was to me both Dinner and Supper. And so well satisfied I was with it, that I could willingly then have gone to Bed, if I had had one to go to ; but that was not to be expected there, nor had any one any Bedding brought in that Night.

Some of the Company had been so considerate, as to send for a Pound of Candles, that we might not sit all Night in the Dark, and having lighted divers of them, and placed them in several Parts of that large Room, we kept walking to keep us warm.

After I had warmed myself pretty throughly, and the Evening was pretty far spent, I be-thought myself of a Lodging ; and casting mine Eye on the Table which stood in the Bay - window, the Frame whereof look'd I thought, somewhat like a Bedstead. Wherefore willing to make sure of that, I gathered up a good Armful of the Rushes wherewith the Floor was covered, and spreading them under that Table, crept in upon them in my Cloaths, and keeping on my Hat, laid my Head upon one End of the Table's Frame instead of a Bolster.

My Example was followed by the rest, who ^{1662.} gathering up Rushes as I had done, made themselves Beds in other Parts of the Room, and so to Rest we went.

I having a quiet, easy Mind, was soon a-sleep, and slept till about the Middle of the Night. And then waking, finding my Legs and Feet very cold, I crept out of my Cabbin and began to walk about apace.

This waked and raised all the rest, who finding themselves cold as well as I, got up and walked about with me, till we had pretty well warmed ourselves, and then we all lay down again and rested till Morning.

Next Day, all they who had Families, or belong'd to Families, had Bedding brought in of one Sort or other, which they disposed at the Ends and Sides of the Room, leaving the Middle void to walk in.

But I, who had no Body to look after me, kept to my Rushy-pallet under the Table for four Nights together, in which Time I did not put off my Cloaths; yet, through the merciful Goodness of GOD unto me, I rested and slept well, and enjoyed Health, without taking Cold.

In this Time divers of our Company, through the Solicitations of some of their Relations, or Acquaintance, to Sir *Richard Brown* (who was at that Time a great Master of *Mis-rule* in the City, and over *Bridewell* more especially) were released; and among these, one *William Mucklow*, who lay in an Hammock, He, having
observed

1662. observed that I only was unprovided of Lodging, came very courteously to me, and kindly offered me the Use of his Hammock while I should continue a Prisoner.

This was a providential Accommodation to me, which I received thankfully, both from the LORD and from him; and from thenceforth I thought I lay as well as ever I had done in my Life.

Amongst those that remained, there were several young Men who cast themselves into a Club, and laying down every one an equal Proportion of Money, put it into the Hand of our Friend *Anne Travers*, desiring her to lay it out for them in Provisions, and send them in every Day a Mess of hot Meat; and they kindly invited me to come into their Club with them. These saw my Person, and judged of me by that; but they saw not my Purse, nor understood the Lightness of my Pocket. But I, who alone understood my own Condition, knew I must sit down with lower Commons. Wherefore not giving them the true Reason, I as fairly as I could excused myself from entering at present into their Mess, and went on, as before, to eat by myself, and that very sparingly, as my Stock would bear. And before my Trepence was quite spent, Providence, on whom I relied, sent me in a fresh Supply.

For *William Penington* (a Brother of *Isaac Penington's*) a Friend and Merchant in *London*, at whose House, before I came to live in the City, I was wont to lodge, having been at his
 Brother's

Brother's that Day upon a Visit, escaped this 1662. Storm, and so was at Liberty; and understanding when he came back, what had been done, bethought himself of me, and upon Enquiry hearing where I was, came in Love to see me.

He, in Discourse amongst other Things, asked me, *How it was with me as to Money? and how well I was furnished?* I told him, I could not boast of much, and yet I could not say I had none; though what I then had was indeed next to none. Whereupon he put Twenty Shillings into my Hand, and desired me to accept of that for the present. I saw a divine Hand in thus opening his Heart and Hand in this manner to me. And tho' I would willingly have been excused from taking so much, and would have returned one Half of it; yet he pressing it all upon me, I received it with a thankful Acknowledgment, as a Token of Love from the Lord and from him.

On the Seventh-day he went down again, as he usually did, to his Brother's House at *Chalfont*; and in Discourse gave them an Account of my Imprisonment. Whereupon, at his Return on the Second-day of the Week following, my affectionate Friend *Mary Penington* sent me, by him, Forty Shillings, which he soon after brought me; out of which I would have repaid him the Twenty Shillings he had so kindly furnished me with, but he would not admit it, telling me, *I might have Occasion for that and more, before I got my Liberty.*

1662. Not many Days after this, I received Twenty
 ⚡ Shillings from my Father, who being then at
 his House in *Oxfordshire*, and, by Letter from
 my Sister, understanding that I was a Prisoner
 in *Bridewell*, sent this Money to me for my
 Support there ; and withal a Letter to my Sister,
 for her to deliver to one called Mr. *Wray*,
 who lived near *Bridewell*, and was a Servant
 to Sir *Richard Brown* in some Wharf of his,
 requesting him to intercede with his Master,
 who was one of the Governors of *Bridewell*,
 for my Deliverance. But that Letter coming
 to my Hands, I suppress it, and have it yet
 by me.

Now was my Pocket, from the lowest Ebb
 risen to a full Tide. I was at the Brink of
 Want, next Door to nothing, yet my Confi-
 dence did not fail, nor my Faith stagger ; and
 now on a sudden I had plentiful Supplies,
 Shower upon Shower, so that I abounded, yet
 was not lifted up ; but in Humility could say,
This is the LORD's doing. And, without de-
 frauding any of the Instruments of the Acknow-
 ledgments due unto them, mine Eye looked
 over and beyond them to the LORD, who I
 saw was the Author thereof and prime Agent
 therein, and with a thankful Heart I returned
 Thanksgivings and Praises to Him. And this
 great Goodness of the Lord to me, I thus re-
 cord, to the End that all into whose Hands this
 may come, may be encouraged to trust in the
 Lord, whose Mercy is over all His Works, and
 who

who is indeed a God near at hand, to help in the needful Time. 1662.



Now I durst venture myself into the Club, to which I had been invited, and accordingly (having by this Time gained an Acquaintance with them) took an Opportunity to cast myself among them; and thenceforward, so long as we continued Prisoners there together, I was one of their Mefs.

And now the chief Thing I wanted, was *Employment*, which scarce any wanted but myself; for the rest of my Company were generally Tradesmen, of such Trades as could set themselves on work. Of these, divers were *Taylor*s, some Masters, some Journey-men, and with these I most inclined to settle. But because I was too much a Novice in their Art, to be trusted with their Work, lest I should spoil the Garment, I got Work from an *Hosier* in *Cheap-side*; which was to make Night-Waist-coats of red and yellow Flannel, for Women and Children. And with this I entred myself among the *Taylor*s, sitting Cross-leg'd as they did, and so spent those leisure Hours with Innocency and Pleasure, which Want of Business would have made tedious. And indeed that was, in a manner, the only Advantage I had by it; for my Master, though a very wealthy Man, and one who professed not only Friendship, but particular Kindness to me, dealt I thought but hardly with me. For, though he knew not what I had to subsist by, he never offered me a Penny for my Work, till I had done working

for

1662. for him, and went, after I was released, to give **W** him a Visit; and then he would not reckon with me neither, *Because* (as he smilingly said) *he would not let me go far into his Trade, as to acquaint me with the Prices of the Work; but would be sure to give me enough.* And thereupon he gave me one Crown-piece and no more; tho' I had wrought long for him, and made him many Dozens of Waistcoats, and bought the Thread myself; which I thought was very poor Pay. But, as Providence had ordered it, I wanted the Work more than the Wages, and therefore took what he gave me without complaining.

About this Time, while we were Prisoners in our fair Chamber, a Friend was brought and put in among us, who had been sent thither by *Richard Brown* to beat Hemp; whose Case was thus:

He was a very poor Man who lived by mending Shoes; and on a Seventh-day Night late, a Carman (or some other such labouring Man) brought him a Pair of Shoes to mend, desiring him to mend them that Night, that he might have them in the Morning, for he had no other to wear. The poor Man sat up at work upon them till after Mid-night, and then finding he could not finish them, he went to Bed, intending to do the rest in the Morning.

Accordingly he got up betimes, and though he wrought as privately as he could in his Chamber, that he might avoid giving Offence

to any, yet could he not do it so privately, but ^{1662.} that an ill-natur'd Neighbour perceived it, who went and informed against him for working on the *Sunday*. Whereupon he was had before *Richard Brown*, who committed him to *Bridewell* for a certain Time, to be kept to hard Labour in beating Hemp, which is Labour hard enough.

It so fell out, that at the same Time were committed thither (for what Cause I do not now remember) two lusty young Men who were called *Baptists*, to be kept also at the same Labour.

The Friend was a poor little Man, of a low Condition and mean Appearance; whereas these two *Baptists* were topping Blades, that looked high and spake big. They scorned to beat Hemp, and made a *Pish* at the Whipping-post; but when they had once felt the Smart of it, they soon cried *Peccavi*, and submitting to the Punishment, set their tender Hands to the Beetles.

The Friend, on the other hand acting upon a Principle, as knowing he had done no Evil for which he should undergo that Punishment, refused to work, and for refusing was cruelly whipt; which he bore with wonderful Constancy and Resolution of Mind.

The manner of whipping there is, To strip the Party to the Skin from the Waist upwards, and having fastned him to the Whipping-post, (so that he can neither resist nor shun the Strokes) to lash the naked Body with long,

1662. but slender Twigs of Holly, which will bend
 W almost like Thongs and lap round the Body ;
 and these having little Knots upon them, tear
 the Skin and Flesh, and give extream Pain.

With these Rods they tormented the Friend
 most barbarously ; and the more, for that hav-
 ing mastered the two braving *Baptists*, they
 disdained to be mastered by this poor *Quaker*.
 Yet were they fain at last to yield, when they
 saw their utmost Severity could not make
 him yield. And then, not willing to be trou-
 bled longer with him, they turned him up
 among us.

When we had enquired of him, How it was
 with him? and he had given us a brief Ac-
 count of both his Cause and Usage, it came in
 my Mind, that I had in my Box (which I had
 sent for from my Lodging, to keep some few
 Books and other Necessaries in) a little Gally-
 pot with *Lucatellu's* Balsam in it.

Wherefore causing a good Fire to be made,
 and setting the Friend, within a Blanket before
 the Fire, we stripped him to the Waist, as if
 he had been to be whipt again, and found
 his Skin so cut and torn with the knotty
 Holly-rods, both Back, Side, Arm and Breast,
 that it was a dismal Sight to look upon. Then
 melting some of the Balsam, I with a Feather
 anointed all the Sores, and putting a softer
 Cloth between his Skin and his Shirt, help-
 ed him on with his Cloaths again. This
 Dressing gave him much Ease, and I continued
 it till he was well. And because he was a
 very

very poor Man, we took him into our Mess, ^{1662.} contriving that there should always be enough ^{W.} for him as well as for ourselves. Thus he lived with us until the Time, he was committed for, was expired, and then he was released.

But we were still continued Prisoners by an arbitrary Power, not being committed by the Civil Authority, nor having seen the Face of any Civil Magistrate, from the Day we were thrust in here by Soldiers, which was the 26th Day of the eighth Month, to the 19th of the tenth Month following.

On that Day we were had to the Sessions at the *Old-bailey*. But not being called there, we were brought back to *Bridewell*, and continued there to the 29th of the same Month, and then we were carried to the Sessions again.

I expected I should have been called the first, because my Name was first taken down; but it proved otherwise, so that I was one of the last that was called; which gave me the Advantage of hearing the Pleas of the other Prisoners, and discovering the Temper of the Court.

The Prisoners complained of the *Illegality* of their Imprisonment, and desired to know, *what they had lain so long in Prison for?* The Court regarded nothing of that, and did not stick to tell them so. *For*, said the Recorder to them, *if you think you have been wrongfully imprisoned, you have your Remedy at Law, and may take it,*

1662. *if you think it worth your while. The Court,*
 W said he, *may send for any Man out of the Street,*
and tender him the Oath : So we take no Notice
how you came hither, but finding you here, we
tender you the Oath of Allegiance ; which if you
refuse to take, we shall commit you, and at length
Præmunire you. Accordingly, as every one re-
fused it, he was set aside and another called.

By this I saw, it was in vain for me to insist upon false Imprisonment, or ask the Cause of my Commitment ; though I had before furnished myself with some Authorities and Maxims of Law on that Subject, to have pleaded if Room had been given ; and I had the Book, out of which I took them, in my Bosom ; for the Weather being cold, I wore a Gown girt about the Middle, and had put the Book within it. But I now resolved to wave all that, and insist upon another Plea, which just then came into my Mind.

As soon therefore as I was called, I stepped nimbly to the Bar, and stood up upon the Stepping, that I might the better both hear and be heard, and laying my Hands upon the Bar, stood ready, expecting what they would say to me.

I suppose they took me for a confident young Man, for they looked very earnestly upon me ; and we faced each other, without Words, for a while. At length the Recorder, who was called Sir *John Howel*, asked me, *If I would take the Oath of Allegiance ?*

To which I answered, I conceive this Court ^{1662.} hath not Power to tender that Oath to me, in the Condition wherein I stand. W

This so unexpected Plea seemed to startle them, so that they looked one upon another, and said somewhat low one to another, *What! doth he demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court?* And thereupon the Recorder asked me, *Do you then demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court?* Not absolutely, answered I, but conditionally, with respect to my present Condition, and the Circumstances I am now under.

Why, what is your present Condition? said the Recorder. A Prisoner, replied I. *And what is that,* said he, *to your taking, or not taking the Oath?* Enough, said I as I conceive, to exempt me from the Tender thereof, while I am under this Condition. *Pray, what is your Reason for that?* said he. This, said I; That if I rightly understand the Words of the Statute, I am required to say, *That I do take this Oath freely and without Constraint;* which I cannot say, because I am not a Free-man, but in Bonds, and under Constraint. Wherefore I conceive, that if you would tender that Oath to me, ye ought first to set me free from my present Imprisonment.

But, said the Recorder, *will you take the Oath if you be set free?* Thou shalt see that, said I, when I am set free. Therefore set me free first, and then ask the Question.

But, said he again, *you know your own Mind sure, and can tell now what you would do, if you*

1662. *were at Liberty.* Yes, replied I, that I can ;
 but I don't hold myself obliged to tell it until I
 am at Liberty. Therefore fet me at Liberty,
 and ye shall soon hear it.

Thus we fenced a good while, till I was both
 weary of such trifling, and doubted also, lest
 some of the Standers by should suspect I would
 take it, if I was fet at Liberty. Wherefore
 when the Recorder put it upon me again, I
 told him plainly, No ; though I thought they
 ought not to tender it me, till I had been fet at
 Liberty ; yet if I was fet at Liberty, I could
 not take that, nor any other Oath, because
 my Lord and Master CHRIST JESUS, had
 expresly commanded his Disciples, *Not to swear
 at all.*

As His Command was enough to me, so this
 Confession of mine was enough to them. *Take
 him away,* said they ; and away I was taken,
 and thrust into the Bail-dock to my other
 Friends, who had been called before me. And
 as soon as the rest of our Company were called,
 and had refused to *swear,* we were all com-
 mitted to *Newgate,* and thrust into the common
 Side.

When we came there, we found that Side
 of the Prison very full of Friends, who were
 Prisoners there before (as indeed were, at that
 Time, all the other Parts of that Prison, and
 most of the other Prisons about the Town) and
 our Addition caused a great Throng on that Side.
 Notwithstanding which, we were kindly wel-
 comed by our Friends, whom we found there,
 and

and entertained by them, as well as their^{1662.} Condition would admit, until we could get in our own Accommodations, and provide for ourselves.

We had the Liberty of the Hall (which is on the first Story over the Gate, and which, in the Day-time, is common to all the Prisoners on that Side, Felons as well as others, to walk in and to beg out of) and we had also the Liberty of some other Rooms over that Hall, to walk or work in a-Days. But in the Night we all lodged in one Room, which was large and round, having in the Middle of it a great Pillar of oaken Timber, which bore up the Chapel that is over it.


To this Pillar we fastned our Hammocks at the one End, and to the opposite Wall on the other End, quite round the Room, and in three Degrees, or three Stories high, one over the other; so that they who lay in the upper and middle Row of Hammocks, were obliged to go to Bed first, because they were to climb up to the higher, by getting into the lower. And under the lower Rank of Hammocks, by the Wall-sides were laid Beds upon the Floor, in which the Sick, and such weak Persons as could not get into the Hammocks, lay. And indeed, though the Room was large and pretty airy, yet the Breath and Steam that came from so many Bodies of different Ages, Conditions and Constitutions, packt up so close together, was enough to cause Sicknes amongst us, and I believe did so. For there were many sick, and

160 some very weak ; though we were not long
 there, yet in that Time one of our Fellow-
 prisoners, who lay in one of those Pallet-beds,
 died.

This caused some Bustle in the House. For the Body of the deceased being laid out, and put into a Coffin, was carried down and set in the Room called the *Lodge*, that the *Coroner* might enquire into the Cause and Manner of his Death. And the manner of their doing it is thus : As soon as the *Coroner* is come, the Turnkeys run out into the Street under the Gate, and seize upon every Man that passes by, till they have got enough to make up the *Coroner's* Inquest. And so resolute these rude Fellows are, that if any Man resist, or dispute it with them, they drag him in by main Force, not regarding what Condition he is of. Nay, I have been told, they will not stick to stop a Coach, and pluck the Men out of it.

It so happened, that at this Time they lighted on an ancient Man, a grave Citizen, who was trudging through the Gate in great Haste, and him they laid hold on, telling him, *He must come in, and serve upon the Coroner's Inquest.* He pleaded hard, beg'd and besought them to let him go, assuring them, *He was going on very urgent Business, and that the stopping him would be greatly to his Prejudice.* But they were deaf to all Intreaties, and hurried him in, the poor Man chaffing without Remedy.

When they had got their Complement, and were shut in together, the rest of them said to
 this

this ancient Man, *Come, Father, you are the 1662.*
oldest among us, you shall be our Foreman. And 
 when the Coroner had sworn them on the Jury, the Coffin was uncovered, that they might look upon the Body. But the old Man, disturbed in his Mind at the Interruption they had given him, was grown somewhat fretful upon it; said to them, *To what purpose do you shew us a dead Body here? You would not have us think sure, that this Man died in this Room! How then shall we be able to judge how this Man came by his Death, unless we see the Place wherein he died, and wherein he hath been kept Prisoner before he died? How know we, but that the Incommodiousness of the Place wherein he was kept, may have occasioned his Death? Therefore shew us,* said he, *the Place wherein this Man died.*

This much displeas'd the Keepers, and they began to banter the old Man, thinking to have beaten him off it. But he stood up titely to them; *Come, come,* said he, *though you have made a Fool of me in bringing me in hither, ye shall not find a Child of me now I am here. Mistake not yourselves; I understand my Place, and your Duty; and I require you to conduct me and my Brethren, to the Place where this Man died: Refuse it at your Peril.*


They now wish'd they had let the old Man go about his Business, rather than by troubling him, have brought this Trouble on themselves. But when they saw he persisted in his Resolution, and was peremptory, the Coroner told them, *They must go shew him the Place?*

1662. It was in the Evening when they began this Work; and by this time it was grown Bed-time with us, so that we had taken down our Hammocks (which in the Day were hung up by the Walls) and had made them ready to go into, and were undressing ourselves in Readiness to go into them. When on a sudden we heard a great Noise of Tongues, and of Trampings of Feet, coming up towards us. And by and by one of the Turnkeys opening our Door, said, *Hold, hold, don't undress yourselves, here's the Coroner's Inquest coming to see you.*

As soon as they were come to the Door (for within the Door there was scarce Room for them to come) the Foreman who led them, lifting up his Hand, said, *Lord bless me, what a Sight is here! I did not think there had been so much Cruelty in the Hearts of Englishmen, to use Englishmen in this manner! We need not now question, said he to the rest of the Jury, how this Man came by his Death; we may rather wonder that they are not all dead, for this Place is enough to breed an Infection among them. Well, added he, if it please God to lengthen my Life till To-morrow, I will find means to let the King know how his Subjects are dealt with.*

Whether he did so or no, I cannot tell; but I am apt to think that he applied himself to the Mayor, or the Sheriffs of London. For the next Day one of the Sheriffs, called Sir William Turner, a *Woolen-draper* in *Paul's-yard*, came to the *Pres-yard*, and having ordered the Porter of *Bridewell* to attend him there, sent up a

Turnkey

Turnkey amongst us, to bid all the *Bridewell* 1662. Prisoners come down to him, for they knew us not, but we knew our own Company. 

Being come before him in the Press-yard, he looked kindly on us, and spake courteously to us. *Gentlemen*, said he, *I understand the Prison is very full, and I am sorry for it. I wish it were in my Power to release you, and the rest of your Friends that are in it. But since I cannot do that, I am willing to do what I can for you. And therefore I am come hither to enquire how it is; and I would have all you, who came from Bridewell, return thither again, which will be a better Accommodation to you; and your Removal will give the more Room to those that are left behind; and here is the Porter of Bridewell, your old Keeper, to attend you thither.*

We duly acknowledged the Favour of the Sheriff to us and our Friends above, in this Removal of us, which would give them more Room, and us a better Air. But before we parted from him, I spake particularly to him on another Occasion; which was this:


When we came into *Newgate*, we found a shabby Fellow there among the Friends, who upon Inquiry, we understood had thrust himself among our Friends, when they were taken at a Meeting, on purpose to be sent to Prison with them, in hopes to be maintained by them. They knew nothing of him, till they found him shut in with them in the Prison, and then took no Notice of him, as not knowing how or why he came thither. But he soon gave them

1662. them Cause to take Notice of him ; for where-
 ever he saw any Victuals brought forth for
 them to eat, he would be sure to thrust in,
 with Knife in Hand, and make himself his own
 Carver ; and so impudent was he, that if he
 saw the Provision was short, whoever wanted,
 he would be sure to take enough.

Thus lived this lazy Drone upon the Labours
 of the industrious Bees, to his high Content
 and their no small Trouble, to whom his Com-
 pany was as offensive, as his Ravening was
 oppressive ; nor could they get any Relief, by
 their complaining of him to the Keepers.

This Fellow hearing the Notice which was
 given, for the *Bridewell* Men to go down, in
 order to be removed to *Bridewell* again, and
 hoping, no Doubt, that fresh Quarters would
 produce fresh Commons, and that he should
 fare better with us than where he was, thrust
 himself amongst us, and went down into the
 Prefs-yard with us. Which I knew not of,
 till I saw him standing there with his Hat on,
 and looking as demurely as he could, that the
 Sheriff might take him for a *Quaker* : At Sight
 of which, my Spirit was much stirred.

Wherefore, as soon as the Sheriff had done
 speaking to us, and we had made our Acknow-
 ledgment of his Kindness, I stept a little nearer
 to him, and pointing to that Fellow, said, That
 Man is not only none of our Company, for he
 is no *Quaker* ; but is an idle dissolute Fellow,
 who hath thrust himself in among our Friends,
 to be sent to Prison with them, that he might
 live

live upon them ; therefore I desire we may not ^{1662.} be troubled with him at *Bridewell*. 

At this the Sheriff smiled ; and calling the Fellow forth, said to him, *How came you to be in Prison ?* I was taken at a Meeting, said he. *But what Business had you there ?* said the Sheriff. I went to hear, said he. *Aye, you went upon a worse Design, it seems,* replied the Sheriff, *but I'll disappoint you,* said he ; *for I'll change your Company, and send you to them that are like your self.* Then calling for the Turnkey, he said, *Take this Fellow, and put him among the Felons ; and be sure let him not trouble the Quakers any more.*

Hitherto this Fellow had stood with his Hat on, as willing to have passed, if he could, for a *Quaker* ; but as soon as he heard this Doom passed on him, off went his Hat, and to bowing and scraping he fell, with *Good your Worship, have Pity upon me, and set me at Liberty.* No, no, said the Sheriff, *I will not so far disappoint you ; since you had a Mind to be in Prison, in Prison you shall be for me.* Then bidding the Turnkey take him away, he had him up, and put him among the Felons ; and so Friends had a good Deliverance from him.

The Sheriff then bidding us Farewell, the Porter of *Bridewell* came to us, and told us, *We knew our Way to Bridewell without him, and he could trust us ; therefore he would not stay nor go with us, but left us to take our own Time, so we were in before Bed-time.*

1662. Then went we up again to our Friends in *Newgate*, and gave them an Account of what had passed ; and having taken a solemn Leave of them, we made up our Packs to be gone. But before I pass from *Newgate*, I think it not amiss, to give the Reader some little Account of what I observed while I was there.

The Common-side of *Newgate* is generally accounted, as it really is, the worst Part of that Prison ; not so much from the Place, as the People, it being usually stocked with the veriest Rogues, and meanest Sort of Felons and Pick-pockets, who not being able to pay Chamber-rent on the Master's-side, are thrust in there. And if they come in bad, to be sure they do not go out better ; for here they have an Opportunity to instruct one another in their Art, and impart each to other what Improvements they have made therein.

The Common-hall (which is the first Room over the Gate) is a good Place to walk in, when the Prisoners are out of it, saving the Danger of catching some Cattle which they may have left in it, and there I used to walk in a Morning before they were let up, and sometimes in the Day-time when they have been there.


They all carried themselves respectfully towards me ; which I imputed chiefly to this, That when any of our Women-Friends came there to visit the Prisoners, if they had not Relations of their own there to take care of them, I, (as being a young Man, and more at leisure
than

than most others, for I could not play the *Taylor* 1662. there) was forward to go down with them to the Grate, and see them safe out. And sometimes they have left Money in my Hands for the Felons (who at such Times were very importunate Beggars) which I forthwith distributed among them in Bread, which was to be had in the Place. But so troublesome an Office it was, that I thought one had as good have had a Pack of hungry Hounds about one, as these, when they knew there was a Dole to be given. Yet this I think, made them a little the more observant to me; for they would dispose themselves to one Side of the Room, that they might make Way for me to walk on the other. And when I walked there, I had usually a Book in my Hand, on which I had mine Eye; which made them think I did not heed what they said. By this Means, mine Ear being attentive to them, I heard them relate one to another many of their roguish Pranks.

One Day, as I was thus walking to and fro beside them, I heard them recounting one to another what Feats they had done at Pocket-picking and Shop-lifting. Whereupon, turning short upon them, I asked them, *Which of you all will undertake to pick my Pocket?* They were not very forward to answer, but viewed me round. I wore a long Gown, which was lapt over before and tied about the Middle, and had no Pocket-holes in it. When they had a while considered it, and I, having taken another Turn, was come up again to them,

1662. one of them said, *Why, Master, if you will promise not to prosecute us, we will show you a Piece of our Skill.* Nay, hold there, said I, I won't so far encourage you in Evil, as to promise not to prosecute; and away I turned again, having mine Eye on my Book, but mine Ears to them. And in a while I heard them contriving how they would have done it. I, said one of them, *would give him the Budge, and before he can recover himself, you, said he to another of them, having your Penknife ready, should slit his Gown; and then, said he, let Honey-pot alone for the diving Part.* This *Honey-pot* was a little Boy, then in Prison with them for picking a Pocket, who by his Stature did not seem to be above ten, or a dozen Years old; but for his Dexterity at Pocket-picking, was held to be one of the Top of the Trade. As for the *Budge*, I had had it given me often in the Street, but understood not the Meaning of it till now; and now I found it was a Jostle, enough to throw one almost upon his Nose.

I have sometimes occasionally been in the Hall in an Evening, and have seen the Whores let in unto them, which I take to be a common Practice: Nasty Sluts indeed they were, and in that Respect the more suitable. And as I have passed them, I have heard the Rogues and they making their Bargains, which and which of them should company together that Night. Which abominable Wickedness must be imputed to the Dishonesty of the Turnkeys, who,

who, for vile Gain to themselves, not only suffer, ^{1662.}
but further this Lewdness. 

These are some of the common Evils which make the Common-side of *Newgate*, in measure a Type of *HELL* upon *EARTH*. But there was, at that Time, something of another Nature, more particular and accidental, which was very offensive to me.

When we came first into *Newgate*, there lay in a little By-place like a Closet, near the Room where we were lodged, the quartered Bodies of three Men, who had been executed some Days before, for a real or pretended Plot; which was the Ground, or at least Pretext, for that Storm in the City, which had caused this Imprisonment. The Names of these three Men were *Philips*, *Tongue* and *Gibs*; and the Reason why their Quarters lay so long there was, The Relations were all that while petitioning to have Leave to bury them; which at length with much ado was obtained for the Quarters, but not for the Heads, which were ordered to be set up in some Parts of the City.

I saw the Heads when they were brought up to be boiled. The Hangman fetch'd them in a dirty Dust-basket, out of some By-place, and setting them down amongst the Felons, he and they made Sport with them. They took them by the Hair, flouting, jeering and laughing at them; and then giving them some ill Names, box'd them on the Ears and Cheeks. Which done, the Hangman put them into his Kettle, and parboil'd them with Bay-salt and

1662. Cummin-feed ; *that* to keep them from Putrefaction, and *this* to keep off the Fowls from feizing on them. The whole Sight, as well that of the bloody Quarters first, as this of the Heads afterwards, was both frightful and loathsome, and begat an Abhorrence in my Nature. Which as it had rendered my Confinement there by much the more uneasy, so it made our Removal from thence to *Bridewell*, even in that respect, the more welcome : Whither we now go.

For having, as I hinted before, made up our Packs, and taken our Leave of our Friends, whom we were to leave behind, we took our Bundles on our Shoulders, and walked, two and two a-breast, through the *Old-bailey* into *Fleet-street*, and so to *Old Bridewell*. And it being about the Middle of the Afternoon, and the Streets pretty full of People, both the Shopkeepers at their Doors, and Passengers in the Way, would stop us, and ask us what we were, and whither we were going ? And when we had told them we were Prisoners, going from one Prison to another (from *Newgate* to *Bridewell*) *What*, said they, *without a Keeper !* No, said we, for our Word, which we have given, is our Keeper. Some thereupon would advise us not to go to Prison, but to go home. But we told them, we could not do so ; we could suffer for our Testimony, but could not fly from it. I do not remember we had any Abuse offered us, but were generally pitied by the People.

When

When we were come to *Bridewell*, we were ^{1662.} not put up into the great Room in which we had been before, but into a low Room in another fair Court, which had a Pump in the Middle of it. And here we were not shut up as before, but had the Liberty of the Court to walk in, and of the Pump to wash or drink at. And indeed we might easily have gone quite away if we would, there being a Passage through the Court into the Street; but we were true and steady Prisoners, and looked upon this Liberty, arising from their Confidence in us, to be a kind of *Parol* upon us; so that both Conscience and Honour stood now engaged for our true Imprisonment.

Adjoining to this Room wherein we were, was such another, both newly fitted up for *Work-houses*, and accordingly furnished with very great Blocks for beating Hemp upon, and a lusty Whipping-post there was in each. And it was said, That *Richard Brown* had ordered those Blocks to be provided for the *Quakers* to work on, resolving to try his Strength with us in that Case; but if that was his Purpose, it was over-ruled, for we never had any Work offered us, nor were we treated after the Manner of those that are to be so used. Yet we set ourselves to work on them; for, being very large, they served the *Tailors* for Shop-boards, and others wrought upon them as they had Occasion; and they served us very well for Tables to eat on.

1662. We had also besides this Room, the Use of
our former Chamber above, to go into when
we thought fit ; and thither sometimes I with-
drew, when I found a Desire for Retirement
and Privacy, or had something on my Mind to
write, which could not so well be done in
Company. And indeed, about this Time my
Spirit was more than ordinarily exercised, tho'
on very different Subjects. For, on the one
hand, the Sense of the exceeding LOVE
and GOODNESS of the LORD to me,
in His gracious and tender Dealings with me,
did deeply affect my Heart, and caused me to
break forth in a SONG of THANKS-
GIVING and PRAISE to Him : And, on
the other hand, a Sense of the *Prophaneness,*
Debaucheries, Cruelties, and other *horrid Im-*
pieties of the AGE, fell heavy on me, and
lay as a pressing Weight upon my Spirit. And
this drew from me a close *Exprobration*, which
my mournful Muse vented in the following
Lines ; to which I gave for a Title,

Speculum

Speculum SECULI:

1662.



OR, A

LOOKING-GLASS

FOR THE

TIMES.


Which began with this *Expostulatory Preface*.

WHY should my modest MUSE forbidden be,
 To speak of that which but too many see?
 Why should she, by conniving, seem t' uphold
 Mens Wickedness, and thereby make them bold
 Still to persist in't? Why should she be shy
 To call them Beasts, who want Humanity?
 Why should she any longer Silence keep,
 And lie secure as one that's fast asleep?
 Or, how indeed can it expected be,
 That she should hold her Tongue, and daily see
 Those wicked and enormous Crimes committed,
 Which she in Modesty has pretermitted?

1662. *Which but to name, would with their Filth defile
 W Chaste Ears, and cast a Blemish on her Stile :
 Yet, of so many, she cannot forbear
 To mention some, which here detected are.*

L O U D were the Cries, which long had
 pierc'd mine Ear,
 Foul the Reports, which I did daily hear.
*Unheard of, new-invented Crimes were brought,
 By Fame unto my Knowledge, which I thought
 Too foul and loathsome to have found a Place
 In any Heart, though ne'er so void of Grace.
 This made me take a more observant View,
 Whether Report spake what of Men is true.*

But as the celebrated Southern QUEEN,
 When she the Court of *Solomon* had seen,
 And had, with more than usual Diligence,
 Observ'd his Splendor and Magnificence,
 Consider'd well his Pomp, his Port, his State,
 The great Retinue that on him did wait ;
 As one with Admiration fill'd (no doubt
 Not able longer to contain) burst out
 Into such Words as these ; *Thrice happy King !
 Whose Fame throughout the Universe doth ring,
 Though*

Though of thine Acts I thought Report too bold, 1662.
Yet now I see one Half hath not been told. 

Just so did I, though in another kind,
 After I had intently fix'd my Mind
 Upon Mens Actions, and had duly weigh'd
 Not only what they *did*, but what they *said*:
 A while I stood, like one that's struck with
 Thunder,

Fill'd with Astonishment, and silent Wonder.
 At length my Heart, swelling with *Indignation*,
 Vented itself in such an *Exclamation*.

O hellish Doings! O infernal Crew!
 Of whom, who says the worst he can, says true.
 O Herd of iustful *Satyrs*, *Monsters*, *Brutes*!
 For such a Name to such a Nature suits;
 What Ink is black enough to write! what Pen
 Fit to delineate such Beasts, not Men!
 Words are too shallow to express the *Rage*,
 The *Fury*, *Madness* of this *frantick AGE*.
 Numbers fall short to reckon up the *Crimes*,
 Which are the *Recreations* of these Times.

Was *Sodom* ever guilty of a Sin,
 Which *England* is not now involved in?
 By *Custom*, *Drunkenness* so common's grown,
 That most Men count it a *small Sin*, or *none*.

1662. *Ranting* and *Roaring* they affirm to be,
 The true Characters of *Gentility*.

Swearing and *Cursing* is so much in Fashion,
 That 'tis esteem'd a Badge of *Reputation*.

What *dreadful Oaths*! what *direful Execrations*
 On others! on themselves what *Imprecations*
 They tumble out, like roaring Claps of
 Thunder,

As if they meant to rend the Clouds asunder!
Mockers do so abound in ev'ry Place,
 That rare it is to meet a sober Face.

Ambition, *Boasting*, *Vanity* and *Pride*,
 With Numbers numberless of Sins beside,
 Are grown, thro' Use, so common, that
 Men call

Them *Peccadillo's*; small, or none at all.

But, Oh! the *Luxury* and *great Excess*
 Which by this wanton Age is us'd in *Dress*!
 What Pains do Men and Women take, alas!
 To make themselves for a man's *Bedlam's* pass!
 The Fool's *py'd Coat*, which all wise Men
 detest,

Is grown a Garment now in great Request;
 More *Colours* in one *Waistcoat* now they wear,
 Than in the *Rain-bow* ever did appear,


As if they were ambitious to put on
 All Colours that they cast their Eyes upon ;
 Thereby outstripping the *Camelcon* quite,
 Which cannot change itself to red or white.
 Each Man, like *Proteus* his Shape doth change,
 To whatsoever seemeth new or strange,
 And he that in a modest Garb is drest,
 Is made the Laughing-stock of all the rest.
 Nor are they with their Baubles satisfy'd,
 But *Sex-Distinctions* too are laid aside ;
 The Women wear the *Trowsies* and the *Vest*,
 While Men in *Muffs*, *Fans*, *Peticoats* are drest.
 Some Women (Oh, the Shame !) like ramping
 Rigs,
 Ride flaunting in their powder'd *Perriwigs* ;
 Astride they sit (and not ashamed neither)
 Drest up like Men in *Jacket*, *Cap* and *Feather*.
 All Things to *Lust* and *Wantonnefs* are fitted,
 Nothing that tends to *Vanity* omitted.
 To give a Touch on every *antick Fashion*,
 Which hath been worn of late within this
 Nation,
 Might fill a Volume, which would tire, no
 doubt,
 The READER'S Patience, if not wear it out.

Come

1662. Come now, ye *ranting Gallants* of the Times,
 Who nothing have to boast of but your *Crimes*;
 Ye *Satan's Heçtors*, who disdain to swear
 An Oath beneath *God damn me if he dare*.
Blasphemous Wretches! whose *Impieties*,
 With rude Assaults have storm'd the very Skies,
 And dar'd the *God of Heaven*, a dreadful Stroke
 Shall ye receive, by which ye shall be broke,
 And in the fiery Lake those Torments find,
 Which for such *Desperadoes* are assign'd.

And ye, who take so great Delight to curse,
 As that you think yourselves a deal the worse,
 Unless unto the highest Strain ye swell,
 And with the *Devil* make your Bed in Hell:
 This know, the long provoked God is come,
 From whom ye must receive that dreadful Doom,
Depart ye Cursed, and for ever dwell,
Where Beds of Torment are prepar'd in Hell.

'Twas wonderful to see in what a Trice,
 This zealous Nation was o'er-run with *Vice*.
 As when the boiling Gulf, with furious Gales
 Puff't up, o'erflows its Banks and drowns the
 Vales;
 And when again it ebbs, it leaves (we find)
 A loathsome Scum and noisome Stink behind.

So great was, in a Word, the Wickedness 1662.
 Of that black Day ; such the uncurb'd Excess, 
 As if the fatal Hour had then been come,
 For the Deliv'ry of Hell's pregnant Womb,
 And that the Devil had a Patent got,
 To vend whatever Merchandize he brought ;
 Or that *Pandora's* Box (which P O E T S feign
 Did all *Calamities* in it contain)
 Had then been newly op'ned, and from thence
 Had flutter'd out this raging Pestilence ;
 Which since, the common Body hath o'erspread
 With such a lep'rous Scab from Foot to Head,
 That 'tis a lamentable Sight to see,
 How each Sex, old and young, debauched be.

A Sort of Men have over-run this Nation,
 Who are a Burthen to the whole Creation ;
Men shall I call them, or the *Viper's Brood* ?
Lovers of Evil, *Haters* of all Good.
 These, swell'd with Envy, in a great Despight
 To CHRIST, with *Fist of Wickedness* do smite,
 (Not their own *Fellow-servants* ; for they are
 The *Devil's Slaves*, by him bor'd thro' the Ear :
 But) *God's Ambassadors*, whom He hath sent
 To warn them of their Sins, and cry *Repent* ;

Or

1662. Or to denounce His *Judgments* against those,
 That set themselves His *Message* to oppose.
 These persecute the Innocent, and say,
When they are gone, 'twill be a merry Day.
 These grind the Poor ; the Needy these oppress ;
 Widows devour ; tread on the Fatherless.
 Far from themselves they put the evil Day,
 Remove impending *Judgments* far away ;
 And yet in vain they strive t'escape the Stroke
 Of that just God whom boldly they provoke.
 For they afflict His People ; slay His Sheep ;
 Beat those whom He appointed hath to keep
 And feed His tender Lambs ; rend, tear, devour,
 Suppress God's Worship to their utmost Pow'r.
 A cursed Generation, who are bent
 To spare the *Wicked*, slay the *Innocent*,
 Whose Blood doth cry, whose Blood doth cry
 aloud,
 As loud as *Abel's*, pierceth thro' the Cloud,
 Presents itself before the Judgment-Seat,
 And Justice doth of the just Judge intreat,
 That speedy Vengeance He will take on all,
 Who persecute His *Saints*, and them enthrall.

Nor is He deaf ; its Cry with Him prevails,
 And He hath promised (who never fails

In the Performance) that He will arise,
 And put a Period to their Cruelties ;
 And that He will, with more than winged
 Speed,

1662.



Send Comfort to His poor afflicted Seed,
 Which under *Pharaoh's heavy Yoke* hath groan'd,
 And in *Captivity* itself bemoan'd.

O bloody Sin of *Persecution* !

'Tis thou that pluckest Judgments down upon
 The Heads of *Kings, Princes, Plebeans*, all
 That act thee, and by thee the *Saints* enthrall.
 This is *that Sin, that Sin* which cries aloud,
 Louder than all the rest, *The Guilt of Blood* ;
 Which is the strongest Cord the Devil hath
 To draw down on Mankind *God's heavy Wrath*.
 Weeping I sigh, and sighing weep to see
 The Rod, which God prepared hath for thee,
 O *England*, who dost evilly intreat
 His *Messengers*, and dost His *Prophets* beat.

Ah, *England*, ah, poor *England*, I bewail
 Thy sad Estate ; O that I might prevail
 In my Desires for thee ! then shouldst thou be
 As full of Joy, as now of Misery.
 For then should Plenty in thy Fields be found,
 And all thy *Garners* should with Grain abound.

Then

1662. Then Peace, long-lasting Peace should in thee
 dwell,

For God would all thine Enemies repel ;
 And He Himself would take Delight in thee,
 So thou the Glory of the World wouldst be.

But, ah, alas ! small Hope I have to see
 Such happy Symptoms of good Health in thee.
 No, No, sad Isle, my Reason it doth tell me,
 That all the Crosses, which have yet besel thee,
 Are but an Earnest of that dreadful Day,
 Wherein God will upon thy Head repay
 Wrath, Fury, Vengeance and Destruction,
 The just Reward of Persecution.

The due Consideration of thy State,
 And thine (I fear) inevitable Fate,
 Doth move my Heart with *Pity* and *Compassion*,
 And leads me to this short *Expostulation*.

Who to the Eye gave Sight? what shall not He
 The cruel Sufferings of His People see ?
 And shall not He that formed hath the Ear,
 The mournful Groans of His *dear Children* hear ?
 Are Men so stupid grown, they think G O D's
 blind ?

Or that He doth not heed ? or cannot find

A Way

A Way to ease the Suff'rings of His Seed? 1662.
 Whose Cry unto Him is, *Father, with Speed*
Arise, arise; rend Thou the Clouds, descend,
Avenge us of our Enemies; defend
Us from their Cruelties, and let them see
Thy Care of us, exceeds our Love to Thee.

Nor are these Sighs in vain; for He indeed
 Is rising, yea is ris'n, our Cause to plead
 In *Righteousness*; and henceforth us who kicks,
 Shall know 'tis hard to kick against the Pricks.

Be warned then ye *Rulers*, and let all
 Of whatsoever Rank, both great and small,
 Tremble before the Lord, and cease to rage
 Against our God's peculiar Heritage;
 For, of a Truth, His long-provoked Hand
 Is stretched out, in Judgment o'er this Land,
 And ye must feel it; for He hath decreed,
 To vindicate His long oppressed Seed,
 And in His Fury, He will Vengeance take
 In our Behalfs, who suffer for His Sake:
 Then shall ye know, that He who sits on high,
 Regards us as the Apple of His Eye.

1662. *To this, occasionally I subjoined a POST-
SCRIP T, thus.*

SINCE what precedes was written, I
have found

An Accufation form'd, but without Ground,
Against me, That *with uncontrouled Pen,*
I too feverely lash the Faults of Men ;
And take upon me, in Satyrick Rhimes,
To pafs a rigid Cenfure on the Times.

This drew me on to add another Line,
To fhew them that the Fault's their own,
not mine.

No Crime can juftly to my Charge be laid,
Unlefs it be a Crime, *That Truth be faid.*
Nor can, without Injuftice, any blame
My Mufe for ecchoing the common Fame.

If any fhould object, *That wife Men hold,*
That Truth at all Times ought not to be told.
Nor that *whatever comes into one's Head,*
Should ftraight, becaufe 'tis true, be publifhed.

I readily affent, becaufe I know
Pearls before Swine we are forbid to throw.
Some Truths, I grant, may better be conceal'd,
Than if they out of Season were reveal'd ;

Yet

Yet would I not that any, through Mistake, 1662.
 Should of my Words a Misconstruction make, ~
 Than that should happen, I had rather be
 Taxt by the Reader for Prolixity.

Thus then, in brief, would I be understood.
 If what I know, concerns my Brother's good,
 For him to know ; ought I not then unfold
 It to him, rather than from him with-hold
 A Benefit ? So on the other Side,
 It is, I think, too plain to be deny'd,
 That if I see what certainly doth tend
 To the Hurt of my Neighbour or my Friend,
 I am oblig'd, by *Christian Charity*,
 To give them Warning of the Danger nigh ;
 To shew them, that they stand upon the Brink
 Of certain Ruin ; and if then they sink,
 By wilful running on, I shall be free
 From Guilt, their Blood on their own Heads
 will be.

'Tis plain I think ; yet if ye can't believe it
 Without a Scripture-Proof, lo, here * I give it. *Levit.*
 This is the very Case ; which, if well weigh'd, 19 17.
 Will fully justify what I have said. *Ezek. 33*

I saw Men running to a Precipice,
 At Foot of which was such a vast Abyfs,

1662. As could have swallow'd Nations so immense,
 That 'twas impossible to climb out thence.
 For if a Man we see, but chance to pitch,
 O'er Head and Ears into some miry Ditch,
 How quickly is he smothered, unless
 Some friendly Hand assist in that Distress!
 And if, with struggling, out at length he get,
 Yet how besmear'd is he with Dirt, and wet!
 But into this deep Pit who falls, in vain
 Expects an Hand to help him out again.
 No, 'tis of Grace that Men forewarned are,
 And, e'er their Feet are taken, *shew'd the Snare.*

And warned they must be. For so was I,
 While roving in their Paths of *Vanity*;
 Toil'd and bewild'ed in a dismal Night
 Of thick *Egyptian* Darknes, from the Light:
 From whence the Lord hath, by His Love me
 drawn,
 And in my Heart hath caus'd his Day to dawn,
 His glorious Day, his never-setting Sun
 To rise, and Darknes to expel begun.
 This Love, as it arises, warms my Heart,
 And fills it with Desires to impart
 To others of its Goodness, that none may,
 For want of good Direction, miss their Way.

Know

Know therefore thou, who hitherto hast spent ^{1662.}
 Thy Time in *Vanity*, and wholly bent
 Thy utmost Strength, thy Lusts to satisfy,
 And surfeit with Delights, thy wanton Eye ;
 The Lord hath in thy *Conscience* plac'd a *Light*,
 To teach thee how to guide thy Steps aright.
 This checks when into Evil thou hast run,
 And gives thee Warning, e'er thou hast begun.
 Hast thou not heard, when in thy full Career,
 Something within thee say, *What do I here ?*
 And when thy Mind is cool, another Day,
 Doth it not sometimes cause thee thus to say ;
O that I had not run into Excess !
O that I had not done this Wickedness !
My Conscience tells me that I have done ill,
In yielding to my own corrupted Will ;
And though no Eye did see me, yet my Heart
I feel is full of Torment, Pain and Smart ;
Were it to do again I'd have more Care,
And not run wilfully into the Snare.
 Consider what that is, which thus doth raise
 A Trouble in thee for thy evil Ways ;
 And what that is, which many Times doth
 grieve thee,
 And often makes thee cry out, *God forgive me.*

1662. When thus it checks thee next, strait call
 to mind,

That Word, thine Ear shall hear a Voice
 behind

Thee, saying *Hither turn, this is the Way,*
 When to the right or left, thou go'st astray.
 And having heard, Obedience forthwith give
 To its Reproof: *Hear, and thy Soul shall live.*
 For were Men subject to *Christ's Light within,*
 It certainly would lead Men out of Sin,
 And, thro' *Believing,* bring them into Heav'n,
 For that's the End, for which by Him 'tis giv'n.

Thus have I faithfully discharg'd a Part,
 Which long lay as a Weight upon my Heart,
 Regardless of what Danger may ensue,
 For seasonably speaking what is true.
 And if ungrateful Men shall ill requite
 My signal Love, with Enmity and Spight,
 I let them know, that my undaunted Pen
 Scorns the contracted Brows of angry Men.
 Prepar'd I am to suffer with Content,
 The worst that can' red Malice can invent ;
 Which is no more than to my Lord besel,
 To *Suffer* evil Things for *doing* well.

Bona agere, & Mala pati, Regium est.

1662.



To suffer Evil for Well-doing, brings
The Sufferer to share Renown with Kings.

After I had in the foregoing P O E M, somewhat eased my Spirit of that which, for some Time, had lain as a Load upon me; I breathed forth the following H Y M N to God, in Acknowledgment of His great Goodness to me, Profession of my grateful Love to Him, and Supplication to Him, for the Continuance of His Kindness to me, in preserving me from the Snares of the Enemy, and keeping me faithful unto Himself.

TH E E, Thee alone, O God, I fear,
In Thee do I confide ;

Thy Presence is to me more dear
Than all Things else beside.

Thy Virtue, Power, Life and Light,
Which in my Heart do shine,
Above all Things are my Delight,

O make them always mine !

Thy matchless Love constrains my Life,
Thy Life constrains my Love,
To be to Thee as chaste a Wife,
As is the Turtle-dove

1662. To her elect, espoused Mate,
 Whom she will not forsake,
 Nor can be brought to violate
 The Bond she once did make.
 Just so my Soul doth cleave to Thee,
 As to her only Head,
 With whom she longs conjoin'd to be
 In Bond of Marriage-bed.
 But, ah, alas! her little Fort
 Is compassed about,
 Her Foes about her thick resort,
 Within, and eke without.
 How numerous are they now grown!
 How wicked their Intent!
 O let Thy mighty Power be shown,
 Their Mischief to prevent!
 They make Assaults on ev'ry Side,
 But Thou stand'st in the Gap;
 Their Batt'ring-Rams make Breaches wide,
 But still thou mak'st them up.
 Sometimes they use alluring Wiles,
 To draw into their Pow'r;
 And sometimes weep like *Crocodiles*,
 But all is to devour.

Thus

Thus they beset my feeble Heart 1662.
 With Fraud, Deceit and Guile, W
 Alluring her from Thee to start,
 And Thy pure Rest defile.
 But oh ! the Breathing and the Moan,
 The Sighings of the Seed,
 The Groanings of the grieved One,
 Do Sorrows in me breed.
 And that immortal, holy Birth,
 The Off-spring of Thy Breath,
 (To whom Thy Love brings Life and Mirth,
 As doth thy Absence, Death ;)
 That Babe, that Seed, that panting Child,
 Which cannot Thee forsake,
 In Fear to be again beguil'd,
 Doth Supplication make ;
 O suffer not thy chosen One,
 Who puts her Trust in Thee,
 And hath made Thee her Choice alone,
 Ensnar'd again to be.

Bridewell, London :
 1662.

In this Sort did I spend some leisure Hours,
 during my Confinement in *Bridewell*, especially
 after our Return from *Newgate* thither ; when

1662. we had more Liberty, and more Opportunity
 and Room for Retirement and Thought. For,
 as the Poet said,

Carmina Scribentes Secessum & Otia quærunt.

They who would write in Measure,
 Retire where they may Stillness have and Lei-
 sure.

And this Priviledge we enjoyed by the Indul-
 gence of our Keeper, whose Heart God disposed
 to favour us. So that both the Master and his
 Porter were very civil and kind to us, and
 had been so indeed all along. For when we
 were shut up before, the Porter would readily
 let some of us go home in an Evening, and stay
 at home till next Morning; which was a great
 Conveniency to Men of Trade and Business,
 which I being free from, forbore asking for
 myself, that I might not hinder others.

This he observed, and asked me *when I
 meant to ask to go out?* I told him I had not
 much Occasion nor Desire; yet at some time or
 other, perhaps I might have; but when I had,
 I would ask him but once, and if he then de-
 nied me, I would ask him no more.

After we were come back from *Newgate*, I
 had a Desire to go thither again, to visit my
 Friends who were Prisoners there, more espe-
 cially my dear Friend, and Father in *Christ*,
Edward Burroughs, who was then a Prisoner,
 with

with many Friends more, in that Part of 1662. *Newgate* which was then called *Justice-hall*. Whereupon the Porter coming in my Way, I asked him to let me go out for an Hour or two, to see some Friends of mine that Evening.

He to enhance the Kindness, made it a matter of some Difficulty, and would have me stay till another Night. I told him, I would be at a Word with him; for as I had told him before, that if he denied me, I would ask him no more; so he should find I would keep to it.

He was no sooner gone out of my Sight, but I espied his Master crossing the Court. Wherefore stepping to him, I asked him, If he was willing to let me go out for a little while, to see some Friends of mine that Evening. *Yes*, said he, *very willing*; and thereupon away walked I to *Newgate*, where having spent the Evening among Friends, I returned in good Time.

Under this easy Restraint we lay, till the Court sate at the *Old-Baily* again; and then, whether it was that the Heat of the Storm was somewhat abated, or by what other Means Providence wrought it, I know not; we were called to the Bar, and without further Question discharged.


Whereupon we returned to *Bridewell* again, and having raised some Monies among us, and therewith gratified both the Master and his Porter for their Kindness to us, we spent some Time in a solemn Meeting, to return our thankful Acknowledgment to the LORD, both for
His

1662. His Preservation of us in Prison, and Deliverance of us out of it ; and then taking a solemn Farewel of each other, we departed with Bag and Baggage. And I took Care to return my Hammock to the Owner, with due Acknowledgment of his great Kindness in lending it me.

Being now at Liberty, I visited more generally my Friends that were still in Prison, and more particularly my Friend and Benefactor, *William Penington*, at his House, and then went to wait upon my Master *Milton*. With whom yet I could not propose to enter upon my intermitted Studies, until I had been in *Buckinghamshire*, to visit my worthy Friends *Isaac Penington*, and his virtuous Wife, with other Friends in that Country.

Thither therefore I betook myself, and the Weather being frosty, and the Ways, by that means, clean and good, I walked it thorow in a Day, and was received by my Friends there, with such Demonstration of hearty Kindness, as made my Journey very easy to me.

I had spent in my Imprisonment that Twenty Shillings which I had received of *William Penington* ; and Twenty of the Forty which had been sent me from *Mary Penington*, and had the Remainder then about me. That therefore I now returned to her, with due Acknowledgment of her Husband's and her great Care of me, and Liberality to me in the Time of my Need. She would have had me kept it. But I beg'd her to accept it from me again, since it

was the Redundancy of their Kindness, and the other Part had answered the Occasion for which it was sent : And my Importunity prevailed. ^{1662.} 

I intended only a Visit hither, not a Continuance ; and therefore purposed, after I had staid a few Days, to return to my Lodging and former Course in *London* ; but Providence ordered it otherwise.

Isaac Penington had at that Time two Sons and one Daughter, all then very young ; of whom the eldest Son (*John Penington*) and the Daughter (*Mary*, the Wife of *Daniel Wharley*) are yet living at the writing of this. And being himself both skilful and curious in *Pronunciation*, he was very desirous to have them well grounded in the *Rudiments* of the *English* Tongue ; to which End he had sent for a Man out of *Lancashire*, whom, upon enquiry, he had heard of, who was undoubtedly the most accurate *English* Teacher that ever I met with, or have heard of. His Name was *Richard Bradley*. But as he pretended no higher than the *English* Tongue, and had led them, by *Grammar* Rules, to the highest Improvement they were capable of in that, he had then taken his Leave of them, and was gone up to *London*, to teach an *English* School of Friends Children there.

This put my Friend to a fresh Strait. He had sought for a new Teacher to instruct his Children in the *Latin* Tongue, as the old had done in the *English*, but had not yet found one. Wherefore one Evening as we sate together by the


the

1662. the Fire in his Bed-chamber (which, for want of Health, he kept) he asked me, his Wife being by, *If I would be so kind to him, as to stay a while with him, till he could hear of such a Man as he aimed at; and in the mean Time enter his Children in the Rudiments of the Latin Tongue.*

This Question was not more unexpected, than surprizing to me; and the more, because it seemed directly to thwart my former Purpose and Undertaking, of endeavouring to improve myself by following my Studies with my Master *Milton*, which this would give at least a present Diversion from, and for how long I could not foresee.

But the Sense I had of the manifold Obligations I lay under to these worthy Friends of mine, shut out all Reasonings, and disposed my Mind to an absolute Resignation to their Desire, that I might testify my Gratitude, by a Willingness to do them any friendly Service, that I could be capable of.

And though I questioned my Ability to carry on that Work, to its due Height and Proportion; yet as that was not proposed, but an Initiation only, by *Accidence* into *Grammar*, I consented to the Proposal, as a present Expedient (till a more qualified Person should be found) without further Treaty or mention of Terms between us, than that of mutual Friendship. And to render this Digression from my own Studies the less uneasy to my Mind,

Mind, I recollected, and often thought of that ^{1662.}
 Rule in *Lilly*, 

*Qui docet indoctos, licet indoctissimus esset,
 Ipse brevi reliquis doctior esse queat.*

He that th' Unlearn'd doth teach, may
 quickly be
 More Learn'd than they, though most
 Unlearned he.

With this Consideration I undertook this Province, and left it not until I married, which was not till the Year 1669, near seven Years from the Time I came thither. In which Time, having the Use of my Friends Books, as well as of mine own, I spent my leisure Hours much in reading, not without some Improvement to myself in my private Studies; which (with the good Success of my Labours bestowed on the Children, and the Agreeableness of Conversation which I found in the Family) rendered my Undertaking more satisfactory, and my Stay there more easy to me.

But, alas! not many Days (not to say Weeks) had I been there, ere we were almost overwhelmed with Sorrow, for the unexpected Loss of *Edward Burrough*, who was justly very dear to us all.

This not only Good, but Great-good Man, by a long and close Confinement in *Newgate*, through the cruel Malice and malicious Cruelty of *Richard Brown*, was taken away by hasty
 Death,

1662. Death, to the unutterable Grief of very many,
 W and unspeakable Loss to the CHURCH of
 CHRIST in general.

The particular Obligation I had to him, as
 the immediate Instrument of my Convince-
 ment, and high Affection for him resulting
 therefrom, did so deeply affect my Mind, that
 it was some pretty Time before my Passion
 could prevail to express itself in Words; so
 true I found that of the *Tragædian*,

*Curæ leves loquntur,
 Ingentes Stupent.*

Light Grievs break forth, and easily get Vent,
 Great Ones are thro' Amazement closely pent.

At length my MUSE, not bearing to be
 any longer mute, brake forth in the following
 ACROSTICK, which she called


*A pathetic ELEGY on the
 Death of that dear and faithful Servant of
 GOD, EDWARD BURROUGH, who died
 the 14th of the Twelfth Month, 1662.*

And thus she introduceth it.

HOW long shall Grief lie smother'd! ah,
 how long,

Shall Sorrow's Signet seal my silent Tongue!

How

How long shall Sighs me suffocate! and make 1662.
 My Lips to quiver, and my Heart to ake! 
 How long shall I, with Pain suppress my Cries!
 And seek for Holes to wipe my wat'ry Eyes!
 Why may not I, by Sorrow thus oppress,
 Pour forth my Grief into another's Breast!
 If that be true which once was said by one,
 That * *He mourns truly, who doth mourn alone*:
 Then may I truly say, My Grief is true,
 Since it hath yet been known to very few.
 Nor is it now mine Aim to make it known
 To those, to whom these Verses may be shown;
 But to assuage my Sorrow-swollen Heart,
 Which Silence caus'd to taste so deep of Smart.
 This is my End, that so I may prevent
 The Veissel's bursting, by a timely Vent.

* *Ille dolet vere,
 qui sine
 Teste
 dolet.*

————— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet a Lacrymis! ———

Who can forbear, when such Things spoke he
 hears,
 His Grave to water with a Flood of Tears.

E clo

1662. *E cho ye Woods ; resound ye hollow Places,*
L et Tears and Pæneness cover all Mens Faces.
L et Groans like Claps of Thunder, pierce the Air,
W hile I the Cause of my just Grief declare.
O that mine Eyes could, like the Streams of Nile,
O 'erflow their watry Banks; and thou, meanwhile,
D rink in my trickling Tears, O thirsty Ground,
S o might'st thou henceforth fruitfuller be found.

L ament my Soul, lament, thy Loss is deep,
A nd all that Sion love, sit down and weep.
M ourn O ye Virgins, and let Sorrow be
E ach Damsel's Dowry and (alas, for me !)
N 'er let my Sobs and Sighings have an End,
T ill I again embrace m' ascended Friend ;
A nd till I feel the Virtue of his Life
T o console me, and repress my Grief :
I nfuse into my Heart the Oil of Gladness
O nce more, and by its Strength remove that Sadness.
N ow pressing down my Spirit, and restore

F ully that Joy I had in him before.
O f whom a Word I fain would stammer forth,
R ather to ease my Heart, than shew his Worth :

His Worth, my Grief, which Words too shallow are } 1662.
In Demonstration fully to declare, }
Sighs, Sobs, my best Interpreters now are. }

Envy be gone. Black Momus quit the Place;
N'er more, Zoilus, shew thy wrinkled Face.
Draw near, ye bleeding Hearts, whose Sorrows are,
Equal with mine; in him ye had like Share.
Add all your Losses up, and ye shall see,
Remainder will be nought but Woe is me.
Endeared Lambs, ye that have the white Stone,
Do know full well his Name, It is your own.

Eterniz'd be that right-worthy Name,
Death bath but kill'd his Body, not his Fame,
Which in its Brightness shall for ever dwell,
And, like a Box of Ointment, sweetly smell.
Righteousness was his Robe; bright Majesty
Deked his Brow; his Look was heavenly.

Bold was he in his Master's Quarrel, and
Undaunted; faithful to his Lord's Command.
Requiting Good for Ill; directing all
Right in the Way that leads out of the Fall.
Open and free to ev'ry thirsty Lamb;
Unspotted, pure, clean, holy, without Blame.
Glory, Light, Splendor, Lustre was his Crown,
Happy his Change to him; the Loss our own.

1662. *Unica post Cineres Virtus veneranda beatos
Efficit. ———*

*Virtue alone (which Rev'ence ought to have)
Doth make Men happy, e'en beyond the Grave.*

While I had thus been breathing forth my
Grief,

In hopes thereby to get me some Relief,
I heard, methought, his Voice say, *Cease to
mourn,*

*I Live; and though the Vail of Flesh once worn,
Be now stript off, dissolv'd and laid aside,
My Spirit's with thee, and shall so abide.*

This satisfy'd me; down I threw my Quill,
Willing to be resign'd to God's pure Will.

1663. *Having discharged this Duty to the Memory
of my deceased Friend, I went on in my new
Province, instructing my little Pupils in the
Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, to the mutual
Satisfaction of both their Parents and myself. As
soon as I had gotten a little Money in my Poc-
ket, which as a Premium without Compact I
received from them, I took the first Opportu-
nity to return to my Friend William Penington
the Money which he had so kindly furnished
me with in my Need, at the Time of my Im-
prisonment*

prisonment in *Bridewell*; with a due Acknowledgement of my Obligation to him for it. He was not at all forward to receive it, so that I was fain to press it upon him.

While thus I remained in this Family, various Suspicions arose in the Minds of some concerning me, with respect to *Mary Penington's* fair Daughter *Guli*. For she having now arrived to a marriageable Age, and being in all respects a very desirable Woman (whether regard was had to her outward Person, which wanted nothing to render her compleatly comely; or to the Endowments of her Mind, which were every way extraordinary, and highly obliging; or to her outward Fortune, which was fair, and which with some hath not the last, nor the least Place in Consideration) she was openly and secretly sought, and solicited by many, and some of them almost of every Rank and Condition; Good and Bad, Rich and Poor, Friend and Foe. To whom, in their respective Turns (till he at length came, for whom she was reserved) she carried herself with so much Evenness of Temper, such courteous Freedom, guarded with the strictest Modesty, that as it gave Encouragement, or ground of Hopes to none, so neither did it administer any matter of Offence, or just Cause of Complaint to any.

But such as were thus either engaged for themselves, or desirous to make themselves Advocates for others, could not, I observed, but look upon me with an Eye of Jealousy and

1663. Fear, that I would improve the Opportunities
 I had, by frequent and familiar Conversation
 with her, to my own Advantage, in working
 myself into her good Opinion and Favour, to
 the Ruin of their Pretences.

According therefore, to the several Kinds and
 Degrees of their Fears of me, they suggested
 to her Parents their ill Surmises against me.

Some stuck not to question the Sincerity of
 my Intentions, in coming at first among the
Quakers; urging, with a *Why may it not be so?*
That the Desire and Hopes of obtaining, by that
means, so fair a Fortune, might be the prime and
chief Inducement to me, to thrust myself amongst
that People. But this Surmise could find no
 place with those worthy Friends of mine (her
 Father-in-Law and her Mother) who, besides
 the clear Sense and sound Judgment they had
 in themselves, knew very well upon what
 Terms I came among them, how straight and
 hard the Passage was to me, how contrary to
 all worldly Interest (which lay fair another
 way) how much I had suffered from my Fa-
 ther for it, and how regardlets I had been of
 attempting or seeking any thing of that Na-
 ture, in these three or four Years that I had
 been amongst them.

Some others, measuring me by the Propen-
 sity of their own Inclinations, concluded *I*
would steal her, run away with her, and marry
her. Which they thought I might be the more
 easily induced to do, from the advantageous
 Opportunities I frequently had of riding and
 walking

walking abroad with her, by Night as well ^{1663.} as by Day, without any other Company than her Maid. For so great indeed was the Confidence that her Mother had in me, that she thought her Daughter safe if I was with her, even from the Plots and Designs that others had upon her. And so honourable were the Thoughts she entertained concerning me, as would not suffer her to admit a Suspicion, that I could be capable of so much Baseness, as to betray the Trust she, with so great Freedom, reposed in me.

I was not ignorant of the various Fears which filled the jealous Heads of some concerning me, neither was I so stupid, nor so divested of all Humanity, as not to be sensible of the real and innate Worth and Virtue which adorned that excellent Dame, and attracted the Eyes and Hearts of so many, with the greatest Importunity to seek and solicit her; nor was I so devoid of natural Heat, as not to feel some Sparklings of Desire as well as others. But the Force of TRUTH, and Sense of Honour, suppressed whatever would have risen beyond the Bounds of fair and virtuous Friendship. For I easily foresaw, that if I should have attempted any Thing in a dishonourable Way, by Force or Fraud upon her, I should have thereby brought a Wound upon mine own Soul, a foul Scandal upon my religious Profession, and an infamous Stain upon mine Honour; either of which was far more dear unto me than my Life. Wherefore having observed how some others

1663. had befool'd themselves, by misconstruing her common Kindness, (expressed in an innocent, open, free and familiar Conversation, springing from the abundant Affability, Courtesy and Sweetness of her natural Temper) to be the Effect of a singular Regard and peculiar Affection to them ; I resolv'd to shun the Rock on which I had seen so many run and split ; and remembering that Saying of the POET,

Felix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum.

Happy's he,
Whom others Dangers wary make to be.

I govern'd myself in a free, yet respectful Carriage towards her, that I thereby both preserv'd a fair Reputation with my Friends, and enjoy'd as much of her Favour and Kindness, in a virtuous and firm Friendship, as was fit for her to shew, or for me to seek.

Thus leading a quiet and contented Life, I had Leisure sometimes to write a Copy of Verses on one Occasion or another, as the *Poetick Vein* naturally opened, without taking Pains to polish them. Such was this which follows, occasioned by the sudden Death of some lusty People in their full Strength.

1663.

Est VITA caduca.

AS is the fragrant Flower in the Field,
 Which in the Spring a pleafant Smell
 doth yield,
 And lovely Sight ; but foon is withered :
 So's MAN ; To-day alive, To-morrow dead.
 And as the Silver-dew-befpangled Grafs,
 Which in the Morn bedecks its Mother's Face,
 But e're the fcorching Summer's paff, looks
 brown,

Or by the Sythe is fuddenly cut down.

Just fuch is Man, who vaunts himself To-day,
 Decking himself in all his beft Array ;
 But in the midft of all his Bravery,
 Death rounds him in the Ear, *Friend, thou
 muft die.*

Or like a Shadow in a Sunny Day,
 Which in a Moment vanifheth away ;
 Or like a Smile, or Spark ; fuch is the Span
 Of Life, allow'd this *Microcofm*, M A N.

Ceafe then vain Man to boaft ; for this is true,
Thy brighteft Glory's as the Morning Dew,

1663. Which disappears when first the rising Sun
 ☞ Displays his Beams above the Horizon.

As the Consideration of the *Uncertainty of HUMAN LIFE* drew the foregoing Lines from me; so the Sense I had of the *FOLLY of MANKIND*, in mis-spending the little Time allow'd them, in evil Ways and vain Sports; led me more particularly to trace the several Courses, wherein the Generality of Men run, unprofitably at best, if not to their Hurt and Ruin. Which I introduced with that Axiom of the Preacher, *Ecclesj. i. 2,*

ALL IS VANITY.

*See here the State of MAN as in a Glass,
 And how the Fashion of this World doth pass.*

SOME in a *Tavern* spend the longest Day,
 While others *hawk* and *hunt* the Time
 away.

Here one his *Mistress* courts; another *dances*;
 A third incites to *Lust* by wanton *Glances*.

This wastes the Day in *dressing*; th' other seeks
 To set fresh Colours on her with' red *Cheeks*,

That,

That, when the Sun declines, some *dapper Spark* ^{1663.}
 May take her to *Spring-garden*, or the *Park*.

Plays some frequent, and *Balls*; others their
 Prime

Consume at *Dice*; some *bowl* away their *Time*.

With *Cards* some wholly captivated are;

From *Tables* others scarce an Hour can spare.

One to soft *Musick* mancipates his Ear;

At *Shovel-board* another spends the Year.

The *Pall-Mall* this accounts the only Sport;

That keeps a *Racket* in the *Tennis-Court*.

Some strain their very Eyes and Throats with

Singing,

While others strip their Hands and Backs at

Ringing.

Another Sort with greedy Eyes are waiting

Either at *Cockpit*, or some great *Bull-bating*.

This dotes on *Running-horses*; t'other Fool

Is never well, but in the *Fencing-school*.

Wrestling and *Football*, *Ninepins*, *Prison-base*,

Among the rural Clowns find each a Place.

Nay *Joan* unwash'd will leave her *Milking-pail*,

To dance at *May-pole*, or a *Whitsun-Ale*.

Thus wallow most in *sensual Delight*,

As if their Day should never have a Night;

Till

1663. Till *Nature's* pale-fac'd *Serjeant* them surprize,
 And as the Tree then falls, just so it lies.

Now look at home, thou who these Lines
 dost read,
 See which of all these Paths thyself dost tread ;
 And e're it be too late that Path forsake,
 Which, follow'd, will thee miserable make.

After I had thus enumerated some of the many Vanities, in which the Generality of Men mis-spent their Time, I sang the following *ODE* in Praise of *VIRTUE*.

WEALTH, Beauty, Pleasures, Honours,
 all adieu,

I value *Virtue* far, far more than you.

Y'are all but Toys

For Girls and Boys

To play withal ; at best deceitful Joys.

She lives for ever ; ye are transitory.

Her Honour is unstained ; but your Glory

Is meer Deceit,

A painted Bait,

Hung out for such as sit at Folly's Gate.

True Peace, Content and Joy on her attend ;

You (on the contrary) your Forces bend

To blear Mens Eyes,
With Fopperies,

1663.
w

Which Fools embrace, but wiser Men despise.

About this Time my Father, resolving to sell 1664.
his Estate, and having reserved for his own Use w
such Parts of his household Goods as he thought
fit; not willing to take upon himself the Trou-
ble of selling the rest, gave them unto me.
Whereupon I went down to *Crowell*, and hav-
ing before given Notice there and thereabouts,
that I intended a Publick Sale of them, I sold
them, and thereby put some Money into my
Pocket. Yet I sold such Things only as I judged
useful; leaving the *Pictures* and *Armour*, of
which there was some Store there, unfold.

Not long after this, my Father sent for me
to come to him at *London* about some Business;
which, when I came there, I understood was to
join with him in the Sale of his Estate, which
the Purchaser required for his own Satisfaction
and Safety, I being then the next Heir to it in
Law. And although I might probably have
made some advantageous Terms for myself
by standing off; yet when I was satisfied by
Counsel, that there was no Entail upon it, or
Right of Reversion to me, but that he might
lawfully dispose of it as he pleased, I readily
joined with him in the Sale, without asking
or having the least Gratuity or Compensation;
no, not so much as the Fee I had given to Coun-
sel, to secure me from any Danger in doing it.

There

1665. There having been, some Time before this, a very severe Law made against the *Quakers* by Name; and more particularly, prohibiting our Meetings under the sharpest Penalties, of *Five Pounds* for the first Offence so called, *Ten Pounds* for the second, and *Banishment* for the third; under pain of *Felony* for escaping or returning without *License*. Which Law was looked upon to have been procured by the *Bishops*, in order to bring us to a Conformity to their Way of *Worship*: I wrote a few Lines in way of *Dialogue* between a *Bishop* and a *Quaker*, which I called,

CONFORMITY *Prest and Represt.*

B. **WHAT!** *You are one of them that do deny To yield Obedience by Conformity.*

Q. *Nay: We desire conformable to be.*

Rom. 8. B. *But unto what?* Q. *The Image of the Son.*


15. B. *What's that to us! We'll have Conformity Unto our Form.* Q. *Then we shall ne'er have done.*

For, if your fickle Minds should alter, we Should be to seek a New Conformity.

Thus who To-day conform to *Prelacy*, To-morrow may conform to *Popery*.

But take this for an Answer, *Bishop*, we Cannot conform either to them, or Thee.

For

For while to *Truth* your Forms are opposite, 1665.
 Whoe'er conforms thereto doth not aright. 

B. *We'll make such Knaves as you conform, or lie
 Confin'd in Prisons, till ye rot and die.*

Q. Well, gentle *Bishop*, I may live to see,
 For all thy Threats, a Check to Cruelty,
 And thee rewarded, with thy envious Crew,
 According as unto your Works is due ;
 But, in the mean Time, I, for my Defence,
 Betake me to my Fortrefs, PATIENCE.

No sooner was this cruel Law made, but it was put in Execution with great Severity. The Sense whereof working strongly on my Spirit, made me cry earnestly to the Lord, that he would arise and set up His righteous Judgment in the Earth, for the Deliverance of His People from all their Enemies, both inward and outward : And in these Terms I uttered it.

A Wake, awake, O Arm o'th' Lord awake,
 Thy Sword up take ;
 Cast what would thine forgetful of Thee make,
 Into the Lake.

Awake, I pray, O mighty *Jah*, awake,
 Make all the World before Thy Presence quake,
 Not only Earth, but Heaven also shake.

Arise,

1665. Arise, arise, O *Jacob's* God, arise,



And hear the Cries

Of ev'ry Soul which in Distress now lies;

And to Thee flies.

Arise, I pray, O *Israel's* Hope arise,

Set free Thy Seed, oppress'd by Enemies.

Why should they over it still tyrannize !

Make Speed, make Speed, O *Israel's* Help, make

In time of Need ; (Speed,

For evil Men have wickedly decreed

Against Thy Seed.

Make Speed, I pray, O mighty God, make Speed,

Let all Thy *Lambs* from savage *Wolves* be freed,

That fearless on Thy Mountain they may feed:

Ride on, ride on, Thou valiant Man of Might,

And put to Flight

Those Sons of *Belial*, who do Despight

To the Upright.

Ride on, I say, Thou Champion, and smite

Thine and Thy Peoples En'mies with such

Might,

That none may dare 'gainst Thee, or Thine to

Fight.

Although

Although the Storm, raised by the Act for 1665. *Banishment*, fell with the greatest Weight and Force upon some other Parts, as at *London*, *Hertford*, &c. yet we were not, in *Buckinghamshire*, wholly exempted therefrom, for a Part of that Shower reached us also.

For a Friend of *Amersham*, whose Name was *Edward Perot*, or *Parret*, departing this Life, and Notice being given that his Body would be buried there on such a Day, which was the first Day of the fifth Month 1665, the Friends of the adjacent Parts of the Country resorted pretty generally to the Burial; so that there was a fair Appearance of Friends and Neighbours, the Deceased having been well-beloved by both.

After we had spent some Time together in the House, *Morgan Watkins*, who at that Time happen'd to be at *Isaac Penington's*, being with us, the Body was taken up and borne on Friends Shoulders along the Street, in order to be carried to the Burying-ground, which was at the Town's End, being part of an Orchard belonging to the Deceased, which he in his Life-time had appointed for that Service.

It so happened that one *Ambrose Benett*, a Barrister at Law and a Justice of the Peace for that County, riding through the Town that Morning in his Way to *Aylesbury*, was by some ill-disposed Person or other, informed that there was a *Quaker* to be buried there that Day, and that most of the *Quakers* in the Country were come thither to the Burial,

Upon

1665. Upon this he fet up his Horfes and ftaid ;
 and when we, not knowing any Thing of his
 Defign againft us, went innocently forward, to
 perform our Chriftian Duty for the Interment
 of our *Friend*, he rufhed out of his Inn upon
 us, with the Conftables and a Rabble of rude
 Fellows, whom he had gathered together, and
 having his drawn Sword in his Hand, ftruck
 one of the Foremoft of the Bearers with it,
 commanding them to fet down the Coffin.
 But the Friend who was fo ftricken, whose
 Name was *Thomas Dell*, being more concerned
 for the Safety of the dead Body than his own,
 left it fhould fall from his Shoulder, and any In-
 decency thereupon follow, held the Coffin faft :
 Which the Juftice obferving, and being enraged
 that his Word (how unjuft foever) was not
 forthwith obeyed, fet his Hand to the Coffin,
 and with a forcible Thrufth threw it off from the
 Bearers Shoulders, fo that it fell to the Ground
 in the Midft of the Street, and there we were
 forced to leave it.

For immediately thereupon the Juftice giving
 Command for the apprehending us, the Con-
 ftables with the Rabble fell on us, and drew
 fome, and drove others into the Inn, giving
 thereby an Opportuntiy to the reft to walk away.

Of thofe that were thus taken, I was one.
 And being, with many more, put into a Room
 under a Guard, we were kept there till another
 Juftice (called Sir *Thomas Clayton*, whom Juftice
Benett had fent for to join with him in com-
 mitting us) was come. And then, being called
 forth

forth severally before them, they picked out ¹⁶⁶⁵⁻ Ten of us, and committed us to *Aylesbury Jail*, for what neither we nor they knew: For we were not convicted of having either done or said any Thing which the Law could take hold of: For they took us up in the open Street (the King's High-way) not doing any unlawful Act, but peaceably carrying and accompanying the Corpse of our deceased Friend to bury it. Which they would not suffer us to do, but caused the Body to lie in the open Street, and in the Cart-way; so that all the Travellers that passed by, whether Horse-men, Coaches, Carts, or Waggon, were fain to break out of the Way to go by it, that they might not drive over it, until it was almost Night. And then having caused a Grave to be made in the *unconsecrated* Part (as it is accounted) of that which is called the *Church-yard*, they forcibly took the Body from the Widow, whose Right and Property it was, and buried it there.

When the Justices had delivered us Prisoners to the Constable, it being then late in the Day, which was the Seventh-day of the Week, he not willing to go so far as *Aylesbury* (nine long Miles) with us that Night, nor to put the Town to the Charge of keeping us there that Night, and the First-day and Night following, dismiss us upon our *Parole* to come to him again at a set Hour on the Second-day Morning: Whereupon we all went home to our respective Habitations; and coming to him punctually

Q

according

1665. according to Promise, were by him, without
 Guard, conducted to the Prison.

The Jailer, whose Name was *Nathaniel Birch*, had not long before behaved himself very wickedly, with great Rudeness and Cruelty to some of our Friends of the lower Side of the County, whom he, combining with the Clerk of the Peace, whose Name was *Henry Wells*, had contrived to get into his Jail; and after they were legally discharged in Court, detained them in Prison, using great Violence, and shutting them up close in the common Jail among the Felons, because they would not give him his unrighteous Demand of *Fees*; which they were the more straitned in, from his treacherous Dealing with them. And they having, through Suffering, maintained their Freedom, and obtained their Liberty, we were the more concerned to keep what they had so hardly gained, and therefore resolved not to make any Contract or Terms for either *Chamber-rent* or *Fees*, but to demand a Free Prison; which we did.

When we came in, the Jailer was ridden out to wait on the Judges, who came in that Day to begin the Assize, and his Wife was somewhat at a Loss how to deal with us; but being a cunning Woman, she treated us with great Appearance of Courtesy, offering us the Choice of all her Rooms; and when we asked, *upon what Terms?* she still refer'd us to her Husband; telling us, she did not doubt but that he would be very reasonable and civil to us.

Thus

Thus she endeavoured to have drawn us to take Possession of some of her Chambers at a venture, and trust to her Husband's kind Usage. But we, who at the Cost of our Friends, had a Proof of his Kindness, were too wary to be drawn in by the fair Words of a Woman; and therefore told her, *we would not settle any where till her Husband came Home, and then would have a free Prison wheresoever he put us.*

Accordingly, walking all together into the Court of the Prison, in which was a Well of very good Water, and having before-hand sent to a Friend in the Town, a Widow Woman whose Name was *Sarah Lambarn*, to bring us some Bread and Cheese, we sat down upon the Ground round about the Well, and when we had eaten, we drank of the Water out of the Well.

Our great Concern was for our Friend *Isaac Penington*, because of the Tenderness of his Constitution; but he was so lively in his Spirit, and so cheerfully given up to suffer, that he rather encouraged us, than needed any Encouragement from us.

In this Posture the Jailer, when he came home, found us; and having before he came to us, consulted his Wife, and by her understood on what Terms we stood; when he came to us, he hid his Teeth, and putting on a Shew of Kindness, seemed much troubled that we should sit there abroad, especially his old Friend *Mr. Penington*; and thereupon invited us to come in, and take what Rooms in his House we pleased;

1665. pleased ; we asked, *upon what Terms ?* letting
 W him know withal, *that we determined to have a
 free Prison.*

He, like the Sun and Wind in the *Fable*, that strove which of them should take from the Traveller his Cloak ; having (like the Wind) tried rough, boisterous, violent Means to our Friends before, but in vain, resolved now to imitate the Sun, and shine as pleasantly as he could upon us. Wherefore he told us, *We should make the Terms ourselves, and be as free as we desired : If we thought fit, when we were released, to give him any Thing, he would thank us for it ; and if not, he would demand nothing.*

Upon these Terms we went in and disposed ourselves ; some in the Dwelling-house, others in the Malt-house, where they chose to be.

During the Assize we were brought before Judge *Morton*, a sour angry Man, who very rudely reviled us, but would not hear either us or the Cause ; but referred the matter to the two Justices who had committed us.

They, when the Assize was ended, sent for us to be brought before them at their Inn, and fined us, as I remember, *Six Skillings and eight Pence* a-piece ; which we not consenting to pay, they committed us to Prison again for one-Month from that Time, on the Act for *Banishment*.

When we had lain there that Month, I with another went to the Jailer, to demand our Liberty ; which he readily granted, telling us, *The Door should be opened when we pleased to go.*

This

This Answer of his I reported to the rest of ^{1665.} my Friends there, and thereupon we raised among us a small Sum of Money, which they put into my Hand for the Jailer; whereupon I, taking another with me, went to the Jailer with the Money in my Hand, and reminding him of the Terms upon which we accepted the Use of his Rooms, I told him, That although we could not pay *Chamber-rent* or *Fees*, yet inasmuch as he had now been civil to us, we were willing to acknowledge it by a small Token, and thereupon gave him the Money. He putting it into his Pocket, said, *I thank you and your Friends for it; and to let you see I take it as a Gift, not a Debt, I will not look on it to see how much it is.*

The Prison Door being then set open for us, we went out, and departed to our respective Homes.

But before I left the Prison, considering one Day with myself the different Kinds of Liberty and Confinement, Freedom and Bondage, I took my Pen, and wrote the following *Ænigma*, or *Riddle*.

LOE here a Riddle to the Wife,
 In which a Mystery there lies;
 Read it therefore with that Eye,
 Which can discern a Mystery.

The RIDDLE.

*Some Men are free, while they in Prison lie;
 Others, who ne'r saw Prison, Captives die.*

1665.



CAUTION.

He that can receive it, may ;
 He that cannot, let him stay,
 And not be hasty, but suspend
 His Judgment till he sees the End.

SOLUTION.

*He only's free indeed, that's free from Sin,
 And he is fastest bound, that's bound therein.*

CONCLUSION.

This is the Liberty I chiefly prize,
 The other, without this, I can despise.

Some little Time before I went to *Aylesbury* Prison, I was desired by my *quondam* Master *Milton*, to take an House for him in the Neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might go out of the City, for the Safety of himself and his Family, the *Pestilence* then growing hot in *London*. I took a pretty Box for him in *Giles-Chalfont*, a Mile from me, of which I gave him Notice, and intended to have waited on him, and seen him well settled in it, but was prevented by that Imprisonment.

But now being released and returned home, I soon made a Visit to him, to welcome him into the Country.

After

After some common Discourses had passed ^{1665.} between us, he called for a *Manuscript* of his; which being brought he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my Leisure; and when I had so done, return it to him with my Judgment thereupon.

When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent POEM, which he entituled *PARADISE LOST*. After I had, with the best Attention, read it through, I made him another Visit, and returned him his Book, with due Acknowledgement of the Favour he had done me in communicating it to me. He asked me, *how I liked it, and what I thought of it?* which I modestly but freely told him; and after some further Discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much here of *Paradise lost*; but what hast thou to say of *Paradise found*? He made me no Answer, but fate some Time in a Muse; then brake off that Discourse, and fell upon another Subject.

After the Sickness was over, and the City well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there (which I seldom failed of doing, whenever my Occasions drew me to *London*) he shewed me his second POEM, called *PARADISE REGAINED*; and in a pleasant Tone said to me, *This is owing to you; for you put it into my Head by the Question you put to me at Chalfont; which before I had*

1665. not thought of. But from this Digression I return to the Family I then lived in.

We had not been long at home, about a Month perhaps, before *Isaac Penington* was taken out of his House in an arbitrary manner by military Force, and carried Prisoner to *Aylesbury* Jail again; where he lay three Quarters of a Year, with great Hazard of his Life, it being the *Sickness Year*, and the *Plague* being not only in the Town, but in the Jail.

Mean while his Wife and Family were turned out of his House, called the *Grange* at *Peter's-Chalfont*, by them who had seized upon his Estate; and the Family being by that means broken up, some went one Way, others another. *Mary Penington* herself, with her younger Children, went down to her Husband at *Aylesbury*. *Guli*, with her Maid, went to *Bristol*, to see her former Maid *Anne Herfent*, who was married to a Merchant of that City, whose Name was *Thomas Biss*, and I went to *Aylesbury* with the Children; but not finding the Place agreeable to my Health, I soon left it, and returning to *Chalfont*, took a Lodging, and was disted in the House of a friendly Man; and after some Time, went to *Bristol* to conduct *Guli* home.

Mean while *Mary Penington* took Lodgings in a Farm-house called *Bottreils*, in the Parish of *Giles-Chalfont*, where, when we returned from *Bristol*, we found her.

We had been there but a very little Time, before I was sent to Prison again upon this Occasion.

Occasion. There was, in those Times, a Meet-^{1665.}ing once a Month at the House of *George Salter* a Friend of *Hedgerly*, to which we sometimes went; and *Morgan Watkins* being with us, he and I, with *Guli* and her Maid, and one *Judith Parker*, Wife of Dr. *Parker*, one of the College of *Physicians* at *London*, with a maiden Daughter of theirs (neither of whom were *Quakers*, but as Acquaintance of *Mary Penington* were with her on a Visit) walked over to that Meeting, it being about the Middle of the first Month, and the Weather good.

This Place was about a Mile from the House of *Ambrose Bennett* the Justice, who the Summer before had sent me and some other Friends to *Aylesbury* Prison, from the Burial of *Edward Parret* of *Amersham*; and he, by what Means I know not, getting Notice not only of the Meeting, but (as was supposed) of our being there, came himself to it; and as he came, caught up a Stackwood-stick, big enough to have knock'd any Man down, and brought it with him hidden under his Cloak.

Being come to the House, he stood for a while without the Door, and out of Sight, listning to hear what was said, for *Morgan* was then speaking in the Meeting. But certainly he heard very imperfectly, if it was true which we heard he said afterwards among his Companions, as an Argument that *Morgan* was a *Jesuit*, viz. *That in his Preaching he trolled over his Latin as fluently as ever he heard any one; whereas Morgan (good Man!) was better versed*

1665. versed in *Welsh* than in *Latin*, which, I suppose, he had never learned; I am sure he did not understand it.

When this martial Justice, who at *Amersham* had with his drawn Sword struck an unarmed Man, who he knew would not strike again, had now stood some Time abroad, on a sudden he rushed in among us, with the Stackwood-stick held up in his Hand ready to strike, crying out, *Make way there*; and an ancient Woman not getting soon enough out of his Way, he struck her with the Stick a shrewd Blow over the Breast. Then pressing through the Crowd to the Place where *Morgan* stood, he plucked him from thence, and caused so great a Disorder in the Room, that it brake the Meeting up; yet would not the People go away or disperse themselves, but tarried to see what the Issue would be.

Then taking Pen and Paper, he sat down at the Table among us, and asked several of us our Names, which we gave and he set down in Writing.

Amongst others, he asked *Judith Parker*, the Doctor's Wife, what her Name was? which she readily gave; and thence taking Occasion to discourse him, she so over-master'd him by clear Reason, delivered in fine Language, that he, glad to be rid of her, struck out her Name and dismiss'd her; yet did not she remove, but kept her Place amongst us.

When he had taken what Number of Names he thought fit, he singled out half a Dozen, whereof

whereof *Morgan* was one, I another, one Man ^{1665.} more, and three Women, of which the Woman ^w of the House was one, although her Husband then was, and for divers Years before had been, a Prisoner in the *Fleet* for Tithes, and had no body to take care of his Family and Business but her his Wife.

Us six he committed to *Aylesbury* Jail. Which when the Doctor's Wife heard him read to the Constable, she attacked him again, and having put him in mind that it was a sickly Time, and that the *Pestilence* was reported to be in that Place, she in handsome Terms, desired him to consider in Time, *how he would answer the Cry of our Blood, if by his sending us to be shut up in an infected Place, we should lose our Lives there?* This made him alter his Purpose, and by a new *Mittimus* sent us to the House of Correction at *Wiccomb*. And altho' he committed us upon the Act for *Banishment*, which limited a certain Time for Imprisonment; yet he, in his *Mittimus*, limited no Time, but ordered us to be kept till we should be delivered by due Course of LAW; so little regardful was he, though a Lawyer, of keeping to the Letter of the LAW.

We were committed on the 13th Day of the Month called *March* 1665, and were kept close Prisoners there till the 7th Day of the Month called *June* 1666, which was some Days above twelve Weeks, and much above what the Act required.

Then

1666. Then were we sent for to the Justice's Houſe, and the reſt being releaſed, *Morgan Watkins* and I were required to find Sureties for our Appearance at the next Aſſize ; which we reſuſing to do, were committed a-new to our old Priſon, the Houſe of Correction at *Wiccomb*, there to lie until the next Aſſizes : *Morgan* being, in this ſecond *Mittimus*, repreſented as a notorious *Offender in Preacking*, and I, as being upon the *ſecond Conviction, in order to Banishment*. There we lay till the 25th Day of the ſame Month ; and then, by the Favour of the Earl of *Ancram*, being brought before him at his Houſe, we were diſcharged from the Priſon, upon our Promiſe to appear (if at Liberty and in Health) at the Aſſizes. Which we did, and were there diſcharged by Proclamation.

During my Imprifonment in this Priſon, I betook myſelf for an Employment, to making of Nets for Kitchen-ſervice, to boil Herbs, &c. in ; which Trade I learned of *Morgan Watkins*, and ſelling ſome, and giving others, I pretty well ſtocked the Friends of that Country with them.

Though in that Confinement I was not very well ſuited with Company for Converſation, *Morgan's* natural Temper not being very agreeable to mine ; yet we kept a fair and brotherly Correſpondence, as became Friends, Priſon-fellows and Bed-fellows, which we were. And indeed, it was a good Time, I think, to us all, for I found it ſo to me ; the Lord being graciously pleaſed to viſit my Soul with the re-
 reſreſhing

freshing Dews of His divine Life, whereby my Spirit was more and more quickned to Him, and Truth gained ground in me over the Temptations and Snares of the Enemy. Which frequently raised in my Heart Thanksgivings and Praises unto the LORD. And at one Time more especially, the Sense I had of the Prosperity of Truth, and the spreading thereof, filling my Heart with abundant Joy, made my Cup overflow, and the following Lines drop out.

*For Truth I suffer Bonds, in Truth I live,
And unto Truth this Testimony give,
That TRUTH shall over all exalted be,
And in Dominion reign for evermore ;
The Child's already born, that this may see,
Honour, Praise, Glory be to God therefore.*

And underneath thus,

*The' Death and Hell should against Truth combine,
It's Glory shall through all their Darkness shine.*

This I saw with an Eye of Faith, beyond the Reach of human Sense. For,

*As strong Desire,
Draws Objects higher*

1666. *In Apprehension, than indeed they are ;*
I, with an Eye
That pierced high,
Did thus of Truth's Prosperity declare.

After we had been discharged at the Assizes, I returned to *Isaac Penington's* Family at *Bottrel's* in *Chalfont*, and, as I remember, *Morgan Watkins* with me, leaving *Isaac Penington* a Prisoner in *Aylesbury Jail*.

The Lodgings we had in this Farm-house (*Bottrel's*) proving too strait and inconvenient for the Family, I took larger and better Lodgings for them in *Berric-house* at *Amersham*, whither we went at the Time called *Michaelmas*, having spent the Summer at the other Place.

1667. Some Time after, was that memorable Meeting appointed to be holden at *London*, through a divine Opening in the Motion of Life, in that eminent Servant and Prophet of God, *George Fox*, for the restoring and bringing in again those who had gone out from Truth, and the holy Unity of Friends therein, by the Means and Ministry of *John Perrot*.

This Man came pretty early amongst Friends, and too early took upon him the ministerial Office ; and being, though little in Person, yet great in Opinion of himself, nothing less would serve him than to go and convert the *Pope* : In order whereunto, he having a better Man than himself, *John Luff*, to accompany him, travelled to *Rome*, where they had not been long,
 e're

e're they were taken up and clapt into Prison ; :667. *Luff*, as I remember, was put in the *Inquisition*, and *Perrot* in their *Bedlam* or Hospital for Madmen.

Luff died in Prison, not without well-grounded Suspicion of being murdered there, but *Perrot* lay there some Time, and now and then sent over an Epistle to be printed here, written in such an affected and fantastick Stile, as might have induced an indifferent Reader to believe, they had suited the Place of his Confinement to his Condition.

After some Time, through the Mediation of Friends (who hoped better of him, than he proved) with some Person of Note and Interest there, he was released and came back for *England*. And his Report of his great Sufferings there (far greater in Report than in Reality) joined with a singular Shew of Sanctity, so far opened the Hearts of many tender and compassionate Friends towards him, that it gave him the Advantage of insinuating himself into their Affections and Esteem, and made Way for the more ready Propagation of that peculiar Error of his, of *keeping on the Hat in Time of Prayer, as well publick as private, unless they had an immediate Motion at that Time to put it off*.

Now although I had not the least Acquaintance with this Man, not having ever exchanged a Word with him, though I knew him by Sight; nor had I any Esteem of him for either his natural Parts, or ministerial Gift, but rather a Dislike of his Aspect, Preaching and
Way

1667. Way of writing ; yet this Error of his being
 broached in the Time of my Infancy, and
 Weakness of Judgment as to Truth (while I
 lived privately in *London*, and had little Con-
 verse with Friends.) I, amongst the many who
 were caught in that Snare, was taken with the
 Notion, as what then seemed to my weak
 Understanding, suitable to the Doctrine of a
 spiritual Dispensation. And the Matter com-
 ing to warm Debates, both in Words and Wri-
 ting, I, in a misguided Zeal, was ready to
 have entred the Lists of Contention about it ;
 not then seeing what Spirit it proceeded from,
 and was managed by, nor foreseeing the Dis-
 order and Confusion in Worship, which must
 naturally attend it.

But as I had no evil Intention or sinister End
 in engaging in it, but was simply betrayed by
 the specious Pretence and Shew of greater Spi-
 rituality, the Lord, in tender Compassion to
 my Soul, was graciously pleased to open my
 Understanding, and give me a clear Sight of
 the Enemy's Design in this Work, and drew
 me off from the Practice of it, and to bear
 Testimony against it as Occasion offered.

But when that solemn Meeting was appoint-
 ed at *London*, for a Travail in Spirit on Behalf
 of those who had thus gone out, that they
 might rightly return, and be sensibly received
 into the Unity of the Body again ; my Spirit
 rejoiced, and with Gladness of Heart I went to
 it, as did many more of both City and Coun-
 try, and with great Simplicity and Humility
 of

of Mind, did honestly and openly acknow-^{1667.} ledge our Outgoing, and take Condemnation and Shame to ourselves. And some that lived at too remote a Distance, in this Nation as well as beyond the Seas, upon Notice given of that Meeting, and the intended Service of it, did the like by Writing, in Letters directed to and openly read in the Meeting, which for that Purpose was continued many Days.

Thus, in the Motion of Life, were the healing Waters stirred, and many, through the virtuous Power thereof, restored to Soundness, and indeed not many lost. And though most of these who thus returned, were such as with myself had before renounced the Error, and forsaken the Practice; yet did we sensibly find, that Forsaking without Confessing (in Case of publick Scandal) was not sufficient; but that an open Acknowledgment (of open Offences) as well as forsaking them, was necessary to the obtaining compleat Remission.

Not long after this, *George Fox* was moved of the Lord to travel through the Countries, from County to County, to advise and encourage Friends to set up *Monthly* and *Quarterly-meetings*, for the better ordering the Affairs of the Church, in taking Care of the Poor, and exercising a true Gospel-discipline, for a due Dealing with any that might walk disorderly under our Name, and to see that such as should Marry among us, did act fairly and clearly in that Respect.

1668. When he came into this County, I was one
 of the many Friends that were with him at
 the Meeting for that Purpose. And afterwards
 I travelled with *Guli* and her Maid, into the
 West of *England* to meet him there, and to
 visit Friends in those Parts; and we went as
 far as *Topsham* in *Devonshire* before we found
 him. He had been in *Cornwall*, and was then
 returning, and came in unexpectedly at *Top-*
sham, where we then were providing (if he
 had not then come thither) to have gone that
 Day towards *Cornwall*. But after he was come
 to us, we turned back with him through *De-*
vonshire, *Somerfetshire* and *Dorsetshire*, having
 generally very good Meetings where he was;
 and the Work he was chiefly concerned in,
 went on very prosperously and well, without
 any Opposition or Dislike; save that in the
 General-meeting of Friends in *Dorsetshire*, a
 quarrelsome Man who had gone out from Friends
 in *John Perrot's* Business, and had not come
 rightly in again (but continued in the Practice
 of keeping on his Hat in Time of Prayer, to
 the great Trouble and Offence of Friends) be-
 gan to cavil and raise Disputes, which occa-
 sioned some Interruption and Disturbance.

Not only *George*, and *Alexander Parker* who
 was with him, but divers of the ancient Friends
 of that Country, endeavoured to quiet that
 troublesome Man, and make him sensible of his
 Error; but his unruly Spirit would still be
 opposing what was said unto him, and justify-
 ing himself in that Practice. This brought a
 great

great Weight and Exercise upon me, who ^{1668.} fate at a Distance in the outward Part of the Meeting; and after I had for some Time bore the Burthen thereof, I stood up in the constraining Power of the LORD, and in great Tenderness of Spirit declared unto the Meeting, and to that Person more particularly, how it had been with me in that Respect; how I had been betrayed into that wrong Practice, how strong I had been therein, and how the LORD had been graciously pleased to shew me the Evil thereof, and recover me out of it.

This coming unexpectedly from me, a young Man, a Stranger, and one who had not intermeddled with the Business of the Meeting, had that Effect upon the Caviller, that if it did not satisfy him, it did at least silence him, and made him for the present sink down and be still, without giving any further Disturbance to the Meeting. And the Friends were well pleased with this unlooked for Testimony from me, and I was glad that I had that Opportunity to confess to the Truth, and to acknowledge once more, in so publick a manner, the Mercy and Goodness of the Lord to me therein.

By the time we came back from this Journey, the Summer was pretty far gone, and the following Winter I spent with the Children of the Family as before, without any remarkable Alteration in my Circumstances, until the next Spring; when I found in myself a Disposition of Mind to change my single Life for a married State.

1669. I had always entertained so high a Regard
 W for Marriage, as it was a divine Institution,
 that I held it not lawful to make it a Sort of
 political Trade to rise in the World by. And
 therefore as I could not but, in my Judgment,
 blame such as I found made it their Business to
 hunt after, and endeavour to gain those who
 were accounted *great Fortunes*; not so much
 regarding *what she is*, as *what she has*, but
 making Wealth the chief, if not the only
 Thing they aimed at; so I resolved to avoid, in
 my own Practice, that Course; and how much
 soever my Condition might have prompted me,
 as well as others, to seek Advantage that Way,
 never to engage on the Account of *Riches*,
 nor at all to marry, till judicious Affection
 drew me to it, which I now began to feel at
 work in my Breast.

The Object of this Affection was a Friend,
 whose Name was *Mary Ellis*, whom for divers
 Years I had had an Acquaintance with, in the
 way of common Friendship only; and in whom
 I thought I then saw those fair Prints of Truth
 and solid Virtue, which I afterwards found in
 a sublime Degree in her; but what her Con-
 dition in the World was, as to Estate, I was
 wholly a Stranger to, nor desired to know.

I had once, a Year or two before, had an
 Opportunity to do her a small Piece of Service,
 which she wanted some Assistance in; wherein
 I acted with all Sincerity and Freedom of Mind,
 not expecting or desiring any Advantage by her,
 or Reward from her, being very well satisfied
 in

in the Act itself, that I had served a Friend and helped the Helpless. 1669.
w

That little Intercourse of common Kindness between us, ended without the least Thought (I am verily perswaded, on her Part, well assured on my own) of any other or further Relation than that of free and fair Friendship ; nor did it, at that Time, lead us into any closer Conversation, or more intimate Acquaintance one with the other, than had been before.

But some Time (and that a good while) after, I found my Heart secretly drawn and inclining towards her ; yet was I not hasty in proposing, but waited to feel a satisfactory Settlement of Mind therein, before I made any Step thereto.


After some Time, I took an Opportunity to open my Mind therein unto my much honoured Friends, *Isaac* and *Mary Penington*, who then stood *Parentum loco*, in the Place or Stead of Parents to me. They having solemnly weighed the Matter, express their Unity therewith ; and indeed their Approbation thereof was no small Confirmation to me therein. Yet took I further Deliberation, often retiring in Spirit to the Lord, and crying to him for Direction, before I address myself to her. At length, as I was setting all alone, waiting upon the Lord for Counsel and Guidance in this (in itself, and) to me so important Affair, I felt a Word sweetly arise in me, as if I had heard a Voice which said, *Go, and prevail*. And Faith springing in my Heart with the Word, I immediately arose and went, nothing doubting.

1669. When I was come to her Lodgings, which were about a Mile from me, her Maid told me she was in her Chamber (for having been under some Indisposition of Body, which had obliged her to keep her Chamber, she had not yet left it.) Wherefore I desired the Maid to acquaint her Mistress, that I was come to give her a Visit; whereupon I was invited to go up to her. And after some little Time spent in common Conversation, feeling my Spirit weightily concerned, I solemnly opened my Mind unto her, with respect to the particular Business I came about; which I soon perceived was a great Surprisal to her, for she had taken in an Apprehension, as others also had done, that mine Eye had been fixed elsewhere and nearer home.

I used not many Words to her; but I felt a divine Power went along with the Words, and fixed the Matter expressed by them so fast in her Breast, that (as she afterwards acknowledged to me) she could not shut it out.

I made at that Time but a short Visit. For having told her, I did not expect an Answer from her now, but desired she would, in the most solemn Manner, weigh the Proposal made, and in due Time give me such an Answer thereunto, as the Lord should give her; I took my Leave of her and departed, leaving the Issue to the Lord.

I had a Journey then at hand, which I foresaw would take me up about two Weeks time. Wherefore, the Day before I was to set out, I went

I went to visit her again, to acquaint her with my Journey and excuse my Absence; not yet pressing her for an Answer, but assuring her, that I felt in myself an Increase of Affection to her, and hoped to receive a suitable Return from her in the Lord's Time; to whom, in the mean time, I committed both her, myself, and the Concern between us. And indeed, I found at my Return, that I could not have left it in a better Hand; for the Lord had been my Advocate in my Absence, and had so far answered all her Objections, that when I came to her again, she rather acquainted me with them than urged them. 1669. 

From that Time forwards we entertained each other with affectionate Kindness in order to Marriage; which yet we did not hasten to, but went on deliberately. Neither did I use those vulgar Ways of Courtship, by making frequent and rich Presents; not only for that my outward Condition would not comport with the Expence, but because I liked not to obtain by such Means; but preferred an unbribed Affection.

While this Affair stood thus with me, I had Occasion to take another Journey into *Kent* and *Suffex*; which yet I would not mention here, but for a particular Accident which befel me on the Way.

The Occasion of this Journey was this. *Mary Penington's* Daughter *Guli* intending to go to her Uncle *Springett's* in *Suffex*, and from thence amongst her Tenants, her Mother desired me

1669. to accompany her, and assist her in her Business with her Tenants.

We tarried at *London* the first Night, and set out next Morning on the *Tunbridge Road*, and *Seven-Oak* lying in our Way, we put in there to bait: But truly, we had much ado to get either Provisions or Room for ourselves or our Horses, the House was so filled with Guests, and those not of the better Sort. For the Duke of *York* being, as we were told, on the Road that Day for the *Wells*, divers of his Guards, and the meaner sort of his Retinue, had near filled all the Inns there.

I left *John Gigger*, who waited on *Guli* in this Journey, and was afterwards her menial Servant, to take Care for the Horses, while I did the like, as well as I could for her. I got a little Room to put her into, and having shut her into it, went to see what Relief the Kitchen would afford us; and with much ado, by praying hard and paying dear, I got a small Joint of Meat from the Spit, which served rather to stay than satisfy our Stomachs, for we were all pretty sharp set.

After this short Repast, being weary of our Quarters, we quickly mounted and took the Road again, willing to hasten from a Place where we found nothing but Rudeness; for the *Roysters*, who at that time swarmed there, besides the damning Oaths they belched out at one another, looked very sourly on us, as if they grudged us both the Horses we rode and the Cloaths we wore.

A Knot of these soon followed us, designing, ^{1669.} as we afterwards found, to put an Abuse upon us, and make themselves Sport with us. We had a Spot of fine smooth sandy Way, whereon the Horses trod so softly, that we heard them not till one of them was upon us. I was then riding a-breast with *Guli*, and discoursing with her; when on a sudden hearing a little Noise, and turning mine Eye that Way, I saw an Horseman coming up on the further Side of her Horse, having his left Arm stretched out, just ready to take her about the Waste, and pluck her off backwards from her own Horse, to lay her before him upon his. I had but just Time to thrust forth my Stick between him and her, and bid him stand off; and at the same Time reigning my Horse, to let hers go before me, thrust in between her and him, and being better mounted than he, my Horse run him off. But his Horse being (tho' weaker than mine, yet) nimble, he slipt by me, and got up to her on the near Side, endeavouring to offer Abuse to her: To prevent which, I thrust in upon him again, and in our jostling, we drove her Horse quite out of the Way, and almost into the next Hedge.

While we were thus contending, I heard a Noise of loud Laughter behind us, and turning my Head that Way, I saw three or four Horse-men more, who could scarce fit their Horses for laughing, to see the Sport their Companion made with us. From thence I saw it was a Plot laid, and that this rude Fellow

1669. low was not to be dallied with ; wherefore I
 W bestirr'd myself the more to keep him off,
 admonishing him to take Warning in Time,
 and give over his Abusiveness, lest he re-
 pented too late. He had in his Hand a short
 thick Truncheon, which he held up at me ;
 on which laying hold with a strong Gripe,
 I suddenly wrenched it out of his Hand, and
 threw it at as far a Distance behind me as I
 could.

While he rode back to fetch his Truncheon,
 I called up honest *John Gigger*, who was indeed
 a right honest Man, and of a Temper so
 thoroughly peaceable, that he had not hitherto
 put in at all. But now I rouzed him, and bid
 him ride so close up to his Mistress's Horse on
 the further Side, that no Horse might thrust in
 between, and I would endeavour to guard the
 near Side. But he, good Man, not thinking it
 perhaps, decent enough for him to ride so near
 his Mistress, left room enough for another to
 ride between. And indeed so soon as our
 Brute had recovered his Truncheon, he came
 up directly thither, and had thrust in again,
 had not I, by a nimble Turn, chopt in upon him
 and kept him at a Bay.

I then told him, I had hitherto spared him ;
 but wish'd him not to provoke me further.
 This I spake with such a Tone, as bespoke an
 high Resentment of the Abuse put upon us,
 and withal pressed so close upon him with my
 Horse, that I suffered him not to come up any
 more to *Guli*.

This

This his Companions, who kept an equal ^{1669.} Distance behind us, both heard and saw, and thereupon two of them advancing, came up to us. I then thought I might likely have my Hands full, but Providence turn'd it otherwise. For they, seeing the Contest rise so high, and probably fearing it would rise higher, not knowing where it might stop, came in to part us; which they did, by taking him away, one of them leading his Horse by the Bridle, and the other driving him on with his Whip, and so carried him off.

One of their Company staid yet behind. And it so happening, that a great Shower just then fell, we betook ourselves for Shelter to a thick and well-spread Oak, which stood hard by. Thither also came that other Person, who wore the Duke's Livery, and while we put on our defensive Garments against the Weather, which then set in to be wet, he took the Opportunity to discourse with me about the Man that had been so rude to us, endeavouring to excuse him, by alledging that *he had drunk a little too liberally*. I let him know, that one Vice would not excuse another; that although but one of them was actually concern'd in the Abuse, yet both he and the rest of them were Abettors of it, and Accessaries to it; that I was not ignorant whose Livery they wore, and was well assured, their Lord would not maintain them in committing such Outrages upon Travellers on the Road, to our Injury and his Dishonour; that I understood the Duke was coming down,
and

1669. and that they might expect to be called to an Account for this rude Action.

He then begg'd hard that we would pass by the Offence, and make no Complaint to their Lord; for he knew, he said, *the Duke would be very severe, and it would be the utter Ruin of the young Man.* When he had said what he could, he went off before us, without any ground given him to expect Favour; and when we had fitted ourselves for the Weather, we followed after our own Pace.

When we came to *Tunbridge*, I set *John Gigger* foremost, bidding him lead on briskly through the Town, and placing *Guli* in the Middle, I came close up after her, that I might both observe, and interpose, if any fresh Abuse should have been offered her. We were expected, I perceived; for though it rained very hard, the Street was thronged with Men, who looked very earnestly on us, but did not put any Affront upon us.

We had a good way to ride beyond *Tunbridge*, and beyond the *Wells*, in By-ways among the Woods, and were the later for the Hinderance we had had on the Way. And when, being come to *Harbert Springett's* House, *Guli* acquainted her Uncle what Danger and Trouble she had gone through on the Way; he repented it so high, that he would have had the Persons been prosecuted for it. But, since Providence had interposed, and so well preserved and delivered her, she chose to pass by the Offence.

When

When *Guli* had finished the Business she went ^{1669.} upon, we returned home, and I delivered her safe to her glad Mother. From that Time forward, I continued my Visits to my best beloved Friend until we married, which was on the 28th Day of the eighth Month (called *October*) in the Year 1669. We took each other in a select Meeting, of the ancient and grave Friends of that Country, holden in a Friend's House, where in those Times, not only the Monthly-meeting for Business, but the publick Meeting for Worship, was sometimes kept. A very solemn Meeting it was, and in a weighty Frame of Spirit we were, in which we sensibly felt the Lord with us and joining us; the Sense whereof remained with us all our Life-time, and was of good Service, and very comfortable to us on all Occasions.

My next Care after Marriage, was to secure my Wife what Monies she had, and with herself bestowed upon me. For I held it would be an abominable Crime in me, and favour of the highest Ingratitude, if I, though but through Negligence, should leave room for my Father (in case I should be taken away suddenly) to break in upon her Estate, and deprive her of any Part of that which had been and ought to be her own. Wherefore with the first Opportunity (as I remember, the very next Day, and before I knew particularly what she had) I made my *Will*; and thereby secured to her whatever I was possessed of, as well all that which she brought either in Monies, or in Goods,

1669. Goods, as that little which I had before I married her : Which indeed was but little, yet more, [by all that little] than I had ever given her Ground to expect with me.

She had indeed been advised by some of her Relations, to secure before Marriage some Part at least, of what she had, to be at her own disposal. Which, though perhaps not wholly free from some Tincture of Self-Interest in the Proposer, was not in itself the worst of Counsel. But the Worthiness of her Mind, and the Sense of the Ground on which she received me, would not suffer her to entertain any Suspicion of me : And this laid on me the greater Obligation, in point of Gratitude as well as of Justice, to regard and secure her ; which I did.

I omitted in its proper Place (because I would not break in upon the Discourse I was then upon) to insert a few Lines, which I writ as a Congratulation to an honoured Friend upon his Marriage, and presented him with the next Morning, thus :

MY Heart's affected with a weighty Sense
Of Yesterday's Proceedings, and from
thence,

Desire arises to CONGRATULATE

My happy Friend in his new married State.

Not in that Strain, wherewith some use to cloy

Mens Ears with tedious Peals of giving Joy.

But

But shunning all Extreame, I chuse to tread 1669.
 The middle Path, which doth to *Virtue* lead, }
 This then my Heart desires for thee, my Friend,

Thy Nuptial Joys may never here have End.
 May Happiness with thee take up her Rest,
 And sweet Contentment always fill thy Brest.
 May GOD thee bless with numerous Increase,
 And may thy utmost Off-spring rest in Peace.

Accept this Pledge of Love (tho' but a Part
 Of what is treasur'd for thee in my Heart)
 From him, who herein hath no other End,
 Than to declare himself

Thy faithful Friend,

Stepney, the 9th
 of the Second
 Month 1669.

T. E.

I had not been long married, before I was
 solicited by my dear Friends *Isaac* and *Mary*
Penington, and her Daughter *Guli*, to take a
 Journey into *Kent* and *Suffex*, to accompt with
 their Tenants, and overlook their Estates in
 those Counties, which, before I was married,
 I had had the Care of; and accordingly the
 Journey I undertook, though in the Depth of
 Winter.

My Travels into those Parts were the more
 irksome to me, from the Solitariness I under-
 went, and Want of suitable Society. For my
 Business

1669. Business lying among the Tenants, who were a
rustick Sort of People, of various Perswasions
and Humours, but not Friends, I had little Opportunity of conversing with Friends; though I contrived to be with them as much as I could, especially on the First-day of the Week.

But that which made my present Journey more heavy to me, was a sorrowful Exercise which was newly fallen upon me from my Father, harder to be borne than any I had ever met with before.

He had, upon my first acquainting him with my Inclination to marry, and to whom, not only very much approved the Match, and voluntarily offered, without my either asking or expecting, to give me a handsome Portion at present, with Assurance of an Addition to it hereafter. And he not only made this Offer to me in private, but came down from *London* into the Country on purpose, to be better acquainted with my Friend; and did there make the same Proposal to her; offering also to give Security to any Friend or Relation of hers for the Performance. Which Offer she most generously declined, leaving him as free as she found him. But after we were married, notwithstanding such his Promise, he wholly declined the Performance of it, under Pretence of our not being married by the *Priest* and *Liturgy*. This Usage and evil Treatment of us thereupon, was a great Trouble to me; and when I endeavoured to soften him in the matter, he forbid me speaking

ing to him of it any more, and removed his Lodging that I might not find him. 1669.

The Grief I conceived on this Occasion, was not for any Disappointment to myself or to my Wife ; for neither she nor I had any strict or necessary Dependence upon that Promise ; but my Grief was partly for the Cause assigned by him, as the Ground of it ; which was, *That our Marriage was not by Priest or Liturgy* ; and partly for that his lower Circumstances in the World, might probably tempt him to find some such, though unwarrantable Excuse, to avoid performing his Promise.

And surely hard would it have been for my Spirit to have borne up under the Weight of this Exercise, had not the LORD been exceeding gracious to me, and supported me with the Inflowings of His Love and Life, wherewith He visited my Soul in my Travel. The Sense whereof raised in my Heart a thankful Remembrance of His manifold Kindnesses in His former Dealings with me. And in the Evening, when I came to my Inn, while Supper was getting ready, I took my Pen, and put into Words what had in the Day revolved in my Thoughts. And thus it was.

A Song of P R A I S E.


TH Y Love, dear Father, and Thy tender
Care,

Have in my Heart begot a strong Desire,

S

To

1669. To celebrate Thy Name with Praises rare,
 That others too Thy Goodness may admire,
 And learn to yield to what Thou dost require.
 Many have been the Trials of my Mind,
 My Exercises great, great my Distress;
 Full oft my Ruin hath my Foe design'd,
 My Sorrows then my Pen cannot express,
 Nor could the best of Men afford Redress.
 When thus beset, to Thee I lift mine Eye,
 And with a mournful Heart my Moan did
 make ;
 How oft with Eyes o'erflowing did I cry,
My God, my God, O do me not forsake !
Regard my Tears ! Some Pity on me take !
 And, to the Glory of Thy holy Name,
 Eternal God, whom I both love and fear,
 I hereby do declare, I never came
 Before *Thy Throne*, and found Thee *loth to*
bear ;
 But always *ready*, with an open Ear.
 And tho' sometimes Thou seem'st *Thy Face*
to hide,
 As one that had *withdrawn Thy Love from me*,
 'Tis that my *Faith* may to the full be try'd,
 And

And that I thereby may the better see 1669.
 How weak I am, when not upheld by Thee. 
 For underneath Thy holy Arm I feel,
 Encompassing with *Strength* as with a *Wall*,
 That, if the Enemy trip up my Heel,
 Thou ready art to save me from a Fall:
 To Thee belong *Thanksgivings* over all.
 And for Thy tender Love, my God, my King,
 My *Heart* shall magnify Thee all my Days;
 My *Tongue* of Thy Renown shall daily sing,
 My *Pen* shall also grateful Trophies raise,
 As *Monuments* to Thy eternal Praise.

Kent, the Eleventh
 Month 1669.

T. E.

Having finished my Business in *Kent*, I struck off into *Suffex*, and finding the Enemy endeavouring still more strongly to beset me, I betook myself to the Lord for Safety, in whom I knew all Help and Strength was; and thus poured forth my Supplication, directed

To the Holy O N E.

ETERNAL God, Preserver of all those
 (Without respect of Person or Degree)
 Who in Thy Faithfulness their Trust repose,
 And place their Confidence alone in Thee;

1669. Be Thou my Succour ; for Thou know'ſt that I
 ~~~~~  
 On Thy Protection, L O R D, alone rely.  
 Surround me, Father, with Thy mighty Pow'r,  
 Support me daily by Thine holy Arm,  
 Preſerve me faithful in the evil Hour,  
 Stretch forth *Thine Hand*, to ſave me from  
 all Harm.

Be Thou my *Helmet, Breast-plate, Sword* and  
*Shield*,  
 And make my Foes before Thy Power yield.  
 Teach me the ſpirit'al Battel ſo to fight,  
 That when the Enemy ſhall me beſet,  
 Arm'd *Cap-a-pe* with th' Armour of Thy Light,  
 A perfect Conqueſt o'er him I may get ;  
 And with Thy *Battle-Axe* may cleave the *Head*  
 Of him, who bites that Part whereon I tread.  
 Then being from *domestick* Foes ſet free,  
 The *Cruelties* of *Men* I ſhall not fear ;  
 But in thy Quarrel, L O R D, undaunted be,  
 And, *for Thy Sake*, the Loſs of all Things  
 bear.

Yea, tho' in *Dungeon* lock'd, with Joy will ſing  
 An ODE of *Praife* to Thee, my *God*, my *King*.

*Suffex*, the Eleventh  
 Month 1669.

T. H.

As



As soon as I had dispatcht the Business I went <sup>1669.</sup> about, I returned home without Delay, and to <sup>w</sup> my great Comfort found my Wife well, and myself very welcome to her; both which I esteemed as great Favours,


Towards the latter Part of the Summer fol-<sup>1670.</sup> lowing, I went into *Kent* again, and in my <sup>w</sup> Passage through *London*, received the unwelcome News of the Loss of a very hopeful Youth, who had formerly been under my Care for Education. It was *Isaac Penington* (the second Son of my worthy Friends *Isaac* and *Mary Penigton*) a Child of excellent natural Parts, whose great Abilities bespoke him likely to be a great Man, had he lived to be a Man. He was designed to be bred a Merchant, and before he was thought ripe enough to be entred thereunto, his Parents, at Some-body's Request, gave Leave that he might go a Voyage to *Barbadoes*, only to spend a little Time, see the Place, and be somewhat acquainted with the Sea, under the Care and Conduct of a choice Friend and Sailor. *John Grove* of *London*, who was Master of a Vessel, and-traded to that Island; and a little Venture he had with him, made up by divers of his Friends, and by me among the rest. He made the Voyage thither very well, found the wat'ry Element agreeable, had his Health there, liked the Place, was much pleased with his Entertainment there, and was returning home with his little Cargo, in Return for the Goods he carried out; when on a sudden, through Unwari-ness, he dropt over-board, and (the Vessel being

1669. under Sail with a brisk Gale) was irrecoverably lost, notwithstanding the utmost Labour, Care and Diligence of the Master and Sailors to have saved him.

This unhappy Accident took from the afflicted Master all the Pleasure of his Voyage, and he mourn'd for the Loss of this Youth, as if it had been his own, yea, only Son; for as he was in himself a Man of a worthy Mind, so the Boy, by his witty and handsome Behaviour in general, and obsequious Carriage towards him in particular, had very much wrought himself into his Favour.

As for me, I thought it one of the sharpest Strokes I had met with, for I both loved the Child very well, and had conceived great Hopes of general Good from him; and it pierced me the deeper, to think how deeply it would pierce his afflicted Parents.

Sorrow for this Disaster was my Companion in this Journey, and I travelled the Roads under great Exercise of Mind, revolving in my Thoughts the manifold Accidents, which the *LIFE of Man* was attended with and subject to, and the great *Uncertainty of all human Things*; I could find no Center, no firm Basis for the *Mind of Man* to fix upon, but the *divine Power and Will of the Almighty*. This Consideration wrought in my Spirit a sort of Contempt of what supposed *Happiness or Pleasure* this World, or the Things that are in, and of it, can of themselves yield, and raised my Contemplation higher; which, as it ripened,  
and

and came to some degree of Digestion, I breath-<sup>1670.</sup>  
ed forth in mournful Accents, thus : 

## Solitary THOUGHTS

*On the Uncertainty of human Things,*

Occasioned by the sudden Loss of an  
HOPEFUL YOUTH.

*Transibunt cito, quæ vos mansura putatis.*

Those Things soon will pass away,  
Which ye think will always stay.

**W**HAT ground, alas ! has any Man  
To set his Heart on Things below,  
Which, when they seem most like to stand,  
Fly like an Arrow from a Bow !  
Things subject to exterior Sense  
Are to Mutation most propense.  
If stately Houses we erect,  
And therein think to take Delight,  
On what a sudden are we checkt,  
And all our Hopes made groundless quite !  
One little Spark in Ashes lays  
What we were building half our Days.

1670. If on Estate an Eye we cast,

And Pleasure there expect to find,

A secret providential Blast

Gives Disappointment to our Mind.

Who now's on Top, e're long may feel

The circling Motion of the Wheel.

If we our tender Babes embrace,

And Comfort hope in them to have,

Alas, in what a little Space,

Is Hope, with them, laid in the Grave!

Whatever promiseth Content,

Is in a Moment from us rent.

This World cannot afford a Thing,

Which, to a well-composed Mind,

Can any lasting Pleasure bring,

But in its Womb its Grave will find.

All Things unto their Center tend ;

What had \* Beginning will have End.

*Under-  
stand  
this of  
Natural  
Things.*

But is there nothing then that's sure,

For Man to fix his Heart upon ?

Nothing that always will endure,

When all these transient Things are gone ?

Sad State ! where Man, with Grief oppress'd,

Finds nought whereon his Mind may rest.

O yes !

O yes! there is a God above,  
 Who unto Men is also nigh,  
 On whose unalterable Love  
 We may with Confidence rely.  
 No Disappointment can befall  
 Us, having Him that's *All in All*.  
 If unto Him we faithful be,  
 It is impossible to miss  
 Of whatsoever He shall see  
 Conducibile unto our Blifs.  
 What can of Pleasure him prevent,  
 Who hath the Fountain of Content?  
 In Him alone if we delight,  
 And in His Precepts Pleasure take,  
 We shall be sure to do aright,  
 'Tis not His Nature to forsake.  
 A proper Object's He alone,  
 For Man to set his Heart upon."

——— *Domino Mens nixa quieta est.*

*The Mind which upon God is stay'd,  
 Shall with no Trouble be dismay'd.*

Kent, the 4th of the  
 Seventh Month,  
 1670.

T. E.

A Copy

1670.


W.

1070. A Copy of the foregoing Lines, inclosed in  
 a Letter of *Condolance*, I sent by the first Post  
 into *Buckinghamshire*, to my dear Friends the  
 afflicted Parents; and upon my Return home,  
 going to visit them, we sat down and solemnly  
 mixed our Sorrows and Tears together.

About this Time (as I remember) it was, that  
 some Bickerings happening between some *Bap-  
 tists*, and some of the People called *Quakers*, in  
 or about *High-Wiccomb* in *Buckinghamshire*, oc-  
 casioned by some reflecting Words a *Baptist*  
 Preacher had publickly uttered in one of their  
 Meetings there, against the *Quakers* in general,  
 and *William Penn* in particular; it came at  
 length to this Issue, that a Meeting for a publick  
 Dispute was appointed, to be holden at *West-  
 Wiccomb*, between *Jeremy Ives*, who espoused  
 his Brother's Cause, and *William Penn*.

To this Meeting, it being so near me, I went,  
 rather to countenance the Cause, than for any  
 Delight I took in such Work; for indeed, I have  
 rarely found the Advantage equivalent to the  
 Trouble and Danger arising from those Contests.  
 For which Cause I would not chuse them, as, be-  
 ing justly engaged, I would not refuse them.

The Issue of this proved better than I ex-  
 pected. For *Ives* having undertaken an ill  
 Cause, to argue against the *divine Light* and  
*universal Grace*, conferr'd by God on all Men;  
 when he had spent his Stock of Arguments,  
 which he brought with him on that Subject,  
 finding his Work go on heavily, and the Audi-  
 tory not well satisfied, stept down from his  
 Seat

Seat and departed, with purpose to have bro- 1670.  
ken up the Assembly. But, except some few ,  
of his Party who followed him, the People ge-  
nerally staid, and were the more attentive to  
what was afterwards delivered amongst them.  
Which *Ives* understanding came in again, and  
in an angry railing Manner, expressing his Dis-  
like that we went not all away when he did,  
gave more Disgust to the People.

After the Meeting was ended, I sent to my  
Friend *Isaac Penington* (by his Son and Servant,  
who returned home, though it was late, that  
Evening) a short Account of the Business in the  
following Distich.

*Prævaluit VERITAS: Inimici Terga dedere:*  
*Nos sumus in tuto; Laus tribuenda Deo.*

Which may be thus *Englisbed*.

*Truth* hath prevail'd; the Enemies did fly:  
We are in Safety; Praise to God on high.

But both they and we had quickly other  
Work found us; it soon became a stormy Time.  
The Clouds had been long gathering and threat-  
ned a Tempest. The Parliament had sate some  
Time before, and hatched that unaccountable  
Law, which was called *The Conventicle Act*: (If  
that may be allowed to be called a Law, by  
whomsoever made) which was so directly con-  
trary to the Fundamental Laws of *England*, to  
common

1670. common Justice, Equity and right Reason, as  
 W this manifestly was. For,

*First*, It brake down and over-run the Bounds and Banks, anciently set for the Defence and Security of *Englishmens* Lives, Liberties and Properties, *viz. Trial by Juries*. Instead thereof, directing and authorizing Justices of the Peace (and that too privately out of Sessions) to convict, fine, and by their Warrants distrain upon Offenders against it ; directly contrary to the *Great Charter*.

*Secondly*, By that Act the Informers, who swear for their own Advantage, as being thereby entituled to a third Part of the Fines, were many times concealed, driving on an underhand private Trade; so that Men might be, and often were convicted and fined, without having any Notice or Knowledge of it, till the Officers came and took away their Goods, nor even then could they tell by whose Evidence they were convicted. Than which, what could be more opposite to common Justice? which requires that every Man should be openly charged, and have his Accuser Face to Face, that he might both answer for himself before he be convicted, and object to the Validity of the Evidence given against him.

*Thirdly*, By that Act, the Innocent were punished for the Offences of the Guilty. If the Wife or Child was convicted of having been at one of those Assemblies, which by that Act was adjudged unlawful; the Fine was levied on the Goods of the Husband or Father of such Wife or Child,



Child, tho' he was neither present at such Assembly 1670. nor was of the same religious Perswasion that they were of, but perhaps an Enemy to it. ~

*Fourthly*, It was left in the arbitrary Pleasure of the Justices, to lay half the Fine for the House or Ground where such Assembly was holden, and half the Fine for a pretended unknown Preacher; and the whole Fines of such and so many of the Meeters as they should account Poor, upon any other or others of the People, who were present at the same Meeting (not exceeding a certain limited Sum;) without any Regard to Equity or Reason. And yet, such Blindness doth the *Spirit of Persecution* bring on Men, otherwise sharp sighted enough, that this unlawful, unjust, unequal, unreasonable and unrighteous Law took place in (almost) all Places, and was vigorously prosecuted against the Meetings of *Dissenters* in general, though the Brunt of the Storm fell most sharply on the People called *Quakers*; not that it seemed to be more particularly levelled at them, but that they stood more fair, steady and open, as a Butt to receive all the Shot that came, while some others found Means and Freedom to retire to Coverts for Shelter.

No sooner had the Bishops obtained this Law, for suppressing all other Meetings but their own, but some of the Clergy of most Ranks, and some others too, who were over-much bigotted to that Party, bestir'd themselves with Might and Main, to find out and encourage the most profligate Wretches to turn Informers; and to

get

1670. get such Persons into Parochial Offices, as would be most obsequious to their Commands, and ready at their Beck, to put it into the most rigorous Execution. Yet it took not alike in all Places; but some were forwarder in the Work than others, according as the Agents, intended to be chiefly employed therein, had been pre-disposed thereunto.

For in some Parts of the Nation Care had been timely taken, by some not of the lowest Rank, to chuse out some particular Persons (Men of sharp Wit, close Countenances, pliant Tempers and deep Dissimulation) and send them forth among the *Secretaries*, so called; with Instructions to thrust themselves into all Societies, conform to all, or any Sort of religious Profession, *Proteus*-like change their Shapes, and transform themselves from one religious Appearance to another, as Occasion should require. In a Word, to be all Things to all; not that they might win some, but that they might, if possible, ruin all, at least many.

The Drift of this Design was, That they who employed them might, by this Means, get a full Account what Number of *Dissenters* Meetings, of every Sort, there were in each County, and where kept; what Number of Persons frequented them, and of what Ranks; who amongst them were Persons of Estate, and where they lived; that when they should afterwards have troubled the Waters, they might the better know where, with most Advantage, to cast their Nets.

He, of these Emissaries, whose Post was assigned him in this County of *Bucks*, adventured

to thrust himself upon a Friend, under the <sup>1670.</sup> counterfeit Appearance of a *Quaker*; but being by the Friend suspected, and thereupon dismiss unentertain'd, he was forced to betake himself to an Inn or Alehouse for Accommodation. Long he had not been there, e're his unruly Nature (not to be long kept under by the Curb of a feigned Sobriety) broke forth into open Profaneness; so true is that of the POET,

*Naturam expellas furca licet, usq; recurret.*


To Fudling now falls he with those whom he found tipping there before; and who but he amongst them! In him was then made good the Proverb, *In Vino Veritas*; for in his Cups he out with that which was, no doubt, to have been kept a Secret. 'Twas to his Pot-companions that, after his Head was somewhat heated with strong Liquors, he discovered that he was sent forth by Dr. *Mew*, the then Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, on the Design before related, and under the Protection of Justice *Morton*, a Warrant under whose Hand and Seal he there produced.

Sensible of his Error too late (when Sleep had restored him to some degree of Sense) and discouraged with this ill Success of his Attempt upon the *Quakers*, he quickly left that Place, and crossing through the Country, cast himself among the *Baptists*, at a Meeting which they held in a private Place; of which, the over-easy Credulity of some that went among them, whom

1670. whom he had craftily insinuated himself into, had given him Notice. The Entertainment he found amongst them, deserved a better Return than he made them. For, having smoothly wrought himself into their good Opinion, and cunningly drawn some of them into an unwary Openness and Freedom of Conversation with him, upon the unpleasing Subject of the Severity of those Times, he most villainously impeached one of them, whose Name was ——— *Headach*, a Man well reputed amongst his Neighbours, of having spoken *treasonable Words*; and thereby brought the Man in danger of losing both his Estate and Life, had not a seasonable Discovery of his abominable Practices elsewhere (imprinting Terror, the Effect of Guilt upon him) caused him to fly both out of the Court and Country, at that very Instant of Time, when the honest Man stood at the Bar, ready to be arraigned upon his false Accusation.

This his false Charge against that *Baptist*, left him no further room to play the Hypocrite in those Parts. Off therefore go his Cloak and Vizor. And now he openly appears in his proper Colours, to disturb the Assemblies of God's People; which was indeed the very End, for which the Design at first was laid.

But because the Law provided, *That a Conviction must be grounded upon the Oaths of two Witnesses*, it was needful for him, in order to the carrying on his intended Mischief, to find out an Associate, who might be both sordid  
 enough

enough for such an Imployment, and vicious <sup>1670.</sup>  
 enough to be his Companion. 

This was not an easy Task; yet he found out one, who had already given an Experiment of his Readiness to take other Mens Goods, being not long before released out of *Aylesbury* Jail, where he very narrowly escaped the Gallows for having stolen a Cow.

The Names of these Fellows being yet unknown in that Part of the Country where they began their Work, the former, by the general Voice of the Country, was called *The Trepan*; the latter, *The Informer*, and, from the Colour of his Hair, *Red-head*. But in a little Time the *Trepan* called himself *John Poulter*, adding withal, that Judge *Morton* used to call him *John for the King*; and that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had given him a *Deaconry*. That his Name was indeed *John Poulter*, the reputed Son of one — *Poulter*, a Butcher in *Salisbury*, and that he had long since been there branded for a Fellow egregiously wicked and debauched, we were assured by the Testimony of a young Man then living in *Amersham*, who both was his Countryman, and had known him in *Salisbury*; as well as by a Letter from an Inhabitant of that Place, to whom his Course of Life had been well known.

His Comrade, who for some Time was only called *The Informer*, was named *Ralph Lacy* of *Risborough*, and surnamed the *Cow-stealer*.

These agreed between themselves where to make their first Onset, which was to be, and

T

was,

1670. was, on the Meeting of the People called *Quakers*, then holden at the House of *William Russell*, called *Jourdan's*, in the Parish of *Giles-Chalfont* in the County of *Bucks*; that which was wanting to their Accommodation, was a Place of Harbour, fit for such Beasts of Prey to lurk in; for Assistance wherein, Recourse was had to Parson *Philips*, none being so ready, none so willing, none so able to help them as he.

A Friend he had in a Corner, a Widow-woman, not long before one of his Parishioners. Her Name was *Anne Dell*, and at that Time she lived at a Farm called *Whites*, a By-place in the Parish of *Beconsfield*, whither she removed from *Hitchindon*. To her these Fellows were recommended by her old Friend the Parson. She with all Readiness received them, her House was at all Times open to them, what she had, was at their Command.

Two Sons she had at home with her, both at Man's Estate; to the eldest of which, her Maid-servant not long before had laid a Bastard, which Infamy to smother up proved expensive to them. The younger Son, whose Name was *John Dell*, hoping by the Pillage of his honest Neighbours, to regain what the Incontinency of his lustful Brother had mis-spent, listed himself in the Service of his Mother's new Guests, to attend on them as their Guide, and to inform them (who were too much Strangers to pretend to know the Names of any of the Persons there) whom they should inform against.

Thus

Thus conformed, thus in a triple League confederated; on the 24th Day of the fifth Month, commonly called *July*, in the Year 1670, they appeared openly, and began to act their intended Tragedy upon the *Quakers* Meeting at the Place aforesaid, to which I belonged, and at which I was present. Here the chief Actor, *Poulter*, behaved himself with such impetuous Violence and brutish Rudeness, as gave Occasion for Enquiry, who or what he was? And being soon discovered to be the *Trepan*, so infamous and abhor'd by all sober People, and afterwards daily detected of gross Impieties, and even capital Crimes, such as *Christ'ning* (so the common Term is) of a Cat, in Contempt of that Practice which is used by many upon Children, naming it *Catharine - Catherina*, in Derision of the then Queen; and the felonious taking of certain Goods from one of *Brainford*, whom also he cheated of Money. These Things raising an Out-cry in the Country upon him, made him consult his own Safety, and leaving his Part to be acted by others, quitted the Country as soon as he could.

He being gone, Satan soon supplied his Place, by sending one *Richard Aris*, a broken *Ironmonger* of *Wiccomb*, to join with *Lacy* in this Service, prompted thereto, in hopes that he might thereby repair his broken Fortunes.

Of this new Adventurer this single Character may serve, whereby the Reader may make Judgment of him, as of the Lion by his Paw; That at the Sessions holden at *Wiccomb* in

1670. *October* then last past, he was openly accused of having enticed one *Harding* of the same Town, to be his Companion and Associate in robbing on the Highway, and Proof offered to be made, that he had made Bullets in order to that Service; which Charge *Harding* himself, whom he had endeavoured to draw into that hainous Wickedness, was ready in Court to prove upon Oath, had not the Prosecution been discountenanced and smothered.

*Lacy* the Cow-stealer, having thus got *Aris* the intended Highway-man to be his Comrade, they came on the 21st of the Month called *August* 1670, to the Meeting of the People called *Quakers*, where *Lacy* with *Poulter* had been a Month before; and taking for granted that the same who had been there before, were there then, they went to a Justice of the Peace called *Sir Thomas Clayton*, and swore at all adventure against one *Thomas Zachary* and his Wife, whom *Lacy* understood to have been there the Month before, that they were then present in that Meeting: Whereas neither the said *Thomas Zachary* nor his Wife were at that Meeting, but were both of them at *London* (above twenty Miles distant) all that Day, having been there some Time before and after. Which notwithstanding, upon this false Oath of these false Men, the Justice laid Fines upon the said *Thomas Zachary* of 10 *l.* for his own Offence, 10 *l.* for his Wife's, and 10 *l.* for the Offence of a pretended Preacher, though indeed there was not any that preached at that Meeting that



that Day ; and issued forth his Warrant to the Officers of *Beaconsfield*, where *Thomas Zachary* dwelt, for the levying of the same upon his Goods.

I mention these Things thus particularly, tho' not an immediate Suffering of my own, because, in the Consequence thereof, it occasioned no small Trouble and Exercise to me.

For when *Thomas Zachary*, returning home from *London*, understanding what had been done against him, and advising what to do, was informed by a neighbouring Attorney, that his Remedy lay in appealing from the Judgment of the convicting Justice, to the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace : He thereupon ordering the said Attorney to draw up his Appeal in Form of Law, went himself with it and tendered it to the Justice. But the Justice being a Man neither well principled, nor well natured, and uneasy that he should lose the Advantage, both of the present Conviction, and future Service of such (in his Judgment) useful Men, as those two bold Informers were likely to be, fell sharply upon *Thomas Zachary*, charging him that he suffered justly, and that his Suffering was not on a religious Account.

This rough and unjust Dealing engaged the good Man to enter into further Discourse with the Justice, in Defence of his own Innocency. From which Discourse the insidious Justice, taking Offence at some Expression of his, charged him with saying, *The Righteous are oppressed, and the Wicked go unpunished.* Which the Justice

1670. interpreting to be a Reflection on the Govern-  
 ment, and calling it an high *Misdemeanour*, re-  
 quired Sureties of the good Man to answer it at  
 the next Quarter Sessions, and in the mean  
 Time to be bound to his good Behaviour. But  
 he, well knowing himself to be innocent of  
 having broken any Law, or done in this Matter  
 any Evil, could not answer the Justice's unjust  
 Demand, and therefore was sent forthwith a  
 Prisoner to the County Jail.

By this Severity it was thought, the Justice  
 designed not only to wreak his Displeasure on  
 this good Man, but to prevent the further Pro-  
 secution of his Appeal: Whereby he should at  
 once both oppress the Righteous, by the Levy-  
 ing of the Fines unduly imposed upon him,  
 and secure the Informers from a Conviction of  
*wilful Perjury*, and the Punishment due there-  
 for, that so they might go on without Controul,  
 in the wicked Work they were engaged in.

But so great Wickedness was not to be suffer-  
 ed to go unpunished, or at least undiscovered.  
 Wherefore, although no Way could be found at  
 present, to get the good Man released from his  
 unjust Imprisonment; yet that his Restraint  
 might not hinder the Prosecution of his Appeal,  
 on which the Detection of the Informers Vil-  
 lany depended, Consideration being had there-  
 of amongst some Friends, the Management of  
 the Prosecution was committed to my Care, who  
 was thought, with respect at least to Leisure,  
 and Disengagement from other Business, most fit  
 to attend it; and very willingly I undertook it.

Wherefore

Wherefore at the next general Quarter-Sessions 1670. of the Peace, holden at *Higb-Wiscomb* in *October* following, I took Care that four substantial Witnesses, Citizens of unquestionable Credit, should come down from *London*, in a Coach and four Horses hired on purpose.

These gave so punctual and full Evidence, that *Thomas Zachary* and his Wife were in *London* all that Day, whereon the Informers had sworn them to have been at an unlawful Meeting, at a Place more than twenty Miles distant from *London*, that notwithstanding what Endeavours were used to the contrary, the Jury found them *Not Guilty*. Whereupon the Money deposited for the Fines, at the Entering of the Appeal, ought to have been returned, and so was Ten Pounds of it; but the rest of the Money being in the Hand of the Clerk of the Peace, whose Name was *Wells*, could never be got out again.

*Thomas Zachary* himself was brought from *Aylesbury* Jail to *Wiccomb*, to receive his Trial, and though no Evil could be charged upon him, yet Justice *Clayton*, who at first committed him, displeas'd to see the Appeal prosecuted, and the Conviction he had made set aside, by Importunity prevail'd with the Bench to remand him to Prison again, there to lie until another Sessions.

While this was doing, I got an Indictment drawn up against the Informers *Aris* and *Lacy*, for wilful Perjury, and caus'd it to be deliver'd to the Grand Jury; who found the Bill. And although the Court adjourn'd from the Town-

1670. hall to the Chamber at their Inn, in Favour as  
 it was thought to the Informers, on Supposition  
 we would not pursue them thither, yet thither  
 they were pursued; and there being too Coun-  
 cils present from *Windsor*, the Name of the one  
 was *Starky*, and of the other, as I remember,  
*Forster*; the former of which I had before re-  
 tained upon the Trial of the Appeal, I now  
 retained them both, and sent them into Court  
 again to prosecute the Informers upon this In-  
 dictment; which they did so smartly, that the  
 Informers being present, as not suspecting any  
 such sudden Danger, were of Necessity called  
 to the Bar and arraigned; and having pleaded  
*Not Guilty*, were forced to enter a Traverse to  
 avoid a present Commitment: All the Favour  
 the Court could shew them, being to take them  
 Bail one for the other, though probably both not  
 worth a Groat, else they must have gone to  
 Jail for want of Bail, which would have put  
 them besides their Business, spoil'd the inform-  
 ing Trade, and broke the Design; whereas  
 now they were turned loose again, to do what  
 Mischief they could until the next Sessions.

Accordingly they did what they could, and  
 yet could make little or no Earnings at it; for  
 this little Step of Prosecution had made them  
 so known, and their late apparent Perjury had  
 made them so detestable, that even the common  
 Sort of bad Men shunned them, and would not  
 willingly yield them any Assistance.

The next Quarter-Sessions was holden at  
*Aylesbury*, whither we were fain to bring down


our Witnesses again from *London*, in like manner and at like Charge (at the least) as before. <sup>1670.</sup> And though I met with great Discouragements in the Prosecution, yet I followed it so vigorously, that I got a Verdict against the Informers for *wilful Perjury*; and had forthwith taken them up, had not they forthwith fled from Justice and hid themselves. However, I moved by my Attorney for an Order of Court, directed to all Mayors, Bayliffs, High Constables, Petty Constables, and other inferior Officers of the Peace, to arrest and take them up, where-ever they should be found within the County of *Bucks*, and bring them to the County Jail.

The Report of this so terrified them, that of all Things dreading the Misery of lying in a Jail, out of which they could not hope for Deliverance, otherwise than by at least the Loss of their Ears, they hopeless now of carrying on their informing Trade, disjoined, and one of them (*Aris*) fled the Country; so that whatever Gallows caught him, he appeared no more in this Country. The other (*Lacy*) lurked privately for a while in Woods and By-places, 'till Hunger and Want forced him out; and then casting himself upon an hazardous Adventure, which yet was the best, and proved to him the best Course he could have taken, he went directly to the Jail, where he knew the innocent Man suffered Imprisonment by his Means, and for his Sake; where asking for, and being brought to *Thomas Zackary*, he cast himself on his Knees, at his Feet, and with Appearance of

1670. of *Sorrow* confessing his Fault, did so earnestly  
 W beg for Forgiveness, that he wrought upon the  
 tender Nature of that very good Man, not only  
 to put him in hopes of Mercy, but to be his  
 Advocate by Letter to me, to mitigate at least,  
 if not wholly to remit the Prosecution. To  
 which I so far only consented, as to let him  
 know, I would suspend the Execution of the  
 Warrant upon him, according as he behaved  
 himself, or until he gave fresh Provocation.  
 At which Message the Fellow was so overjoyed,  
 that relying with Confidence thereon, he re-  
 turned openly to his Family and Labour, and  
 applied himself to Business, as his Neighbours  
 observed and reported, with greater Diligence  
 and Industry than he had ever done before.

Thus began and thus ended the informing  
 Trade, in these Parts of the County of *Bucks* ;  
 the ill Success that these first Informers found,  
 discouraging all others, how vile soever, from  
 attempting the like Enterprize there ever after.  
 And though it cost some Money to carry on the  
 Prosecution, and some Pains too ; yet, for every  
 Shilling so spent, a Pound probably might be  
 saved, of what in all likelihood would have  
 been lost, by the Spoil and Havock that might  
 have been made by Distresses taken on their  
 Informations.

But so angry was the convicting Justice  
 (whatever others of the same Rank were) at this  
 Prosecution, and the Loss thereby of the Ser-  
 vice of those *honest Men*, the *perjur'd Informers*.  
 For as I heard an Attorney (one *Hitchcock* of  
*Aylesbury*,

*Aylesbury*, who was their Advocate in Court) say, <sup>1670.</sup>  
*A great Lord, a Peer of the Realm, called them so*   
*in a Letter directed to him; whereby he recommend-*  
*ed to him the Care and Defence of them and their*  
*Cause; that he prevailed to have the Oath of Alle-*  
*giance tendred in Court to Thomas Zachary, which*  
*he knew he would not take, because he could not*  
*take any Oath at all; by which Snare he was kept*  
*in Prison a long Time after, and, so far as I re-*  
*member, until a general Pardon released him.*

But though it pleased the divine Providence, which sometimes vouchsafeth to bring Good out of Evil, to put a Stop, in a great Measure at least, to the Prosecution here begun; yet in other Parts, both of the City and Country, it was carried on with very great Severity and Rigour; the worst of Men, for the most part, being set up for Informers; the worst of Magistrates encouraging and abetting them; and the worst of the Priests, who first began to blow the Fire, now seeing how it took, spread and blazed, clapping their Hands, and hallowing them on to this evil Work.

The Sense whereof, as it deeply affected my Heart with a sympathizing Pity for the oppressed Sufferers, so it raised in my Spirit an holy Disdain and Contempt of that Spirit and its Agent, by which this ungodly Work was stirred up and carried on. Which at length brake forth in an Expostulatory POEM, under the Title of *GIGANTOMACHIA* (*the Wars of the Giants against Heaven*) not without some Allusion to the second Psalm, thus:

W H Y

1670. **W**HY do the Heathen in a brutish Rage,  
 Themselves against the Lord of Hosts  
 engage!

Why do the frantick People entertain  
 Their Thoughts upon a Thing that is so vain!  
 Why do the Kings themselves together set!  
 And why do all the Princes them abet!  
 Why do the Rulers to each other speak  
 After this foolish manner, *Let us break  
 Their Bonds asunder! Come let us make haste,  
 With joint Consent, their Cords from us to cast.*  
 Why do they thus join Hands! and Counsel take  
 Against the Lord's Anointed! This will make  
 Him, doubtless laugh, who doth in Heaven sit,  
 The Lord will have them in Contempt for it.  
 His fore Displeasure on them He will wreak,  
 And in His Wrath will He unto them speak,  
 For on His holy Hill of *Sion*, He  
 His King hath set to reign, *Scepters* must be  
 Cast down before him; *Diadems* must lie  
 At foot of Him who sits in Majesty  
 Upon His Throne of Glory; whence He will  
 Send forth His fiery Ministers to kill  
 All those His Enemies, who would not be  
 Subject to His supream Authority.

Where



Where then will ye appear, who are so far  
 From being *Subjects*, that ye *Rebels* are  
 Against His holy Government, and strive  
 Others from their Allegiance too to drive;  
 What Earthly Prince such an Affront wou'd bear  
 From any of his Subjects, shou'd they dare  
 So to encroach on his Prerogative!  
 Which of them wou'd permit that Man to *live*;  
 What shou'd it be adjudg'd but *Treason*? And  
 Death he must suffer for it out of hand.

And shall the *King of Kings* such *Treason* see  
 Acted against Him, and the Traitors be  
 Acquitted! No, *Vengeance* is His; and they  
 That Him provoke, shall know He will repay.

And of a Truth, provoked He hath been,  
 In an high Manner by this daring Sin,  
 Of Usurpation, and of Tyranny  
 Over Mens Consciences, which should be free  
 To serve the living God as He requires,  
 And as His holy Spirit them inspires.  
 For Conscience is an inward Thing, and none  
 Can govern that aright but God alone.  
 Nor can a well-informed Conscience low'r  
 Her Sails to any temporary Pow'r,

1670.  
W

1670. Or bow to Mens Decrees ; for that wou'd be  
 Treason in a superlative Degree ;  
 For God alone can Laws to Conscience give,  
 And that's a Badge of His PREROGATIVE.

This is the Controversy of this Day,  
 Between the holy God, and sinful Clay.  
 God hath throughout the Earth, proclaim'd  
 that He  
 Will over Conscience hold the Sov'raingty,  
 That He the Kingdom to Himself will take,  
 And in Man's Heart His Residence will make ;  
 From whence His Subjects shall such Laws  
 receive,

As please His royal Majesty to give.

Man heeds not this ; but most audacioufly  
 Says, *Unto me belongs Supremacy :*  
*And all Mens Consciences within my Land,*  
*Ought to be subject unto my Command.*

God by His holy Spirit doth direct  
 His People how to worship ; and expect  
 Obedience from them. Man says, *I ordain,*  
*That none shall worship in that Way on pain*  
*Of Prison, Confiscation, Banishment,*  
*Or being to the Stake or Gallows sent.*

God out of *Babylon* doth People call, 1670.  
 Commands them to forsake her Ways, and all w,  
 Her sev'ral Sorts of Worship, to deny  
 Her whole Religion as *Idolatry*.

Will Man thus his usurped Pow'r forgo,  
 And lose his ill-got Government? Oh no:  
 But out comes his Enacted, be't, *That all*  
*Who when the Organs play, will not down fall*  
*Before this golden Image, and adore*  
*What I have caus'd to be set up therefore,*  
*Into the fiery Furnace shall be cast,*  
*And be consumed with a flaming Blast.*  
 Or, in the mildest Terms, conform or pay  
 So much a Month, or so much ev'ry Day,  
 Which we will levy on you, by Distress,  
 Sparing nor Widow, nor the Fatherless:  
 And if you have not what will satisfy,  
 Y'are like in Prison during Life to lie.

Christ says, *Swear not*; but Man says, *Swear*;  
 In Prison, *premunir'd*, until you die. [or lie  
 Man's Ways are, in a Word, as opposite  
 To God's, as Midnight-darkness is to Light;  
 And yet fond Man doth strive with Might and  
 Main  
 By penal Laws, God's People to constrain

To

1670. To worship *What, When, Where, How* he  
 thinks fit,

And to whatever he enjoins, submit.

What will the Issue of this Contest be !  
 Which must give Place, the Lord's, or Man's  
 Decree !

Will Man be in the Day of Battle found  
 Able to keep the Field, maintain his Ground,  
 Against the mighty God ! No more than can  
 The lightest Chaff before the winnowing Fan ;  
 No more than Straw cou'd stand before the  
 Flame,

Or smallest Atoms, when a Whirlwind came.

The LORD (who in Creation, only said,  
*Let us make Man*, and forthwith Man was made)  
 Can in a Moment by one Blast of Breath,  
 Strike all Mankind with an eternal Death.  
 How soon can God all Man's Devices quash,  
 And, with His iron Rod, in Pieces dash  
 Him, like a Potter's Vessel ! None can stand  
 Against the mighty Power of His Hand.

Be therefore wise ye Kings, instructed be,  
 Ye Rulers of the Earth, and henceforth see  
 Ye serve the Lord in Fear, and stand in awe  
 Of sinning any more against His Law,

His

His royal Law of Liberty ; to do 1670.  
 To others as you'd have them do to you. ~  
 Oh stoop, ye mighty Monarchs, and let none  
 Reject His Government, but kiss the Son,  
 While's Wrath is but a little kindled, lest  
 His Anger burn, and you that have transgress  
 His Law so oft, and wou'd not Him obey,  
 Eternally shou'd perish from the Way ;  
 The Way of God's Salvation, where the Just  
 Are bless'd, who in the Lord do put their Trust.

*Fœlix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum.*

————— Happy's he,  
 Whom others Harms do wary make to be.

As the unreasonable Rage and furious Vio- 1671.  
 lence of the Persecutors had drawn the former ~  
 Expostulation from me ; so in a while after,  
 my Heart being deeply affected with a Sense of  
 the great Loving-kindness and tender Goodness  
 of the LORD to his People, in bearing up their  
 Spirits in their greatest Exercises, and preserving  
 them through the sharpest Trials, in a faithful  
 Testimony to his blessed Truth, and opening in  
 due Time a Door of Deliverance to them, I  
 could not forbear to celebrate His Praises in the  
 following Lines, under the Title of

1671. *A SONG of the Mercies and  
Deliverances of the LORD.*

**H**AD not the Lord been on our Side,  
 May *Israel* now say,  
 We were not able to abide  
 The Trials of that Day.  
 When Men did up against us rise,  
 With Fury, Rage and Spight,  
 Hoping to catch us by Surprize,  
 Or run us down by Might.  
 Then had not God for us arose,  
 And shewn His mighty Pow'r,  
 We had been swallow'd by our Foes,  
 Who waited to devour.  
 When the joint Pow'rs of Death and Hell  
 Against us did combine,  
 And, with united Forces fell  
 Upon us, with Design  
 To root us out; then had not God  
 Appear'd to take our Part,  
 And them chastized with His Rod,  
 And made them feel the Smart,

We

We then had overwhelmed been, 1671.  
 And trodden in the Mire, w  
 Our Enemies on us had seen  
 Their cruel Hearts Desire.  
 When ston'd, when stockt, when rudely stript,  
 Some to the Waist have been,  
 (Without Regard of Sex) and whipt,  
 Until the Blood did spin ;  
 Yea, when their Skins with Stripes look'd black,  
 Their Flesh to Jelly beat,  
 Enough to make their Sinews crack,  
 The Lashes were so great ;  
 Then had not God been with them to  
 Support them, they had dy'd,  
 His Pow'r it was, that bore them thro',  
 Nothing cou'd do't beside.  
 When into Prisons we were throng'd  
 (Where *Pestilence* was rife)  
 By bloody-minded Men, that long'd  
 To take away our Life ;  
 Then had not God been with us, we  
 Had perish'd there no doubt,  
 'Twas He preserv'd us there, and He  
 It was that brought us out.

1670.



When sentenced to Banishment

Inhumanly we were,

To be from native Country sent,

From all that Men call dear ;

Then had not God been pleas'd t' appear,

And take our Cause in hand,

And struck them with a pannick Fear,

Which put them to a stand :

Nay, had He not great Judgments sent,

And compass'd them about,

They were, at that Time fully bent

To root us wholly out.

Had He not gone with them that went,

The Seas had been their Graves,

Or, when they came where they were sent,

They had been sold for Slaves.

But God was pleas'd still to give

Them Favour where they came,

And in His Truth they yet do live,

To praise His holy Name.

And now afresh do Men contrive

Another wicked Way,

Of our Estates us to deprive,

And take our Goods away.

But




But will the Lord (who to this Day,  
 Our Part did always take)  
 Now leave us to be made a Prey,  
 And that too for His Sake ?  
 Can any one, who calls to Mind  
 Deliverances past,  
 Discourag'd be at what's behind,  
 And murmur now at last !  
 O that no unbelieving Heart  
 Among us may be found,  
 That from the Lord wou'd now depart,  
 And Coward-like, give Ground.  
 For, without doubt, the God we serve  
 Will still our Cause defend,  
 If we from Him do never swerve,  
 But trust Him to the End.  
 What if our Goods by Violence,  
 From us be torn, and we,  
 Of all Things but our Innocence,  
 Should wholly stripped be ?  
 Would this be more than did befall  
 Good *Job* ? Nay sure, much less ;  
 He lost Estate, Children and all,  
 Yet he the Lord did bless.

16 .  
w,

1671. But did not God his Stock augment,  
 Double what 'twas before ?  
 And this was writ to the Intent,  
 That we should hope the more.  
 View but the Lillies of the Field,  
 That neither knit nor spin,  
 Who is it that to them doth yield  
 The Robes they're decked in ?  
 Doth not the Lord the Ravens feed,  
 And for the Sparrows care ?  
 And will not He for His own Seed,  
 All needful Things prepare ?  
 The Lions shall sharp Hunger bear,  
 And pine for lack of Food,  
 But who the Lord do truly fear,  
 Shall nothing want that's good.  
 Oh ! which of us can now diffide  
 That God will us defend,  
 Who hath been always on our Side,  
 And will be to the End.

*Spes confisa Deo nunquam confusa recedet.*

Hope, which on God is firmly grounded,  
 Will never fail, nor be confounded.


Scarce was the before-mentioned Storm of <sup>672</sup> outward Persecution from the Government  blown over, when Satan rais'd another Storm, of another kind, against us on this Occasion. The foregoing Storm of Persecution, as it lasted long, so in many Parts of the Nation, and particularly at *London*, it fell very sharp and violent, especially on the *Quakers*. For they having no Refuge but God alone to fly unto, could not dodge and shift to avoid the Suffering, as others of other Denominations could, and in their worldly Wisdom and Policy did; altering their Meetings, with respect both to Place and Time, and forbearing to meet when forbidden, or kept out of their Meeting-houses. So that of the several Sorts of Dissenters, the *Quakers* only held up a publick Testimony, as a Standard or Ensign of Religion, by keeping their Meeting duly and fully, at the accustomed Times and Places, so long as they were suffered to enjoy the Use of their Meeting-houses; and when they were shut up, and Friends kept out of them by Force, they assembled in the Streets, as near to their Meeting-houses as they could.

This bold and truly Christian Behaviour in the *Quakers*, disturbed and not a little displeas'd the Persecutors, who fretting complain'd, *That the stubborn Quakers brake their Strength, and bore off the Blow from those other Dissenters, whom as they most feared, so they principally aimed at.* For indeed the *Quakers* they rather despis'd than feared, as being a People, from whose peaceable both Principles and Practices,

1672. they held themselves secure from Danger ;  
 whereas having suffered severely, and that lately  
 too, by and under the other Dissenters, they  
 thought they had just Cause to be apprehensive  
 of Danger from them, and good reason to  
 suppress them.

On the other hand, the more ingenious  
 amongst other Dissenters of each Denomination,  
 sensible of the Ease they enjoyed by our bold  
 and steady Suffering (which abated the Heat of  
 the Persecutors, and blunted the Edge of the  
 Sword before it came to them) frankly acknow-  
 ledged the Benefit received ; calling us *The Bul-  
 wark that kept off the Force of the Stroke from  
 them ;* and praying *that we might be preserved,  
 and enabled to break the Strength of the Enemy ;*  
 nor could some of them forbear, those especially  
 who were called *Baptists*, to express their kind  
 and favourable Opinion of us, and of the Prin-  
 ciples we profess'd, which emboldened us to go  
 through that, which but to hear of was a Ter-  
 ror to them.

This their Good-will rais'd Ill-will in some  
 of their Teachers against us, who tho' willing  
 to reap the Advantage of a Shelter, by a Retreat  
 behind us during the Time that the Storm  
 lasted ; yet partly through an evil Emulation,  
 partly through Fear, lest they should lose some  
 of those Members of their Society, who had  
 discovered such favourable Thoughts of our  
 Principles and us, they set themselves, as soon as  
 the Storm was over, to represent us in as ugly a  
 Dress,

Dress, and in as frightful Figure to the World, 1673. as they could invent and put upon us. 

In order whereunto, one *Thomas Hicks*, a Preacher among the *Baptists* at *London*, took upon him to write several Pamphlets successively, under the Title of *A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker*; which were so craftily contrived, that the unwary Reader might conclude them to be not merely Fictions, but real Discourses, actually held between one of the People called a *Quaker*, and some other Person. In these feigned Dialogues, *Hicks*, having no Regard to Justice or common Honesty, had made his counterfeit *Quaker* say whatsoever he thought would render him one while, sufficiently erroneous; another while, ridiculous enough; forging in the *Quaker's* Name, some Things so abominably false, other Things so intolerably foolish, as could not reasonably be supposed to have come into the Conceit, much less to have dropped from the Lip or Pen of any that went under the Name of a *Quaker*.

These *Dialogues* (shall I call them, or rather *Diabologues*) were answered by our Friend *William Penn* in two Books; the first being entituled, *Reason against Railing*; the other, *The Counterfeit Christian detected*; in which *Hicks* being charged with manifest, as well as manifold *Forgeries*, *Perversions*, downright *Lyes* and *Slanders* against the People called *Quakers* in general, *William Penn*, *George Whitehead*, and divers others by Name; Complaint was made,  
by

1673. by Way of an *Appeal*, to the *Baptists* in and  
 w about *London* for Justice against *Thomas Hicks*.

1674. Those *Baptists*, who it seems were in the  
 Plot with *Hicks* to defame at any Rate, right or  
 wrong, the People called *Quakers*, taking the  
 Advantage of the Absence of *William Penn* and  
*George Whitehead*, who were the Persons most  
 immediately concerned, and who were then  
 gone a long Journey on the Service of Truth, to  
 be absent from the City, in all probability, for a  
 considerable Time, appointed a publick Meet-  
 ing in one of their Meeting-houses, under Pre-  
 tence of calling *Thomas Hicks* to account, and  
 hearing the Charge made good against him ;  
 but with Design to give the greater Stroke to  
 the *Quakers*, when they, who should make  
 good the Charge against *Hicks*, could not be  
 present. For upon their sending Notice to the  
 Lodgings of *William Penn* and *George Whitehead*  
 of their intended Meeting, they were told by  
 several Friends, that both *William Penn* and  
*George Whitehead* were from home, travelling  
 in the Countries uncertain where ; and therefore  
 could not be informed of their intended Meet-  
 ing, either by Letter or Express, within the  
 Time by them limited ; for which Reason they  
 were desired to defer the Meeting till they  
 could have Notice of it, and Time to return,  
 that they might be at it. But these *Baptists*,  
 whose Design was otherwise laid, would not be  
 prevailed with to defer their Meeting ; but  
 glad of the Advantage, gave their Brother *Hicks*  
 Opportunity to make a colourable Defence,  
 where

where he had his Party to help him, and none <sup>1674.</sup> to oppose him; and having made a mock Shew <sup>W</sup> of examining him and his Works of Darknes, they in fine having heard one Side, acquitted him.

This gave just Occasion for a new Complaint, and Demand of Justice against him and them. For as soon as *William Penn* return'd to *London*, he in Print exhibited his Complaint of this unfair Dealing, and demanded Justice, by a Re-hearing of the Matter in a publick Meeting, to be appointed by joint Agreement. This went hardly down with the *Baptists*, nor could it be obtained from them, without great Importunity and hard pressing. At length, after many Delays and Tricks used to shift it off, constrained by Necessity, they yeilded to have a Meeting at their own Meeting-house in *Barbican, London*.

There, amongst other Friends, was I, and undertook to read our Charge there against *Thomas Hicks*, which, not without much Difficulty, I did; they, inasmuch as the House was theirs, putting all the Inconveniences they could upon us.

The particular Passages, and Management of this Meeting (as also of that other, which followed soon after, they refusing to give us any other publick Meeting, we were fain to appoint in our own Meeting-house by *Wheeler-Street* near *Spital-fields, London*, and gave them timely Notice of) I forbear here to mention; there being in Print a Narrative of each, to which, for particular Information, I refer the Reader.

1674. But to this Meeting *Thomas Hicks* would not come, but lodged himself at an Ale-house hard by; yet sent his Brother *Ives*, with some others of the Party, by clamorous Noises to divert us from the Prosecution of our Charge against him; which they so effectually performed, that they would not suffer the Charge to be heard, though often attempted to be read.

As this rude Behaviour of theirs was a Cause of Grief to me; so afterwards when I understood, that they used all evasive Tricks to avoid another Meeting with us, and refused to do us Right, my Spirit was greatly stirred at their Injustice, and in the Sense thereof, willing if possible, to have provoked them to more fair and manly Dealing, I let fly a Broad-side at them, in a single Sheet of Paper, under the Title of *A fresh Pursuit*. In which, having restated the Controversy between them and us, and reinforced our Charge of Forgery, &c. against *Thomas Hicks* and his Abettors, I offered a fair Challenge to them (not only to *Thomas Hicks* himself, but to all those his Compurgators, who had before undertaken to acquit him from our Charge, together with their Companion *Jeremy Ives*) to give me a fair and publick Meeting, in which I would make good our Charge against him as *Principal*, and all the rest of them as *Accessaries*. But nothing could provoke them to come fairly forth.

Yet not long after, finding themselves galled by the Narrative lately published of what had passed in the last Meeting near *Wheeler-street*, they



they to help themselves, if they could, sent <sup>1674.</sup> forth a counter Account of that Meeting, and of the former at *Barbican*, as much to the Advantage of their own Cause, as they upon deliberate Consideration cou'd contrive it. This was published by *Thomas Plant* a *Baptist* Teacher, and one of *Thomas Hicks* his former Com-purgators, and bore (but falsely) the Title of *A Contest for Christianity ; or, A faithful Relation of two late Meetings, &c.*

To this I quickly writ and published an Answer. And because I saw the Design and whole Drift of the *Baptists*, was to shroud *Thomas Hicks* from our Charge of *Forgery*, under the specious Pretence of his and their *standing up, and contending for Christianity*, I gave my Book this general Title, *Forgery no Christianity ; or a brief Examen of a late Book, &c.* And having from their own Book, plainly convicted that which they called *A faithful Relation*, to be indeed *a false Relation*, I, in an expository *Postscript* to the *Baptists*, reinforced our Charge and my former Challenge ; offering to make it good against them before a publick and free Auditory. But they were too wary to appear further, either in Person or in Print.


This was the End of that Controversy, which was observed to have this Issue ; That what those Dialogues were written to prevent, was, by the Dialogues, and their unfair, unmanly, unchristian Carriage, in endeavouring to defend them, hastened and brought to pass ; for not a few of the *Baptists* Members, upon this Occasion

1674. Occasion left their Meetings and Society, and  
 W came over to the *Quakers* Meetings, and were  
 joined in Fellowship with them. Thanks be  
 to God.

Though many of the most eminent among  
 the *Baptists*, in and about *London*, engaged  
 themselves in this Quarrel, to have defended,  
 or, at least, to have brought fairly off, if it  
 had been possible, their Brother *Hicks*, yet the  
 main Service lay upon *Jeremy Ives*. Who having  
 been an unsuccessful Trader in *Cheese*, and  
 therein failed more than once, had now for  
 some Time given over that *Employment*, and,  
 like a mercenary *Switzer*, undertook to be the  
 Champion for the *Baptists*, and to maintain  
 their Quarrels against all Comers.

His Name was up for a topping Disputant;  
 but indeed, on the best Observation I could  
 make of him, both now and formerly, I  
 could not find him a clean and fair Disputant.  
 He seemed, I confess, well read in the *Falacies*  
*of Logick*, and was indeed rather ready, than  
 true and sound, in framing *Syllogisms*. But his  
 chief Art lay in tickling the Humours of rude,  
 unlearned and injudicious Hearers, thereby in-  
 sinuating himself into their good Opinion, and  
 then bantering his Opponent.

1675. He lived not long after this; but the Impres-  
 W sion his crafty, false and frothy Carriage (as well  
 at this Time as before) had made upon my  
 Mind, drew from me, when I heard of his  
 Death, something like an *Epitaph*, in a drolling  
 Stile,

Stile, as himself was wont to use. And thus <sup>1675.</sup>  
it was. 

**B**eneath this Stone deprest doth lie,

The Mirrour of *Hypocrisy*,  
*I V E S* ; whose mercenary Tongue

Like a Weather-cock was hung,

And did this, or that Way play,

As *Advantage* led the Way.

If well-hir'd, he would dispute,

Otherwise he wou'd be mute ;

But he'd baul nigh half a Day,

If he knew, and lik'd his Pay.

For his Person, let it pass ;

Only note, his Face was *Brass*,

His Heart was like a *Pumice* Stone ;

And for *Conscience*, he had none.

Of *Earth* and *Air* he was compos'd,

With *Water* round about enclos'd,

But *Earth* in him had greatest Share,

For questionless, his Life lay there,

And thence his cankred *Envy* sprung,

Which poyson'd both his *Heart* and *Tongue*.

*Air* made him frothy, light and vain,

And puff't him up with proud *Disdain*,

*Flouting*

1675. *Flouting and fleering*, more like a *Stage-Player*,  
 Than an *Anabaptist* Preacher and Prayer ;  
 Fitter to be a *Mountebank's* Fool,  
 Than peep into a *Divinity-School* ;  
 More Tricks he had than *Jack Pudding* by  
 half,

To raise the rude *Multitude* into a Laugh.

Into the *Water* oft he went,  
 And through the *Water* many sent,  
 That was, ye know his Element :  
 The greatest Odds that did appear,  
 Was this (for ought that I can hear)  
 That he in *Cold* did others dip,  
 But did himself *bot Waters* sip.

Sip ! said I ? Nay, more than so,  
 Sipping wou'd not serve his Turn ;  
 He did unto *Quaffing* go  
 ('Twas much his Guts he did not burn)  
 For, if Credit may be given  
 To Report, he'd fuddle, even  
 Till he reeled to and fro ;  
 And his Cause he'd never doubt,  
 If well-soak'd o'er Night in *Stout*.

But,

But, mean while, he must not lack  
*Brandy*, or a Draught of *Sack* ;  
 One Dispute wou'd shrink a Bottle  
 Of three Pints, if not a Pottle.  
 One wou'd think he fetch'd from thence,  
 All his dreaming *Eloquence*,  
 And his four-leg'd *Syllogisms*,  
 Proving *Breakings* are no *Schisms*.  
 Wot ye why ? Himself *brake* twice ;  
 Say no more, the Point is nice.  
 But let us now bring back the Sot  
 Unto his *Aqua-vitæ* Pot,  
 And observe, with some Content,  
 How he fram'd his Argument.  
 That his Whistle he might wet,  
 The Bottle to his Mouth he set,  
 And, being Master of that Art,  
 Thence he drew the *Major* part,  
 But left the *Minor* still behind,  
 Good Reason why ; he wanted Wind.  
 If his Breath wou'd have held out,  
 He had *Conclusion* drawn, no doubt.  
 But to't again he went, and thence  
 He fetch'd a lusty *Consequence*.

1675.  
W

1675. Then finding all his Drink was spent,  
 He thus wound up his Argument ;  
*My Sides are not of Iron, neither*  
*Are my Lungs made of Whit-leather ;*  
*If therefore you've not, I have done.*  
 Then, leaping down, \* away he run.


The Controversy which had been raised by those cavilling *Baptists*, had not been long ended, before another was raised by an *Episcopal* Priest in *Lincolnshire*, who fearing, as it seemed, to lose some of his Hearers to the *Quakers*, wrote a Book, which he miscalled, *A Friendly Conference between a Minister and a Parishioner of his inclining to Quakerism*. In which, he mis-stated and greatly perverted the *Quakers* Principles, that he might thereby beget in his Parishioners an Aversion to them ; and that he might abuse us the more securely, he concealed himself, sending forth his Book without a Name.

1676. This Book coming to my Hand, became my  
 Concern (after I had read it, and considered the evil Management, and worse Design thereof) to answer it ; which I did in a Treatise called *Truth prevailing, and detecting Error* ; published in the Year 1676.


My


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\* From the Dispute at Wheeler-street, London, the 16th of October, 1674.

My Answer I divided, according to the several Subjects handled in the Conference, into divers distinct Chapters, the last of which treated of TITHES. 1676. 

This being the Priests *Delilah*; and that Chapter of mine pinching them it seems in a tender Part, the Belly, they laid their Heads together, and with what Speed they could, sent forth a distinct Reply to the last Chapter of *Tithes* in mine, under the Title of *The Right of Tithes asserted and proved*. This also came forth without a Name, yet pretended to be written by another Hand.

Before I had finished my Rejoinder to this, came forth another, called *A Vindication of the Friendly Conference*; said to be written by the Author of the feigned Conference, who was not yet willing to trust the World with his Name. So much of it as related to the Subject I was then upon, *Tithes*, I took into my Rejoinder to the *Right of Tithes*, which I published in the Year 1678, with this Title, *The Foundation of Tithes shaken, &c.* 1678. 

After this, it was a pretty while before I heard from either of them again. But at length came forth a Reply to my last, supposed to be written by the same Hand, who had before written the *Right of Tithes asserted, &c.* but still without a Name. This latter Book had more of Art than Argument in it. It was indeed a *Hash* of ill-cook'd *Crambe*, set off with as much Flourish as the Author was Master of, and swell'd into Bulk by many Quotations; but 1680. 

1680. those so wretchedly misgiven, misapplied or  
 W perverted, that to a judicious and impartial  
 Reader, I durst oppose my *Foundation of Tithes*  
*shaken*, to the utmost Force that Book has in it.  
 Yet it coming forth at a Time when I was  
 pretty well at Leisure, I intended a full Refuta-  
 tion thereof; and in order thereunto, had  
 written between forty and fifty Sheets; when  
 other Business more urgent, intervening, took  
 me off, and detained me from it so long, that  
 it was then judged out of Season, and so it was  
 laid aside.

Hitherto the War I had been engag'd in, was  
 in a Sort foreign, with People of other religious  
 Perswasions, such as were open and avowed  
 Enemies; but now another Sort of War arose,  
 an intestine War, raised by some among our-  
 selves; such as had once been of us, and yet  
 retained the same Profession, and would have  
 been thought to be of us still; but having  
 through ill-grounded Jealousies, let in Discon-  
 tents, and thereupon fallen into Jangling, chiefly  
 about Church-Discipline, they at length brake  
 forth into an open Schism, headed by two  
 Northern Men of Name and Note, *John Wil-*  
*kinson* and *John Story*. The latter of which, as  
 being the most active and popular Man, having  
 gained a considerable Interest in the *West*, car-  
 ried the Controversy with him thither, and there  
 spreading it, drew many, too many, to abet  
 him therein.

Among those, *William Rogers* a Merchant of  
*Bristol* was not the least, nor least accounted of,  
 by



by himself and some others. He was a bold and an active Man, moderately learned, but immoderately conceited of his own Parts and Abilities, which made him forward to engage, as thinking none would dare to take up the Gauntlet he should cast down. This high Opinion of himself, made him rather a troublesome than formidable Enemy.

That I may here step over the various Steps, by which he advanced to open Hostility (as what I was not actually, or personally engaged in : ) He in a while arrived to that height of Folly and Wickedness, that he wrote and published a large Book in five Parts, to which he maliciously gave for a Title [ *The Christian Quaker distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator* ] thereby arrogating to himself, and those who were of his Party, the topping Stile of *Christian Quaker* ; and no less impiously than uncharitably branding and rejecting all others (even the main Body of Friends) for *Apostates* and *Innovators*.

When this Book came abroad, it was not a little (and He, for its Sake) cried up by his injudicious Admirers, whose Applause setting his Head afloat, he came up to *London* at the Time of the Yearly-meeting then following, and at the Close thereof, gave Notice in writing to this Effect, *viz.* *That if any were dissatisfied with his Book, he was there ready to maintain and defend both it and himself against all Comers.*

This daring Challenge was neither dreaded nor slighted ; but an Answer forthwith returned

1681. in writing, signed by a few Friends, amongst whom I was one, to let him know, That as many were dissatisfied with his Book and him, he should not fail (God willing) to be met by the sixth Hour next Morning, at the Meeting-place at *Devonshire-house*.

Accordingly we met, and continued the Meeting till Noon or after; in which Time he, surrounded with those of his own Party, as might abet and assist him, was so fairly foiled and baffled, and so fully exposed, that he was glad to quit the Place, and early next Morning the Town also; leaving, in Excuse for his going so abruptly off (and thereby refusing us another Meeting with him, which we had earnestly provoked him to) this slight Shift, That he had before given Earnest for his Passage in the Stage-coach home, and was not willing to lose it.

I had before this gotten a Sight of his Book, and procured one for my Use on this Occasion, but I had not Time to read it through: But a while after, Providence cast another of them into my Hands very unexpectedly; for our dear Friend *George Fox*, passing through this Country among Friends, and lying in his Journey at my House, had one of them in his Bags, which he had made some marginal Notes upon. For that good Man, like *Julius Cæsar*, willing to improve all Parts of his Time, did usually, even in his Travels, dictate to his *Amanuensis* what he would have committed to Writing. I knew not that he had this Book with him, for he had not said any Thing to me of it, till going in  
the


the Morning into his Chamber, while he was dressing himself, I found it lying on the Table by him. And understanding that he was going but for a few Weeks, to visit Friends in the Meetings hereabouts, and the neighbouring Parts of *Oxford* and *Berkshire*, and so return through this County again; I made bold to ask him, if he would favour me so much, as to leave it with me till his Return, that I might have the Opportunity of reading it through. He consented, and as soon almost as he was gone, I set myself to read it over. But I had not gone far in it, e're, observing the many foul Falshoods, malicious Slanders, gross Perversions and false Doctrines, abounding in it, the Sense thereof inflamed my Breast with a just and holy Indignation against the Work, and that devilish Spirit in which it was brought forth. Wherefore, finding my Spirit raised, and my Understanding divinely opened to refute it, I began the Book again, and reading it with Pen in Hand, answered it paragraphically as I went. And so clear were the Openings I received from the Lord therein, that by the Time my Friend came back, I had gone through the greatest Part of it, and was too far engaged in Spirit, to think of giving over the Work: Wherefore, requesting him to continue the Book a little longer with me, I soon after finished the Answer, which, with Friends Approbation, was printed under the Title of *An Antidote against the Infection of William Rogers his Book, miscalled, The Christian Quaker, &c.* This was written in the Year 1682.

1682. But no Answer was given to it, (either by him  
 or any other of his Party ; though many others  
 were concerned therein, and some by Name) so  
 far as I have ever heard. Perhaps there might  
 be an Hand of Providence over-ruing them  
 therein, to give me Leisure to attend some other  
 Services, which soon after fell upon me.

For it being a stormy Time, and Persecution  
 waxing hot, upon the Conventicle-Act, through  
 the busy Boldness of hungry Informers, who  
 for their own Advantage, did not only them-  
 selves hunt after religious and peaceable Meet-  
 ings, but drove on the Officers, not only the  
 more inferior and subordinate, but, in some  
 Places, even the Justices also, for Fear of  
 Penalties, to hunt with them and for them : I  
 found a Pressure upon my Spirit to write a small  
 Treatise, to inform such Officers how they  
 might secure and defend themselves from being  
 ridden by those malepert Informers, and made  
 their Drudges.

This Treatise I called, *A Caution to Constables, and other inferior Officers, concerned in the Execution of the Conventicle-Act. With some Observations thereupon, humbly offered by way of Advice, to such well-meaning and moderate Justices of the Peace, as would not willingly ruin their peaceable Neighbours, &c.*

This was thought to have some good Service  
 where it came, upon such sober and moderate  
 Officers, as well Justices, as Constables, &c.  
 as acted rather by Constraint than Choice ; by  
 encouraging them to stand their Ground, with  
 more

more Courage and Resolution, against the In-<sup>1683.</sup>  
sults of sawcy Informers. 

But whatever Ease it brought to others, it brought me some Trouble, and had like to have brought me into more Danger, had not Providence wrought my Deliverance by an unexpected Way.

For as soon as it came forth in print, which was in the Year 1683, one *William Ayrs* of *Watford* in *Hertfordshire*, a Friend and an Acquaintance of mine (who was both an *Apothecary* and *Barber*) being acquainted with divers of the Gentry in those Parts, and going often to some of their Houses to trim them, took one of these Books with him, when he went to trim *Sir Benjamin Titchborn* of *Rickmansworth*, and presented it to him, supposing he would have taken it kindly, as in like Cases he had formerly done. But it fell out otherwise. For he looking it over after *Ayrs* was gone, and taking it by the wrong Handle, entertained an evil Opinion of it, and of me for it, though he knew me not.

He thereupon communicated both the Book, and his Thoughts upon it, to a neighbouring Justice living in *Rickmansworth*, whose Name was *Thomas Fotherly*; who concurring with him in Judgment, they concluded that I should be taken up and prosecuted for it, as a seditious Book: For a Libel they could not call it, my Name being to it at length.

Wherefore sending for *Ayrs* who had brought the Book, Justice *Titchborn* examined him if he  
*knew*


1683. *knew me, and whert I dwelt.* Who telling him, *he knew me well, and had been often at my House;* he gave him in charge to give me Notice, that *I should appear before him and the other Justice, at Rickmanfworth on such a Day;* threatning that *if I did not appear, he himself should be prosecuted for spreading the Book.*

This put *William Ayrs* in a Fright. Over he came in haste with this Message to me, troubled that he should be a Means to bring me into Trouble. But I endeavoured to give him Ease, by assuring him I would not fail (with God's Leave) to appear at the Time and Place appointed, and thereby free him from *Trouble or Danger.*

In the Interim I received Advice, by an Express out of *Suffex*, that *Guli Penn*, with whom I had had an intimate Acquaintance and firm Friendship from our very Youths, was very dangerously ill, her Husband being then absent in *Pennsylvania*, and that she had a great Desire to see and speak with me.

This put me to a great Straight, and brought a sore Exercise on my Mind. I was divided betwixt Honour and Friendship. I had engaged my Word to appear before the Justices; which to omit, would bring Dishonour on me and my Profession. To stay till that Time was come and past, might probably prove (if I should then be left at Liberty) too late to answer her Desire and satisfy Friendship.

After some little Deliberation, I resolv'd, as the best Expedient to answer both Ends, to go  
over

over next Morning to the Justices, and lay my <sup>1683.</sup> Straight before them, and try if I could procure  from them a Respite of my Appearance before them, until I had been in *Suffex*, and paid the Duty of Friendship to my sick Friend. Which I had the more Hopes to obtain, because I knew those Justices had a great Respect for *Guli*. For when *William Penn* and she were first married, they lived for some Years at *Rickmanfworth*, in which Time they contracted a neighbourly Friendship with both these Justices and theirs, who ever after retained a kind Regard for them both.

Early therefore in the Morning I rode over. But being wholly a Stranger to the Justices, I went first to *Watford*, that I might take *Ayrs* along with me, who supposed himself to have some Interest in Justice *Titchborn*; and when I came there, understanding that another Friend of that Town, whose Name was *John Wells*, was well acquainted with the other Justice *Fotherly*; having imparted to them the Occasion of my coming, I took them both with me and hasted back to *Rickmanfworth*. Where having put our Horses up at an Inn, and leaving *William Ayrs* (who was a Stranger to *Fotherly*) there, I went with *John Wells* to *Fotherly's* House; and being brought into a fair Hall, I tarried there while *Wells* went into the Parlour to him, and having acquainted him that I was there, and desired to speak with him, brought him to me with Severity in his Countenance.

After

1683. After he had asked me (in a Tone which spake  
 W Displeasure) *what I had to say to him?* I told  
 him, I came to wait on him upon an Intima-  
 tion given me, that he had something to say to  
 me: He thereupon, plucking my Book out of  
 his Pocket, asked me, *If I owned myself to be  
 the Author of that Book?* I told him, If he pleased  
 to let me look into it, if it were mine, I would  
 not deny it. He thereupon giving it into my  
 Hand, when I had turned over the Leaves, and  
 look'd it through, finding it to be as it came  
 from the Press, I told him, I wrote the Book,  
 and would own it, all but the Errors of the  
 Press. Whereupon he, looking sternly on me,  
 answered, *Your own Errors you should have said.*

Having Innocency on my Side, I was not at  
 all daunted at either his Speech or Looks; but  
 feeling the Lord present with me, I replied, I  
 know there are Errors of the Press in it, and  
 therefore I excepted them; but I do not know  
 there is any Error of mine in it, and therefore  
 cannot except them. But, added I, if thou  
 pleasest to shew me any Error of mine in it, I  
 shall readily both acknowledge and retract it.  
 And thereupon I desired him to give me an In-  
 stance, in any one Passage in that Book, wherein  
 he thought I had erred. He said, *he needed not  
 go to Particulars; but charge me with the general  
 Contents of the whole Book.* I replied, that such  
 a Charge would be too general for me to give  
 a particular Answer to; but if he would assign  
 me any particular Passage, or Sentence in the  
 Book, wherein he apprehended the Ground of  
 Offence



Offence to lie ; when I should have opened the <sup>1683.</sup> Terms, and explained my Meaning therein, he might perhaps find Cause to change his Mind, and entertain a better Opinion both of the Book and me. And therefore I again intreated him, to let me know what particular Passage or Passages had given him an Offence. He told me, *I needed not to be in so much Haste for that ; I might have it timely enough, if not too soon : But this, said he, is not the Day appointed for your Hearing, and therefore, added he, what, I pray, made you in such Haste to come now ?* I told him, I hoped he would not take it for an Argument of Guilt, that I came before I was sent for, and offered myself to my Purgation before the Time appointed. And this I spake with somewhat a brisker Air, which had so much Influence on him, as to bring a somewhat softer Air over his Countenance.

Then going on, I told him I had a particular Occasion which induced me to come now, which was, That I received Advice last Night, by an Express out of *Suffex*, that *William Penn's* Wife (with whom I had had an intimate Acquaintance, and strict Friendship, *ab ipsis fere Incunabilis*, at least, *a teneris Unguiculis*) lay now there very ill, not without great Danger, in the Apprehension of those about her, of her Life ; and that she had expressed her Desire that I would come to her, as soon as I could ; the rather, for that her Husband was absent in *America*. That this had brought a great Straight upon me, being divided  
between

1683. between Friendship and Duty, willing to visit  
 my Friend in her Illness, which the Nature and  
 Law of Friendship required; yet unwilling to  
 omit my Duty, by failing of my Appearance  
 before him and the other Justice, according to  
 their Command and my Promise, lest I should  
 thereby subject, not my own Reputation only,  
 but the Reputation of my religious Profession,  
 to the Suspicion of Guilt, and Censure of wil-  
 lingly shunning a Trial. To prevent which I  
 had chosen to anticipate the Time, and come  
 now, to see if I could give them Satisfaction,  
 in what they had to object against me, and  
 thereupon being dismiss, pursue my Journey  
 into *Suffex*; or if by them detained, to submit  
 to Providence, and by an Express to acquaint  
 my Friend therewith, both to free her from an  
 Expectation of my coming, and myself from  
 any Imputation of Neglect.

While I thus delivered myself, I observed a  
 sensible Alteration in the Justice; and when I  
 had done speaking, he first said, *He was very sorry  
 for Madam Penn's Illness*; of whose Virtue and  
 Worth he spake very highly, yet not more than  
 was her Due: Then he told me, *That, for her  
 Sake, he would do what he could to further my  
 Visit to her*; But, said he, *I am but one, and of  
 myself can do nothing in it*; therefore you must go  
 to Sir Benjamin Tichborn, and, if he be at home,  
 see if you can prevail with him to meet me, that  
 we may consider of it.

But I can assure you, added he, *the Matter  
 which will be laid to your Charge concerning your  
 Book,*

*Book, is of greater Importance than you seem to think it. For your Book has been laid before the KING and Council; and the Earl of Bridgewater, who is one of the Council, hath thereupon given us Command to examine you about it, and secure you.*

I wish, said I, I could speak with the Earl myself; for I make no Doubt but to acquit myself unto him: And, added I, if thou pleasest to give me thy Letter to him, I will wait upon him with it forthwith. For although I know, continued I, that he hath no Favour for any of my Perswasion, yet knowing myself to be wholly innocent in this matter, I can with Confidence appear before him, or even before the KING in Council.

*Well, said he, I see you are confident; but for all that, let me tell you, how good soever your Intention was, you timed the publishing of your Book very unluckily; for you cannot be ignorant, that there is a very dangerous Plot lately discovered, contrived by the Dissenters, against the Government and His Majesty's Life. (This was the Rye-Plot, then newly broke forth, and laid upon the Presbyterians:)* And for you, added he, to publish a Book, just at that Juncture of Time, to discourage the Magistrates and other Officers, from putting in Execution those Laws which were made to suppress their Meetings, looks, I must tell you, but with a scurvy Countenance upon you.

If, replied I, with somewhat a pleasanter Air, there was any mis-timing in the Case, it must lie on the Part of those Plotters, for timing the breaking forth of their Plot while my Book was

was

1683. was a printing; for I can bring very good Proof, that my Book was in the Press, and well-nigh wrought off, before any Man talked or knew of a Plot, but those who were in it.

Here our Discourse ended, and I taking, for the Present my Leave of him, went to my Horse, and changing my Companion, rode to Justice *Titchborn's*, having with me *William Ayr*s, who was best acquainted with him, and who had casually brought this Trouble on me.

When he had introduced me to *Titchborn*, I gave him a like Account of the Occasion of my coming at that Time, as I had before given to the other Justice. And both he, and his Lady who was present, exprest much Concern for *Guli Penn's* Illness.

I found this Man to be of quite another Temper than Justice *Fotherly*; for this Man was smooth, soft and oily, whereas the other was rather rough, severe and sharp. Yet at the winding up, I found *Fotherly* my truest Friend.

When I had told Sir *Benjamin Titchborn*, that I came from Justice *Fotherly*, and requested him to give him a Meeting to consider of my Business; he readily, without any Hesitation, told me he would go with me to *Rickmansworth* (from which his House was distant about a Mile) and calling for his Horses, mounted immediately, and to *Rickmansworth* we rode.

After they had been a little while together, I was called in before them; and in the first place they examined me, *What was my Intention and Design in writing that Book?* I told them the introductory

introductory Part of it gave a plain Account of <sup>1683.</sup>  
 it, viz. "That it was to get Ease from the Pen-  
 "alties of a *severe Law*, often executed with  
 "too great a Severity by unskilful Officers, who  
 "were driven on beyond the Bounds of their  
 "Duty, by the impetuous Threats of a Sort  
 "of insolent Fellows (as needy as greedy) who,  
 "for their own Advantage, sought our Ruin."  
 To prevent which, was the Design and Drift  
 of that Book, by acquainting such Officers how  
 they might safely demean themselves, in the  
 Execution of their Offices, towards their honest  
 and peaceable Neighbours, without ruining ei-  
 ther their Neighbours or themselves, to enrich  
 some of the worst of Men. And that I humbly  
 conceived, it was neither unlawful nor unrea-  
 sonable for a Sufferer to do this, so long as it was  
 done in a fair, sober and peaceable Way.

They then put me in mind of the Plot; told  
 me *It was a troublesome and dangerous Time, and  
 my Book might be construed to import Sedition, in  
 discouraging the Officers from putting the Laws in  
 Execution, as by Law and by their Oath they were  
 bound.* And in fine brought it to this Issue, *That  
 they were directed to secure me, by a Commitment  
 to Prison until the Assize, at which I should re-  
 ceive a further Charge than they were provided  
 now to give me; but because they were desirous to  
 forward my Visit to Madam Penn, they told me they  
 would admit me to Bail, and therefore if I would  
 enter a Recognizance, with sufficient Sureties, for  
 my Appearance at the next Assize, they would leave  
 me at Liberty to go on my Journey.*

Y

I told

1683. I told them, I could not do it. They said, *They would give me as little Trouble as they could, and therefore they would not put me to seek Bail; but would accept those two Friends of mine, who were then present, to be bound with me for my Appearance.*

I let them know, my Straight lay not in the Difficulty of procuring Sureties, for I did suppose myself to have sufficient Acquaintance, and Credit in that Place, if on such an Occasion I could be free to use it; but, as I knew myself to be an innocent Man, I had not Satisfaction in myself, to desire others to be bound for me, nor to enter myself into a Recognizance; that carrying in it, to my Apprehension, a Reflection on my Innocency, and the Reputation of my *Christian* Profession.

Here we stuck and struggled about this a pretty while, till at length finding me fixed in my Judgment, and resolved rather to go to Prison than give Bail, they ask'd me, *If I was against appearing, or only against being bound with Sureties to appear.* I told them I was not against appearing; which as I could not avoid, if I would, so I would not if I might; but was ready and willing to appear if required, to answer whatsoever should be charged against me. But in any Case of a religious Nature, or wherein my *Christian* Profession was concerned, which I took this Case to be, I could not yield to give any other or further Security than my Word, or Promise, as a *Christian*.


They,

They, unwilling to commit me, took hold of <sup>1683.</sup> that, and ask'd, *If I would promise to appear.* I answer'd, Yes; with due Limitations. *What do you mean by due Limitations,* said they. I mean, replied I, if I am not disabled, or prevented by Sickneſs or Imprisonment. For, added I, as you alledge that it is a troublesome Time, I perhaps may find it so. I may, for ought I know, be seized and imprisoned elsewhere, on the same Account for which I now stand here before you, and if I should, how then could I appear at the Assize in this County? *Oh,* said they, *these are due Limitations indeed! Sickneſs or Imprisonment are lawful Excuses, and if either of these befall you, we shall not expect your Appearance here; but then you must certify us, that you are so disabled by Sickneſs or Restraint.*

But, said I, how shall I know when and where I shall wait upon you again after my Return from *Suffex*? *You need not,* said they, *trouble yourself about that; we will take Care to give you Notice of both Time and Place, and till you hear from us, you may dispose yourself as you please.*

Well then, said I, I do promise you, that when I shall have received from you a fresh Command to appear before you, I will (if the Lord permit me Life, Health and Liberty) appear when and where you shall appoint.

*It is enough,* said they, *we will take your Word:* And, desiring me to give their hearty Respects and Service to Madam Penn, they dis-


1683.  mist me with their good Wishes for a good Journey.

I was sensible, that in this they had dealt very favourably and kindly with me, therefore I could not but acknowledge to them the Sense I had thereof. Which done, I took Leave of them, and mounting, returned home with what Haste I could, to let my Wife know how I had sped. And having given her a summary Account of the Business, I took Horse again, and went so far that Evening towards *Worminghurst*, that I got thither pretty early next Morning, and, to my great Satisfaction, found my Friend in an hopeful Way towards a Recovery.

I staid some Days with her ; and then finding her Illness wear daily off, and some other Friends being come from *London* to visit her, I (mindful of my Engagement to the Justices, and unwilling, by too long an Absence, to give them Occasion to suspect I was willing to avoid their Summons) leaving those other Friends to bear her Company longer, took my Leave of her and them, and set my Face homewards, carrying with me the welcome Account of my Friend's Recovery.

Being returned home, I waited in daily Expectation of a Command from the Justices to appear again before them ; but none came. I spake with those Friends who had been with me when I was before them, and they said, *They had heard nothing of it from them, although they had since been in Company with them.* At length



length the Affize came ; but no Notice was given <sup>1683.</sup> to me, that I should appear there ; in fine, they never troubled themselves nor me any further about it. 

Thus was a Cloud, that look'd black and threatned a great Storm, blown gently over by a providential Breath, which I could not but, with a thankful Mind, acknowledge to the all-great, all-good, all-wise Disposer, in whose Hand, and at whose Command, the Hearts of all Men, even the greatest, are, and who turns their Counsels, disappoints their Purposes, and defeats their Designs and Contrivances, as He pleases. For if my dear Friend *Guli Penn* had not fallen sick, if I had not thereupon been sent for to her, I had not prevented the Time of my Appearance, but had appeared on the Day appointed : And, as I afterwards understood, that was the Day appointed for the Appearance of a great many Persons, of the dissenting Party in that Side of the County, who were to be taken up and secured, on the Account of the aforementioned Plot, which had been cast upon the *Presbyterians*. So that if I had then appeared, with and amongst them, I had in all likelihood, been sent to Jail with them for Company, and that under the Imputation of a Plotter ; than which, nothing was more contrary to my Profession and Inclination.

But though I came off so easy, it fared not so well with others ; for the Storm increasing, many Friends in divers Parts, both of City and Country,

1683. Country, suffered greatly ; the Sense whereof did  
 W deeply affect me, and the more, for that I ob-  
 served the Magistrates, not thinking the Laws,  
 which had been made against us severe enough,  
 perverted the Law in order to punish us. For  
 calling our peaceable Meetings *Riots* (which in  
 the legal Notion of the Word [*Riot*] is a *Con-*  
*tradiction in Terms*) they indicted our Friends  
 as *Rioters* for only sitting in a Meeting, though  
 nothing was there either said or done by them,  
 and then set Fines on them at pleasure.

This I knew to be not only against *Right* and  
*Justice*, but even against *Law* ; and it troubled  
 me to think that we should be made to suffer  
 not only by Laws made directly against us, but  
 even by Laws that did not at all concern us.  
 Nor was it long before I had Occasion offered  
 more throughly to consider this Matter.

For a Justice of the Peace in this County,  
 who was called Sir *Dennis Hampson* of *Toplow*,  
 breaking in with a Party of Horse upon a little  
 Meeting near *Wooburn*, in his Neighbourhood,  
 the 1st of the fifth Month 1683, sent most of  
 the Men, to the Number of twenty three whom  
 he found there, to *Aylesbury* Prison, tho' most  
 of them were poor Men who lived by their  
 Labour ; and not going himself to the next  
 Quarter-Sessions at *Buckingham*, on the 12th of  
 the same Month, sent his Clerk with Direction,  
*That they should be indicted for a Riot*. Whither  
 the Prisoners were carried and indicted accord-  
 ingly, and being pressed by the Court to tra-  
 verse

verse and give Bail, they moved to be tried <sup>1683.</sup> forthwith, but that was denied them. And <sup>W</sup> they, giving in writing the Reason of their refusing Bail and Fees, were remanded to Prison till next Quarter-Sessions; but *William Woodbouse* was again bailed, (as he had been before) and *William Mason* and *John Reeve*, who not being Friends, but casually taken at that Meeting, entred Recognizance as the Court desired, and so were released till next Sessions. Before which Time *Mason* died, and *Reeve* being sick, appeared not, but got himself taken off. And in the eighth Month following, the twenty one Prisoners that remained were brought to Trial, a Jury was found, who brought in a pretended Verdict, that they were *Guilty of a Riot*, for only sitting peaceably together, without Word or Action; and tho' there was no Proclamation made, nor they required to depart: But one of the Jurymen afterwards did confess, *he knew not what a Riot was*; yet the Prisoners were fined a Noble a-piece, and re-committed to Prison during Life (a hard Sentence) or the King's Pleasure, or until they should pay the said Fines. *William Woodbouse* was forthwith discharged, by his Kinsman's paying the Fine and Fees for him. *Thomas Dell* and *Edward Moore* also, by other People of the World paying their Fines and Fees for them; and shortly after *Stephen Pewsey*, by the Town and Parish where he lived, for fear his Wife and Children should become a Charge upon them. The other seven-

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1683. teen remained Prisoners till King JAMES'S  
Proclamation of Pardon ; whose Names were  
*Thomas and William Sexton, Timothy Child,*  
*Robert Moor, Richard James, William and Ro-*  
*bert Aldridge, John Ellis, George Salter, John*  
*Smith, William Tanner, William Batchelor, John*  
*Dolbin, Andrew Brothers, Richard Baldwin, John*  
*Jennings and Robert Austin.*

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A

SUPPLEMENT. w

BEING

*A Continuation of the History of the Life of THOMAS ELLWOOD; giving Account in particular of his Books and Writings.*

**O**UR dear Friend *Thomas Ellwood*, for whom we cannot but have an honorable Esteem for his Service in the Church, having written an historical Account of Part of his Life, well worth the Knowledge of Posterity, so far as it goes, *viz.* to the Year 1683, and there left off. Whether he writ any further, or whether ever he designed it, or for what Reason he did not proceed, is uncertain; but so it is, that no more of it can be found at present, which is to be lamented, he being a Man so eminent many Ways, that any Part of it should be lost. In Consideration whereof, it arose in my Heart to write something in Order to supply the Deficiency thereof, many Things occurring to my Mind, which it is pity should be omitted. Therefore for the Respect I bore him, and owe to his Memory, being acquainted with him for more than the last twenty Years of his Life, I shall endeavour to make up that Defect as far as I am capable of; tho' far short of what himself might

might have done, by giving an Account of some of the most material Passages of the remaining Part of his Life, and such Memorials of him and his Works, as came to my Hands; which I shall set down with as much Brevity and Plainness as I can, in Sincerity to him, and the Truth he professed and adorned. Particularly, of his Labours, Writings, Sufferings and End, from the Time he left off.

But first I must look back a little, to give some additional Account of some Passages in relation to his Answers to the Priests about Tithes, for the Reader's Information and Satisfaction, which every Body may not know, to prevent Misapprehensions in the Case.

In the Year 1676 he answered a nameless Book, miscalled, *A friendly Conference between a Minister, and a Parishioner of his inclining to Quakerism*, in a Book intituled *Truth prevailing and detecting Error*; which he divided into nine Chapters, according to the various Subjects treated of (wherein that nameless Author had endeavoured to misrepresent us) the last of which was of Tithes. 'This (*to use his own Words*) 'pinching the Priests in a tender Part, the *Belly*, ' (*as Erasmus wittily said Luther did the Monks*) 'made them bestir themselves, and lay their 'Heads together, to consider what was to be 'done.' After divers Debates, and much Consultation (as he was informed) about it, it was at last resolved to answer that first, which tho' the last Chapter in his Book, yet having the first and chiefest Place in the Priests Minds and Affections,

fections, the Priests *Delilah*; the *very Darling and Minion of the Clergy* (says T. Ellwood) the *Oil by which their Lamp is nourished*; the *Pay by which their Army is maintained* (as the Priest confesses) and to take away Tithes, would be to *stop the Oil that nourishes the Lamp, and force them to disband for want of Pay*. This being, I say, their chiefest Concern, and lying nearest at Heart, obtain'd from them the first and chiefest Defence; which at length came forth by a nameless Author also, in a Book intituled, *The Right of Tithes asserted and proved*. To which T. Ellwood reply'd in 1678, in a large Book intituled, *The Foundation of Tithes shaken, and the four principal Posts (of Divine Institution, Primitive Practice, Voluntary Donation and Positive Laws) on which the nameless Author of the said Book had set his pretended Right to Tithes, removed*. Tracing them all along from the *Patriarchs* to the Time of the *Law*; shewing the Design and Use of them under it, and how they were abolished by the Coming and Suffering of Christ in the Flesh; and how they came to be set up again in the Declension of the Church, by *Popish Kings and Councils*, in the Night of Apostacy, for superstitious and idolatrous Ends and Uses, contrary to the Gospel Dispensation, and consequently not obligatory on *Christians*, by any *divine Right*, to pay in this Gospel Day; answering all the Objections and Pretences, which were brought by that Author for them, from the four forementioned Topicks.

Intro-  
duction:  
Page 3.  
Right of  
Tithes.  
p. 13.

To this Book of *T. Ellwood's*, there was a pretended Answer put forth two Years after, supposed by the Author of the former, but nameless still ; the Author not daring to own his Work with his Name, (though since called *Combers*) intituled, *The Right of Tithes re-asserted* ; wherein the Proofs from the four former Points are said to be further *strengthened and vindicated, especially from the Objections taken out of Mr. Selden's History of Tithes*. As if it was chiefly designed against *John Selden* ; *T. Ellwood's* Name, or Book, not being so much as mentioned in the Title-page, though often in the Book ; as if it was however designed as an Answer to him : Which therefore *T. Ellwood* (though not intituled to it) took in hand to rejoin to, and had begun and made some considerable Progress in it ; but before he had gone through, or finished it, some other Occasions falling in his Way (of which hereafter) it was laid by and never finished ; though he had writ, as he told me, near sixty Sheets (though I find but forty-six among his Papers ; but these, with his Notes and Quotations will make near sixty) for he had collected a vast Number of Materials out of Authors, in order thereto, as appears by his Papers, which I have since seen. For thus it was ; That some of the Priests Party, vaunting that this second Book of the Priests was not answered, I took Occasion once at *London*, in the Year 1692, to speak to him about it ; and he told me, *That the Substance of the Priests Arguments, in this second Book, were answered*



answered in his former, [The Foundation of Tithes shaken] only some new Quotations, which he had brought; and that was what he chiefly designed to deal with the Priest about, to examine and clear, by adding some new ones also; but that he never expected to have the last Word with the Priests about Tithes, which their Interest lay so much in, that they would never be satisfied; but always be cavilling about some way or other, how little soever it was to the Purpose; and some other Services taking him off (as aforesaid) he laid it by. Which I mention to satisfy any who may question in their Minds, Why it was never answered, or at least gone through? And this is the Reason why I resumed this Matter.

‘ In handling the Argument of Tithes (says he, in a Paper found among his *Manuscripts*, as an Introduction to his said intended Answer) ‘ I write with this Disadvantage; That I encounter a numerous Party and Order of Men, ‘ with whom Interest is far more prevalent than ‘ Truth; whose Profit will not permit them to ‘ yield to Reason; whose Advantage will not ‘ suffer them to acknowledge the plainest Demonstration; their Gain as apparently lying in ‘ that which I oppose, as *Demetrius's*, and his ‘ Fellow-craftsmen the *Silversmiths of Ephesus*, ‘ did in that which the Apostle preached against, ‘ *Acts* xix. 25, 26. Hence is it that they bend ‘ all their Strength, and employ their utmost ‘ Force to maintain this Point, by which they ‘ are maintained; and like those *Shrine-makers* ‘ of old, they endeavour to carry it by Noise ‘ and


and Clamour, instead of Truth and Reason.  
 Nor do they regard what they say, how false  
 soever; or whom they bespatter, how unde-  
 servedly soever, in order to the upholding  
 their adored *Diana*, and enjoying their most  
 beloved *Delilah*, T I T H E S. My present  
 Adversary is not ashamed to say (pag. 1, 2.)  
*That I and my fellow quaking Speakers* (as he  
 reproachfully calls us) *have our Gain by railing*  
*against Titbes.* A Charge so apparently and  
 ridiculouly false, that it needs no more than  
 its own Malice and Folly to detect it. With  
 equal Reason might *Demetrius* have charged  
 St. *Paul*, that he and his Brethren had their  
 Gain by impugning the idolatrous Worship  
 of *Diana*.

*Sacrilege* and *Idolatry*, the Priests say, are  
 Sins near of kin; but *Covetousness* and the  
 Clergy are perhaps nearer. The great Ourcry  
 against *Sacrilege* is made for the most part by  
 Idolaters and false Ministers, who, as they are  
 most greedy and crafty to get, so are they most  
 solicitous and careful to keep, most enraged  
 and clamorous when they come to lose their  
 unjustly acquired Gains. Thus was it with  
 the *Popish* Clergy, after they had gull'd the  
 People, by a religious Cheat, of a great Part  
 of their Substance, they laboured to terrify  
 them by the Name of *Sacrilege*, from at-  
 tempting to recover that which had been so  
 fraudulently gotten from them; and doubtless  
 the *English* Clergy, as they derive [in chief  
 part] the Maintenance they possess from their  
 Predecessors

' Predecessors the *Popish* Clergy, from whom  
 ' they received their Priesthood, have therewith  
 ' also taken up from them their old Cry of *Sa-*  
 ' *criledge*, with which, as a Bugbear, they  
 ' would scare all from attempting to discover  
 ' the Cheat. But the legal Alienation of a great  
 ' Part of those surreptitious Acquisitions of the  
 ' Clergy, begun in *HENRY* the Eighth's Time,  
 ' carried on in *EDWARD* the Sixth's, and  
 ' completed in Queen *ELIZABETH*'s,  
 ' (of these three, the two last were *Protestant*  
 ' Princes) hath abated the Edge of that *clerical*  
 ' Weapon, and satisfied the dis-interested Part  
 ' of the Nation, that the Word [*Sacriledge*] in  
 ' this Case, is but like a Scare-crow, especially  
 ' when used by the Priests for their own Profit,  
 ' as most commonly it is; for though they pre-  
 ' tend the Maintenance of *God's Worship*, yet it  
 ' is their own Maintenance they intend. And  
 ' herein *Demetrius* and they most patly agree;  
 ' for he also urged (as the most specious Pre-  
 ' tence, and which was most likely to impress  
 ' the People) the Danger lest, by *Paul's* preach-  
 ' ing, *the Temple of the great Goddess Diana*  
 ' *should be despised, and her Magnificence destroyed,*  
 ' Acts xix. 27. Whereas the great Inducement  
 ' to him for stirring, was the Danger lest his  
 ' Craft should be set at nought, and he should  
 ' thereby lose the Gains he made by *Diana's*  
 ' Temple, Vers. 25, 27. Do the Priests now  
 ' cry out against *Sacriledge*? So did *Demetrius*  
 ' and his Craftsmen then. Did they cloak their  
 ' private Interest with a seeming Regard and  
 ' Care

' Care for the *Temple and Magnificence of their*  
 ' *Goddeſs Diana* ? So do the Priests theirs now,  
 ' with a Pretence of Zeal for the *Worſhip of*  
 ' *God*. Did they in their Fury take no Notice  
 ' of the Magiſtrates nor Laws of their Country ?  
 ' So neither do many of the Priests now, who  
 ' without Regard to Law or Magiſtrates, run fu-  
 ' riously and tumultuously into their Neighbours  
 ' Grounds, with their Servants and Teams, and  
 ' forcibly and arbitrarily take and carry away  
 ' their Corn and Hay, when, where, and in  
 ' what Quantity they pleaſe. Will the Priests  
 ' alledge, that notwithstanding theſe irregular  
 ' Practices, yet they have the Laws and Magi-  
 ' ſtrates on their Sides ? So had *Demetrius* and  
 ' his Company too, while the good Apoſtle, not  
 ' backt by Laws, nor countenanced by Magi-  
 ' ſtracy, was yet enabled by divine Aſſiſtance,  
 ' to ſtand the Shock of all their Rage and Fury,  
 ' and boldly to teſtify againſt that which was  
 ' corrupt and naught, altho' it had the Favour  
 ' and Support of a Law and Magiſtracy too :  
 ' And indeed, ſo apt is the Compariſon in moſt  
 ' Reſpects, between thoſe *Shrine-makers* and  
 ' theſe *Tithe-takers*, that my Adverſary in vain  
 ' labours to retort it ; for even the very Parti-  
 ' culars he inſtances to caſt it upon me, fix it  
 ' the more firmly on the Head of himſelf and  
 ' his own Party.

' Nor is he leſs put to it, to avoid the Force  
 ' of his own unwary Expreſſions of the *Oil for*  
 ' *the Lamp*, and *Pay for the Soldier* ; whereby  
 ' he hath diſcovered, that he and his Brethren are  
 ' meer

' meer mercenary Men, whose Lamp will burn  
 ' no longer than it is fed with the *Oil of Tithes*.   
 ' This is one of the *Arcana Cleri*, a Secret (it  
 ' seems) that should not have been divulged.  
 ' But Children, and he knows who besides, are  
 ' said to tell true. And he having inconfide-  
 ' rately blab'd it out, his chief Care and Art is  
 ' now how to palliate, extenuate and mince the  
 ' Matter, and varnish it over with some kind  
 ' of Flourish, that the Ground of it may not be  
 ' seen ; but this he does so weakly, and lays his  
 ' Colour so thin, that even the weakest Eye may  
 ' easily see through it. The mention I made  
 ' of these Passages in my former Book, he calls  
 ' *tedious and nauseous Repetitions* ; and tedious  
 ' no doubt, and nauseous it is to him and his  
 ' Brethren, to see the false Foundation of their  
 ' Ministry so openly exposed : But so little do I  
 ' fear those Repetitions being nauseous or tedious  
 ' to the indifferent Reader, that upon this Oc-  
 ' casion I desire him to peruse them again, in  
 ' the 6, 7, 8 and 9 Pages of my former Book.

' *From Tithes being the Oil to their Lamp,*  
 ' *and Pay to their Army,* he says, *I draw (as I*  
 ' *imagine) a cutting Consequence, viz. That their*  
 ' *Lamps will not burn without Oil, nor they fight*  
 ' *without Pay.* This *cutting Consequence* (as he  
 ' calls it) he touches as tenderly as if he was  
 ' afraid it would cut his Fingers, though he  
 ' well knew, that in the wording of it, he had  
 ' taken off its Edge as much as he could : For  
 ' if my Consequence had been only, that their  
 ' *Lamps will not burn without Oil,* it would not

‘ then have been so keen. He might then have  
 ‘ replied, *Whose will? Can any Lamp burn with-*  
 ‘ *out Oil? No sure: Every Lamp must have*  
 ‘ *Oil; but the Oil should be suitable to the*  
 ‘ *Lamp; an outward Lamp should have outward*  
 ‘ *Oil, an inward Lamp, inward Oil. Now they*  
 ‘ *pretending their Ministry to be a spiritual*  
 ‘ *Lamp, a religious Lamp (as the true Ministry*  
 ‘ *indeed is, and is and can be nourished only by*  
 ‘ *the spiritual heavenly Oil of the divine eternal*  
 ‘ *Word; and yet confessing *Titbes to be the**  
 ‘ *Oil that nourishes their Ministerial Lamp, and*  
 ‘ *without which their Lamp will not burn: This*  
 ‘ *plainly shews their Lamp is not spiritual, nor*  
 ‘ *their Ministry what they pretend, &c.’*

By this we may judge, *Ex pede Herculem*, of  
 the Priests Performance, and T. Ellwood’s An-  
 swer, had he gone through and finished it;  
 which yet I hope, so far as he hath gone, may  
 one Time or other see the Light, being well  
 worth the Perusal as it is; and had he finished  
 it, I am satisfied it would have been a very ser-  
 viceable Piece; no Hand, in my Judgment, be-  
 ing more capable of such a Performance. But  
 he had, as I said, some other Services on his  
 Hands to divert him; of which, his Answer to  
 William Rogers’s great Book aforesaid, in 1682,  
 intituled, *An Antidote against the Infection of*  
 William Roger’s Book, *miscalld the Christian*  
 Quaker, in five Parts, soon after, no doubt was  
 one, containing above thirty Sheets: In which  
 he answered him Chapter by Chapter, and al-  
 most Paragraph by Paragraph, in Relation to  
 Church

Church Government, and the good Order of Truth established amongst us; and also as to most of the Principles of Truth, which the said *W. Rogers*, in one Part of his Work, had endeavoured to pervert to his own Ends. A laborious Work it was, and difficult Task to go through so evenly as he hath done; and though it is Controversy, yet pleasant to read. As also his *Caution to Constables, and other inferior Officers, concerning the Execution of the Conventicle-Act. With some Observations thereupon. Humbly offered, by way of Advice, to such well-meaning and moderate Justices of the Peace, as would not willingly ruin their peaceable Neighbours, &c.* Which is mentioned in his own Account.

And now to come to the Time where he <sup>1683.</sup> breaks off his own Relation, and to carry it on, <sup>W</sup> in some measure, though far short and inferior to what his own Hand could have done: For it cannot be expected, that any one can write another Man's Life like himself, there being many Passages, publick and private, outward and inward, even as to the Frame of his own Mind and Condition between God and his own Soul, which, as *No Man knoweth the Things of a Man, save the Spirit of a Man which is in him*; so none can relate but himself, or like himself: For as the Wiseman says, *The Heart knoweth his own Bitterness, and the Stranger cannot intermeddle with his Joy.* But what occurs from my own Knowledge, or from his Books and Papers, pertinent to the Case in hand, shall faithfully be related,

1683. Therefore to resume the Thread of his Discourse, and begin where he leaves off. He intimates at the Close of his own Account, that the Magistrates not thinking the Laws made against us, *viz.* the *Conventicle-Act*, &c. severe enough, perverted the Law by making our peaceable Meetings *Riots*, and indicting our Friends as *Rioters*, that they might fine at Pleasure; which he knew to be contrary to Law and Justice: Nor was it long, says he, before he had Occasion offered more thoroughly to consider this matter (*viz.* the breaking up of the Meeting near *Wooburn* by Justice *Hampson*; sending Friends to Prison, and indicting them for a *Riot*;) which shews he design'd to write a Book on that Subject, though he doth not mention it; and accordingly did this Year, after the *Caution to Constables*, &c. as aforesaid. This he called *A Discourse concerning Riots: Occasioned by some of the People called Quakers being indicted for a Riot, &c.* Of which he gives, by way of Preface, this further Account. 'The Proceedings of late in City and Country, against some of the People called *Quakers* for *Riots*, for only meeting peaceably together to serve and worship God, first put me upon enquiring into the Nature of *Riots*: What upon Enquiry I have found, I here present to publick View for common Benefit, that none through Ignorance may be the Occasion of bringing an unjust Suffering upon an innocent People, and thereby Guilt on themselves. I do not pretend much Skill in *Law* (a Study and Profession I

' was



' was never bred to) but having spent some <sup>1683.</sup>  
 ' Hours on this Occasion, in searching what the <sup>w</sup>  
 ' Law-books say in this Case, I hope I may,  
 ' without incurring the Censure of Presump-  
 ' tion, communicate my Gleaning to such of  
 ' my well-meaning Countrymen, as have not  
 ' Leisure or Opportunity to inform themselves  
 ' otherwise. I solemnly declare, I have no other  
 ' End or Aim in this Work, than to *do Good*,  
 ' and *prevent Evil*: Which Consideration, with  
 ' Men of Candour and Ingenuity, will be, I  
 ' hope, a sufficient Apology for my seeming  
 ' Boldness in this Undertaking.' And so he pro-  
 ceeds to set forth what *Riots* are in the Law  
 and Law-books; of which he cites divers (and  
 Scripture too) to shew that our peaceable Meet-  
 ings, which in those Days they used to make  
*Riots*, that they might imprison and fine us at  
 pleasure, could not be *Riots*; though through  
 Ignorance or Envy, they were often so rendred,  
 (which shewed their Injustice) saying, ' How  
 ' truly I have stated the Case on the one hand,  
 ' with respect to *Riots*, the many Quotations in  
 ' the foregoing Discourse will shew. How true  
 ' an Account, on the other hand, I have given  
 ' of our Meetings, the whole Nation, and all  
 ' Nations where we have Meetings, may judge  
 ' upon the whole. My Request is, *says he*, that  
 ' all, both Justices and Jurors, who have or  
 ' shall be concerned in this or the like Case,  
 ' will seriously weigh the matter, and not strain  
 ' the Law beyond its due Extent: (*adding*)  
 ' To oppress any by Colour of Law, is the  
 ' greatest

1683. 'greatest Abuse of Law.' Concluding with a serious Re-capitulation, and Application of the whole, That none for the future might err ignorantly in that Respect; and if any would wilfully, they might be left without Excuse.

About the same Time, or not long after, he writ also *A seasonable Disswasive from Persecution, Humbly and modestly, yet with Christian Freedom and Plainness of Speech, offered to the Consideration of all concerned therein; on Behalf generally, of all that suffer for Conscience-sake; particularly the People called Quakers.* In the Beginning of which, he defines what *Persecution* is. '*Persecution* (says he) is a Word of so harsh a Sound, and so generally distasteful to *English* Ears, that scarce any of those who are most forward and active in that Work, are willing to have their Actions called by that Name. That none therefore, who have set an Hand to that Work, or whose Minds are any whit inclining thereto, may, from the Dislike they have to the Word [*Persecution*] reject this *Disswasive* as a Thing wherein they are not concerned; I think it needful here to declare, what it is I mean by *Persecution*. By *Persecution* then, I intend a forcing or compelling any, by Pains or Penalties, bodily or pecuniary, to relinquish or forsake that Exercise of Religion, or Way of Worship, which they believe to be the right Way of Worship, and the true and acceptable Exercise of Religion, which God hath required of them. And to receive, embrace, conform to, and perform some other Exercise of Religion,

‘ Religion, and Way of Worship, which they who <sup>1683.</sup>  
 ‘ are so compelled, are either firmly persuaded is  
 ‘ not the right, or at least have no Belief that it  
 ‘ is right. This (in short) is that which I call  
 ‘ Persecution; and this is that which I dissuade  
 ‘ from, whatever other Name the Actors of it  
 ‘ may please themselves in calling it by.’

I. To begin with the first of these, *viz.* the  
*forcing, or compelling any to forsake and leave*  
*that Exercise of Religion, or Way of Worship, &c.*  
 The Reasons by which he endeavours to dis-  
 suade all Men from such an Undertaking, are  
 these. [*i. e.* the Heads of them]

‘ 1. You may, for ought you know, be found  
 ‘ fighting against God: You are not, you cannot  
 ‘ be, upon your own Principles infallibly sure,  
 ‘ that that Way of Worship which you thus  
 ‘ endeavour to force us from, is not the true  
 ‘ Worship of God.—

‘ 2. By endeavouring to force us from that  
 ‘ Way of Worship, which we believe the Lord  
 ‘ hath led us into and requireth of us, you  
 ‘ endeavour to force us to make *Shipwreck of*  
 ‘ *Faith.*—

‘ 3. In endeavouring by Force and Cruelty,  
 ‘ to restrain us from worshipping God, as we  
 ‘ are fully persuaded He hath taught us, and  
 ‘ doth require us, you go out of the Path of  
 ‘ the Righteous, and tread in the Steps of the  
 ‘ wicked and ungodly.—

‘ 4. That Exercise of Religion which you  
 ‘ would force us from, is not simply of itself  
 ‘ condemned and disallowed by that Law, by

1683. ' the Severity of which you would force us  
 ' from it.—

' 5. In thus eagerly pursuing us, and disturb-  
 ' ing our peaceable Meetings, you give your-  
 ' selves, as well as us, a great deal of needless  
 ' Trouble. — *Refrain from these Men, and let*  
 ' *them alone.*—

' 6. And lastly, Be pleased to consider, what  
 ' Sort of Agents and Instruments you are fain  
 ' to make Use of (and not seldom are yourselves  
 ' made use of by) to carry on this Work.'  
*Concluding this Part thus:* ' O never give Cause  
 ' for this *Epitaph* to be written on your Tombs,  
 ' *Here lies a Persecutor of the People of God.*'

II. Now for the other Branch of *Persecution*,  
*viz. The forcing or compelling of any, by Pains*  
*or Penalties, to receive, embrace, conform to, and*  
*perform some Exercise of Religion, and Way of*  
*Worship, &c.* The Reasons by which he en-  
 deavours to dissuade all Men from such an  
 Undertaking, are these, (*viz.* the Heads.)

' 1. In thus imposing your Way of Worship  
 ' upon others, you act quite contrary to Christ  
 ' and his Apostles.—

' 2. In thus imposing your Way of Worship  
 ' upon others, you follow the worst of Patterns,  
 ' *Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon, &c.*—

' 3. In forcing People to your Way of Wor-  
 ' ship, who have no Belief that it is the right,  
 ' you cause them to sin; for *whatsoever is not*  
 ' *of Faith is Sin.*—

' 4. In forcing People to your Way of Wor-  
 ' ship, who have a firm Perswasion and Belief that

' it is not the right, you make Men *Hypocrites* 1683.  
' and *Time-servers*.—

' 5. By obtruding and inforcing your Religion upon others, you greatly disparage and undervalue it, and give Men the more Ground to suspect and dislike it.—

' 6. You break that great Command, which Christ says is the *Law and the Prophets*, viz. *All Things whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, do ye even so to them*, Mat. vii. 12.—

All these Reasons are illustrated and backed with Scripture and Reason, concluding with a very close and seasonable Application to our *Persecutors*. A solid serious Discourse it is, if any Arguments had been sufficient to dissuade Men from *Persecution*, (of which there was very great about this Time, particularly in *London*, *Bristol*, and divers other Places) the whole being well worth Perusal; and I should have inclined to insert it at large, but that it hath pleased God to incline the Hearts of our Superiors to ease us in that respect, by granting a Toleration to *Protestant Dissenters*; for which we are thankful. These three, viz. the *Caution to Constables*, *Discourse of Riots*, and *Disswasive from Persecution*, were all written, or at least printed this Year 1683.

And he acquitted himself so well on these 1684.  
Subjects, that one *William Tournay*, to him unknown, sent him a Letter from *London*, taking Notice of the aforesaid *Tracts*, which he was so well pleased with, that he desired his Judgment

1684. on the 23d, 29th and 35th of Queen *ELIZABETH*, in relation to the Proceedings then upon them : To which our Friend *T. Ellwood* return'd him an Answer in a large Letter, which is in his *Decades* of Letters, among many others to divers Persons, and on various Subjects, well worthy the Perusal, from the Year 1670 down to his latter Times ; and if they were published, would help to supply the Deficiency of his own Account of the latter Part of his Life.

About this Time he writ the following POEM, or HYMN of Praise to the Lord ; which I think well deserves to be inserted in this Place ; intituled,

### COLLAUDEMUS DOMINUM.

COME, let us praise the LORD with one  
Consent,

All ye, whose Hearts to honour Him are bent ;  
Come, let us of His gracious Dealings tell,  
For with us He hath dealt exceeding well ;  
When Him we did not seek, He did us find,  
He gave us Sight, when we were dark and blind ;  
He brought us home, when we were run astray,  
And set our Feet i'th' new and living Way ;  
When Hunger-pin'd, He gave us heavenly Bread,  
And, with the choicest Dainties, hath us fed ;

He

He from mis-leading Guides deliver'd hath,  
 And led us forward in the just Man's Path;  
 He hath with Strength and Courage us endu'd,  
 With Zeal for Truth and *Christian* Fortitude;  
 He Wisdom from above doth daily give,  
 To them that in His Truth sincerely live.  
 In Battle He hath us preserv'd thus far,  
 And made us Victors in the holy War;  
 Our Enemies He greatly hath subdu'd,  
 His Sword in Blood o'th' slain hath been imbru'd;  
 He hath preserv'd from the roaring Lion,  
 And brought a little Remnant safe to *Sion*,  
 Where, in His Presence, they sit down and sing  
 Eternal *Hallelu-jah's* to their KING,  
 Who lives and reigns, and may His Reign extend  
 Throughout the Universe, and have no End.

1684.



T. E.

But to proceed:

*William Rogers*, whom our Author answered in the Year 1682, as aforesaid, though he did not reply to it, or ever attempted it that I have heard of, putting forth a rhiming *Scourge* for *George Whitehead*, against whom he bent his most inveterate Spleen, and who had also answered his great Book, falsely called *The Christian Quaker*, in a Book intituled, *The Accuser of the Brethren cast down*, &c. *T. Ellwood* writ an Answer

1685. Answer to his Scourge in Verse, intituled, *Rogero-Mastix, A Rod for William Rogers, in Return for his rhiming Scourge*: For which he gives the following Reason;

To such as ask, why I in Verse have writ?

This Answer I return, I held it fit,

*Verse* shou'd in *Verse* be answer'd, *Prose* in  
*Prose*,

My Adversary his own Weapon chose.

He chose before in *Prose* to write, and then

I answer'd him in *Prose*. So now agen,

Since he his Stile from *Prose* to *Verse* hath  
chang'd,

And in the Muses Walks hath boldly rang'd,

In his own Method him I chose to treat,

Lest he should wise be in his own Conceit.

And begins thus:

Prov. 26. 5. The Preacher tells us, that *beneath the Sun*  
*There's no new Thing*; for *that which shall be*  
*done,*

*Hath been before*; and *what is now a doing,*  
*Shall acted be again in Times ensuing.*

Let none be shaken therefore in his Mind,


If he God's People now reviled find,

Reproach'd with bitter Words, and vilify'd,

With filthy Slanders loaded, and bely'd

By



By wicked Men. Such was the Churches State <sup>1685.</sup>  
Of old, as Sacred Story doth relate. 

And having recounted the Opposition made by *Rabshaketh*, *Sanballat* and *Tobiab*, &c. to the *Jews*, and *Diotrefhes* to the Apostles ; he proceeds, page 6.

By these Examples, plainly it appears,  
How Satan play'd his Pranks in former Years ;  
What Arts he us'd, how craftily he wrought,  
What Instruments, whereby to work he sought :  
One while professed Enemies, and then  
Another while he chose false Brethren ;  
And though those Agents now are dead and  
gone,

Satan remains the same, the *evil One*.  
He Mischief always to the Church intends,  
And, Mischief to effect, his Agents sends.  
Though *Rabshaketh* be dead, *Tobiab* rotten,  
*Sanballat* and *Diotrefhes* forgotten,  
The wicked Spirit, that in them did strive  
Against God's Truth and Church, is still alive,  
And other Instruments doth daily raise,  
To hinder Truth's fair Progress in these Days.  
He Agents has, great Store of ev'ry Size  
And Sort. How numerous are Truth's Enemies !

Yet

1685. Yet blest be God! a greater Number's those  
 That stand for Truth, than those that it oppose,  
 I list not here a Muster-roll to make  
 Of all who, from without, in hand did take  
 To battle against Truth, and shake their Spears  
 At *Israel's* Camp within these twenty Years.  
 Nor do I purpose to enum'rate all,  
 Who, in that Time, themselves did *Quakers* call,  
 That through misguided Zeal, or Discontent,  
 Their Bows against their Brethren have bent.  
 But since some few of late, appear to be  
 With Rage and Envy fill'd, to that Degree,  
 That with more Bitterness than all the rest,  
 Their Malice against Truth they have express'd,  
 My Purpose is to single out from these,  
 Him that appears as their *Diotrephes* ;  
 And that is ROGERS : For tho' *Crisp* and *Bug*,  
 With other some, do at the same Oar tug,  
 And toil hard at it too with all their Might,  
 Yet can they do no more but shew their Spight.  
 And for the rest, that lie behind the Skreen,  
 And move the Wheels, but like not to be seen,  
 Although they help to carry on the Work,  
 I take less Notice of them, while they lurk.

Them therefore leaving, I return again,  
 To view *Will. Rogers* his poetick Strain,  
 Who having been too often foil'd in *Prose*,  
 To try his Fortune now in *Verse* hath chose ;  
 If *Verse*, without Offence, that may be call'd,  
 Which is delivered in Rhimes so bald,  
 So flat, so dull, so rough, so void of Grace,  
 Where *Symphony* and *Cadence* have no Place ;  
 So full of *Chasmes*, stuck with prosy Pegs,  
 Whereon his tired Muse might rest her Legs,  
 (Not having Wings) and take new Breath, that  
 then

She might, with much ado, hop on again.  
 His Words [*to that Effect,—Why so ? How so ?*  
*Hence I observe,—Hence I conclude,—*] do show,  
 His purfy Muse was often out of Wind,  
 And glad when she a Perching-place could find.

What drew thee *William*, to this rhiming Fit,  
 Having no more Propensity to it ?  
 Couldst think such hobling and unequal Rhimes,  
 That make a Jangling like disorder'd Chimes,  
 Could of a P O E M e'er deserve the Name,  
 Or e'er be read without the Author's Shame ?  
 What Clouds of Darknes in thy Lines appear !  
 How is thy Stile perplex't ! How far from clear !

Thy

1685.

W.

1685. Thy *Muse* is wrapt in thickest Fogs of Night,  
 Which shews thou art departed from the Light,  
 Nor Sun, nor Moon, nor Star throughout thy  
 Book,  
 Is to be seen. No Spring nor cristal Brook  
 Glides thro' thy Margin. No, thy Waters run  
 Black like the Streams of *Styx*, or *Pblegeton*.

And having gone through, and answered this  
 Adversary's Book, he sums it up, and concludes  
 as followeth. Page 29.

*William*, thy Work is weigh'd, thy Spirit  
 try'd,  
 And both thy Work and Spirit are deny'd.  
 Thy Spirit is the same that wrought of old  
 In *Sanballat*, *Tobiah*, and the bold  
*Affyrian* Railer *Rabshaketh*, who fought  
 God's Work and People to have brought to  
 nought,  
 As thou hast done: And what the Prophet cry'd  
 In that Case, may to thee be well apply'd.  
*The Virgin hath despis'd thee, Zion's Daughter*  
*Makes thee the Object of her Scorn and Laughter.*  
*The Daughter of Jerufalem hath shook*  
*At thee her Head (with a disdainful Look:)*

For,

For, *whom hast thou reproached and blasphem'd,* 1685.  
*And against whom hast thou so loudly scream'd,*  
*And lift thine Eyes on high? Thy Spleen doth*

swell,

*Against the holy One of Israel.*

To this Effect the Prophet did declaim  
 Against the proud *Assyrian*, from whom came  
 That cursed Railer, who e'en seems to be,  
 In railing Blasphemies, a Type of thee.  
 What *Nekemiab* to *Sanballat* said,  
 (When he foul Slanders to his Charge had laid)  
 That I to thee, of all thy Slanders, Thus,  
*There are no such Things acted amongst us,*  
*As thy abusive Pamphlet doth contain,*  
*But out of thine own Heart thou dost them feign.*  
 And where thou carp'st at what we do aright,  
 We can for Truth's-fake in Reproach delight.  
 The Lord rebuilding is His holy City,  
 Which thou and others envy (more's the pity)  
 And put forth all the Strength and Art you have,  
 The Work to stop, the Workmen to deprave.  
 But never be so vain, to think you can  
 The Work obstruct; 'tis not the Work of Man.  
*The God of Heaven, He will prosper us,*  
*And therefore we His Servants, (strengthened thus)*

1685. Will rise and build, as God shall us endue  
 With Courage, Strength and Counsel for't : *But*  
*you*

*No Portion have, who do the Work condemn,*  
*Right nor Memorial in JERUSALEM.*

My Soul laments your State, who once have  
 felt

That tend'ring Pow'r, which stony Hearts can  
 melt,

And have been in some measure, tend'red by it,  
 But now so hard'ned are as to defy it :

All you I mean, who have in Print appear'd  
 With envious Hearts, and Conscience doubly  
 fear'd,

To fight against the *Truth*, and to expose  
 God's People to the *Fury* of their *Foes*.

And all you too, who do that *Work* abet,  
 Although your Names thereto ye have not set.  
 Ah ! had ye kept unto the *heav'nly Grace*,  
 Which in your *inward Parts* the *Lord* did place;  
 And not, in *discontented Humour*, run  
 After *Lo-beres, Lo-theres*, as you have done ;  
 Ye might, in *Truth*, the *Bond of Peace* have  
 known,

And in the *Spirit's Unity* have grown,

Which



1686. nefs, and to beware of the Eenny's Wiles; and avoid that rending dividing Spirit, which was then at work to cause Division and Strife among Friends; which being so seasonable and excellent, both for Matter and Stile, the whole is thought meet to be here inserted at large; and is as followeth:

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AN EPISTLE TO  
FRIENDS.

DEAR Friends, unto whom the gathering Arm of the Lord hath reached, and who have known, in your several Measures, a being gathered thereby into the heavenly Life, and are Witnessers of the preserving Power, by which ye have been kept faithful to the Lord, and regardful of His Honour: Unto you, in an especial manner, is the Salutation of my true and tender Love in the Lord; and for you, as for myself, are the Breathings and fervent Desires of my Soul offered up, in the one Spirit, unto Him who is your God and mine, that both you and I may be for ever kept in the fresh Sense of His tender Mercies and great Loving-kindness unto us, that therein our Souls may cleave firmly unto Him, and never depart from Him. For Friends, it is a trying Day, a Day of great Difficulty and Danger, wherein the  
Enemy



Enemy is at work and very busy, setting his <sup>1686.</sup> Snares on every Side, and spreading his Temptations on every Hand: And some, alas! have entred thereinto, and are caught and held therein, for whom my Soul in Secret mourns.

And truly Friends, a great Weight hath been upon my Spirit for many Days, and my Mind hath been deeply exercis'd, in the Sense I have of the Enemy's prevailing, by one Bait or other, to unsettle the Minds of some, whom the Arm of the Lord had reached unto, and in some measure gathered to a resting Place: But not abiding in that pure Light, by which they were at first visited, and to which they were at first turned, the *Understanding* hath been veiled again; the *Eye*, which was once in some measure opened, hath the God of the World insensibly blinded again, and Darknes is again come over, to that degree, that they can now contentedly take up again, what in the Day of their Convincement, and in the Time of their true Tenderness, they cast off as a Burthen too heavy to be borne. O my Friends, this hath been the Enemy's Work; therefore it greatly behoves all to watch against him, for it hath been for want of Watchfulness, that he hath got Entrance into any. For when the Mind hath been from off the true Watch, in a secure and careless State, then hath he secretly wrought, and presented his fair Baits, his Allurements or Enticements by Pleasure or Profit, to catch the unwary Mind. And hence it hath come to pass that some, who have come out fairly, and begun

1686. well, and have seemed in good Earnest to have  
 W set their Hands to God's Plow, have looked  
 back, and been weary of the Yoke of Christ,  
 and have either *lusted after the Flesh-pots of Egypt*  
 again, or turned aside into some By-path or  
 crooked Way in the Wilderness, and thereby  
 have fallen short of the promised good Land.

But you, my dear Friends, in whom the  
 Word of Life abides, and who abide in the  
 Virtue and Savour thereof, ye know the Wiles  
 of the Enemy, and the Power which subdues  
 him, and the Rock in which the Preservation  
 and Safety is. So that I write not these Things  
 unto you because ye know them not; but the  
 End of my thus writing is, to stir up the pure  
 Mind in all, upon whom the Name of the  
 Lord is called, that we all may be provoked  
 to Watchfulness against the Workings of the  
 wicked One. Therefore, dear Friends, bear, I  
 beseech you, the Word of Exhortation, though  
 from one that is little and low (and through  
 Mercy sensible of it) and who hath not been  
 accustomed to appear after this manner; for  
*the Wind, ye know, bloweth where it listeth.*

Friends, call to mind the former Times,  
 and remember the Days that are past and gone,  
 when the Day of the Lord first dawned unto  
 you, and His Power seized upon you. Ye know  
 how weighty and retired the Spirits of Friends  
 then were; how grave and solid their Depart-  
 ment and Carriage; how few and savoury their  
 Words, tending to edify the Hearers; how  
 great a Fear and Backwardness was in them,

to enter into Familiarity with the World's <sup>1686.</sup> People. O Friends, that was a good Day, and that was a safe State; for Fear begets Watchfulness, and Watchfulness is a Means to prevent Danger. Therefore all Friends, keep in the holy Fear, and therein watch against the Enemy, that he entangle you not, nor hurt your Spirits, by a too near Familiarity, and intimate conversing with the People of the World; for therein, I assure you, lies a Snare. For though it be both lawful and necessary, and in some Cases also useful and serviceable to the Truth, to converse with them that are without; yet if any Friend should adventure in a frank and free Mind, *beyond the Limits of the pure Fear*, to entertain Familiarity with the World's People, the Spirit of the World in them will *seek an Entrance*, and, if not diligently watched against, will also *get an Entrance*, and bring a Hurt and a Loss upon him or them into whom it so gets. For being once entred, it will insensibly work and dispose the Mind, into which it is got, to a Condescension to and Compliance with the People of the World it converses with, first in one Thing, then in another, in *Words*, in *Behaviour*, &c. (little Things in Appearance, but great in Consequence) till at length an Indifferency gets up in the Mind, and the Testimony of Truth by degrees is let fall. But while the pure Fear is kept to and dwelt in, the Watch is always set, the Spirit is retired and weighty, and an holy Awfulness rests upon the Mind, which renders

1680. such Converſe both ſafe to the Friends, and more ſerviceable to them they converſe withal.

And, Friends, not only in your converſing with the World's People, but in all your Converſation and Courſe of Life, watch againſt the Spirit of the World, for it lies near to tempt, and to draw out the Mind, and to lead back into the World again. You know, Friends, that at the firſt, when the viſiting Arm of the Lord reached to us, He led us out of the World's *Ways, Manners, Customs and Faſhions*, and a cloſe Teſtimony, both in Word and Practice, was borne againſt them. But how hath this Teſtimony been kept up, and kept to by all, who have ſince made Profeſſion of the Truth? Ah, how hath the Enemy, *for want of Watchfulneſs*, ſtole in upon too too many, and led out their Minds from that which did at firſt convince them, into a Liberty beyond the Croſs of Chriſt Jeſus; and in that Liberty they have run into the World's Faſhions, which the worldly Spirit continually invents to feed the vain and airy Minds withal, that they may not come to Gravity and Solidity?

Thence it hath come to paſs, that there is ſcarce a *new Faſhion* come up, or a *fantastick Cut* invented, but ſome one or other that profeſſes Truth, is ready with the foremoſt to run into it. Ah, Friends, the World ſees this and ſmiles, and *points the Finger at it*. And this is both a Hurt to the particular, and a Re- proach to the general. Therefore, O let the Lot be caſt, let Search be made by every one, and

and let every one examine himself, that this *Achan*, with his *Babylonish* Garment, may be found out and cast out; for indeed he is a *Troubler* of *Israel*. And all Friends, who upon true Search shall find yourselves concerned in this particular, I warn and exhort you all, Return to that which at first convinced you; to that keep close, in that abide, that therein ye may know as at the first (not only a *Bridle to the Tongue*, but) a *Curb to the roving Mind*, a *Restraint to the wandring Desire*. For assuredly, Friends, if Truth be kept to, none will need to learn of the World what to wear, what to put on, or how to shape and fashion their Garments; but Truth will teach all how best to answer *the End of cloathing*, both for *useful Service* and *modest Decency*. And the Cross of Christ will be a Yoke to the unruly Will, and a Restraint upon the wanton Mind, and will crucify that Nature that delights in *Finery* and in *Bravery of Apparel*, in which the true Adorning doth not stand, but *in the hidden Man of the Heart*, 1 Pet. 3. *in that which is not corruptible, even a meek and* <sup>4</sup> *quiet Spirit*. And the Grace of God, which hath appeared to all, and which hath brought Salvation to many, will not only teach *to deny* Tit 2. *all Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, and to live* <sup>11, 12.</sup> *soberly, righteously and godly in this present World*, but will also lead those that obey it, out of all Excess, and out of all Superfluities and worldly Vanities, and will teach them to order their Conversation aright. Therefore to this heavenly Grace let every Mind be turned, and therein stay'd,

1686. stay'd, that thereby all who profess the Truth may be kept in the holy Limits of it; that in their whole Conversation and Course of Life, in eating, in drinking, in putting on Apparel, and in whatsoever else we do or take in hand, that all may be done *to the Glory of God*, that our Moderation in all Things may appear unto all Men.

1 Cor.  
10. 31.

And let not any deceive and hurt themselves with a false Plea, saying, *I will be left to my Liberty; I have Freedom to do, go, or wear so and so; and Religion stands not in Cloaths, &c.* For that Liberty which the worldly Spirit leads into, is not indeed the true Liberty, but is a false and feigned Liberty, which leads into true and real Bondage. And tho' Religion stands not simply in Cloaths; yet true Religion stands in that which sets a *Bound and Limit* to the *Mind* with respect to Cloaths, as well as to other Things. So that where there is a running out into *Excess and Vanity* in Apparel, that is a certain Indication and Token that the *Mind is got loose*, and hath cast off the Yoke, and is broke away from its due Subjection to that divine Power, in which the true Religion stands.

Great hath been the Hurt which the Enemy hath done in this Day, by leading into a *false Freedom*, and crying up a *wrong Liberty*; for under this Pretence have crept in great Disorders, some running out one Way, and some another; some mixing in Marriages with the World's People, and some going to the Priest to be married. And many loose and unclean Spirits have shrouded

shrouded themselves under this plausible Pre-<sup>1686.</sup> tence of *being left to their Liberty*, unto whom Truth's Order is irksome and uneasy; and they kick against it, and call it *Imposition*, because it *checks their licentious Liberty*. Therefore all, who join with their Plea, examine and try what Liberty it is ye claim and stand for; for the true Liberty is not inconsistent with the Cross of Christ, nor repugnant to His Yoke, but agrees with it, and is obtained through it, and maintained by it. And none whom the Son hath made free indeed, will or can plead or make Use of that Liberty, in Opposition to any Means which the God of Order hath appointed, or set up in His Church for the keeping out Confusion, Disorder and Loosness. And hereby all may take a right Measure, and may certainly know *what kind of Liberty* that is, which some have so hotly contended for, in Opposition to that necessary and commendable Order which God hath led His People into, and which the Enemy, in his Agents, labours so hard to lead them out of. For the Enemy well knows, that the Tendency and Service thereof, is to detect and discover his secret Workings, and to bring his Deeds to Light and Judgment; and therefore he strives with Might and Main to overturn it, crying out through his Instruments, *Away with your Order; let every one be left to his Liberty*. By which seemingly fair and specious Plea, not only the loose, disorderly, factious Spirits have been let up, and encouraged to greater Boldness and Licentiousness, but

some

1686. some simple and well-meaning Friends also, not seeing the Design of Satan therein, have been misled thereby, and made Use of by the Enemy, and the more subtle of his Instruments, to oppose the good Order of Truth. Thus hath the Enemy wrought, and sought to lay waste the Work of the Lord. But the Lord, magnified be His holy Name, hath not been wanting to His People, who in Sincerity of Heart have diligently waited on Him, and trusted in Him; for He hath all along raised up some, whose Eye He hath opened to see the Design and Working of the evil One, and whose Spirits He hath engaged to stand up in a faithful Testimony against him, *contending for the Way of Truth*. Which when they, in whom the Enemy wrought, perceived, and found they could not run over the Heads of Friends, and carry Things on as themselves pleased, they set themselves, *in a heady wilful Spirit*, to raise Disturbances in Meetings for Business, by encouraging and abetting such heady, loose, contentious and disorderly Persons as would join with them; thus hardning themselves, and provoking the Lord to give them up to Blindness and Hardness of Heart, till at length the Enemy prevailed so far upon them, as to work them, by degrees, from *Discontent* to *Prejudice*, then to *Enmity*, and so at length, in divers Places, to an open *Defection*, *Apostacy* and *Separation*.

Now although I know, my dear Friends, that ye who have *kept your Habitation in the Light of the Lord*, and whose *Eye is single* therein, have a  
clear



clear Sight and Understanding, that the Spirit :686.  
which hath thus wrought and fought against the Truth, is not, nor can be of God, but is of the wicked One; and although the Fruits it hath brought forth, through the Agents and Instruments in and by which it hath wrought, viz. Making Disturbances in Meetings, to the Breaking the Churches Peace; causing Divisions amongst Friends; publishing to the World most wicked, malicious, railing and scandalous Books against Friends, (an Effect of the greatest Enmity) shutting and keeping Friends out of their common Meeting-houses, in which they have a just Right and Property, and not suffering them to meet therein, (which is a part of the Persecution inflicted on Friends by the World) and at length also sit up separate Meetings, in Opposition to the Meetings of God's People. Although, I say, these Fruits are sufficient of themselves to discover and manifest, to an unclouded Mind, what Spirit that is and must needs be, which hath brought them forth; yet inasmuch as some, partly through Weakness of Judgment, and partly through personal Affection to some of those leading Separatists, are yet in danger to be betrayed by their fair Words and feigned Speeches, wherewith they lie in wait to deceive; I feel a Concern remain upon my Spirit, in the Love of God to warn all such, that they join not with, nor give Countenance unto that Spirit, that hath thus wrought against the Lord, and against His People.

1686. For Friends, in the holy Fear of the living  
 W God, and in the Openings of the Spring of His  
 pure Life in my Soul at this Time, and from  
 the certain Knowledge and clear Demonstration  
 which I have received from Him therein,  
 I testify and declare unto you, That this Spirit,  
 which in this Day hath run out, and hath  
 drawn out some into Opposition against the  
 Way and Work of the Lord, into Division and  
 Separation from the People of the Lord, and  
 from the holy Assemblies which the Lord hath  
 gathered, and by His powerful Presence hath  
 owned and daily doth own : This Spirit I say,  
 is the same with that which hath formerly  
 wrought, in other Appearances, against the  
 Truth in our Time, and is the same with that  
 Spirit, that wrought against the Work of the  
 Lord in the Days of the holy Apostles. This  
 Mystery of Iniquity then wrought, and caused  
 many to turn aside, and to leave the right Way  
 of the Lord, and to *forsake the Assemblies of*  
 Heb. 10. 25. *God's People* ; yea, and to run into *Separation*  
 too ; upon whom the holy Ghost hath set His  
 Jude 19. Brand, that they were *Sensual, having not the*  
*Spirit*. And many close and sharp Testimonies  
 did the Lord give forth through His Servants in  
 that Day against this Spirit, and against those  
 that were joined to it, and acted by it, as may  
 be seen in the holy Scriptures.

Yea, Friends, this Spirit that hath led some  
 now to set up their *separate Meetings*, is the  
 same that led *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat* to set  
 up his separate Altar at *Bethel*, of which you  
 may

may read, 1 *Kings* 12 and 13 Chapters. He was <sup>1686.</sup> afraid, that if the People should continue to go <sup>w</sup> up to the House of the Lord, to do Sacrifice there, as they had been accustomed to do, and as the Lord had required, they would then forsake him, and return to the Lord again. And this Spirit now is afraid, that if they whom he hath seduced and drawn aside, should still frequent the Assemblies of God's People, and continue to meet with Friends as before; that heavenly Power which is eminently manifest in the Meetings of God's People, might at one Time or other reach unto them, touch their Hearts, open the right Eye in them, and give them to see the Mischief and Misery he is leading them into. And therefore to prevent this, and to keep his Captives close unto him, he hath contrived to set up *separate Meetings*, in Opposition to the Meetings of God's Appointment, as *Jeroboam* set up his separate Altar, in Opposition to the Altar which God hath commanded to be set up; and to keep the People from going thereto. And so subtilly did this Spirit work then, as well as now, that *Jeroboam* contrived to have his false Worship bear some Resemblance to the true, that he might the more easily beguile the People; for he ordained a *Feast like unto the Feast that was in Judah*, 1 *Kings* xii. 32; but it was *in the Month which he had devised of his own Heart*, Vers. 33. Mark that, there is a Blot upon it. How fair or specious soever the Worship he set up appeared, or seemed to be, yet it was but the *Device of his own Heart*;

it

1686. it was neither appointed by God, nor accepted  
 of God. For you may read in the 13th Chapter,  
 that the Lord sent a Prophet, a Man of God,  
 out of *Judab* to *Bethel*, and he cried against  
 the Altar in the Word of the Lord, and pro-  
 phesied the Destruction thereof by *Josiah* ;  
 which was afterwards outwardly fulfilled, as  
 you may read, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 15, &c. Now  
*Josiah* signifies *the Fire*, or *Burning of the Lord*.  
 And, in the holy Dread of the living, eternal  
 God, I declare, the Fire of the Lord is kindled,  
 and kindling against this accursed separating  
 Spirit, and against its Work, and against all those  
 that join with it therein. Therefore all fear  
 before the mighty God, and stand still and  
 consider your Ways, and let none resist or reject  
 the Warning of the Lord, lest such be hardened  
 to Destruction. For *Jeroboam*, you may read,  
 stood by his separate Altar; *Verf. 1. And when*  
*he heard the Saying of the Man of God, which*  
*he cried against the Altar in Bethel, he put forth*  
*his Hand, saying, Lay hold on him. But his*  
*Hand which he put forth against him, dried up, so*  
*that he could not pull it in again to him, Verf. 4.*  
 O Friends, consider, How hath Driness and  
 Withering come upon many a great and stout  
 One in this Day, who have lifted up themselves  
 against the Lord, and have sought, by the *Devices*  
*of their own Hearts*, to establish themselves in  
 their own Way, against the Way of the Lord,  
 so that the Hand they have put forth in that  
 Work, they could not pull in again. Now  
 mind I pray you, Friends, and observe the Way  
 of

of the Working of this Spirit in that Day. *1:6.* Here was the Enmity, the rough Nature of *Cain* and *Eſau*, the Spirit of *Perſecution*, got up fiſt in *Jeroboam*, to diſmay the Man of God: *Lay hold of him*, ſays he. But when he ſaw that would not do, then the ſubtle Serpent, the crafty Fox, the fair Speeches, the ſmooth Words, the ſeeming Friendſhip and Shew of Kindneſs to betray him. *Come home with me*, ſays he to the Man of God, *and reſreſh thyſelf, and I will give thee a Reward*, Verſ. 7. O Friends, ſtand in the Fear and Counſel of the Lord, and in the Dominion of His Power, over this wicked Spirit in all its Twiſtings and Twinings. Let neither the Frowns nor the Fawnings, the Threats nor the Flaſteries, the hard Speeches nor the oily Words, the Pharifaical Friendſhip, the diſſembling Love, the ſeeming Kindneſs, the familiar Carriage, the free Entertainment, the fine Bit, the Offer of Advantages, &c. have any Influence upon you, to draw you in the leaſt meaſure to join or touch with God's Enemy; with him that ſets up a ſeparate Altar, a ſeparate Meeting in Oppoſition to, and to draw or keep from the right Way of the Lord: Mind we'll the Answer, which the Man of God gave to *Jeroboam's* tempting Invitation. *If*, ſaid he, *thou wilt give me half thine Houſe, I will not go in with thee; neither will I eat Bread, nor drink Water in this Place*, Verſ. 8. This was where the ſeparate Altar was ſet up. And he gives a forcible Reaſon for it: *For ſo it was charged me by the Word of the Lord*, Verſ. 9.

1686. Here now you see both the Charge of the  
 W Lord, and the good Resolution of the Man of  
 God: *I will not go in with thee, who hast revolted  
 from God; neither will I eat or drink in this  
 Place, where an Ensign of Separation and Opposi-  
 tion to the Way of God is set up.* Consider  
 this well, I warn you All, in whom there is  
 yet any true Breathings after the living God,  
 who retain any Tenderness, and in whom there  
 is any Simplicity left: Consider this well, I say,  
 when thy pretended Friend or Friends, in a  
 great deal of seeming Love and Kindness, shall  
 invite thee to partake with them at their separate  
 Altar, to sit down with them in their separate  
 Meeting. Thou canst not be a Man of God,  
 and go in with them, or eat or drink in that  
 Place. Thou canst not sit down there to wait  
 for the Bread of Life, or the Water of Life  
 to be given thee there: No, the Word of  
 the LORD, if thou givest heed unto it, will  
 charge thee otherwise. Therefore to that pure  
 living Word let every Mind be turned, and  
 thereto kept, in a diligent waiting to receive  
 Wisdom, Strength and Power from the Lord  
 therein, that none may be betrayed by the  
 Subtilty of the Enemy, with whatsoever fair  
 Pretences he may come. For remember how  
 the Man of God, that was enticed by another  
 to eat and drink outwardly at *Bethel*, the Place  
 where the separate Altar was set up, lost  
 his outward Life therefor, *Verf. 18. and 24.*  
 . And if thou shalt perfume to go in, to eat or  
 to drink spiritually; that is, to join in Worship  
 with

with the Sons of *Nebat* at this Day, in the se-<sup>1686.</sup>parate Meetings, which any of them have set <sup>up.</sup> up, in Opposition to the Assemblies of God's People, and to the blessed Way and Work of the Lord; how knowest thou, but thou mayst for ever lose thy spiritual Life, and never know a Day of Quickning more?

Therefore all Friends, watch against every Temptation thereto, as you love your Lives, as you regard the Good and eternal Welfare of your Souls; and let not the Name, nor Person of any Man, have Power over you, to draw you aside, neither let *Numbers* sway with you; in which, I know, these Adversaries of Truth do not a little boast (though blessed be God, with little Reason) but remember that *Jereboam* of old had ten Tribes out of twelve to cry up his separate Altar; notwithstanding which, he is branded to Posterity in the holy Record with this Brand, *Jereboam the Son of Nebat, WHO MADE ISRAEL TO SIN*, 2 Kings xiv. 24. Therefore let not any follow a Multitude to do *Evil*, Exod. xxiii. 2. But all follow that which is good, both among yourselves and to all Men, 1 *Thess.* v. 15. For Friends, you know whither the *Broad-way* leads, and what it is the *Wide-gate* opens into, which the many go in at; but keep ye to the *straight Gate*, and walk ye on in the *narrow Way*, for in it is Safety, and at the End of it everlasting Happiness.

But Friends, because of the Straightness of this Gate, and the Narrowness of this Way,

1686. some that have attempted to walk in it, are  
 w grown weary of it, and have sought out another  
 Way, a Way which (*Jeroboam* like) they have  
 devised of their own Hearts, wherein they may  
 have more Room, more Scope, more Company,  
 Ease in the Flesh, Liberty to the Flesh, and all  
 without Controul. And this I am satisfied,  
 hath not been the least Motive to the Separation  
 in this Day, as it was the greatest in Days  
 past; though some that have been drawn into it,  
 may not perhaps see the Ground upon which  
 it was undertaken. But the Lord hath opened  
 an Eye in many, which sees the Rise and  
 Ground, Entrance and End of this libertine  
 Spirit and its Work. And this Eye will the  
 Lord daily open more and more in all, that  
 diligently and in Sincerity wait upon Him.  
 Therefore all Friends every where, who have  
 not yet a clear Sight, and a thorough Under-  
 standing of the Nature and Work, Design and  
 Drift of this dividing Spirit, wait, I beseech you,  
 in Simplicity of Heart, and Lowliness of Mind  
 upon the Lord, and keep to the Measure of the  
 Grace you have received from Him; and suffer  
 not your Minds to be swayed or byassed by any  
 personal Kindness, natural Affection, Relation,  
 Kindred or Acquaintance, but stand single and  
 open to the Lord, not joining to, nor any way  
 countenancing that which the Testimony of  
 Truth, in the Arisings of the heavenly Life, and  
 Breakings forth of the divine Power through  
 any, goes forth against. So will your present  
 Standing be safe, and you be preserved out of  
 the



the Snares of this insinuating and treacherous Spirit : And the Lord, in His appointed Time, as ye abide with Him, will open your Understandings further, and give you a clearer Sight of that, which at present you do not fully see, and thereby bring you to that Certainty and Assurance, which, blessed be His Name, He hath brought many unto.

And you, my dear Friends, whose Spirits the Lord hath stirred up, and whose Hearts he hath engaged in an holy Zeal, to stand up for His blessed Name and Truth, and to bear a faithful Testimony against this wicked rending Spirit ; go on in the Strength and Power of the Lord, in the Might of the God of *Jacob*, for you are assuredly on the Lord's Side, and the Lord *Jehovah*, the Strength of *Israel*, is on your Side. Therefore, Friends, be encouraged in the Lord, to stand stedfast in your Testimony, not giving Way to the Enemy, no not for a Moment. And take heed, I beseech you in the Love of God, how ye enter into any Treaty of Peace, or Terms of Agreement with this ungodly treacherous Spirit, which is out of the Truth, and draws out of the Truth, and fights against the Truth ; for there is no Peace unto it, saith my God. And they who have joined themselves unto it, and have wickedly given themselves up to be acted by it, and to act for it, must pass through the River of Judgment, if ever they be redeemed from under its Power. Friends, Condemnation must first be felt and owned, before Reconciliation can be

1686. known; and the Fire of the Lord must pass upon the Transgressor, to consume the Works of Darkneſs, the ungodly Deeds, the envious reviling Speeches, the wicked, malicious, ſlanderous Books and Pamphlets, &c. and to burn up the Ground from whence they ſprang. For a flaming Sword hath the Lord God ſet in His Eden, which turneth every Way; and none that are gone out can ever come in again, but they muſt paſs under the flaming Edge thereof. Therefore, my dear Friends, ſtand your Ground, in the Authority of the heavenly Life, and tamper not with God's Enemies: Remember the Word of the Lord to the Prophet, *Let them return unto thee, but return not thou unto them.* And then what follows? *I will make thee unto this People a fenced brazen Wall, and they ſhall fight againſt thee, but they ſhall not prevail againſt thee, for I am with thee, to ſave thee, and to deliver thee, ſaith the Lord.* So the God of Life fill your Hearts daily more and more with a Phineas Zeal for the Honour of His Name, and furniſh you abundantly with Wiſdom and Couſel, with Boldneſs and Courage, with Strength and Power, to encounter and overcome the Enemy; and make every one more watchful againſt the Spirit of the World, to withſtand it in all its Allurements to Vanity, of whatſoever kind; that whatſoever would deſile the Camp of the Lord, may be purged out, and kept out, that the Lord may more and more delight in His People, and ſhower down

His

His Blessings upon them ; which is the fervent 1686.  
Desire of, w

*Your faithful Friend in the Love and  
Service of the unchangeable Truth,*

*The 24th of the second  
Month, 1686.*


THOMAS ELLWOOD,

After this, I do not find he writ any Thing 1688.  
(only some private Letters in his *Decades*) but w  
lived retired till the Year 1638. In which Time  
of Privacy (as fittest for it) he began a Work  
which he did not finish till many Years after,  
and that was, *The Life of David King of Israel*,  
in Verse ; which he began for his own Diversion,  
not thinking then of printing it, and carried it  
on to the End of the third Book. But then  
the Prince of *Orange* landing, and the Revolution  
following, the Nation being in Arms against  
King *James* ; the Noise of Guns, and Sound  
of Drums, &c. so disturbed his Meditation and  
gentle Muse (which like the *Halcion*, breeds  
in calm Weather) that his poetical Genius left  
him for a Time, and he thereupon left his  
Work, for above twenty Years ; of which more  
hereafter in its Place.

And here he retired again for two Years ; so  
that I find nothing to remark of him, either  
publick or private, but some private Letters,  
till the Year 1690. When *John Raunce* and  
*Charles Harris* of *Wiccomb* in that County, pub-  
lishing *A Memorial* (as they call'd it) for the pre-  
sent Generation, and also for that which is to come ;

1690. *being an Account from Wiccomb concerning the Difference, &c.* This, Thomas Ellwood answered in a Book intitled, *The Account from Wiccomb (lately published by John Raunce and Charles Harris) examined, and found false. And a Warning thereof given, to all such well-meaning Persons among the People called Quakers, as through personal Affection, Want of Consideration, or Weakness of Judgment, have been betrayed, or may be in Danger to be betrayed by them, or any other in the same dividing Spirit with them; and led aside from the Way of Truth, into a Separation from the People of God: For whose Recovery and Preservation this is written.* Which begins thus:

' For your Sakes it is, O ye much pitied  
 ' Ones, more than for any Weight in the Ac-  
 ' count itself, or Worth in the Authors of it,  
 ' that I have thus taken Notice of it. For in-  
 ' deed, as soon as I had perused it, I felt a  
 ' compassionate Concern spring in my Heart on  
 ' your Behalfts, and a Direction in Spirit to open  
 ' some Passages therein, and relating thereto,  
 ' to you, that ye might be preserved from being  
 ' taken; or, if in any measure taken, might  
 ' be rescued and delivered from the Snare,  
 ' which the Enemy of your Souls, and of all  
 ' Righteousness, hath made Use of these Men  
 ' to set, to entangle, entrap and catch you by.  
 ' And to the true Witnesses of the holy God, in  
 ' every one of your Consciences, who retain  
 ' any honest Breathings after the Lord, and  
 ' the Way of Holiness, do I recommend this  
 ' my Undertaking, and the Sincerity of my  
 ' Intention

‘ Intention herein.’ Wherein he discovered their 1691. Deceit, as to their Separation; and that it was  not for Conscience, but from a libertine Spirit, to lay waste the good Order in the Church, as their Actions manifested: Of which he gave some Instances, not to their Advantage. But their Works have made them manifest.

The next Book he published, was in 1691, viz. *A Reply to an Answer, lately published, to a Book long since written by W. Penn, Intituled, A brief Examination and State of Liberty spiritual; both with respect to Persons in their private Capacity, and in their Church Society and Conversation.* Which Book was written, or at least published by *W. Penn*, in the Year 1681, to distinguish between true and false Liberty, little understood by some, and too frequently abused by others: *Liberty from Sin, not to sin; to do His (God's) Will, and not our own; as W. Penn expresses it.* Which true spiritual Liberty, being abused by some in the Profession of the Truth, (as our Friend *T. Ellwood* observes in his Preface) ‘ Who under Pretence of being left to that  
‘ Liberty in themselves, and to their own Freedom therein, both took Liberty to do such  
‘ Things as were inconsistent with that true Liberty, and with the Principle of Truth which  
‘ they professed; and despising those useful,  
‘ good and necessary Helps and Means which  
‘ the Lord hath provided, and furnished His  
‘ Church and People with, for the preventing  
‘ and keeping out such Disorders, Evils and  
‘ Scandals, as the unruly Nature of Man, thro’  
‘ such

1691. ' such a Mistake of true Liberty, might and  
 would bring in ; did reject the Counsel, Ad-  
 monition or Reproof of their Brethren, with  
 ' *What hast thou to do with me? Leave me to my*  
 ' *own Freedom.* To reclaim, if it might be,  
 ' those who are thus deceived, and prevent  
 ' others from being so, the Author being pressed  
 ' in Spirit for *Zion's* Sake, and for the Peace  
 ' of *Jerusalem* ; and having a deep Sense (*as*  
 ' *himself expresses*) of the working of the Enemy  
 ' of *Zion's* Peace, to rend and divide the Heri-  
 ' tage of God, did write the forementioned  
 ' Treatise for the Establishment of the Faith-  
 ' ful, Information of the Simple-hearted, and  
 ' Reproof of the arrogant and high-minded.'  
 Which striking at the false Liberty and Pre-  
 tendencies of the separate Party, it seems it had  
 lain on their Stomachs undigested these ten  
 Years, and then came forth an Answer to it by  
 J. H. (supposed to be *John Hog*, one of the  
 Separates about *Hull*) This Answer our Friend  
 T. Elkwood undertakes, and replies to in a pretty  
 large Book ; in which he shews what is meant  
 by true spiritual Liberty, in W. Penn's own De-  
 finition, which he defends ; shews their Abuse  
 of it, answers their Arguments, or rather Cavils  
 against it, in Behalf of their false libertine  
 Spirit and Practices, which too many ran into  
 to their own Hurt, and Separation from the  
 Church, the Body of Christ, whereof He is  
 Head ; saying, in the *Preface*, ' The God of  
 ' Truth knows, I have no other End in this  
 ' Reply, than to defend Truth and the Children  
 ' of

of it, against the slanderous Suggestions, false 1691.  
 Charges, and wicked Insinuation of the Ad-  
 versaries; to lay open their deceitful Deal-  
 ing, and to remove (as the Lord shall enable  
 me) the Stumbling-blocks which they have  
 laid in the Way of the Weak, whereby they  
 have caused some to fall into Misapprehensions  
 and hard Thoughts of Friends, without Cause.  
 And I beseech the God of Mercy to open the  
 Understandings, and clear the Sight of all  
 those, whose Simplicity has been betrayed by  
 the others Subtilty, that they may see and  
 escape the Enemy's Snares, and return to the  
 true Fold, from which they have been led  
 astray.' To which I never heard of any Re-  
 joinder; only some private Letters past between  
*J. Hog* and *T. Ellwood* about some Passages  
 in it.

His next were two Broadfides, the first (in  
 1692) *viz.* *T. Ellwood's Answer to so much of*  
*Leonard Key's late printed Sheet as relates to him.*  
 Which Paper of *L. Key's* was intended mostly  
 to excuse their shutting Friends out of their  
 Meeting-house at *Reading*. But therein taking  
 Occasion to flant at some Passages in *T. Ellwood's*  
*Answer to the Account from Wiccomb*, gave our  
 Friend *Thomas* an Occasion, not only to open  
 that Matter further, but also to lay open their  
 Deceit in Relation to that Affair, as well as *L.*  
*Key's* and his Party at *Reading*. To which I  
 refer the Reader.

The Second was in 1693, *viz.* *Deceit dis-*  
*covered, and Malice manifested, in L. Key's late*  
*Paper*

1693. *Paper from Reading.* *Thomas* being then at *London* at the Yearly - meeting, met with *Benjamin Coal's Expedients, for a true Reconciliation among the People of God called Quakers: Which L. Key* it seems promoted. But when *T. Ellwood* came home, he found a Letter at his Houſe directed to him, from *L. Key* with a printed Sheet incloſed, ſo different in Terms and Tendency from the other, ſign'd by *B. C.* and *C. H.* (that propoſing Expedients for Peace, this renewing the Difference;) and yet but one Day different in the Dates, this being dated the 3d, the other the 4th of the fourth Month 1693, that he could not but admire at it; which therefore he compares, and ſhews the Difference of, and diſcovers their Deceit in; and not only in that, but alſo in Relation to the Difference at *Wiccomb*, which they were not yet eaſy under, and yet would not confeſs the Truth; but inſtead thereof, *J. Raunce* endeavours to fix a Slander on *T. Ellwood* about his Father's Burial, pretending he was not buried in the right Ground, but among Strangers; he and his Party riding twenty Miles or more about the Country; and *J. Raunce* going himſelf to the Place where he was buried at *Holton*, to pick up a Stone at the Father's Grave to throw at the Son, above ſeven Years after is Death; enquiring, examining, yea, provoking ſome, to pretend as if *T. Ellwood* had been unkind to his Father, and that they had ſhewed him Kindneſs, to bring *Thomas* under Obligation of Requital, or upbraid him for Ingratitude if he did not. In all which

*J. Raunce's*



*J. Raunce's* Malice was manifest more than any <sup>1693.</sup> thing else ; for as to the Ground he was buried <sup>W</sup> in, *T. Ellwood* confesses he was not so well acquainted with the Grave-yard, as to know the Difference of Places in it, or whether some Parts of it be more holy than others; which he thinks, considering their former Principles, they should not have quarrel'd with him about. However the Place was not of his appointing ; for he was prevented of being at the Burial, by a Message his Father received in his Sickness, that his Sister (but which of them he doth not say) lay then sick in *London* near unto Death. After he had waited on his Father until he had finished his Life, and given Direction for his Interment, he hastened up to his Sister at *London*, thinking he might be more serviceable to the Living than to the Dead, and knew not in what Part of the Ground his Father was buried, till after his Return from *London*, he went thither to defray the Charges of his Sick-ness and Funeral, as some of them knew ; and and therefore the more Shame to raise such a Story. And as to the other of *Unkindness*, they could prove nothing, but shew their Envy against him ; which we shall have Occasion to take further Notice of e're we have done.

The next and last Book he writ in Relation to this Controversy with the Separates, was, *A fair Examination of a foul Paper, called Observations and Reflections, &c. lately published by John Raunce and Leonard Key* ; who after their separate Bickerings, come now to join their Forces together

1693. together in this Paper, which seems to be Reflections on *T. Ellwood's* last mentioned Paper; and which Paper of theirs our Friend answers in this Examination, wherein *their Envy is rebuked, and their Folly and Falshood laid open*, in endeavouring to excuse *L. Key's* former Paper of Revival of the Difference, at the same Time when *B. Coale's* Expedient for Reconciliation was for having it all forgotten and buried; which *T. Ellwood* exposes in its proper Colours, beginning thus; 'We read among the Proverbs of Prov. 4. 19. *Solomon*, that *the Way of the Wicked is as Darkness, they know not at what they stumble*. This is 'verified in *J. Raunce* and *L. Key*, and others of 'their separate Party. Since their turning against 'the Truth, their Way is become as Darkness, 'they stumble and know not at what. They fall 'into many idle Absurdities, many gross Follies and Errors, and into many hurtful Evils, 'and labour to draw others (better than themselves) after them; for whose Sake chiefly the 'following Lines are written, that the Deceit 'and Hypocrisy of these Men, their Falshood 'and Envy being further and further laid open, 'the more Simple and well-meaning Ones 'amongst them, may see them as they are, 'and be no longer beguiled by them.' So he goes on to answer their Cavils, confirming by Certificate his former Charge of their scandalous Practice at *Wiccomb*; then answers their new Slander (the old proving false) *That he suffered his Father to want*; raking into his Ashes when he had been dead above ten Years, to cast something

something at his Son (so restless is Envy) as if he had been short in his Duty to his Father; which *T. Ellwood* fairly and clearly wipes off, vindicating himself as to his not being at his Father's Burial (which *J. Raunce* throws at him) though *Thomas* in his last had fairly related the Occasion, which was his Sister's Illness at *London* (though she recovered;) and which one would think might have satisfied any one not overgrown with Envy; which yet *J. Raunce* revives again, and also about his Burial, &c. All which appears to be nothing but *J. Raunce's* Rancour; which seeing he has made so much a-do about, out of his inveterate Malice to *T. Ellwood*, under Pretence of Friendship to his Father, but to be sure Hatred to the Son; and as *T. Ellwood* says, *If this be the Effect of his Friendship, he should not desire to be numbred among his Friends.* To set which in a clear Light, I shall here set down his Vindication in his own Words, because it bears some Analogy to his Relation of the former Part of his Life; viz. Pag. 20. of the *Fair Examination.* 'Tis well known to many, that my Father was possess'd of a good Estate, and they that knew him well, knew also that he had the spending of it himself. How he spent it becomes not me to speak; he was my Father, to whom I ow'd and always paid Respect and Honour while living, and whose Frailty, being dead, I desire to cover. It is enough for me to say, I did not help him to spend his Estate, nor was I much chargeable to him after I was capable of shifting for myself. And when it pleased

1693. 'pleased the Lord to visit me with the saving  
 ' Knowledge of His Truth, and bring me under  
 ' the visible Characters of the Profession thereof,  
 ' (which was about the twentieth Year of my  
 ' Age) my Father expressing a Dislike to me on  
 ' that Account, by degrees withdrew his Care of  
 ' me, not making any Provision for my Main-  
 ' tenance, save the giving me such of his hous-  
 ' hold Goods as he could spare, upon his giving  
 ' over House-keeping, though he had then a  
 ' plentiful Estate remaining. When afterwards  
 ' he sold his Estate, I had no Part at all of the  
 ' Money.' — [Though upon his Marriage, he  
 promised both him and his intended Wife to  
 do something considerable for them, yet after  
 they were married he refused to give them any  
 Thing (as aforesaid, pag. 238) and so far with-  
 drew himself, that he would not let him know  
 where he lodged. — ] 'Notwithstanding this,  
 ' says *T. Ellwood*, he would sometimes come to  
 ' my House, which was always open and free to  
 ' him, to come when he pleased, and to tarry  
 ' as long as he pleased. Whenever he came, he  
 ' was well habited both for Linen and Woollen,  
 ' and made no Appearance of Want, other  
 ' than such as may befall any Man, to have his  
 ' Money fall short in a Journey; upon which  
 ' Occasion (when he had, as he said, been  
 ' longer from home than he expected, or when,  
 ' being here, he had a mind to go further than  
 ' at his coming forth he intended) he has divers  
 ' Times asked me to lend him Money, which  
 ' I always did, and never asked him for it again.

' And,

' And, to the best of my Remembrance, it was <sup>1686.</sup>  
 ' not above two Weeks time before his last <sup>W.</sup>  
 ' Sickness, that he had been at my House, and  
 ' had Money of me on that Account. As soon  
 ' as I heard of his Illness, I hastened to him,  
 ' and took the best Care of him I could during  
 ' his Life ; and after his Death defrayed the  
 ' Charge of his Sickness and Burial, and repaid  
 ' to my Sister that Money she had sent him,  
 ' before I knew of his Illness. I could say more  
 ' on this Subject than I intend, or at present  
 ' think fit, but I forbear, and commit my inno-  
 ' cent Cause to the Lord, not doubting but that,  
 ' as I am clear in His Sight from any Undutiful-  
 ' ness or Unkindness towards my Father, so He  
 ' will clear mine Innocency in the Hearts of  
 ' His People, and of all unprejudiced Persons.'

This I hope will satisfy the Reader of *T. Ellwood's* Carriage towards his Father, which we are beholding to *J. Raunce* for, or else perhaps might never have had this Account, which one would think Envy itself should not be able to cavil at. Yet after this *J. Raunce* being restless, trump up another Story, answered by *T. Ellwood* in his Postscript to that Book, which we shall meet with again hereafter on another Occasion, and therefore I shall say no more of it here.

Here ends his Controversy with the *Separates* : In which I must needs say, he acquitted himself as an ingenuous Man, a *Christian*, and a fair Opponent. And now to come to something more pleasant : Our dear Friend *George Fox* dying in

1693. the Eleventh Month 1690, and leaving behind  
 him an excellent Journal of his Travels and  
 Sufferings, our Friend *T. Ellwood*, (as no body  
 fitter) about this Time was at the Pains of tran-  
 scribing it, and fitting it for the Press; (a labo-  
 rious Work) which was printed next Year in a  
 large Folio: To which *T. Ellwood* prefixed a  
 notable Account concerning him, which is the  
 only single Testimony printed with it, except  
 his Wife *M. Fox's*, and an excellent *Preface* by  
*W. Penn.*

1694. But now a new Scene opens. For *George*  
*Keith*, who had known better Things than most  
 Opposers that ever rose up against Truth and  
 Friends, having been a *Quaker*, and a Preacher  
 among them near thirty Years, and had writ  
 many Books in Vindication of Truth and  
 Friends; but now falling out, and differing  
 with some of his Brethren in *Pennsylvania*  
 (whither he went some Years before) because he  
 could not have his own Way in every Thing,  
 came over with some of his Party, full fraught  
 with Contention, against the Yearly - meeting  
 in 1694. Which Difference coming before the  
 Meeting by some Letters from beyond Sea,  
 which were read in Course in the Meeting,  
 whereupon *G. Keith* desired to be heard; which,  
 after the other Business of the Meeting was over,  
 Friends condescended to for several Days, to  
 hear him and his Party; and *Samuel Jen-*  
*nings*, &c. on the other Side; in Hopes to have  
 reconciled the Difference before it went any  
 further: But as the Prophet said, *When I would*  
*have*

have healed Israel, then the Iniquity of Ephraim <sup>1694.</sup> was discover'd, &c. which may be applied to <sup>W</sup> him; for the more Endeavours were used to reconcile him to his Brethren, the more his Deceit appear'd; and the more Tendernefs any fhewed towards him, the more perverse he was in turning it to a wrong Use, and strengthening himself in his Opposition. There was no holding *what would away* (as the Proverb is) resolved he was for a Breach, by opposing Friends more and more, till he ran himself quite out from among them. Which our Friend *T. Ellwood* observing the Bent and Tendency of, not only in the Yearly-meeting, but after; and how he endeavoured to make Divisions among Friends, to divide the Heritage of God, he took up his Pen again, and writ an excellent *Epistle to Friends*; *briefly commemorating the gracious Dealings of the Lord with them, and warning them to beware of that Spirit of Contention and Division which hath appeared of late in George Keith, &c.* which he addresses to Friends thus:

' Dear Friends, whom the Lord hath called  
' with an holy Calling, and who, through  
' Faithfulness to the heavenly Call, are become  
' the Chosen of the Lord. It is in my Heart,  
' in the Openings of the Love of God, to send  
' these few Lines amongst you, as a Salutation  
' of true and hearty Love unto you; and in the  
' tendering Sense of the Lord's unspeakable  
' Goodness unto us, which at this Time rests  
' with an affecting Weight upon my Spirit,  
' briefly to commemorate the gracious Dealings

1694. ' of the Lord with us since we have been a  
 W ' People.' Which he commemorates as follows.

' Great and manifold have been the Mercies  
 ' of our God unto His People, in this His Day,  
 ' and His loving Kindnesses are beyond expres-  
 ' sing: When we were young and little, His  
 ' fatherly Care was over us, He preserved us  
 ' and nourished us, and caused us to grow up  
 ' before Him. How did He carry His Lambs  
 ' in His Bosom, when the Beasts of Prey roar'd  
 ' on every Side, seeking to devour! Who can  
 ' rehearse the many Deliverances He hath  
 ' wrought for His People, in their Passage from  
 ' spiritual *Egypt*! How hath He girded their  
 ' Loins with Strength, and covered their Heads  
 ' in the Day of Battle! How hath he subdued  
 ' their Enemies before them, and put to flight  
 ' the Armies of Aliens! How hath he fed them  
 ' with Bread from Heaven, and made them to  
 ' suck Honey out of the Rock! Yea, He hath  
 ' caused the Rock to give forth Water abun-  
 ' dantly, and hath been to His People as a  
 ' Brook in the Way [and *the Shadow of a mighty*  
 ' *Rock in a weary Land.*] So that from a sensible  
 ' Experience we can say, to His Praise, Our  
 ' Bread hath been sure, and our Water hath not  
 ' failed, as we have singly relied on Him. Oh!  
 ' His Goodness is unutterable, and His Faithful-  
 ' ness hath never failed them that have trusted  
 ' in Him. When have we ever been in Prison  
 ' for His Sake, and He hath not visited and  
 ' comforted us there? What Sufferings have any  
 ' undergone on His Account, and He hath not  
 ' abundantly



' abundantly recompensed the Loss? Nay, hath 1094.  
 ' He not often stopped the Mouths of Lions, and  
 ' reproved Rulers for the Sake of His People,  
 ' saying, *Touch not mine Anointed, and do my*  
 ' *Prophets no Harm.* In all our Exercises He  
 ' hath been with us, and He hath stood by us in  
 ' our forest Trials; yea, He hath caused His  
 ' Angel to encamp round about us, so that no  
 ' Weapon formed against us hath prospered; but  
 ' every Tongue that hath risen up against us,  
 ' the Lord hath given us Power to condemn:  
 ' Blessed be His holy Name, and exalted and  
 ' magnified be His glorious Power for ever.

' These Things and much more than I can  
 ' write, I doubt not but ye, my dear Friends,  
 ' are Witnesses of; ye especially, my elder Bre-  
 ' thren, who were called early in the Morning  
 ' of this Day, and have stood faithful in your  
 ' Testimony for God until now, who from your  
 ' own both early and late Experiences can set  
 ' your Seals to the Truth hereof; and unto you  
 ' I do believe this brief Commemoration of the  
 ' Goodness and loving Kindness of the Lord to  
 ' His People, will be pleasing and delightful, as  
 ' I hope it may prove useful and profitable unto  
 ' us all, in the stirring up of the *pure Mind*,  
 ' and putting us in fresh Remembrance of the  
 ' Lord's manifold Favours towards us, and gra-  
 ' cious Dealings with us; which should be as  
 ' a renewed Engagement upon us to cleave fast  
 ' unto the Lord, and in Humility of Heart, to  
 ' walk closely with Him, both that we may, as  
 ' far as in us lies, answer His great loving Kind-

1694. nefs to us-ward, and receive from Him still  
 W daily Strength and Ability to stand, and with-  
 stand the Assaults and Temptations of the Ene-  
 my, and escape his Snares, wherewith he is,  
 at this Time, as busy and industrious to betray,  
 and draw aside from the Simplicity of the  
 Truth, as ever he was.


For Friends, ye know we have a restless  
 Adversary to watch against, and to war with ;  
 one that sometimes walks about as a *roaring*  
*Lion*, seeking whom he may devour ; and  
 sometimes creeps about as a *subtil Serpent*, seek-  
 ing whom he may betray ; whom, in each  
 Appearance, it is our Duty and Interest to resist,  
 stedfast in the Faith which overcomes. I need  
 not recount unto you, my Friends, the many  
 Winds and Floods, Storms and Tempests, of  
 open and cruel *Persecutions*, which this roaring  
 Adversary hath often raised, and caused to beat  
 upon us, to have driven us, if possible, from  
 off our Foundation ; ye cannot have forgotten  
 it, nor that noble *Arm of the Lord*, which was  
 made bare for our Preservation, and by pre-  
 serving us against the most furious Shocks,  
 gave Evidence even to the World, that we are  
 that People whose House is founded and built  
 upon the immoveable Rock *Christ Jesus*. At  
 this Sort of fighting the Enemy hath been  
 foiled ; which hath made him shift his Hand,  
 and like a cunning Hunter *spread his Nets*, set  
 his *Snares*, lay his *Baits*, to catch the simple  
 and unwary Ones. Thus wrought this subtil  
 Enemy in the early Times of *Christianity*,  
 sometimes

' sometimes stirring up the Rulers, both *Jews* <sup>1694.</sup>  
 ' and *Gentiles*, to fall with violent and bloody <sup>W.</sup>  
 ' Hands upon the little Flock of Christ ; and  
 ' sometimes in the Intermissions of those Storms,  
 ' covering his Hooks with the taking Baits of  
 ' *Pleasure, Profit and Preferment*, catch some  
 ' (perhaps of those that had withstood the  
 ' strongest Storm of outward Persecution) and  
 ' made them Instruments for himself to work  
 ' by, to betray others. Such was *Diotrephes* of <sup>3 John</sup>  
 ' old, whose aspiring Mind, loving and seeking <sup>9. 10.</sup>  
 ' *Pre-eminence*, laboured to make a *Schism* in  
 ' the Church, prating against even the Elders  
 ' thereof *with malicious Words, &c.* What Mis-  
 ' chief the wicked One hath wrought in our  
 ' Day by such *ambitious Spirits*, I need not re-  
 ' count, nor is it pleasing to me to remember ;  
 ' ye know it, to your Grief, as well as I. But  
 ' this in all such Cases is observable, that such  
 ' as have made *Disturbances* in the Church, and  
 ' have run into *Divisions* and *Separations* from  
 ' Friends, have framed to themselves some spe-  
 ' cious Pretence or other, as the Inducement to  
 ' their Undertaking, which they have industri-  
 ' ously spread abroad, and varnished over with  
 ' the fairest Colours they could, to allure and  
 ' draw others to join with them, &c.'

This, with much more to the same purpose,  
 which might be cited, I thought meet to men-  
 tion of the Mercies of the Lord to His People,  
 and Preservation of them from the Beginning,  
 well worth the reading. Then recounting the  
 Wiles and Workings of the Enemy, in drawing

1694. some aside from the Simplicity of the Truth, and stirring them up to make Divisions (on one Pretence or other) to disturb the Peace of the Church, and hinder the Work of the Lord in the Earth; as lately in the *Separates*. So now being disappointed in that, he hath formed a new Design in *G. Keith*; yet to shew the Difference between the former and this, and consequently the Confusion of their Pretences, *Theirs* relating to *Discipline*, *This* to *Doctrine*; They alledged *That Friends were gone too much from the inward to the outward*; This, *That Friends were gone too much from the outward to the inward*, &c. for our Adversaries seldom agree in their Charges. And so he goes on to examine and compare his Books, published beyond Sea, with those he writ here, as to the Ground of the Difference and Separation; which he lays at his Door, manifesting his deceitful Pretences, Falacies and Self-contradictions. Answering his Cavils, and consulting his Calumnies, that none might be deceived by him. Concluding by way of Application and Warning to Friends, to beware of the Enemy's Wiles; which I doubt not had a good Effect as to many, in preserving them out of the Enemy's Snare, who were in Danger of being stagger'd by him.

When our Friend *T. Ellwood* had written this Epistle, he went up to *London* with it, and presented it to the *Second-day's Morning-meeting*, where such Books and Writings of Friends, as are intended for the Press, use to be read and consider'd, and read it through in that Meeting, and


and not one Friend (though the Meeting was <sup>1694.</sup> pretty full) shewed any Dis-unity therewith,  but approved it, and left it to him to publish it. And yet *G. Keith* pretended that it was printed in great Dis-unity, and against the Mind of many Friends, as though it was only approved and promoted by a Party, &c. Which I mention, to shew he stuck at nothing to make good his Part.

Against this Book of *T. Ellwood's*, *G. Keith* made a heavy Complaint to Friends to have it called in, as very injurious to him (to his Cause to be sure) poor Man! who had writ so many Books against Friends, after he had writ so many for them, and would not take Friends Advice himself; and how then could he expect they should answer him? So that his Complaint and Clamour not prevailing to stifle it, he takes another Way, first putting out a Sheet against it, called a *Loving Epistle*, but envious enough: In which he charged *T. Ellwood* with *fifty Perversions*, &c. which he said he had noted in his Book, but left his Proofs behind to come after (*The first by Post, as the Proverb is, the second by Tom Long the Carrier*) in another Book which he threatned to publish, if *T. Ellwood's* was not called in and disowned: Which not prevailing neither, some Weeks after he sent forth his threatned Book, miscalled *A reasonable Information*, &c. but very unseasonable for himself, as to his Reconciliation with Friends; which he pretended he had rather lay down his natural Life, or have his right Hand cut off, than

1694. than be dis-united or dis-jointed from them.

W This Book he pretended to be an Answer to *T. Ellwood's* Epistle, and to contain his Proofs (such as they were) of the Charge he had published before. To both these our Friend *T. Ellwood* replied this Year (1694) in a Book intituled, *A further Discovery of that Spirit of Contention and Division, which hath appeared of late in George Keith, &c. wherein his Cavils are answered, his Falshood is laid open, and the Guilt and Blame of the Breach and Separation in America, &c. are fixed faster on him; written by way of Epistle (as the former was) and recommended as a farther Warning to Friends.* Which begins thus:

‘ Dear Friends, who have received the Truth  
 ‘ in the Love of it, and have kept your Habi-  
 ‘ tation therein, unto whom the Truth is ex-  
 ‘ ceeding precious, and who desire the Prospe-  
 ‘ rity thereof above all Things; unto you is the  
 ‘ Salutation of my endeared Love, in this blef-  
 ‘ sed Truth, in which the Fellowship of the  
 ‘ Faithful stands. In this it is I desire to know  
 ‘ you, to be known by you, and to have Fellow-  
 ‘ ship with you; earnestly breathing to the  
 ‘ God of Truth, the Father of Spirits, that He  
 ‘ would be pleased to pour forth more abundant-  
 ‘ ly of His good Spirit into all our Hearts, and  
 ‘ fill us with the blessed Fruits thereof, that  
 ‘ there may be no room for the Enemy to enter,  
 ‘ to break this holy Fellowship; but that all,  
 ‘ who profess to believe in the Light, may so  
 ‘ walk therein, that a clear Sight they may  
 ‘ have


' have thereby, and a true Discerning between <sup>1694.</sup>  
 ' Things that differ, and may be able to make a   
 ' right Judgment what is of God, and what is  
 ' not; that so the Design of that Spirit (by  
 ' whatsoever Instrument it works) which would  
 ' break or disturb the Churches Peace, and cast  
 ' Reproach upon the Heritage of God, may be  
 ' so discovered and laid open, that all may see  
 ' and shun it. As this is the Exercise and Tra-  
 ' vail of my Spirit, so it is the Service I have been  
 ' of late, and am at present engaged in. For  
 ' Friends, 'tis not many Months since I saluted  
 ' you with an Epistle, wherein my Spirit was  
 ' drawn forth, *briefly to commemorate the gracious*  
 ' *Dealings of the Lord with His People*; and, as in  
 ' a general way, to remind you of the many  
 ' Attempts the Enemy hath made by Force  
 ' and Fraud, to hinder the Work of God from  
 ' going on; so more particularly to warn you *to*  
 ' *beware of that Spirit of Contention and Division,*  
 ' *which hath appeared of late in George Keith,*  
 ' *and some few others that join with him, who have*  
 ' *made a Separation from Friends in some Parts*  
 ' *of America.* In writing that Epistle I did not  
 ' consult Flesh and Blood, neither had I an Eye  
 ' to my own Ease and Quiet, as outwardly, (for  
 ' I had no Reason to expect Rest from so restless  
 ' a Man, nor fair Treatment from one, who in  
 ' his late Writings and personal Debates hath so  
 ' notoriously let loose his Pen and Tongue, to  
 ' an *unbridled Liberty* of railing and reviling)  
 ' but I clear'd my Conscience, in discharging  
 ' my Duty to God and to His Church, and  
 ' therein


1694. ' therein have that Peace, which all his Abuses  
 cannot disturb.'

And so he proceeds to clear himself of the Perversions, &c. which *G. Keith* charged him with, and answers all his Cavils against his Book; manifesting his Deceit, Evasions and Sophistry so effectually, that I do not find that *G. Keith* ever replied to it, being answered home, and having his Belly full, I suppose of the Controversy with *T. Ellwood*; for though our Friend *Thomas* answered several other of *G. Keith's* Books afterwards (of which hereafter) he never replied to any of them; which shews he had enough of it.

At the End of this Book of *G. Keith's*, *J. Raunce* came forth again, with a new Slander against *T. Ellwood*, (all his old ones being baffled) as if his Father had not been buried decently; which however false, *G. Keith's* mean Mind, it seems, could not resist *J. Raunce's* slight Offer, to take off an Hundred of his Books; but rather glad of any Help to run down his Opponent, if he could with Slander, which he found he could not do with Arguments. ' But had *G. Keith*  
 ' been a Man of any Worthiness (says *T. Ellwood*)  
 ' or his Cause defensible, he would not (though  
 ' an Adversary) have suffer'd *J. Raunce* to have  
 ' clapt on his abusive Piece at the End of his  
 ' Book, to throw Dirt at his Opponent. And  
 ' had *J. Raunce* been a manly Adversary, he  
 ' would have scorn'd to have crept in at the Tail  
 ' of another's Book, to renew his Slander, no  
 ' way relating to the Subject of the Book, when  
 ' *T. Ellwood's*



'*T. Ellwood's fair Examination* had lain a <sup>1694.</sup>  
 'Twelve-month at his Door unanswered.' But   
 to creep behind such a mickle Man as *G. Keith*  
 was taken to be, *J. Raunce* perhaps might count  
 it no Disgrace to repeat his Slander, which *T.*  
*Ellwood* had answered in his Postscript to the  
*fair Examination* : And for a final Stroke to it,  
 he produces Certificates from those who were  
 concerned about his Father at the Time of his  
 Death and Interment, that he was decently  
 buried as usual ; which may be seen at the End  
 of this Book, in Reply to *G. Keith*. And there's  
 an End of all those lying Stories raised concern-  
 ing the Dead, to asperse the Living, to the  
 Shame and Confusion of all the Inventors and  
 Fomentors of them ; the Man was dead and in  
 his Grave, and there should have rested without  
 Envy or Detraction ; and I am only sorry he  
 seemed to retain his Aversion to his Son for the  
 Truth's-sake, which he received in his early  
 Days. To the Honour of which I attribute it,  
 that he was preserved and carried through, and  
 over all Opposition, and lived in Reputation and  
 Renown to his dying Day.

His next Book is in 1695, intituled *Truth de-* <sup>1695.</sup>  
*fended, and the Friends thereof cleared from the*   
*false Charges, foul Reproaches, and envious Cavils*  
*cast upon it and them by George Keith (an Apost-*  
*tate from them) in two Books by him lately pub-*  
*lished ; one called A true Copy of a Paper de-*  
*livered into the Yearly-meeting, &c. The other,*  
*The pretended Yearly-meeting's nameless Bull*  
*of Excommunication, &c. In which last, G.*  
*Keith*

1695. *Keith* gives an Account of his coming to the Yearly - meeting (1695) and of his Entertainment in it (when admitted) as if he had never been there before, viz. *That he was allowed to sit at the great square Table among the Ministers and Commissioners* (as he calls them) *that could hold about it, either fully, or near double, to the Number of twenty-four; whether by Allusion to the twenty-four Seats and Elders, mentioned Rev. iv. but doubling the Number he doth not determine; adding, I think it suits not their crying out so much as they were wont against chief Seats in the Synagogues, to erect such a stately Fabrick in their Meeting-house at that Time, little differing from the manner of a Throne, but that it is low upon the Floor, covered with green Cloth.* All which only serves to shew his own Pageantry, and which our Friend *T. Ellwood* corrects him for according to his Deserts. For the Table will hold few more than twenty-four or twenty-eight at most, and only necessary to lay Books and Papers on to write.

In the Beginning of this Book, our Friend *T. Ellwood* resumes the Controversy from the Beginning, shews the Rise of the Difference, and Proceedings thereupon, in relation to *George Keith*, particularly after his coming into *England* in the Beginning of 1694, and how he came to be disowned by the Yearly-meeting in 1695, for his rejecting the Advice of the former, and opposite Carriage thereunto; which being so excellent to the Matter in hand, and setting the Controversy

Controversy in a clear Light, I shall here insert <sup>1695.</sup>  
it; which begins thus:


‘ It is an old Observation, That none prove  
‘ more angry and implacable Enemies to any  
‘ Society of People, than those that for their  
‘ Disorders and unruly Behaviour, have been  
‘ disowned by the Society they once were of; a  
‘ certain vindictive Enmity usually getting up  
‘ in such, and stirring them up to load that  
‘ Society, by which they were denied, with all  
‘ the Reproach and Infamy they can, thereby  
‘ both gratifying a revengeful Spirit in them-  
‘ selves, and thinking also by recriminating  
‘ others, to extenuate at least their own Crimes.  
‘ That thus it was in the early Times of *Christi-*  
‘ *anity*, may be gathered from the Writings  
‘ of the Apostles, particularly 2 *Tim.* iv. 14.  
‘ 2 *Pet.* ii. 1 *John* ii. 18, &c. 3 *John* 9, &c.  
‘ *Jude*, vers. 4. Among those in this Age, whom  
‘ Satan hath drawn to this degree of Malice and  
‘ Madness, *George Keith* a *Scotchman* is the  
‘ latest, but not the least, whether with respect  
‘ to his Anger or his Envy. He having been  
‘ bred a Scholar before he came amongst the  
‘ People called *Quakers*, and having acquired  
‘ more of School-learning than most (it may  
‘ be, in his own Opinion, than any) of that  
‘ People have, hath given in himself a demon-  
‘ strative Proof of the Apostle’s Proposition,  
‘ *Knowledge puffeth up, where edifying Charity* <sup>1 Cor.</sup>  
‘ *is not joined with it.* For human Knowledge <sup>8 1.</sup>  
‘ is apt of itself to lift up Mens Minds that  
‘ have, or think they have it, in any degree of  
‘ Eminency,

1695. Eminency, and makes them think better of  
 W themselves than of others, or than themselves  
 deserve; whereas true Charity useth Know-  
 ledge to instruct, and therereby builds up; not  
 to puzzle and confound, and thereby destroy  
 others: But that Charity this Man not having,  
 but being vainly puffed up in his fleshly  
 Mind, from a proud Conceit of his own Abi-  
 lities, and being gotten into *America* among  
 a plain People, who better understood the  
 the plain and simple Truth than the nice  
 Distinctions and Subtilties of the Schools, and  
 there advanced to the Office of a School-  
 master, with a standing Sallary, as I have been  
 informed, of an hundred and twenty Pounds  
 by the Year, he soon began, like *Diotrephes*  
 of old, to affect *Pre-eminence in the Church*;  
 and nothing less would serve his Turn, than  
 to rule and over-rule all. And that he might  
 not want Matter to work upon, and some  
 Pretence to begin on, he not only found fault  
 with Friends Ministry and Discipline there;  
 but having, in private Discourses, put some  
 captious and ensnaring Questions to some par-  
 ticular Persons there, whose Simplicity he  
 thought he might most easily betray, he (by  
 wresting their Answers to a wrong Sense) took  
 Advantage to complain against them, for hold-  
 ing, as he said, *gross and vile Errors*, and with  
 impetuous Heat prosecuted his Charge; and  
 not being so fully nor speedily answered as he  
 expected, by those Friends to whom he com-  
 plained, who seeing the Innocency of the  
 accused,

3 John  
9, 10.

' accused, and his evil Design in accusing, could <sup>1695.</sup>  
 ' not countenance him therein, he involved <sup>W</sup>  
 ' them also in the like Charge of *cloaking or*  
 ' *covering gross and vile Errors, damnable Heresies*  
 ' *and Doctrines of Devils, &c.* Nor gave he  
 ' over, till by continual Clamours and frequent  
 ' Disturbances, he had filled Friends Meetings  
 ' with Strife and Contention; and at length  
 ' having leavened a Party to himself, made an  
 ' open Division and Separation from Friends,  
 ' setting up separate Meetings for himself and  
 ' his Party, in Opposition to the Meetings of  
 ' Friends before settled there. And having got  
 ' the Printer to his Party (and thereby the only  
 ' Press there at his Command) he maliciously  
 ' put the Difference into Print, and thereby  
 ' spread it not only in those Parts of *America*,  
 ' but in these of *Europe* also. These Things  
 ' drew Friends there, after much Patience and  
 ' long Forbearance, to deal with him in a  
 ' Church-way, and to give forth at length a  
 ' Testimony against him; which proving uneasy  
 ' to him, he came over from thence to *England*,  
 ' about the Beginning of the Year 1694, of  
 ' which some Friends of *Pennsylvania* having  
 ' Notice, came over also; and at the Yearly-  
 ' meeting of the People called *Quakers*, holden  
 ' at *London* in the fourth Month that Year, the  
 ' Matters relating to that Difference being fully  
 ' heard and considered, the Sense of that Meet-  
 ' ing was, *That the Separation lay at G. Keith's*  
 ' *door; and that he had done ill, in printing and*  
 ' *publishing those Differences as he had done.* And

1695. ' the Advice of the Meeting to him thereupon  
 ' was, *To call in those Books of his, or publish*  
 ' *something innocently and effectually to clear the*  
 ' *Body of the People called Quakers and their*  
 ' *Ministers, from those gross Errors charged on*  
 ' *some few in America; and retract the bitter*  
 ' *Language in them, so far as he was concerned;*  
 ' *and sincerely to use his utmost Endeavours with*  
 ' *his Friends concerned, to remove the Separation,*  
 ' *&c.* Which Sense and Advice being  
 ' drawn up at large in writing, was then in  
 ' that Meeting delivered to him, and soon after  
 ' printed by one of his Party with very envious  
 ' Reflections upon it, as may be seen in a small  
 ' Pamphlet, called *A true Account, &c.* to  
 ' which I refer. But so far was *G. Keith* from  
 ' regarding the Sense, or following the Advice  
 ' of that Yearly-meeting, that in several printed  
 ' Books by him soon after published, he rejected  
 ' it, denying it to be the Sense or Advice of the  
 ' Yearly-meeting, or that to be the Yearly-  
 ' meeting that gave it. Which Abuse this last  
 ' Yearly-meeting (in the third Month past)  
 ' taking Notice of, and upon further dealing  
 ' with him, finding him instead of being hum-  
 ' bled and sorry for the Evil he had done, more  
 ' hardened therein, justifying himself both by  
 ' Word and Writing, and rejecting the Meet-  
 ' ing's Advice. That Meeting (after it had heard  
 ' him patiently, till he of his own Accord  
 ' withdrew) gave forth a Testimony against  
 ' him; which he hath since printed, with his  
 ' Answer thereunto. As he hath also (in another  
 Pamphlet)

‘ Pamphlet) a Copy of his Paper which he read <sup>1695.</sup>  
 ‘ in the Meeting; together with a Narrative   
 ‘ (of his own making) of the Proceedings of  
 ‘ the Meeting with him, and a List of Errors  
 ‘ charged by him on some particular Persons.  
 ‘ To each of these I intend to speak, now that  
 ‘ I have premised this short Introduction; which  
 ‘ I thought needful for the Information of any  
 ‘ such Reader as had not before heard the Rise  
 ‘ of the Difference, nor the Course of Proceed-  
 ‘ ings thereupon.’

This I thought fit to insert, being so material as to the Ground of the Controversy with *G. Keith*; after which *T. Ellwood* proceeds to answer all his Cavils in his said two Books or Papers. And shews that by his disorderly Practices he had excluded himself from our Society, before Friends disowned him. So leaving him without Excuse, and the Weight of his Iniquity upon his own Head, which he could never get from under, but waxed worse and worse, as evil Men and Seducers use to do, so that Truth was set over his Head, and Friends were clear of him.

But now another Occasion offer'd, and that was, one *Gerard Croese* a *Dutchman*, publishing *A general History* (so called) of the Quakers, containing the *Lives, Tenets, Sufferings, Trials, Speeches* and *Letters* (as pretended) of the most eminent of them, first in *Latin*; which was translated and printed in *English* in the Year 1696. Wherein, though he had represented some Things pretty fairly; yet in others, through

1696. Inadvertency or Ignorance (I hope not wilfully) **W**he had misrepresented us, and our Principles and Practices; whereupon our Friend *T. Ellwood*, according to an Advertisement at the End of the said History in *English*, that *some Remarks on it would be published*, he writ some Remarks on it in *Latin* (perhaps before the *English* came out, which would no doubt have been turn'd into *English*) intending doubtless to publish them; but in the mean Time before they were finished, a Book of the same Nature and to the same Purpose, in *Latin*, was published in *Holland*, by way of Remarks or Observations on the said *History*; which seemed again to circumvent him in his intended Remarks on it, so that he laid them by, and never finished them, and so the World was deprived of this Piece also.


But now *G. Keith* being gone out from the Fellowship of the Faithful, and hardned in his Enmity against Friends, he arrived to the Top or Height of Opposition; he had been playing small Stakes hitherto, but now came to throw all at once. In order to which he erected a Stage of Contention at *Turners-hall* in *Philpot-lane*, *London* (where he had held separate Meetings for some Time before) to oppose Friends in general, under Pretence of discovering divers Errors out of the *Quakers* Books (that were never in them) and published an Advertisement of a Meeting he intended to hold there, in the fourth Month 1696, to discover the *Quakers* Errors (though he had been one so long himself, and



and vindicated them, as to all that any could <sup>1696.</sup> object against, and yet now came to accuse them <sup>W</sup> himself; ) but Friends slighted him, not thinking it worth their while to follow him, or dance after his Pipe to *Turners-hall*. Of which contentious Meeting he afterwards published a Narrative; which our Friend T. Ellwood answered this Year, in a Book intituled, *An Answer to George Keith's Narrative of his Proceedings at Turners-hall, &c. wherein his Charges against divers of the People called Quakers (in that and another Book of his, called Gross Errors, &c.) are fairly considered, examined and refuted.* And he made his Title good in a close Answer, and entire Confutation of all his Cavils against our Friends Books; which, because I have given the Preambles or Introductions of his former, to illustrate the matter, I shall also, in like manner, introduce this with his general Account of the Controversy, by Way of Introduction to his Answer, being so pertinent to the Case in hand, for the Reader's better Information and Satisfaction, which follows, beginning thus:

‘ It is not surely without good Reason, that  
 ‘ the Church of Christ here on Earth, is called  
 ‘ the *Church-militant*: For, besides the inward  
 ‘ and spiritual Enemies, which her several Mem-  
 ‘ bers have to encounter with, in their Pilgri-  
 ‘ mage through this troublesome World, such  
 ‘ hath been and is her Lot and Portion, that she  
 ‘ hath rarely been free from outward Enemies  
 ‘ of one kind or other, her great Adversary  
 ‘ Satan, continually raising up some evil Instru-  
 ‘ ments

1696. ' ments or other to fall upon her ; all aiming  
 ' at her Ruin, though after divers Ways and  
 ' Manners. Sometimes the Civil Powers under  
 ' which she hath lived, have been stirred up to  
 ' proclaim as it were open War against her, and  
 ' to inflict severe and heavy Penalties upon her,  
 ' for her faithful Adherence to her Lord and  
 ' Master, Christ Jesus. When through Faith  
 ' and Patience she hath overcome, and the  
 ' Wrath and Fury of Men hath been asswaged,  
 ' so that she hath had some Respite from those  
 ' outward Sufferings ; then hath her old Adver-  
 ' sary (the common Enemy of Mankind) be-  
 ' stirr'd himself in another Way, to raise up  
 ' *Persecution* against her of another kind, by  
 ' instigating some or other (either such as were  
 ' always avowed Enemies to her, or such as for  
 ' some time appeared to be of her, but by the  
 ' Sweep of his Tail had been struck off from her)  
 ' to speak or write against her, falsely to accuse  
 ' her, and load her with the foulest Reproaches,  
 ' and most infamous Slanders and Scandals, that  
 ' by so misrepresenting her, they might hinder  
 ' others from joining to or favouring her, and stir  
 ' up the Civil Magistrate again to persecute her  
 ' afresh. This hath been the Lot, this the Con-  
 ' dition of the little Flock of Christ in former  
 ' Ages, as *Ecclesiastical Histories* declare. As for  
 ' the present Age, and with respect to the People  
 ' called *Quakers*, whom God by an invisible Arm  
 ' of Power hath raised up, and held up, and  
 ' made a peculiar People to himself, Experience  
 ' gives sufficient Proof, the Matter being yet fresh  
 ' in

' in Memory. For, not to look back so far as 1696.  
 ' that which was called the *Common-wealth's*   
 ' Time, wherein many of the leading Men in  
 ' most Professions, put forth their utmost Strength  
 ' against us, both in preaching and printing,  
 ' raising those false Reports concerning us, and  
 ' charging many false Accusations upon us, with  
 ' respect both to *Doctrine* and *Practice*, which  
 ' others of our Adversaries that followed after,  
 ' have taken up upon Trust from them; no  
 ' sooner was that great Persecution a little abated  
 ' (which soon after the Restoration of King  
 ' *Charles* the Second, through the Fault of some  
 ' *Dissenters* fell upon *all*, but most heavily upon  
 ' *us*) and that a little Calm and Quiet ensued,  
 ' but out came several Books against us, written  
 ' by some of those Professors, who either in  
 ' some measure did suffer, or (if they had been  
 ' faithful to their own Principle) should have  
 ' suffered in the same Storm with us. By that  
 ' time the Dust, which those Books had raised,  
 ' was laid by our Answers thereunto, a fresh  
 ' Persecution from the Government arose upon  
 ' the *Informing Act*, the main Weight of which  
 ' it is well known fell upon us; they who  
 ' before and afterwards assaulted us in Print,  
 ' finding Ways then to hide and save themselves  
 ' from Suffering. But when that Storm was a  
 ' little over, out they came again, and in divers  
 ' Books written by *Faldo*, *Hicks*, and others,  
 ' heaped up many wrong Charges, Defama-  
 ' tions, Slanders and false Accusations against us;  
 ' all which were refuted and wiped off in our

1696. ' Books, printed in Answer thereunto : Nor  
 ' have those of other Professions been so forward  
 ' to attack us since. But now that Liberty of  
 ' Conscience, in the free Exercise of religious  
 ' Worship, is by Authority granted, and there-  
 ' by outward Sufferings, in a great measure  
 ' abated, our old Enemy envying us so great a  
 ' Benefit, though but in common with others,  
 ' hath contrived Ways and Means to raise a  
 ' *new War* against us, by stirring up some who  
 ' have formerly walked with us, and for some  
 ' Time professed to be of us (but upon some  
 ' peevish Discontent or other, have turned aside  
 ' and left us) to turn now against us and oppose  
 ' us, and to pour forth Floods of Reproach,  
 ' Slanders and false Accusations upon us. His  
 ' chief Agent, at present in this Work, is *George*  
 ' *Keith* a *Scotchman*, whose *ambitious Aims* not  
 ' being answered, nor his *absurd* and *fantastical*  
 ' *Notions* received by and amongst the People  
 ' called *Quakers*, he is now become, of a *seem-*  
 ' *ing Friend*, a *real Enemy*. He having pub-  
 ' lished many Books against us, and in Defence  
 ' of those Books wrangled with us for a while  
 ' in Print, till he found himself too closely  
 ' pinched, to be able to give an Answer fit to be  
 ' seen in Print, hath at length bethought him-  
 ' self of a *Wile* to excuse himself from answer-  
 ' ing; which was to set up a kind of *Judicial*  
 ' *Court*, of his *own Head* and by his *own Autho-*  
 ' *rity*, in a Place at his *own Command*, on a  
 ' Day of his *own Appointing*, there to charge  
 ' and try divers of us who are called *Quakers*,  
 ' whether

whether present or absent, concerning Matters <sup>1696.</sup>  
 of *Faith* and *Doctrine*; and that the rude  
 Multitude might not be wanting to his Assist-  
 ance there, he gave publick Notice of it some  
 Time before, by an Advertisement in Print,  
 and therein a Sort of *Summons* to some of us  
 by Name, to others by Designation, to be pre-  
 sent. This *arbitrary* Proceeding, and *usurped*  
 Authority, as we judged it unreasonable in  
 him to impose, so we did not think fit to  
 submit to, or own, and therefore forbore to  
 appear at the Time and Place by him appoint-  
 ed. Yet lest any whom he should draw  
 thither, might mistake the Cause of our not  
 appearing, the Reasons thereof drawn up in  
 short Heads, were sent thither to be read, and  
 given among the People; which they were.  
 However, according to his before declared In-  
 tention, to proceed whether any of us were  
 there or no, he being *Judge in his own Court*,  
 over-ruled our Reasons, and went on to arraign  
 and convict us absent. The *Pageantry* of  
 which Day's Work, as acted there by himself,  
 he hath since published with his Name to it,  
 under the Title of *An exact Narrative of the*  
*Proceedings at Turner's-hall, &c. Together with*  
*the Disputes and Speeches there, between G. Keith*  
*and other Quakers, differing from him in some*  
*religious Principles.* How idle is this in him,  
 to pretend in his Title to give an Account of  
 Disputes and Speeches between him and other  
 Quakers, whenas his *Narrative* itself gives no  
 Account of any Dispute there, nor any thing  
 like

1696. ' like it ; and of that little that was said by any  
 W ' of those few *Quakers* that were present, most  
 ' was to the People (tending to shew them the  
 ' Unreasonableness of his Undertaking, and de-  
 ' siring them to reserve one Ear for the other  
 ' Side) very little of it to him.'

Then he goes on to shew *G. Keith's* Falshood, in calling it *An exact Narrative* ; and yet not inserting the Reasons why our Friends did not appear, which he confesses were read ; and his Fallacies in evading them, which therefore *T. Ellwood* sets down, obviates *G. Keith's* Quibbles on them : So proceeds to answer his *Narrative*, clearing the Quotations he brought out of our Friends Books, from his Perversions (being either unfairly or fallily quoted, or perverted in their Sense to what they never intended, according to his carping and cavilling Way.) Vindicating the Soundness of their Doctrine, shewing *G. Keith's* Self-contradictions (in opposing what he had so often vindicated as Orthodox ; and yet pretending to hold the same Doctrines and Principles still) and laying open his Deceit, Falshood and Prevarications so plainly and effectually, that *G. Keith* never replied to it ; and good reason why, because he could not to the Purpose, being answered home and defeated in all his vile Pretences, envious Cavils, and false Accusations.

But being pinch'd and driven to a Nonplus, by Quotations out of his own Books in Favour of what he opposed, which he could not answer ; wherein he had asserted or defended the same Doctrines and Principles, in as plain or  
 higher

higher Words, which he now blamed Friends 1696. for as gross Errors, &c. Which yet he would not allow to be so in himself, but paliated them under the soft Term of *Mistakes*; saying, *Narrative*, pag. 15. *I know not any fundamental Principle, nor indeed any one Principle of Christian Faith, that I have varied from to this Day, ever since I came among the Quakers, which is about Thirty-three Years ago.* — And in his Preface to his *Narrative*, pag. 6. he says, *The Things* (he does not call them *Errors*, nor hardly ever uses the Word *Error* with respect to himself and his own Writings.—) *that need Correction in my Books, compared with the vile Errors in theirs, are but as my Motes to their Beams: — Nor are they such Things as oppose any Christian Principles of Faith; but of an inferior Nature.* [and yet they were as full in the Points, as any he could cite out of ours.] And in *The true Copy of a Paper*, printed 1694, where, in pag. 17. he faintly intimates a Purpose to publish some *short Explication*, &c. — *of some Words and Passages in his former Books.* He adds, *For upon a Review of my former Books, — I freely acknowledge, I have found some Passages and Words, that not only need some farther Explanation; but even in some Part, an Emendation and Correction.* ‘How gently doth he touch himself? (says T. Ellwood) How softly doth he handle his own Sores? Not a Syllable of *Errors* or *Heresy* there; no, the hardest Word he can afford to give them, is, his former *Mistakes.*’ And lest the Reader should extend them too far, he explains it in the

1696. the next Page, saying, *Upon the most impartial Search I have made, I find not any Cause to correct either my Judgment or Books, as touching any of the great Doctrines and Principles of the Christian Religion; nor do I know that I am of another Faith in any one Principle of Christian Doctrine, contrary to what I believed, ever since I went under the Profession of a Quaker, so called. With much more to the same Purpose.*

Thus partial was he as to himself, notwithstanding his loud Clamours and Outcries of *vile Errors* against the *Quakers*, for the same Things he had held himself, which yet were no *Errors* in him; such a Hypocrite was he to dissemble with God and Man. So that when he found his Doctrines compared with what he accused Friends of, and saw they were the same or parallel; 'twas to no purpose for him to go to vindicate or clear himself of what was so notorious: And therefore procured another, or at least he undertook it for him, under Disguise of the *Snake in the Grass*: And so to slide by the Quotations out of his Books, that lay in his Way; which would have been a Shame for *G. Keith* to do (a *Snake in the Grass* indeed) pretending in his Preface, that *it was not meant as a Defence of George Keith, any further than he defended the Truth of the Christian Faith; for which Reason* (says he) *I have wholly omitted all the personal Reflections cast upon him, and the Contradictions which Thomas Ellwood pretends to find in his former Books (while he was a Quaker of their Communion) to the Doctrine he*

*now*



now sets up in Opposition to them. And so gave <sup>1696.</sup> the go-by to whatever pincht him, which was the Design, as *T. Ellwood* observes, to help *G. Keith* off at a dead Lift, from his manifold and manifest Self-contradictions, which it was impossible for him to reconcile or defend; and because it had been as absurd for him to have undertaken a Reply to *T. Ellwood's* Answer, and not have attempted to acquit himself of those Contradictions charged upon him therein, as it would have been impossible for him to have clear'd himself of them. Therefore this Contrivance was found out, that another (or perhaps he in a Mask, under the Disguise of another, for Satan, though disrob'd from his Disguise of Light, has many black Robes and dark Disguises to put on) should undertake the Task of replying (for a Task it seems it was) upon such a Foot, and under such Circumstances, as might give him some colourable Pretence to wave the Contradictions, and wholly to omit them, and with them, whatsoever else he found too hard to meddle with.

So that any one might plainly see this was a Contrivance (as our Friend *T. Ellwood* observes) to help *G. Keith* out at a dead Lift. To which Book of the *Snake's*, *T. Ellwood* writ an Answer, though he did not quite finish it, or publish it: Of which, and that Controversy, he gives the following Account.

' This Controversy begun by *George Keith*  
' (upon a Pick he took against the People called  
' *Quakers*'; because they could not answer his  
' ambitious

1696. ambitious Desire of Rule, nor receive some  
 w wild and fantastical Notions of his) has been  
 carried on by him in his own Name, 'till he  
 could go no further. The Doctrines he con-  
 demns us for as erroneous and heretical, have  
 been either so clearly cast off by us as Slan-  
 ders, or so rivetted on himself by undeniable  
 Instances and Proofs taken out of his own  
 Books, that (having fore-closed his Way to a  
 Retraction of them, as shall be shewed anon)  
 he had no Way left, but as his last Shift, to  
 shift the Cause into another's Hand ; to carry  
 it on under the Disguise of another Person ;  
 which brought to my Mind the Fable of  
 Achelous, who being too weak for his Anta-  
 gonist in fair Force, was fain to shift from  
 one Shape to another ; first to that of a Snake,  
 then to that of a Bull ; and is thereupon  
 brought in by the Poet ; saying,

*Inferior Virtute, meas divertor ad Artes  
 Elaborque Viro, Longum formatus in Anguem, &c.*  
 Metam. lib. 9. Fab. 1.

In Strength too weak, I to my Wiles betake,  
 And slide from Man into a twining Snake.

Somewhat a like crafty Course has G. Keith  
 taken ; who finding himself over prest the last  
 Year with Books, which he knew not how to  
 answer, got, as was supposed, an Adjutant  
 of his to publish a Book against us under Dis-  
 guise, without a Name to it, and with the  
 very

' very Title of *the Snake in the Grass* ; thereby 1697.  
 ' to have diverted us from pursuing the Contro-  
 ' versy (then, and still in hand) with him : But  
 ' when he found that would not do (for the  
 ' Design was seen) he roar'd against us like a  
 ' Bull at *Turners-hall*, in the Month called  
 ' *June* 1696, and afterwards in his *Narrative*  
 ' thereof : The Answer to that, which soon  
 ' followed, has it seems involv'd him in such  
 ' Difficulties, that he hath not thought fit to  
 ' appear against it in his own Shape ; but either  
 ' assuming another Person, or turning over his  
 ' broken Forces (with the united Forces of the  
 ' whole Party) to the hissing Author of the  
 ' *Snake*, they have amongst them lately thrust  
 ' forth another Book, as a Reply to that Answer  
 ' of mine to *G. Keith's Narrative* : This (with-  
 ' out a Name too, and said to be written by *the*  
 ' *Author of the Snake in the Grass*) is called  
 ' *Satan Dis-rob'd from his Disguise of Light*.  
 ' But the observant Reader will find Cause  
 ' enough I think, to conclude that whoever  
 ' writ it, was fully inrob'd in *Satan's Over-guise*  
 ' and proper Dress of *Darkness*, from the many  
 ' bitter and scornful Invectives therein used  
 ' against the *Light*.

And for the Controversy itself, he remarks,  
 ' 1. That the Matters therein charged upon us,  
 ' are generally the same that have been charged  
 ' on us heretofore, by *Faldo*, *Hicks*, and other  
 ' Adversaries ; and always refuted over and over,  
 ' both formerly and of late.

' 2. That

1697. ' 2. That the Things they charge on us as  
 ' Errors and Heresy, are not pretended to be  
 ' proved by any plain exprefs Positions or Affertions of ours ; but from our Adversaries own  
 ' perverse Meanings, and wrested Constructions  
 ' of our Words ; always denied and rejected  
 ' by us.

' 3. That the Words and Passages brought  
 ' by our Adversaries for Proof of their Charges  
 ' against us, are not taken out of our Doctrinal  
 ' Treatises, or Declarations of Faith and Principles ; but ( for the most part ) out of Controversial Books ; wherein, oft-times, the Scope  
 ' and Aim of the Author is not so much to  
 ' assert or exprefs his own Principles or Doctrines, as to impugn and expose his Adversary's,  
 ' by shewing the Contradictions, Absurdities, and  
 ' ill Consequences of his Adversary's Opinions ;  
 ' from whence, positively to conclude the Author's own Judgment, is neither safe nor fair.

' 4. That however any of our former Adversaries might have been misled in their Judgments concerning us, *G. Keith* who hath now  
 ' moved this Controversy against us, knows full  
 ' well, that we do not hold those Things either  
 ' generally as a People, or as particular Persons,  
 ' which he has charged on us as Errors. As a  
 ' People he has clearly acquitted us from them,  
 ' in his *Preface* to his *Narrative*, pag. 6. where  
 ' he says, *I charge them not, either upon the*  
 ' *Generality, far less upon the Universality of all*  
 ' *them called Quakers.* For particular Persons,  
 ' hear what he says of *George Whitehead*, one  
 ' of

of the principal Butts he shoots at, *Narrative* 1697.  
 pag. 16. where having charged him with deny-  
 ing that Christ in Heaven has any bodily Exist-  
 ence without us, being conscious that G. White-  
 head did not so hold, but that he had therein  
 abused him, he immediately adds, *If he* (G.  
 Whitehead) *has said otherwise in any of his*  
*late printed Books, I am glad of it.* And a  
 Line lower, *There is a G. Whitehead orthodox,*  
*and a G. Whitehead not orthodox. He is — in*  
*this and some other Things, orthodox and not*  
*orthodox :* And a little further, *I own it, that*  
*I have cited divers Passages out of his later*  
*Books that are orthodox, to prove him sound.*  
 What can be made of all this, but that G.  
 Whitehead was orthodox and sound in his own  
 both Intentions and Expressions; not orthodox  
 in G. Keith's perverse and false Constructions?  
 And whereas he harps upon the Word *later*  
*Books,* thereby to insinuate as if G. Whitehead  
 had of late altered his Judgment; he has cut  
 off that also in his *Narrative*, pag. 38. where  
 he gives an Account, That in the Year 1678  
 (which is eighteen Years ago) *some,* whom he  
 would not name, *questioning him about some*  
*Principles in a Book of his,* both G. Whitehead  
 and W. Penn took part with him against them,  
 tho' those Principles (as he calls them) which  
 he says he was then *questioned about,* were of  
 the same Nature with some of those he now  
 charges upon them as Errors. From whence  
 it appears, that he found them then, as well as  
 now, *sound and orthodox* in those Principles.

1697. ' 5. That as this Controverſy lies properly  
 and directly between *G. Keith* and us, and  
 that he being baffled in it, and driven to a *Ne  
 plus ultra* on his own Part, hath contrived to  
 carry it on under Diſguiſe, by the Aſſiſtance  
 of another, (yet without a Name) who under  
 Pretence of *Indifferency, and being unconcerned  
 with or for G. Keith*, ſhould drop the Quota-  
 tions I had loaded him with, out of his own  
 Books againſt himſelf, and thereby free him,  
 if he could, from thoſe pinching *Dilemma's*  
 which lay againſt him, and draw Dun (as the  
 Proverb ſpeaks) *out of the Mire* he was plung'd  
 into; ſo to obviate and diſappoint the Deſign.  
 That I may not ſuffer myſelf to be bubbled  
 by ſuch artificial Shams, but that the Con-  
 troverſy may be kept, as much as may be,  
 upon its firſt Bottom, I have thought fit in  
 this Rejoinder. ſo to order the Matter, as not  
 to let *G. Keith* ſlip away (which I perceive he  
 would fain do) while I am contending with I  
 know not whom in this Quarrel. Therefore  
 as I paſs through the ſeveral Heads of the  
 Controverſy, I purpoſe not only to answer the  
 moſt material Cavils of the preſent Adverſary,  
 but withal to repeat (ſome at leaſt of) thoſe  
 Paſſages that lay ſo heavy upon *G. Keith*, and  
 ſettle (not to uſe his own ſmithing Metaphors  
 of *clinch*ing and *rivet*ting) them faſter on him;  
 to the End that both the Reader may more  
 plainly ſee the true Reaſon why *G. Keith* did  
 not himſelf reply in his own Name, to my  
 Answer to his Narrative, and *G. Keith* may  
 know

‘ know that I expect it from him, and in the 1697.  
 ‘ mean time look upon him but as a baffled  
 ‘ shifting Adversary.

‘ He begins his Epistle with telling his Rea-  
 ‘ der, that *his Reply is short in comparison of the*  
 ‘ *Answer*. Therein he and I agree, but in *Words*  
 ‘ rather than in *Meaning*; for he means in  
 ‘ Number of Pages, I mean in Truth and fair  
 ‘ Dealing, in which I am confident the indif-  
 ‘ ferent Reader will find his Reply *short* indeed:  
 ‘ And even as to Bulk, upon due Consideration,  
 ‘ the Disproportion is not so great as he would  
 ‘ represent it, for his Book is rather more than  
 ‘ half as big as mine, though he replies not to  
 ‘ the tenth Part of the Matter contained in  
 ‘ mine. He makes nothing of skipping over  
 ‘ ten or fifteen Pages at a time, so nimble  
 ‘ heel’d he is.’ [ And yet this is the Man that  
 caution’d the *Quakers*, that *if they answer’d his*  
*Book* (Snake, third Edit. pag. 344.) *that they*  
*would reply distinctly,— and not answer a Book as*  
*Rats do, by nibbling at some Corners of the Leaves,*  
*licing through it like Moths, to no other Purpose*  
*than to deface some Words at a venture;* who  
 yet could reply thus slightly himself ] ‘ Nay, in  
 ‘ his first Page he throws off no less than twenty  
 ‘ five Pages at once, and barely mentioning, in  
 ‘ less than nine Lines, a few Words contained  
 ‘ in some of them, without a Syllable of Reply  
 ‘ thereto, sets in his Margin, *Reply to the first*  
 ‘ *twenty three Pages*; and yet he hath the Con-  
 ‘ fidence to miscal his Book, and that even in  
 ‘ the same Page, *A full Reply* (he might better

1697. ' have called it a *foul and false Reply*) to T. Ell-  
 wood's *Answer*. And in his Epistle says, *he*  
 ' has omitted nothing that is material. I suppose  
 ' he means, that he has omitted nothing which  
 ' he thought might tend to abuse and defame  
 ' the *Quakers* and me ; for that he has omitted  
 ' the most material Parts of my Book, and thrust  
 ' in many Passages, idle, impertinent, false and  
 ' wholly foreign to the Subject, only that he  
 ' might misrepresent, ridicule and slander us, I  
 ' shall have Occasion hereafter, by plenty of In-  
 ' stances to shew.'

I might cite a great deal more, to explicate this Controversy, and shew their Dis-ingenuity in it ; but by this we may judge what a Reply this of the *Snake's* was, and by this Taste (to use his own Words at the End of the *Snake*) *the Reader may guess what a plentiful Meal we might have had, if T. Ellwood had published his Rejoinder, but that, as I said, he did not ; for what Reason I cannot justly assign : For though our Friend George Whitehead (in his Answer to the Snake in the Grass) writ also A brief Examination of some Passages in the said Book of the Snake's, styled Satan disrob'd, &c. as being concerned therein ; yet he refer'd to a further Answer by T. Ellwood, pag. 186. judging it ' No fair Reply ' to T. Ellwood's Answer ; and so it appears (says ' he) and I expect will be made further appear, ' if T. Ellwood deems it worth the while to un- ' dertake it :'* Which he did, and writ twenty seven Sheets in order thereto ; and why he should be prevented from publishing it, by G.  
*Whitehead's*



*Whitehead's brief Examination*, I do not see, 1697. being much larger and fuller; but perceive he was so modest, that he was apt to be put by of his Work, if any other put in before him, as will further appear on another Occasion hereafter. And so I shall leave it, hoping however one Time or other, to see this and some other of his Posthumous Works published by themselves, as they well deserve.

And here our Friend drop'd his Pen, till another Occasion offer'd.

And that was next (or at least the next he laid hold on) after a Vacancy of two or three Years, on this Occasion :

Some angry Priests in *Norfolk*, on our Friends having a Meeting near one of them, and Truth spreading to their Regret, they challenged a Dispute with some of our Friends at *West-Deerham* in that County, the 8th of the tenth Month 1698, where some of our Friends appearing and answering them, so disappointed the Priests in their envious Designs in the said Dispute, that they afterwards promoted two Petitions against our Friends to the Parliament (one from *Norfolk*, the other from *Suffolk*) to stir up Persecution against them, that what they could not do by Arguments, they might by Force. To which two Petitions, our Friend *T. Ellwood* (having obtained Copies of them) writ *A sober Reply on Behalf of the People called Quakers, to two Petitions against them (the one out of Norfolk, and the other from Bury in Suffolk) being some brief Observations upon them, &c.*


1698. printed 1699, manifesting their mischievous  
 W Machinations against the Truth and Friends ;  
 which, with some other Discouragements,  
 through the Labour and Industry of Friends  
 at *London*, in attending the Parliament, and  
 delivering printed Papers, particularly, *A few  
 Considerations humbly offered to the Members of  
 Parliament, to obviate some evil Jealousies and  
 Designs against the People called Quakers*, so  
 quashed their malicious Purposes, that their  
 Petitions were never delivered to, or received by  
 the Parliament ; but fell and came to nothing,  
 and their evil Designs were frustrated, Friends  
 were preserved, and Truth prospered over their  
 Heads.

1699. About this Time also, our Friend *William  
 W Penn* being gone to *Pennsylvania* (in the seventh  
 Month this Year) and *G. Keith* continuing his  
 Opposition against Truth and Friends, some-  
 times more general at *Turners-hall*, where, as  
 the Course of his delirious Distemper returned  
 (as *Joseph Wyeth* observes, in his Answer to his  
 Advertisement this Year) he held his contentious  
 Meetings once a Year, to pick Passages out of  
 our Friends Books to cavil at (though he could  
 not answer nor clear himself of *T. Ellwood's*, or  
 others that were writ against him) and some-  
 times more particularly against single Persons,  
 especially *William Penn*, against whom he chose  
 to vent his Malice above most others, especially  
 now in his Absence, making him the Batt of  
 his Indignation ; and published two Books  
 against him, one called *The Deism of William  
 Penn*

Penn and his Brethren, &c. This our Friend *T. Ellwood* undertook to answer, and made a considerable Progress in it, in a large Book of between thirty and forty Sheets, which I shall cite some of, beginning thus:


‘ We read of one in former Times, who be-  
 ‘ cause he had given up himself to do Evil,  
 ‘ was said to have *sold himself to work Wickedness*  
 ‘ *in the Sight of the Lord*, 1 Kings xxi. 20, and  
 ‘ 25. Whether *George Keith* hath directly sold  
 ‘ himself, or only let himself out to hire, I will  
 ‘ not undertake to determine; but evident it is,  
 ‘ that since he crept into the Interest of that  
 ‘ which is called the *Church of England*, and  
 ‘ become a mercenary Hackney to some of the  
 ‘ Clergy, he hath laid out himself, with his  
 ‘ utmost Vigour, to *work Wickedness*, not only *in*  
 ‘ *the Sight of the Lord*, but *in the Sight of the*  
 ‘ *Sun*; asserting, defending, maintaining and  
 ‘ upholding divers both *Doctrines* and *Practices*  
 ‘ in Religion, which upon a declared full Con-  
 ‘ viction, and from a professed Assurance of di-  
 ‘ vine Openings, and immediate Guidance of  
 ‘ the *holy Spirit*, he had before not only re-  
 ‘ nounced, but declared and written against as  
 ‘ *false, superstitious* (if not *idolatrous*) and *anti-*  
 ‘ *christian*; and to fill up his Measure of *Iniquity*,  
 ‘ and heap it up that it might run over, he hath  
 ‘ not only (to gratify his Supporters) shot his  
 ‘ unadvised Bolts at the several other Bodies of  
 ‘ *Protestant Dissenters*, but in an especial manner  
 ‘ (and in a most virulent, and to him peculiar  
 ‘ *Stile*) hath evomitted Floods, not of *Reproach*:

1699. only and *bitter Revilings*, but of the most  
 W *malicious Slanders and Falshoods*, that ever per-  
 'haps were poured from the Pulpit, or squeezed  
 'through the Press against the People called  
 ' *Quakers*, whom once he owned for his Bre-  
 'thren, and with whom he professed to hold  
 ' Communion for more than thirty Years.  
 ' Herein he hath exceeded good *Joseph* of old in  
 ' his Liberality, but in another kind: That  
 ' good Man bestowed a *Fivefold-meas* of his good  
 ' *Things* on his Brother *Benjamin*, as a Token  
 ' of his peculiar and abundant Love to him.  
 ' This bad Man has bestowed *double and treble*  
 ' that Proportion of his *evil Things* on us: The  
 ' Effect of his peculiar and superabundant  
 ' Hatred to us, to say nothing here of his rail-  
 ' ing Rhetorick and bitter Invectives against us,  
 ' wherewith he hath prophaned the Pulpit,  
 ' which lie under the just Censure of the more  
 ' discreet and well-minded of his Auditors. An  
 ' Instance of his Malice and Injustice from the  
 ' Press, is a late Book of his now lying before  
 ' me, called *The Deism of William Penn and his*  
 ' *Brethren, destructive to the Christian Religion,*  
 ' *exposed, &c.* The Word [*Deism*] being some-  
 ' what an uncommon Term, may not per-  
 ' haps be readily understood by every Reader.  
 ' As it has been opposed to *Atheism*, it has been  
 ' taken in a good Sense; but as it is now used, it  
 ' is taken in an ill Sense, as importing an Ac-  
 ' knowledgement or owning of God *only*, or of  
 ' the *Godhead*; but not of Christ, with respect  
 ' to his Incarnation, or being manifest in the  
 ' Flesh;

' Flesh for the Redemption of Man : So that to 1699.  
 ' charge any one now with *Deism*, is to charge   
 ' him with denying that Christ is come, and  
 ' hath suffered in the Flesh. Now herein G.  
 ' *Keith's* both Injustice and Malice is the greater,  
 ' in charging *W. Penn*, and his Brethren the  
 ' *Quakers*, with *Deism*; inasmuch as he assuredly  
 ' knows (which some other Adversaries have  
 ' not had the like Opportunity to know, as  
 ' he hath had) by certain Experience, drawn  
 ' by so many Years intimate Conversation with  
 ' *W. Penn* and the *Quakers*, in free and familiar  
 ' Conferences, and in reading their Books, that  
 ' *W. Penn* and the *Quakers*, both in Word and  
 ' Writing, publickly and privately, have always,  
 ' and on all Occasions confest, acknowledged,  
 ' owned as well as believed, the Incarnation of  
 ' Christ, according to the holy Scriptures, viz.  
 ' That *the Word was made Fesh*. That when the John 1.  
 ' *Fulness of Time was come*, God sent forth his Son Gal. 4.  
 ' *made of a Woman, made under the Law, to* 4, 5  
 ' *redcem them that were under the Law*. That  
 ' *Christ Jesus being in the Form of God, and* Phil. 2.  
 ' *thinking it no Robbery to be equal with God*; 5, 6, 7,  
 ' *made Himself of no Reputation, and took upon*  
 ' *Him the Form of a Servant, and was made in*  
 ' *the Likeness of Men; and being found in Fashion*  
 ' *as a Man, He humbled Himself, and became*  
 ' *obedient unto Death, even the Death of the Cross*.  
 ' *Christ died for our Sins, according to the Scrip-* 1 Cor.  
 ' *tures, and that He was buried, and that He* 15, 3, 4.  
 ' *rose again the third Day, according to the Scrip-*  
 ' *tures. That He was delivered for our Offences,* Rom. 4.  
 ' *and* 25.

1699. *and was raised again for our Justification.*  
 W. *That He is the Propitiation for our Sins; and*  
 1 John *not for ours only, but for the Sins of the whole*  
 2. 2. *World. That He ascended up far above all*  
 Ephes. *Heavens, that He might fill all Things. That*  
 4. 10. *He is one Mediator between God and Men. That*  
 1 Tim. *He is at the right Hand of God, and maketh*  
 2. 5. *Intercession for us. And is our Advocate with*  
 Rom. 8. *the Father. And that it is He which was or-*  
 34. *dained of God, to be the Judge of Quick and*  
 1 John *Dead. These Things, I say, G. Keith certain-*  
 2. 1. *ly knows have been constantly held, believed,*  
 Acts 10. *professed and owned by W. Penn and his*  
 42. *Brethren the Quakers in general, both privately*  
*and publickly, in Word and Writing. These*  
*Things are so often testified of in our Meetings,*  
*and have been so fully and plainly asserted and*  
*held forth in our Books, that we might call*  
*in almost as many Witnesses thereof, as have*  
*frequented our Meetings, or attentively read*  
*our Books.*


*The Book of W. Penn's, called A Discourse*  
*of the general Rule of Faith and Life. (To*  
*which G. Keith's Deism is an Answer) G.*  
*Keith tells us in his Preface, was first printed*  
*in the Year 1673, as an Appendix to W. Penn's*  
*Part of the Christian Quaker. (A folio Book*  
*in two Parts; the former written by W. Penn,*  
*the latter by G. Whitehead) In that former*  
*Part of the Christian Quaker, written by W.*  
*Penn, though the Tendency of it is to assert*  
*and defend the Divinity of Christ, and His*  
*spiritual Appearance by His divine Light in*  
 ' the

' the Hearts of Men ; yet there is enough said 1699.  
 ' concerning His Manhood, His outward Ap-   
 ' pearance, and Sufferings in the Flesh, to free  
 ' *W. Penn* from the Imputation or Suspicion  
 ' of *Deism*. — In pag. 101. *W. Penn* says, Not-  
 ' withstanding the same Light and Life, with  
 ' that which afterwards cloathed itself with that  
 ' outward Body, did in measure inwardly ap-  
 ' pear for the Salvation of the Souls of Men ;  
 ' yet, as I have often said, never did that Life  
 ' so eminently put forth itself to that End, as in  
 ' that sanctified and prepared Body ; so that  
 ' what He then suffered and did, in that tran-  
 ' scendent Manifestation, may, by Way of Emi-  
 ' nency, assume the whole Work unto itself, that  
 ' He ever did before, or might do afterwards.—  
 ' Pag. 102. His righteous Life, with respect to  
 ' its Appearance in that Body, was grieved by  
 ' Sin, and the Weight of the Iniquity of the  
 ' whole World, with the Concernment of its  
 ' eternal Well-being, lay hard upon Him ; nor  
 ' was His *Manhood* insensible of it, under the  
 ' Load of this did he travel : *He alone trod the*  
 ' *Wine-press, &c.* — *Not that we would irreve-*  
 ' *rently rob the holy Body of whatsoever Acknow-*  
 ' *ledgement is justly due ; nor yet separate what*  
 ' *God joined.*—Pag. 104. Chap. 21. A Confes-  
 ' sion in particular to Christ's Redemption, Re-  
 ' mission, Justification and Salvation. — which  
 ' was actually to the Salvation of some, and in-  
 ' tentionally of the whole World.—As there was  
 ' a Necessity that *one should die for the People,*  
 ' so whoever then, or since believed in Him,  
 ' had

1699. ' had and have Seal, or Confirmation of the  
 W ' *Remission* of their Sins, in His Blood. — This  
 ' grand Assurance of Remission do all receive,  
 ' in the ratifying Blood of Christ, who repenting  
 ' of their Sins, believe and obey the holy Light,  
 ' with which he hath illuminated them. — Pag.  
 ' 107. But there is yet a further Benefit that  
 ' accrueth by the Blood of Christ, *viz.* That  
 ' *Christ is a Propitiation and Redemption, to such*  
 ' *as have Faith in it* : For though I still place  
 ' the Stress of particular Benefit upon the Light,  
 ' Life and Spirit revealed and witnessed in every  
 ' particular ; yet in that general Appearance,  
 ' there was a general Benefit, justly to be attri-  
 ' buted to the Blood of that very Body of Christ ;  
 ' *to wit,* That it did propitiate : For however it  
 ' might draw stupendious Judgments upon the  
 ' Heads of those who were Authors of that dis-  
 ' mal Tragedy, and died impenitent, yet doubt-  
 ' less, it thus far turned to very great Account,  
 ' in that it was a most precious Offering in the  
 ' Sight of the Lord, and drew God's Love the  
 ' more eminently to Mankind ; at least, such as  
 ' should believe in his Name. — Pag. 108. Doubt-  
 ' less it did greatly influence to some singular  
 ' Tenderness and peculiar Regard unto all such,  
 ' as should believe in his Name, among other  
 ' his weighty Performances : For the Sake of  
 ' that last, and greatest of all His external Acts,  
 ' *the resisting unto Blood,* for the spiritual Good  
 ' of the World, thereby offering His Life upon  
 ' the Cross, through the Power of the eternal  
 ' Spirit, that Remission of Sin, God's Bounty to

' the




' the World, might be preached in His Name, 1699.  
 ' and in His very Blood too, as that which was   
 ' the most ratifying of all His bodily Sufferings.  
 ' And indeed, therefore might it seem meet to  
 ' the holy Ghost, that Redemption, Propitia-  
 ' tion and Remission should be declared, and  
 ' held forth in the Blood of Christ, unto all that  
 ' have a right Faith therein ; as saith the Apo-  
 ' stle to the *Romans* ; — because it implies a firm  
 ' Belief, that *Christ was come in the Flesh*, and  
 ' that none could then have Him as their *Propi-*  
 ' *tiation* and *Redemption*, who withstood the Ac-  
 ' knowledgement of, and Belief in His *visible*  
 ' *Appearance*. — Pag. 110. Faith in His Blood  
 ' was requisite, that they might confess Him,  
 ' whose Body and Blood it was, to be Christ.  
 ' To conclude, we confess, He who then ap-  
 ' peared, was and is the Propitiation, &c. and in  
 ' Him was Redemption obtained by all those,  
 ' who had such true Faith in His Blood.

' Thus much (and much more which I have  
 ' omitted) against *Deism*, in that very Treatise  
 ' of *W. Penn's*, to which the Book out of which  
 ' *G. Keith*, by his Art of counterfeit *Chymistry*  
 ' would extract *Deism*, was an Appendix ; and  
 ' yet this was not the direct Subject of that  
 ' Treatise, but only toucht on occasionally or  
 ' by the by : Should I gather up all Quotations  
 ' on this Argument out of our other Books,  
 ' such especially as have more directly handled  
 ' this Subject, I might therewith fill a large Vo-  
 ' lume : To prevent which, I refer the Reader  
 ' to my *Answer to G. Keith's first Narrative of*  
 ' *his*

1699. *his Proceedings at Turners-hall, from pag. 33.*  
 W ' to 63, where he may find this Cavil fully con-  
 ' futed. Which Answer to his first *Narrative*,  
 ' may serve for an Answer to his other following  
 ' *Narratives* also, they for the most part being  
 ' but the Scraps of his first heated again, and  
 ' served up afresh with some new Garnish.

' It is observable that that Book, called *A*  
 ' *Discourse of the general Rule of Faith and Life*,  
 ' was first printed (as *G. Keith* in his Preface to  
 ' his *Deism* takes Notice) in the Year 1673,  
 ' which is twenty seven Years ago, and about  
 ' twenty Years before he quite left us; it appears  
 ' he had read it in the first Impression; for  
 ' making as if when he saw the last Impression,  
 ' he did not know but that it was a new Book,  
 ' — *So little had I read or considered the Contents*  
 ' *of it.* Both read it then it seems he had, and  
 ' considered the Contents of it, and though  
 ' here he would suggest he had but slightly read  
 ' it, yet he would not be taken for an heedless  
 ' Reader, or a superficial Considerer of what he  
 ' reads. Now since he held the same Doctrine,  
 ' with respect to the *General Rule of Faith and*  
 ' *Life*, which is laid down by *W. Penn* in that  
 ' Discourse, during the Time he was amongst  
 ' us, and professed himself one of us, as well  
 ' after the publishing of that Book in the Year  
 ' 1673, as before; and did not only openly de-  
 ' fend and maintain that Doctrine in publick  
 ' Disputations, both in *England* and in *Scotland*,  
 ' after the Year 1673. But no longer ago than  
 ' in the Year 1692, nineteen Years after that  
 ' Book

' Book of *W. Penn's* (called *A Discourse of the* 1699.  
 ' *General Rule of Faith and Life*) was in Print,   
 ' *G. Keith* in his *Serious Appeal*, pag. 7. says,  
 ' *According to the best Knowledge I have of the*  
 ' *People called Quakers, and these most generally*  
 ' *owned by them, as Preachers and Publishers of*  
 ' *their Faith, of unquestioned Esteem among them,*  
 ' *and worthy of double Honour (as many such*  
 ' *there are) I know none that are guilty of any*  
 ' *one such Heresies and Blasphemies as thou ac-*  
 ' *cusest them: And I think I should know, and*  
 ' *do know these called Quakers, better than C.*  
 ' *Mather* (against whom he then writ) or any  
 ' of his Brethren; having been conversant with  
 ' them, in publick Meetings as well as in private  
 ' Discourse, with the most noted and esteemed  
 ' among them, for above Twenty-eight Years past,  
 ' and that in many Places of the World, in Europe,  
 ' and for these divers Years in America. I say,  
 ' all this considered, how will *G. Keith* (upon  
 ' the Charges he now makes against *W. Penn*)  
 ' acquit himself from having been a profest *Deist*,  
 ' all the while he was among the *Quakers*? Yet  
 ' he himself well knows, that neither he, nor  
 ' *W. Penn*, nor any of the *Quakers*, ever were  
 ' *Deists*; ever did deny, disown, or disbelieve  
 ' the Coming, Incarnation, Sufferings and Death  
 ' of Christ, as Man outwardly in the Flesh, His  
 ' Resurrection, Ascension and Mediatorship;  
 ' and he himself has undesignedly acquitted *W.*  
 ' *Penn* from his present Charge of *Deism*, by a  
 ' Story he told in his first *Narrative*, pag. 38. That  
 ' upon some urging him to give an Instance of  
 ' one

1699. of one *English Quaker* that he ever heard pray  
 W to Christ: *W. Penn* being present, said, *I am*  
 ' an Englishman, and a Quaker, and I own I  
 ' I have oft prayed to Christ Jesus; even Him that  
 ' was crucified. This, he says, was in the Year  
 ' 1678. Which was five Years after the Pub-  
 ' lishing of that Book, from which he attempts  
 ' to prove him a *Deist*; that is, a Denier of the  
 ' Man Christ Jesus, who was crucified. Judge  
 ' now, Reader, how rank the Malice of *G.*  
 ' *Keith* must needs be against *W. Penn*, and his  
 ' Brethren the *Quakers*, who would choose to  
 ' subject himself with them, to the foul Imputa-  
 ' tion of *Deism* (though in his own Conscience,  
 ' he knows the Charge is false on them, as well  
 ' as on himself) rather than not gratify his Envy  
 ' and Revenge upon them: In this resembling  
 ' the envious Man in the *Apologue*, who desired  
 ' that he might lose one of his Eyes, on Con-  
 ' dition his Neighbour might lose both his.'

*Whence th' Observation rose, a wicked Will  
 Would wound itself, to work another's Ill.*

1700. But before he had finished this Answer (tho'  
 W he had gone about two-thirds through it) *Ber-*  
*jamin Coole* of *Bristol*, published a Book there,  
 intituled, *Honesty the truest Policy; shewing the*  
*Sophistry, Envy and Perversion of George Keith,*  
*in his three Books, (viz.) His Bristol Quakerism,*  
*Bristol Narrative, and his Deism.* On Perusal  
 of which, *viz.* his Answer to *G. Keith's Deism,*  
 &c. *T. Ellwood* writ the following Verses.

INDEED

**I**NDEED, is then the Work by me begun, <sup>1700.</sup>  
 And which I labour'd at with such good  
 Will,

Already, by a readier Workman done,

Who Nimbleness hath added to his Skill!  
 Well may it thrive, successful may it prove,  
 Truth's Way to clear, and Stumbling-blocks  
 remove!

I never was ambitious to appear

In Print, nor to myself Applause have sought,  
 With Satisfaction therefore, I can bear

What thou design'st, another Hand hath  
 wrought;

This superceeds my Work. I'm glad to see  
 Such Help come in, that there's no need of me.

This is the third Time, I have thus been put  
 Besides my Work, which makes me think  
 (my Friend)

The controversial Door to me is shut,

And of my scribbling Service there's an End.  
 If so, content, I can with Pleasure see  
 The Work well done, altho' not done by me.

*The 17th of the Eleventh  
 Month, 1700.*

T. ELLWOOD.

1700. The three Times he was put besides his Work, of which, he says, this was the third; the other two I suppose, were his *Remarks on Gerrard Croese's History of the Quakers*, and his Answer to *the Snake in the Grass* his Book called *Satan disrob'd*. Both before mentioned.

However, this of *B. Coole's* anticipating his Answer to the *Deism*, he laid it by and never finished it, thinking perhaps the other (tho' far short of his) might suffice at present for an Answer thereto; and so we were deprived of his Labour in this respect also: Which yet I hope, one Time or other may be published for the Service of Truth, which it is pity the World should be deprived of.

1701. His next Service, upon a general Foot, which I find any Footsteps of, was on this Occasion: One *John Shockling*, a Priest of *Ash* near *Sandwich* in *Kent*, having got some of the *Snake's* Books, set up for an Opposer or Disputant about *Water-baptism*, and sends a Paper to *John Love*, called, *A Question upon those Words in Matthew xxviii. 19. Go ye therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Whether the Apostles were not commanded by them to baptize with Water?* This Paper and Question our Friend *T. Ellwood* answered in the fourth Month 1701, very much to the Purpose. To which the Priest being unwilling to take an Answer, and let it drop so, replying (I might say to little purpose) *T. Ellwood* writ a Rejoinder, in the fourth Month 1702. Both which,

Answer

Answer and Rejoinder, being very pertinent to <sup>1702.</sup> the Purpose, and notable on that Subject, I <sup>W</sup> should insert some Part of it, but that it was only private, and never published that I know of; and therefore I would not begin to be the first Publisher thereof.

But now we come to his great Work of the <sup>1703.</sup> *History of the Old Testament*, which, at his Lei- <sup>W</sup> sure, he had in hand for some Years; and both he and we had this Advantage of his being put by his Work in answering Adversaries, particularly that of the *Snake*, and *G. Keith's Deism*, (having now seem'd to have done with Controversy) that he had the more Time and Leisure to prosecute this more excellent Work; which having finished in 1704, he brought it up to <sup>1704.</sup> *London* to shew it to Friends, for their Perusal <sup>W</sup> and Approbation. Which being done, it was published in Folio the next Year 1705, under <sup>1705.</sup> the Title of *Sacred History; or the historical* <sup>W</sup> *Part of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament. Gathered out from the other Parts thereof, and digested (as near as well could be) into due Method, with respect to Order of Time and Place: With some Observations here and there, tending to illustrate some Passages therein.* In his Preface to which, having mentioned the Praise of History out of *Cicero*, viz. That it is *The Witness of Times, the Light of Truth, the Life of Memory, &c.* which he thinks cannot be so well verified of any particular History, as of that which, being written by divinely-inspired Penmen, is contained in the Books of the Old and New Testa-

1705. ment. Then speaking of the Motive or Inducement to the Undertaking, two Things (he says) more especially led him to it : One, That the divine Providence, the Wisdom, Power, Goodness and Favour of God, in ordering, disposing, providing for, preserving, defending, and wonderfully delivering his Servants and People out of the greatest Straits, Difficulties, Hardships, Dangers and Sufferings, being more directly, and in a continued Series and Course of Actions set before the Reader's Eye, he might be thereby the more stirred up, and engaged to admire and magnify, to love, reverence and fear the Lord, and be the more careful not to offend Him. The other Motive was, That all, the Youth especially of either Sex, under whatsoever religious Denomination they go, might be furnished with such an Entertainment, to spend (at least) their leisure Hours upon, as might yield them at once both Profit and Delight. After which he proceeds to speak of the Manner of Performance under eight Heads ; the Substance of which are,

1. That in digesting the following History, he hath not strictly tied himself to the Letter and very Syllables of the Text ; but with all due Circumspection and Care to retain the Matter and Sense, hath sometimes varied the Expressions, &c.

2. Where he hath left the last *English* Translation of the BIBLE, he hath followed for the most part some other *English* or *Latin* ; or the Judgment of some eminently learned *Expositors*.

3. As



3. As to the Chronology (especially with re-<sup>1705.</sup> spect to the Times of the Judges and Kings of *Israel* and *Judab*) he found so much Incertainty, and so little Certainty or Agreement amongst Interpreters about it, that he had a mind to have it left out; but at the Desire of some he added it in the Margin; wherein for the most part he followed *R. Blome's* History of the Old and New Testament.

4. The few Helps (he says) he had, were chiefly from *Dr. Gell's* Essay towards an Amendment of the last *English* Translation of the Bible. *Hugh Broughton's* Consent of Scripture. *Godwin's* *Moses and Aaron*. The Annotations of *Tremelius* and *Junius*. And for Names of Persons and Places, the Tables of *Robert F. Herry*.

5. The whole Work is divided into three Parts, without any particular Regard had to the *seven Periods of Time*, into which Chronologers and Historiographers, out of a Desire to reduce them to some Sort of Proportion with the *six Days Work* and *seventh Day's Rest*, in the first Week of the Creation, have generally divided the Ages of the World, from *Adam* until now.

6. Of these three Parts, the first reaches from the Creation to the Death of *Moses*, when the Children of *Israel* being come to the Borders of the promised Land (the second Time) were ready to enter in; and contains the Remarkables in the five Books of *Moses*, taking in *Job* between *Genesis* and *Exodus*.

1705. 7. The second Part beginning with the Book of *Joshua*, goes through that and the Book of *Judges*, with the first Book of *Samuel*, and carries on the History from the Death of *Moses* to the Death of *Saul*, and the Account that was brought to *David* of it. In which are recounted the Transactions of chief Note under all the *Judges* and *Saul*, the first anointed King of *Israel*.

8. The third Part (by much the largest) goes on with the second Book of *Samuel*, thro' the rest of the canonical Scripture, sets forth the Reigns of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* throughout the *Jewish* Monarchy, with the most remarkable Acts and Occurrences therein, from *David* to the Return of the last *Babylonish* Captivity, and Re-building of the Temple, taking in the Prophets as near as may be, in their several Times.

Then he gives Account who hath writ on this Subject; particularly a Treatise called, *The General View of the holy Scriptures*, supposed to be the learned *Broughton's*; which *T. Ellwood* commends as a useful Discourse in its kind. And of late Years *Chr. Ness* his *History and Mystery of the Old and New Testament*, in four Volumes; a Book (says he) well fraught with Variety of useful Matter; but (wittily observes) the Mystery is not only interwoven with the History, but hath also so much overgrown it, that the Reader who desires to peruse the History by itself, will be at some Loss in that respect. And that which promises most to answer his End, he

he says, is *R. Blome's History of the Old and New Testament*. A Work indeed (says he) not only instructive and delightful, but pompous and magnificent. A Character that may justly be apply'd to his own (except the Word *pompous*.) A Work indeed it is both pleasant and profitable; such judicious Observations, and witty (though grave) Turns on Passages and Things, as make it, as well as his other Writings, not only pleasant to read, but profitable to the Reader. A Work that will remain a Monument of his Worth and Ingenuity to Generations to come.

I would only add, that there is a Book of *Sulpitius Severus*, intituled, *Sacred History*; but as that is in *Latin*, and far short of this of *T. Ellwood's*, so this cannot interfere with that, or be justly thought to be in Imitation of it.

About this Time we entred into a more particular Correspondence by Letters on several Occasions, which we continued, at Times, almost till his Death. So that I usually imparted to him the most remarkable Occurrences that passed here, and often advised with him in the most important Affairs, as I had Oacasion: And he, in Requital, was always ready to answer me, in a very obliging manner, in any Thing I desired. And I must acknowledge, he was very helpful to me by his Advice, in some Controversies I had with some late Adversaries, which I shall not now name, some of them being gone to their Graves; and his friendly Correspondence was always very acceptable, and instructive

1705. tive as well as grateful to me, in his agreeable  
 Letters ; of which I have many by me. Some  
 of which he hath inserted in his *Decades*.



1706. The next Year, viz. 1706, there followed an  
 Intercourse of some Letters between him and  
*William Sewell* of *Holland*, upon some particular  
 Points ; which led into a friendly Correspondence  
 between them, in some other Matters not  
 unpleasent to read. Several of which Letters of  
*T. Ellwood's*, are in his *Decades*, with many  
 others to divers Persons, Friends and others, on  
 various Subjects ; which, if ever it should be  
 thought meet to publish them, or any of them,  
 they would, I doubt not, be very instructive as  
 well as diverting.

His next publick Work was on this Occasion.  
 About this Time a Book was published by  
 a nameless Author, called *A divine Treatise*,  
*written by way of Essay*, (pretending) to demon-  
*strate, according to the Mosaical Philosophy,*  
*Water-baptism, Imposition of Hands, and the*  
*Commemoration of the Death and Passion of our*  
*ever blessed Lord and Saviour, under the Species*  
*of Bread and Wine, &c.* This Treatise coming  
 accidentally or providentially to our Friend  
*Thomas Ellwood's* Hands (as he says in his Pre-  
 face) he observed that the Design of the Author  
 therein was, To re-introduce and set up again  
 those *typical Representations* therein treated of,  
 among those who have been led by the Lord  
 out of the Use thereof, into a more spiritual  
 Dispensation. And finding his Understanding  
 in some measure opened, to see the Danger and  
 Mischief

Mischief of that Undertaking, and his Spirit <sup>1706.</sup> withal stirred in him against it, he felt a Concern upon his Mind to publish his *Observations* which he had made thereon, that others might the more clearly see and readily escape the Snare therein laid to entangle them, and draw them into Bondage to outward Ceremonies, and elementary Shadows again. This he did in a Book printed 1707, intituled, *The glorious Brightness* <sup>1707.</sup> *of the Gospel Day, dispelling the Shadows of the legal Dispensation, and whatsoever else of human Invention hath been super-added thereunto.* And hoped to make it evident, that they are not of the Nature of the Gospel Dispensation; nor have by any divine Institution a continued Place or Service in the Church of Christ, without taking Notice who or what he was that writ it. ' Since the Author of the Treatise, (says T. Ellwood) under my Observation, hath thought fit to conceal his Name, I shall not pry behind the Curtain which himself hath thereby drawn before him, or concern myself to enquire either who or what he is, or has been; but without any Regard to that, shall directly apply myself to give a plain Answer to the most material Parts of his Treatise: ' Which he did to the Purpose, in a close and nervous Answer; it being indeed an excellent Treatise, well worth the Perusal of every impartial Reader: To whom therefore I recommend it.

And now I must say something of him under another Consideration as well as writing. He had writ several Books against Tithes, as before

1707. fore hinted, to shew the Unsuitableness of them  
 to the Gospel Dispensation, being *Jewish* in their  
 Original, and *Popish* in their Revival, and that  
 the Obligation of paying them was ceased under  
 the Gospel, as to any *Divine Right* from Scrip-  
 ture. And now it fell to his Lot to suffer also  
 in his Turn for his Testimony against the Pay-  
 ment of them; for to him it was given, in the  
*Behalf of Christ*, not only to believe in Him (and  
 bear witness to His coming in the Flesh, and  
 offering up Himself, to put an End to the Law  
 and Priesthood, Tithes and Offerings) but also  
 to suffer for His Sake, being prosecuted, with  
 three Friends more, viz. *John Penington*, *Abra-  
 ham Butterfield* and *William Catch*, in the *Ex-  
 chequer* for Tithes, at the Suit of *Josua Leaper*,  
 Tithe-farmer of *Amersham* in the County of  
*Bucks*, under *Humphry Drake*, Clerk, Rector  
 and Parson (so called) of the Rectory and Parish-  
 Church of *Agmondesham*, alias, *Amersham*, afore-  
 said. *Thomas Elkwood*, with the rest, were *Sub-  
 pœna'd* to appear at *Westminster* in *Trinity-  
 Term* 1707, which they did by an Attorney to  
 prevent being in Contempt of the Court, and  
 took a Copy of the Complainant's Bill. But  
 for not answering, Attachments were issued  
 out in *Michaelmas-Term* to take them up; on  
 which they were taken into Custody in the  
 eleventh Month, and afterwards an *Habeas  
 Corpus* sent down to the Sheriff of *Bucks*, to  
 bring them up to the *Exchequer-bar* in *Trinity-  
 Term* 1708, on which they came up. And to  
 prevent the Plaintiff's going on to a Sequestration  
 by

by Default, they put in their Answers; setting 1708.   
 forth the Value of the Tithes, according to the  
 best of their Knowledge. Yet so vexatious was  
 the Adversary, that he would not be satisfied  
 with their Answer, but got a Commission of  
*Enquiry* to examine Witnesses in the Country,  
 as to the Value of the Tithes; which they did  
 at *Amersham* in the tenth Month. The first  
 Witness they examined, was one E——  
 G——. of the Parish of *Cheffam*, aged (as they  
 say) forty four Years or thereabouts, who depo-  
 sed, *That he knew the Complainant and Defen-*  
*dants; and had known the Complainant about*  
*sixty Years* (which was about sixteen Years be-  
 fore he was born.) Whereby we may judge of  
 the rest of his Evidence: The Charge of which  
 Commission, and executing it, came to between  
 thirty and forty Pounds, though some of it was  
 abated on taxing the Cost; and yet they proved  
 little, if any thing more than the Defendants  
 had set down in their Answers, yet went on to a  
 Hearing on it, and obtain'd a Decree for the  
 Tithes and Cost. For not performing which,  
 Attachments were issued out afresh against them  
 in *Trinity-Term* 1709, to the Sheriff of *Hert-* 1709.   
*fordshire* (*T. Ellwood, A. Butterfield* and *W.*  
*Catch* living in that County, but *John Penington*  
 living in *Bucks*, was dropt, because the Attach-  
 ments to the Sheriff of *Hertfordshire* would not  
 reach him) and then a Proclamation; but the  
 Sheriff living remote, did not endeavour to  
 take them, and the Prosecutor seemed rather  
 to aim at a *Sequestration* on their Goods and  
 Estates,

1709. Estates, than their Bodies; so that seeing them  
 resolved to go on, the Defendants, to prevent it,  
 offer'd to surrender themselves to the Sheriff;  
 but he return'd them each, *Non est inventus*,  
 and they got a Commission of *Rebellion* ante-  
 dated, and moved for a Serjeant at Arms the  
 same Day, to run them to a Sequestration in all  
 haste, (*Leaper* being sick and bad, like to die)  
 least he should not live till it was accomplish'd;  
 but being so *illegal*, at least in point of Time, for  
 that there ought to be eight Days between the  
*Test* and *Return of the Writ*, in thirty Miles off  
*London*, and fourteen beyond, on our appearing  
 against it, they could not obtain it till *Hillary-*  
*Term*. In which Time *Leaper* recovered, and  
 one might have hoped that he might have repented;  
 but instead thereof, then got a *Sequestration*  
 against them and their Estates, both real and  
 personal, for Tithes of *Thomas Ellwood*, which  
 was but

|                                  |       |       |    |    |   |
|----------------------------------|-------|-------|----|----|---|
|                                  | ————— | ————— | —  | 12 | — |
| And <i>Abraham Butterfield's</i> | ————— |       | 15 | 15 | 6 |
| And <i>William Catch's</i>       | ————— |       | 16 | 7  | 4 |
| And Cost as tax'd by the Deputy  |       |       | 71 | 17 | 8 |

In all for Tithes and Cost 104 12 6

For which they seized and took from *T. Ell-*  
*wood* in household Goods, Bedding, Pewter, &c.  
 (throwing out the Meat to take the Dishes) to  
 the Value of 19*l.* and a Horse he used to ride  
 on, which he would not have took five Guineas  
 for. In all about ————— 24 10 —  
 which they sold (working and hobbling about  
 the



|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |       |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-------|---|
| the Horfe, till they had almost spoil'd him)                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | all | 1709. |   |
| for about                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 14  | 15    | — |
| And from <i>Abraham Butterfield</i> ,<br>Cattle, Corn, Hay, &c. to the<br>Value of                                                                                                                                                                                        | 86  | 17    | — |
| which they fold by their own<br>Account for fo much.                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |       |   |
| And from <i>William Catch</i> they<br>took, by their Account, Grafs, &c.                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 8   | 14    | 8 |
| and a Year's Rent of his Houfe,<br>(deducting for Taxes, 11 Shillings<br>being about 3 <i>l.</i> per Annum, which they seized,<br>and kept till paid ; which for four Years, fince<br>the Time called <i>Michaelmas</i> 1709, when they<br>gave in their Account, came to | 2   | 9     | — |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 9   | 16    | — |
| In all from <i>W. Catch</i> about                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 20  | 19    | 8 |
| Seized & taken in the whole about                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 132 | 6     | 8 |
| For Tithes and Coft                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 104 | 12    | 6 |
| More than demanded                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 27  | 14    | 2 |

And yet, what by Charge of *Sequestration* making out, and felling the Corn ; felling underhand, &c. they brought in the Defendants in Debt, and wanted more.

I have been the larger in this Account, to fhew the Proceeding of the *Exchequer*, and the Fruit of Tithes, to ruin the QUEEN'S Subjects for fmall Matters, when they might recover by Juftices Warrants to the Value of 10*l.* with the hundredth Part of the Charge.

Now

1709. Now we come to the second Volume of his great Work, the *History of the New Testament*, which he had had in hand at Times, for the most part since he finished his former; and when he had finished this, he brought it up to London for Friends Perusal and Approbation; where it was read, and afterwards published this Year 1709 in Folio, under the same Title with the former, only as that was of the Old Testament, this was of the New, *viz. Sacred History, or the historical Part of the holy Scriptures of the New Testament, &c.* (as in the Title of the former) which as I gave some Account of, so it behoves I should of this. The former Treatise (says he in his Preface) having found a favourable Reception, he was thence encouraged to resume his Pen (which at the Close of that Volume he had let fall) and proceed to the Methodizing of the historical Part of the New Testament in two Parts. In the first Part whereof the Reader will find an Account of the Conception, Birth, Life, Travels, Doctrines, Discourses, Miracles, Sufferings, Death, Burial, Resurrection and Ascension of our blessed Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST (the Author of the true *Christian* Religion) plainly, fairly and succinctly given; ushered in with a brief Account of the Conception, Birth, Manner of Life, Ministry and Death of his Forerunner, *John*, surnamed the *Baptist*: And attended (in the second Part) with a like historical Account of the Acts and Travels of the Apostles of our Lord, in the Propagation of His blessed Gospel,

after

after the Ascension of our blessed Saviour; so far, at least, as the Evangelist *Luke*, in the Acts of the Apostles, hath recorded, or the Clue or Thread of the holy Text leads him; beyond which (he says) he was not willing to adventure, &c.

In this Undertaking, he says, he aimed at the same End as in the former, *viz.* That all the Youth especially of either Sex, under whatsoever religious Denomination they go, might be further furnished with such an Entertainment, to spend, at least, their leisure Hours upon, as might yield them at once both Profit and Delight; and might be thereby drawn off from mis-pending their precious Time upon other, either hurtful, or (at best) unprofitable Subjects. Then he gives Account why he hath, with the Matter of Fact, delivered the Discourses, Speeches, Sermons and Doctrines delivered by our blessed Lord to his Disciples, &c. *viz.* That the Nature of the History required it, and that without it the Discourse would have been less profitable and pleasant to the Reader, and by that Means less conducive to the End he proposed, which is to allure him to read the holy Scriptures with Delight, &c. according to the Poet,

*Omnia tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.*

He certainly doth hit the White,  
Who mingleth Profit with Delight.

After

1709. After which he gives an Account of his going  
 from Place to Place in the Evangelists, to reduce  
 the several Parts and Passages of the History (in  
 the first Part) to their due and proper Times  
 and Places, which he endeavoured to do, (tho'  
 difficult) as near as he could. But the second  
 Part (the *Acts*) being all written by one Hand,  
 the Method (he says) is more regular, and the  
 Course of the History more clear. Yet the Apo-  
 stolical Epistles being without Date, are hard-  
 ly, he conceives, to be reduced with indubitable  
 Certainty to exact Order; which yet he hath  
 endeavour'd to place them right, according to  
 the best of his Understanding. Then owning  
 the Helps he had in compiling this History, had  
 been chiefly from the Criticks, and *Cradock's*  
*Harmony of the four Evangelists*, and his *Apostoli-  
 cal History*, with a few Words of the Perfor-  
 mance; which if not done as it should (nor as  
 he would) yet as well as he could; and there-  
 fore, in all Humility, recommending and com-  
 mitting it to the divine Disposal, he concludes  
 his Preface.

Next to the Preface is an Introduction, con-  
 cerning the Penmen of the New Testament,  
 and in what Language originally written, and  
 in what Order of Time; particularly of the four  
 Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* and *John*,  
 what they were, the Time of their writing, and  
 some particular Circumstances concerning them  
 and their Ends; well worth the Readers perusal,  
 for the better understanding the History, both  
 of the Evangelists and Apostles. So proceeds to  
 the


the History ; which he deduces from the *Pro-*<sup>1709.</sup>  
*mised Seed* after the Fall, for Man's Restoration, which the Prophets foretold the Coming of, and which he pleasantly draws out at large in Order of Time; and explains with the like judicious Observations as in the former, taking in the Epistles of *St. Paul*, &c. (in the second Part) in their proper Places (as near as could be) and gives an Account of them, the Occasion why, the Manner how, and Time when they were written ; ending with the Revelations, which he renders as a Revelation unrevealed ; with some brief Notes on it. The whole, as I said of the former, being both pleasant and profitable. Both which will remain a lasting Monument of him in Time to come.


This Year 1710, our Friend *Oliver Sansom*,<sup>1710.</sup> formerly of *Faringdon*, since of *Abington* in *Berk-*  
*shire*, who had long War with the Priests about Tithes, dying in the second Month, and leaving behind him *An Account of some remarkable Passages of his Life*, which he communicated in his Life-time to our Friend *T. Ellwood* to peruse, who being always ready to be helpful and serviceable to all; especially his Friends, he transcribed the same, and fitted it for the Press, which was printed this Year ; to which *T. Ellwood* prefixed a Testimony concerning him, pertinent to the Occasion,

There is one Book more of his, which he published in his Life-time, which it seems he had had by him, for the most part, a long Time, and after he had finished his *Sacred History of the New*

1710. *Testament*, he took in hand to finish, and completed; and that is *The Life of DAVID in Verse*; first begun (for his own Diversion, not then thinking of the Press) and carried on, by degrees, to the End of the third Book, in the Year 1688, as hinted before in that Year, when the Prince of *Orange* landing, and the Nation being in Arms, the Noise of Guns, and Sounds of Drums and Trumpets so affrighted and disturbed his peaceful Muse (as he says in his Preface) that both she for a while forsook him, and he thereupon the Work, for above twenty Years; save that on a Review, observing how abruptly *David* was brought in, he added the first Chapter of the first Book, to introduce his Hero from the Beginning of his Story. Where it rested again, without any Prospect of its ever

1711. going further, until the last Winter, (1711) when having (as he says) less Health and more Leisure, than at some Times before, he took it up for an Entertainment, to make some uneasy Hours pass somewhat less uneasily over. And after he had read it through, considering that if, after his Death, it should be found among his Papers and committed to the Press, it would be but an imperfect Piece; he found an Inclination to carry on the Story to the End of *David's* Life, (I wish he had done so by his own) and giving a kind Invitation to his gentle Muse to return (which by some short Visits on particular Occasions in the Interval, had given him some Ground to hope she had not quite forsook him) he entred again upon the Subject where he had left

left off, and by degrees went through it, till he 1711.  
had brought his *warlike Hero* to his *peaceful*   
*Grave*.

After it was finished, deliberating whether  
to publish it himself, or leave it as a *Posthume*,  
to be published by some kind Hand after his  
Death ; for some Reasons particularly, That if  
any should *carp* at it, he might be capable to  
answer for himself, he thought best to publish it  
in his Life-time ; and accordingly brought it up  
with him, when he came to the Yearly-meeting  
1712, but not having then an Opportunity to 1712.  
have it read, he came up again with it some   
Time after (which I think was the last Time he  
was at *London*) and after reading, committed it  
to the Press this Year, under the Title of *D A-*  
*VIDEIS. The Life of David, King of Israel.*  
*A sacred Poem, in five Books in Octavo.* Tho',  
as he observes, *Abraham Cowley* writ a Poem  
called *Dauides*, he had not read it till after he  
had finished his ; and besides, their different  
way of writing, *A. Cowley's* was but of the  
Troubles of *David* in his Youth, and that not  
half finished. And that he had the same Aim  
in this, as in that of his *Sacred History* afore-  
said. Which Book begins thus :

I sing the Life of *David*, *Israel's* King,  
Assist, Thou sacred Pow'r who didst him bring  
From the Sheepfold, and set him on the Throne,  
Thee I invoke, on Thee rely alone.

1712. Breathe on my Muse, and fill her slender Quill  
 With Thy refreshing Dews from *Hermon-hill* ;  
 That what she sings may turn unto Thy Praise,  
 And to Thy Name may lasting Trophies raise.

But I would not anticipate the Reader, but leave him to read and judge for himself, as it deserves.

I shall conclude his Works and Writings, with a Copy of Verses he formerly writ ; which though out of Course as to Time, is so well worth the inserting, that I hope they will make amends for being mis-placed, *viz.*

O That mine Eye might closed be,  
 To what becomes me not to see!  
 That Deafness might possess mine Ear,  
 To what concerns me not to hear!  
 That *Truth* my Tongue might always tie,  
 From ever speaking foolishly!  
 That no vain Thought might ever rest,  
 Or be conceived in my Breast!  
 That by each Word, each Deed, each  
 Thought,  
 Glory may to my God be brought!  
 But what are Wishes? Lord! mine Eye  
 On Thee is fixt, to Thee I cry:  
 O purge out all my Dross, my Tin,  
 Make me more white than Snow within ;  
 Wash,



Wash, Lord, and purify my Heart,  
 And make it clean in every Part,  
 And when 'tis clean, Lord keep it too,  
 For that is more than I can do.

1710.  



T. E.

Thus having gone through his printed Books and Papers, which I have endeavoured to give a plain and succinct Account of, and of him out of them, as far as I could, and with as much Brevity as well might be, I shall now speak somewhat of him in his private Capacity, and other Services and Station in the Church, with his Death and Character; and so conclude the whole.

He lived many Years, if not most of his Time, especially after he was married, at *Hunger-hill* in the Parish of *Agmondesham*, alias, *Amersham* in *Buckinghamshire*, though his House stood in *Hertfordshire* as aforesaid; where the Monthly-meetings of Men and Women were constantly kept, for that Part of the County of *Bucks*: Wherein he was very serviceable in writing, advising, and exhorting to keep all Things well and in good Order, according to Truth and the Testimony thereof; and had a peculiar Gift for Government in the Church, and ordering Things in Monthly and Quarterly-meetings, and used to come up constantly to the Yearly-meeting at *London*, and was very serviceable therein; not only by his grave

1712. Counsel and Advice, but also in reading and writing on Occasion, especially in difficult Matters. He had a singular Talent in indicting and composing of Things, Epistles and Papers, beyond many; so that I must needs say, he was an Ornament to the Meeting, and will be much missed therein, and many other ways. His Wife died about five Years before him, being a solid weighty Woman, who had a publick Testimony for the Lord and His Truth in Meetings; and therefore the greater Loss to him and Friends: And for himself, he lived a private retired Life, not concerning himself with much Business in the World, but gave himself much to reading and writing, and lived in good Repute among Friends, and all Sorts of People, as far as ever I heard of, to a pretty good Age; but bore his Age very well, being of a regular Life and healthy Constitution; only in his latter Years was somewhat troubled at times with an *Asthma*; and at last he was taken ill of a *Palsy*,

1713. the 23d of the second Month 1713, which he bore with great Patience and Resignation; an Account of which, and his dying Words, I leave to them who were with him in the Time of his Sickness, the eighth Day of which he departed this Life, being the 1st of the third Month, in the seventy fourth Year of his Age, *having served his Generation according to the Will of God, he fell asleep*, and was honourably buried the Second-day following, being the 4th of the third Month, at *Jordans*; being accompanied from his own House by a great many Friends and others, to  
the

the Meeting-house there (the Meeting he be-<sup>1713.</sup>  
 long'd to) and interr'd in the Burying-ground   
 belonging thereto, where was a very large Meet-  
 ing, and great Appearance of Friends and others,  
 several publick Friends being there from *London*,  
 and other Parts; and divers living Testimonies  
 borne to the Truth he lived and died in, in a  
 living Remembrance of him, and his Services in  
 the Church. A Man of a comely Aspect, of a  
 free and generous Disposition, of a courteous and  
 affable Temper, and pleasant Conversation; a  
 Gentleman born and bred, a Scholar, a true  
*Christian*, an eminent Author, a good Neigh-  
 bour, and kind Friend; whose Loss is much  
 lamented, and will be much missed at home and  
 abroad. The Lord, if it be His Will, raise up  
 many more such Pillars, Elders and Overseers  
 of His Flock and Family, as Watchmen upon  
*Sion's* Walls, for His Honour and the Benefit of  
 His Church and People, saith my Soul, *Amen.*

London, the 30th of the  
 ninth Month, 1713.

J. WYETH.

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## P O S T S C R I P T.

**S**INCE the writing of the foregoing *Supple-*  
*ment*, I have understood that our Friend  
*Thomas Ellwood*, after he had finished and pub-  
 lished his *Davideis*, signified, *That he had but one*  
*Thing more that lay upon his Mind*; and that  
 was, *to add something to his Journal, or Account*  
*of his Life; which was chiefly to give an Account*

of his Books and Writings : Which, as it shews he had not done it, or finished it before, and 'tis to be doubted he did not after (not living long after that) and so no more to be expected (more's the Pity) from his own Hand. So it shews what his Design was, as to what he intended to have added to it, had he lived to perform it, or had not Death prevented him. So that the forefaid *Supplement* seems (in some Sort at least) to answer his own Intention, though far short, as was said, of what his own Hand could have done; yet so far as it does any Way answer his Mind, I am therein glad that I have done any Service to his Memory, or the Truth in that respect, having endeavoured to represent Things according to his own Mind, and to speak of him and Things as probably he would have done if he had been living, and hope the Reader will accept it the better. To whom therefore I recommend it, as giving at least, a fair Character of the Books he writ, and Controversies he managed, both published and unpublished; which I hope will be no Disservice (but Service) to the *Truth*, as it is intended in the Fear of God: To whose Honour, and the Service of His *Truth*, I desire with great Sincerity, to dedicate the Remainder of my Days, and rest

A Friend to all Men.

J. WYETH.

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1. **A**N Answer to a Paper directed to the Members of the Society of Quakers, especially to those that frequent the Town of Faversham (in Kent) 1672. To which the Priest replying, T. Ellwood writ a Rejoinder, very notable, and worth the Publishing. The whole about 15 Sheets, in 1672, or 1673.
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