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A  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
P E O P L E C A L L E D Q U A K E R S .

From their first Rise to the present Time.

Compiled from AUTHENTIC RECORDS, and  
from the WRITINGS of that PEOPLE.

By J O H N G O U G H .

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V O L . II.

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D U B L I N :  
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H I S T O R Y  
 OF THE  
 PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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B O O K III.

C H A P. VII.

*Meetings undisturbed for a Season.—Twenty Persons die Prisoners in Newgate.—Amongst them Richard Hubberthorn and Edward Burrough.—Life and Character of Richard Hubberthorn.—Ditto of Edward Burrough.—William Ames.—Samuel Fisher, for refusing to swear, committed to Newgate.—Notes exemplifying sundry suffering Cases.*

**F**OR about six weeks the meetings in the city were generally undisturbed: the death of the murdered man, the apprehension of trouble which might have followed, and the publick censure of their inhumanity, having, probably, damped the ardour of these persecuting magistrates for the present; who nevertheless soon

C H A P.  
VII.  
1662.  
Meetings  
undisturbed  
for a sea-  
son.

A

returned

VOL. II.

C H A P. returned to a repetition of the same practices,  
 VII. and continued therein to near the end of this  
 year.

1662.

20 persons  
 died prifon-  
 ers in New-  
 gate, and  
 amongst  
 them Rich.  
 Hubber-  
 thorn and  
 Edw. Bur-  
 rough.

By which time no lefs than twenty persons died prifoners in Newgate, and seven more by sickness contracted there, soon after their difcharge: amongst those who died there, were Richard Hubberthorn and Edward Burrough, two well qualified serviceable men, whose exemplary lives, ministerial labours, active exertions in behalf of their suffering friends, and remarkable qualifications for usefulness in various respects, gave them a place amongst the most eminent members of this society, made their loss very sensibly felt by their friends; and furnished their enemies and oppressors (whom it ought to have humbled into contrition, had they retained any tendernefs of the christian or the man, as authors of their untimely death) with an occasion of exultation, in hopes that the removal of these serviceable members would give such a shock to the society (whose extinction they desired) as would not be readily got over.

Life and  
 character of  
 Rich. Hub-  
 berthorn.

Richard Hubberthorn had his birth in the northern parts of Lancashire, being the only son of his father, a yeoman of good repute in that country. From his youth, he was averse to vice and inclined to piety, sobriety and virtue. Being arrived to years of maturity, he obtained a post in the parliament's army, and from a zeal for promoting righteousness preached occasionally to the soldiers and others. But entering amongst some of the first into the society of the Quakers so called, agreeable to their principle of peace he quitted his military employment, as he found it his place to use his endeavours, by a spiritual warfare with his own lusts and infirmities,

firmities, so to walk in obedience to the grace of God, as to obtain favour with that prince, whose kingdom is not of this world. And passing through a variety of inward probations, he attained experience in the work of regeneration, and received ability to direct others in the sure way to the kingdom of Heaven, being one of the first of the ministers in this society who travelled about for the propagation of righteousness.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1662.

His bodily presence promised little, being a man of low stature, infirm constitution, and a weak voice; so that an acquaintance with his real character was reserved for an intimate knowledge of his worth, which lay out of the way of superficial observation, consisting not in gracefulness of person, but the laudable faculties of the mind: he was of an excellent natural temper, being a man of much meekness, humility, patience and brotherly kindness; of distinguished equanimity, neither easily depressed in adversity, nor elated in prosperity; clear in judgment, and quick of understanding, he knew his season when to speak, and when to be silent; and when he spoke, he spoke with plainness and pertinency to the subject before him.

Notwithstanding the weakness of his voice, he was a powerful, able and successful minister of the gospel; travelling in the different parts of the nation in the exercise of his ministry, mostly for the space of nine years: great numbers were convinced and brought over to the same faith and practice, which he preached up, as seals to the power and efficacy of his ministry.

Although he was the very man, that having obtained access to the King, was admitted to a free conference with him, in which he gave him

C H A P. VII. such satisfaction, as to the principles and practice of the Quakers, so called, that he received the royal assurance of protection from suffering for the whole society, while they lived peaceably: yet this promise was violated, as well in reference to his own person, as to the society in general. For in the month called June, he was haled with violence from the meeting at Bull and Mouth, and carried before that implacable magistrate alderman Brown, who, indulging his passion as usual, pulled him down by the hat with such fury that he brought his head almost to the ground: in the insolence of office, thus treating with unbecoming indignity a man of consequence, and good repute, and a much worthier character than himself had any pretensions to; he then committed him to Newgate, where the throng was so great, and the air so vitiated, as soon overpowered his infirm constitution; he presently grew sick, and was taken away by death, when he had scarce been two months in prison.

Piety promoted.

As his life had been spent in acts of righteousness and the pursuit of peace, his latter end exhibited the happy effects thereof; the peaceful tenor of his conscience, stripping death of all its terrors, he was in his last moments supported to look forward, in full assurance of faith to the near approach of future happiness. Some of his intimate friends visiting him near his end, and enquiring if he felt any thing on his mind to communicate, he replied, "That there was no need to dispute matters; he knew the ground of his salvation, and was satisfied for ever in his peace with the Lord." At another time he expressed himself thus, "That faith which hath wrought my salvation, I well know, and  
" have

“ have grounded satisfaction in it.” But the greatest part of the time of his sickness he passed in inward retirement and meditation, so resigned, and so still, that he was not observed to vent a groan through the whole. The day before he died, he asked for the mistress of the house, to whom he said, “ This night or to-morrow I shall depart hence. and the next morning, to one sitting by him, “ Do not seek to hold me, for it [the body] is too strait for me; and out of this straitness I must go; for I am wound up into largeness, and am to be lifted up on high far above all.” So in the evening of that day, the 17th 6<sup>mo</sup>. 1662, he finished his course in this life, in a frame of mind well prepared for an entrance into a better.

CHAP.  
VII.  
1662.

EDWARD BURROUGH was born in or near Underbarrow, a village in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, of parents in repute for their honest and virtuous conduct in life, who were possessed of competent substance to give him a good education in such learning as the country afforded; which though not furnishing the opportunity of what is termed a liberal education; yet the soundness of his judgment, and the maturity of his understanding abundantly compensating for this deficiency in literature, even his puerile years exhibited proofs of manly sense, and he was early distinguished by wisdom and steadiness of conduct, rarely to be met with in one of his age; employing himself even then in religious thoughtfulness, and in the conversation of such as were in esteem for piety and virtue: abstaining from the ordinary pleasures and pursuits of youth, he placed his satisfaction in perusing the holy scriptures, in which he was well-

Life and  
character  
of Edward  
Burrough.

C H A P. well versed. He was brought up by his parents  
 VI. in the episcopal way of worship; but at the age

1662.  
 Frequent  
 Presbyter-  
 ian meet-  
 ings.

of twelve years he began at times to frequent the meetings of the Presbyterians, because their doctrine appeared to him to approach nearer to the primitive practice of the christian church; and continued his attendance of their meetings 'till about the 17th year of his age, when his reflection and judgment attaining a greater degree of maturity, he felt considerable uneasiness and fear, being led to take a view of the condition of his soul; and thereby being convinced that notwithstanding his religious appearance, and good reputation, he had not attained to that knowledge of God, and that internal purity of heart, which was discovered to his understanding, as the essential part of true religion. About this time, being exercised in prayer, he felt an inward conviction impressing his understanding with this intelligence, "*Thou art ignorant of God; thou knowest not where he is, nor what he is; to what purpose is thy prayer?*" This awakening intelligence excited him to redoubled diligence, and circumspection of life, so that he was not only very careful in his own conduct, but upon occasion, was concerned to reprove others for their vain conversation, impiety or immorality; wherein, though his charitable endeavours exposed him to contempt and derision, yet he felt in himself much peace, and enlivening refreshment of spirit, in a consciousness of his religious life and sincere endeavours to please God.

Notwithstanding which, his mind was often so attended with doubting and perplexity, that it became greatly darkened, and in this state he was ready to question his own experience: Yet sincerely

cerely desirous of further discoveries of the way of life and salvation, and finding the doctrine of the teachers to whom he had attached himself, defective in profitable instruction, as to the want and desire of his soul, appearing to him the result of mere speculation, and a natural comprehension of the scriptures and of the experiences of others, and not the fruit of their own experience, he discontinued his attention to them; and was one, amongst the many, that were at a loss in their minds, what guide to follow, or what society to look to, for the direction they wanted. At the time when George Fox first came into the parts where he resided, he went to hear him preach, and afterwards entered into reasoning with him upon religious subjects (as before related) whereby it pleased the Lord so to open his understanding into a clear view of his spiritual condition, that he perceived (as he himself expresseth it) that he was yet in the prodigal state, above the cross of Christ, and not in the true fear of the Lord: Yielding to the conviction of truth (as he was fully persuaded) he was not discouraged from entering into society with the Quakers, though like the primitive christians, a people despised by the world, and every where spoken against. For this he was rejected by his relations, and expelled from his father's house, which hardship, with many others he was afterwards exposed to, he bore with exemplary patience, and continued steadfast to the last in the doctrines and principles of truth. Thro' fidelity to the discovery of duty, by the light in his conscience, he advanced in the work of sanctification, and being thereby endued with the best qualification, became an eminent minister of the gospel:

C H A P.  
VII.  
1662.

Joins in society with the Quakers.

C H A P  
VII.

1662.

gospel, and a most serviceable member of this society. Indefatigable in the laborious exertion of excellent talents, natural and spiritual, by word and by writing, for the promotion of righteousness in the earth; for the propagation of gospel truths; for edifying of the body in love; and using endeavours for their relief from their grievous sufferings; he willingly devoted the bloom of his youth, and the succeeding part of life, to the service of God; of his fellow members in society, and mankind in general, by unremitted endeavours to prevail upon the inhabitants of this and other nations to turn from the evil of their ways; to encourage them to righteousness and purity of life by example, exhortation, admonition and reproof.

These religious exercises were as the whole business of his life, of which he did not appropriate to himself or his private concerns one week at a time for many years; but being continually and industriously employed in doing good, he allowed himself few hours of repose.

His qualifications as a minister:

His ministry was powerful and reaching, his doctrine sound, and his language eloquent; for though defective in human literature, in the estimation of the wise men of this world, yet he spake as with the tongue of the learned, having learned in the best school, and been prepared for the ministry by the best instruction, that of the Spirit of truth, gradually leading into the living experience of holiness, through the washing of regeneration, he was qualified, like the wise scribe, out of the treasury of his own experience, to bring forth things new and old; and to speak with

‡ Piety promoted.

§ Sewel.



with clearness in the demonstration of the spirit, to the understanding of his auditors. He spake the feeling and animated language of the heart, aptly applied to the states, and reaching the divine witness in the hearts of his hearers, whereby his ministry was made effectual to the turning of many from darkness to light, and from sin to righteousness and circumspection of life.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1662.

His personal conduct gave efficacy to his ministry; he lived himself as he wanted and advised others to live, viz. in the fear of his Maker, walking in his presence, and setting him as at his right hand that he might not sin against him. His natural disposition was bold and manly, tempered with innocence; his conversation affable and instructive, circumscribed with watchful care.

His personal  
accomplish-  
ments.

That arbitrary stretch of power, which at this period was so unjustly pointed at Quakers in general, was like to fall most heavily upon those who were most eminent amongst them. It might therefore administer occasion of wonder, if this distinguished young man had escaped the stroke of a persecution, so generally levelled at the body of which he was considered as one of the principal ornaments and supports. Under the rigour of an harsh imprisonment, he fell a sacrifice to inexorable malice, and terminated a life of exemplary virtue and wisdom at an age, when the generality of mankind scarce think seriously about living.

The preceding pages have informed the reader that he travelled in many parts of England, through Ireland, in Scotland and Flanders, in the exercise of his ministerial labours, in which he met with a variety of sufferings, trials and imprisonments; but his principal field of labour, from the time of his going thither, was in and about the

CHAP.

VII.

1662.

the city of London, where his ministry had been effectual to the conversion of numbers. And his affectionate regard was so warm to the inhabitants of that city, that he is said, when persecution grew hot, repeatedly to have expressed himself thus to Francis Howgill, his bosom friend: "I can freely go to that city, and lay down my life for a testimony to that truth, which I have declared through the spirit and power of God." And being this year on a visit to his friends in Bristol, in taking his leave of them, he said, "he did not know he should see their faces any more," and therefore "he exhorted them to faithfulness and steadfastness in that wherein they found rest to their souls." And to some, "I am now going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the gospel, and suffer amongst friends in that place."

Not long after arriving in London, he attended the meeting at Bull and Mouth, where as he was concerned in his ministry, he was violently pulled down by soldiers, and taken before alderman Brown, who committed him to Newgate: Some weeks after he was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, fined by the court twenty marks\*, and condemned to lie in prison till he paid the fine.

Committed  
to Newgate.

Fined.

And imprisoned  
till  
payment.

\* The proceedings of the courts at this time seem inexplicable, as it doth not appear by what law they imposed these arbitrary and exorbitant fines. The late laws against Quakers limit the forfeiture and imprisonment. The revived obsolete law of Elizabeth, of 2cl. a month, could not lie against a man for being found at one meeting, and who previously had been travelling in other parts; besides, I do not find this act gives any power of imprisonment at all. Neither doth the statute of Premunire reach the present case. So that it seems as if they acted with or without law at their pleasure, in harrassing an harmless body of men.

fine: which amounted to perpetual imprisonment, unless released by the king; for as the fact for which he, with many of his brethren, were condemned, was, in their estimation, no crime, but an act of indispensable duty to God, a voluntary and active compliance with the penalty, they esteemed a tacit confession of guilt, giving away the cause, and balking their testimony to the truth, which, for conscience-sake, they durst not do. This their persecutors well knew, and took this as another mode to imprison them during pleasure.

Being thus immured in the same prison with six or seven score of his friends, crowded so many in one room, as was even suffocating, many of them grew sick and died, of which number he was one. And though a special order from the king was sent to the sheriffs of London, for his release and that of some other prisoners, yet such was the aversion to all humanity, and so implacable the enmity of some of the city magistrates, especially Brown, that they exerted themselves to prevent the execution of this order, and found means to effect it. By his detention in prison, his distemper gathered strength, and threatened his approaching dissolution, the prospect whereof the purity of his conscience stripped of all its terrors, supported by the consolatory review of a life well spent in the service of his Creator, his friends and fellow-citizens, and exempt from the consciousness of imputed sin, or wilful omission of duty, he hesitated not to make the following solemn appeal: *I have had the testimony of the Lord's love unto me from my youth, and my heart, O Lord, hath been given up to do thy will. I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up*

CHAP.

VII.

1662.

Order from  
the king for  
his release  
evaded.

my

CHAP. VII. *my life for the gospel's sake ; and now, O Lord, rip open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee.*  
 1662. *Again, There is no iniquity lies at my door ; but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life I feel justifies me.* His friends about him he counselled to live in love and peace, and love one another. Praying for his enemies and persecutors, he said, *Lord forgive Richard Brown, if he may be forgiven.* And being sensible of his dissolution drawing nigh, he said, *Though this body of clay must turn to dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served God faithfully in my generation ; and that spirit that hath lived and acted and ruled in me, shall yet break forth in thousands.* The morning before his departure, he said, *Now my soul and spirit is centered into its own being with God, and this form of person must return from whence it was taken ;* and after a little time expired, the 14th of the month called February, in the prime of life, being in the 28th year of his age, having been a zealous preacher of righteousness about ten years.

W. Ames.

William Ames also died in the latter end of this year at Amsterdam. As soon as the last act against conventicles came in force, several individuals of bitter spirits, and officious in evil, seemed waiting with impatience the opportunity of gratifying their inclination to mischief, without regard to legal forms or the constitutional privileges of the subject ; for such was the temper of this persecuting age, and such the protection that lawless persons depended upon, that the principal barriers of the constitution were broken down, to give illegal effect to *iniquitous laws* : So that when some of this people were seen to enter an house, though only on a private visit to their friends, they were pursued into the house by musketeers,

Illegal proceedings in enforcing the penal laws.

keteers, without legal authority ; and even doors of private dwellings were broken open, under pretence of detecting their meetings (who never met in corners to avoid detection) and where they found five together, upon whatever business or occasion, it was a convenience. Now it happened that two of these musketeers, Thomas and John Herbert with other associates, entering one house according to their custom with drawn swords, found there Samuel Fisher, William Ames, and three \* more, whom they immediately took prisoners, and being asked for a warrant, holding up their swords, replied, *Do not ask us for a warrant, THIS is our warrant.* They immediately forced them to Paul's yard, where they were derided and abused by the soldiers, and afterwards taken before Richard Brown, who sent them with a mittimus to Bridewell to be kept to hard labour, where they were required to beat hemp, and treated so severely that William Ames grew dangerously ill, and being an inhabitant of Amsterdam, he was discharged, for fear of his dying in prison here also; upon which he returned to the place of his residence, in a weak state of health, from which he never recovered, but died within the current year <sup>h</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1662.

W. Ames  
imprisoned,  
and grow-  
ing sick is  
discharged.

In his youth he was of a chearful disposition, and delighted in airy company ; but being disquieted in mind by conviction of his folly in mispending his precious time, he gave himself up to religious exercises, to a diligent attendance to the doctrine of the priests and teachers, and to the reading of the scriptures, a practice good in itself, yet his religion only notional, amusing the understanding,

\* Samuel Goodacre, Henry Green, and J. Grimshaw.

<sup>h</sup> Sewel, p. 379. et alibi.

C H A P. understanding, but not cleansing the heart;  
 VII. brought him not peace with God: But being of  
 1662. quick understanding he could discourse readily of  
 those topicks which he had heard and read, and  
 entering into society with the Baptists, became a  
 teacher among them. He was also a military of-  
 ficer in Cromwell's army in Ireland, in which  
 post, being strict and regular in his own conduct,  
 he exerted himself to introduce, and preserve the  
 like regularity among the soldiers under his com-  
 mand by a strict discipline: But still though he  
 had truth in his comprehension, and could dis-  
 course of sanctification, he perceived he was not  
 come into the experience thereof, as his passions  
 had still dominion over him, and regeneration  
 was yet wanting, but was at a loss as to the  
 means of attaining what he stood in need of.  
 About this time Francis Howgill and Edward  
 Burrough coming into Ireland, he went to hear  
 them, and by their doctrine was informed that it  
 was the light, wherewith Christ enlighteneth  
 every man that cometh into the world, which  
 convinceth man of sin, and giveth him power  
 over it. This doctrine delivered with a reaching  
 influence, made a deep impression upon his  
 mind, and produced in him a resolution circum-  
 spectively to attend to this inward monitor; and  
 thus walking in fear, he received power to avoid  
 the evil he was condemned for, and to advance  
 in the work of sanctification, and not only joined  
 in profession with the people called Quakers, but  
 in process of time became a zealous preacher  
 amongst them, and travelled in the work of the  
 ministry, not only in England, but much in Hol-  
 land and Germany, where several were con-  
 vinced by him, especially in the Palatinate; and  
 these

these Palatines removing soon after to Pennsylvania, escaped the general devastation of their country by the French, which happened not long after, and at last he settled at Amsterdam, where he supported himself by wool-combing, and there he died as before related.

CHAP.  
VII.

1662.

Samuel Fisher and the rest committed with him, at the end of six weeks were brought to the sessions at the Old Bailey, not to trial, for they had no charge against them, being very illegally imprisoned, having broke no law: And therefore they were brought to be involved in the breach of law, by the sure course of tendering the oath of allegiance: They desired the act might be read, by virtue whereof the oath was required of them. This was promised by the court to be done; yet instead thereof they ordered the clerk to read only the form of the oath, but would not allow the law imposing it to be read. Before the prisoners had declared their refusal, they were ordered to be taken away, which the officers did with such rudeness, that they threw some of them down upon the stones; and thus, instead of being freed from their illegal imprisonment, they were committed to Newgate.

Sam. Fisher,  
&c. for refusing to  
swear, committed to  
Newgate.

The relation of the harsh and unjust measures pursued in this year of hot persecution we have confined mostly to the city of London as the principal scene of action; yet these or the like proceedings were not confined to the city, but were too generally carried on in the different counties, wherever the magistrates were bigots to the church, or sycophants to the court, of which there were too many in all quarters\*.

CHAP.

\* John Grave of Turpenhow, Thomas Watson of Cocker-  
mouth, and John Robinson of Brigham, taken out of their own  
land.  
houses

1662.

houses by soldiers and carried before the governor of Carlisle, were by him imprisoned in the winter in a cold place over one of the city gates, where they were denied the visits of their friends, and had their food frequently kept from them; afterwards the oath was tendered to them, for refusing which they were removed to the county jail, where they lay thirty-five weeks.

George Fletcher, a justice of peace in this county, with a retinue armed with swords and pistols, rushed violently into a meeting at Howhill in Sowerby parish, and finding a person on his knees, he struck him over the head; and when he continued praying ordered him to be pulled down backward, and then caused him, with several others, to be dragged down the hill in a violent and cruel manner, and afterwards sent them to Carlisle jail. *Besse.*

Extract of a letter, written by some prisoners to the justices of peace at Winchester sessions, dated the 13th of the month called January, 1662 <sup>c</sup>.

Hampshire.

“ We are men that fear the Lord, and follow peace with  
 “ all men, amongst whom we have behaved ourselves peaceably  
 “ and quietly, labouring with our hands in honest callings, to  
 “ provide for ourselves and families; and careful, though we  
 “ suffer in body and estate, such sufferings may only affect our-  
 “ selves and ours, and that no other person may suffer loss  
 “ or detriment thereby, nor we be chargeable to any. We have  
 “ not wilfully provoked the officers or rulers against us, nor  
 “ administered other occasion of offence, than that we dared  
 “ not but serve the Lord that made us, by waiting upon him;  
 “ for this only, and no other cause on our parts, we have,  
 “ previous to our imprisonment, suffered so much cruelty and  
 “ inhuman usage as almost exceeds belief, that Englishmen  
 “ should be so unmercifully abused by soldiers and others, as  
 “ we have been for the space of a year and a half in the town  
 “ of Portsmouth, the place of our abode: Few first days in  
 “ that space of time but we were, by the rudest soldiers chosen  
 “ out for the purpose, and officers of the like stamp, either  
 “ haled from our meetings before the law was made against  
 “ them, or forced out with violence, beaten with their muskets,  
 “ pushed and punched with the butt-ends thereof; and in this  
 “ manner

<sup>c</sup> *Besse*, vol. i. p. 234, 235.



NOTE *continued.*

“ manner driven out of the gates from our habitation and law-  
 “ ful employments. Our bodies were forcibly bruised, our  
 “ goods spoiled or carried away, and our windows battered  
 “ to pieces after we were forced out. At other times we  
 “ were made prisoners in our own meeting-house, and armed  
 “ guards set on every side to keep us in, men and women  
 “ together, contrary to the rules of civility or decency. Food  
 “ denied to be brought to us, or our food taken away by the  
 “ soldiers. Some of us have been kept several weeks in nasty  
 “ holes, generally esteemed too bad for felons to be kept in a  
 “ few days: In Felton’s hole, the waves of the sea beat in  
 “ upon one of us to that degree in the winter season, that he has  
 “ stood up to his ancles in water.

“ After we had for the space of a year and a half suffered  
 “ such abusive treatment; the rulers of the nation added  
 “ affliction to our sorrows, by making a law that not more  
 “ than five might depart from their habitations, and assemble  
 “ for worship, &c. Although we were not at this time (for  
 “ which we are imprisoned) the number of five who departed  
 “ from our habitations, and therefore not transgressors of the  
 “ law, which we made appear to the mayor and magistrates  
 “ who committed us, and they had no proof to the contrary;  
 “ yet notwithstanding they imposed the utmost penalty of the  
 “ law by imprisoning us for three months; and three weeks  
 “ over the term prescribed by the act are elapsed, and we are  
 “ still detained prisoners in Winchester this 13<sup>th</sup> of 11<sup>mo</sup>.  
 “ 1662.

“ After an appeal to the mercy and justice of the magi-  
 “ strates, after claiming the benefit of the king’s late declara-  
 “ tion, they subscribe in acquiescence to the divine will.

“ JOHN AUSTIN,  
 “ WILLIAM BUCKLAND,  
 “ NICHOLAS COMPLIN,  
 “ JONAS GOFF,  
 “ THOMAS COZENS,  
 “ WILLIAM JENNINGS.”

CHAP.  
 VII.  
 1662.

H I S T O R Y   O F   T H E  
N O T E *continued.*

CHAP.

VII.

1662.

At the same time was a prisoner with them in Winchester jail, Humphry Smith, who was kept under close confinement, and never called to answer at any assize or sessions, and his friends were frequently denied the liberty of visiting him, until he died there on the 4th day of the month called May, 1663. This good man had a foresight of his death, and said to some of his friends, that *he had a narrow path to pass through:* And more than once signified, *he saw he should be imprisoned, and that it might cost him his life.* In the time of his sickness he expressed himself thus: *My heart is filled with the power of God; it is good for a man at such a time as this to know the Lord for his friend.* And at another time, *Lord thou hast sent me forth to do thy will, and I have been faithful unto thee in my small measure which thou hast committed to me, but if thou wilt yet try me farther thy will be done.* Also he said, *I am the Lord's, let him do what he will.* And when near his departure he prayed thus: *O Lord bear the inward sighs and groans of thy oppressed, and deliver my soul from the oppressor. Hear me, O Lord! uphold and preserve me. I know that my redeemer liveth. Thou art strong and mighty, O Lord.* He also prayed, that God would deliver his people from their oppressors. And for those who had been convinced by his ministry, that God would be their teacher. He continued sweetly still, and sensible unto the end, and died in perfect peace.

C H A P.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Declaration of Indulgence.—The Parliament opposes Indulgence to Dissenters.—Remarks upon the King's Declaration from Breda.—Persecution in general moderated.—But grievously carried on at Colchester.—Rumours of a fresh Conspiracy. George Fox writes a Paper disclaiming all Plots.—Yet is subjected to prosecution.—Sundry attempts to take him.—He goes to Colonel Kirby, who treats him with disssembled Kindness.—At a private Meeting the Justices grant a Warrant to apprehend George Fox.—Of which he has notice, but resolves to stand his ground.—He is committed to Lancaster Castle.—Margaret Fell summoned before the Justices.—Who tender her the Oath of Allegiance, and imprison her also.—Their Prison very incommodious.—Francis Howgill taken out of the Market at Kendal and imprisoned.*

**I**N the latter part of this year, the king, by the advice of his privy council, issued a declaration, dated the 26th of December, in which, after other things, mentioning the promise of liberty of conscience, contained in his declaration from Breda, he adds, “ We are glad to renew  
 “ to all our subjects concerned in those promises  
 “ this assurance, that as for what concerns the  
 “ penalties on those who, living peaceably, do  
 “ not conform to the church of England through

C H A P.  
VIII.

1662.

The king  
issues a de-  
claration of  
indulgence.

B 2

“ scruple

CHAP. VIII. 1662. “scruple or tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way, we shall make it our special care, as far as in us lies, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline their wisdom at the next approaching sessions to concur with us for making some act for that purpose, as may enable us, with a more universal satisfaction, to exercise that power of dispensing, which we conceive to be inherent in us.”

In his speech at the opening of the next sessions, the 28th of the month called February, 1662-3, he supported his declaration in the following words: “That though he was in his nature an enemy to all severity in religion, he would not have them from thence infer that he meant to favour popery, though several of that profession for their services might justly claim a share in that indulgence, he would willingly afford to other dissenters.” Then expressing his zeal for the protestant religion and the act of uniformity, continues, “If the dissenters will behave themselves peaceably and modestly under the government, I could heartily wish, I had such a power of indulgence to use upon all occasions, as might not needlessly force them out of the kingdom, or staying here give them cause to conspire against the peace of it.”

The parliament opposes indulgence to dissenters.

But the parliament, in their present bigotry to episcopacy, equally averse to papists and non-conformists, in their address to the king, delivered it as the opinion of the House, *That no indulgence be granted to dissenters*; and as the king pleaded his promises of toleration, they represented

1662.

fented that his declaration from Breda contained no promise, but an expression of his intentions, upon the supposition of the parliament's concurrence; and that even if the non-conformists had been entitled to plead a promise, they had entrusted their claim to the house of commons, who were their representatives. It was not the weight of argument, but the power of the parliament, that could give force to such reasoning as this, and carry conviction to the king or the people. The king's extravagance reducing him to the necessity of continual applications for supplies, the commons, by a liberality approaching to profusion, purchased his assent to feeble arguments and vindictive laws. The king's declaration from Breda I apprehend not only to be a solemn promise, but a solemn act, amounting to a treaty or covenant between him and the people of England. The king proposed terms to the parliament then sitting; upon these terms he was accepted as their king, which was as the ratification of the treaty by the representative body: Surely, if ever there was a compact between king and people, this was one of the most binding nature.

Remark  
upon the  
king's de-  
claration  
from Breda.

1663.

But although the parliament withstood the king's measures in this matter, yet this declaration of his disposition to moderation seems for a season to have retarded the furious career of the persecuting magistrates. We meet with few instances of sufferings in the metropolis in the succeeding year in comparison of those related in the last; yet they did not remain quite unmolested, for Sir John Robinson succeeding R. Brown in the mayoralty, a man well nigh equal to him in inveteracy to the people called Quakers,

Persecut'on  
moderated.

C H A P. VIII. Quakers, ordered a guard to be placed at the entrance of the Bull and Mouth meeting-house, to prevent any persons from going in. Being thus shut out they met in the street, as near the door as possible, and there stayed the usual time of their meeting. When any one preached or prayed they were generally haled away to prison. One first day the mayor with his officers and the sheriffs coming thither, and the people not dispersing at his command, he gave orders to his officers to strike, who immediately, with their canes and sticks, as usual, dealt their blows on all sides unmercifully on the heads of both men and women. The mayor himself also struck several, and spurred on his horse to ride over them, to avoid which the horse reared himself on his hind legs, whereby his rider fell off backward into the kennel, and being helped up again, was preparing to repeat his abuses, had not the sheriffs, who were more moderate, and ashamed of his actions, persuaded him to depart.

Persecution  
at Colchester.

<sup>h</sup> In this year also was a grievous persecution of this people at Colchester in Essex. William Moore, then mayor, came several times to their meetings, and after having dispersed them sent many to prison. This method proving ineffectual, a party of the county troops were employed to go to the meeting, where they beat some and carried others to prison, having first broken the seats and windows of the meeting-house. After this, being kept out of the house, they met in the street, sometimes in the cold and rain, not daring to decline their duty for these

these inconveniences: Thus they continued, meeting constantly twice a week, till a troop of horse, just come to town, armed with swords, carbines, &c. rode in furiously among them, laying on without mercy on old and young, some with their swords and some with their carbines, beat and bruised many exceedingly, chasing them to and fro in the streets; they also committed many to prison.

CHAP.

VIII.

1663.

On the 13th of December the troopers came again, having added great clubs to their former weapons, with which they knocked down many in the streets, where some lay as dead, and many were so disabled and bruised that they could not get off their clothes nor feed themselves for several years. Remarkable was the patience and meekness of one of the sufferers, who when a trooper was beating him with a sword, and the blade fell out of the hilt, took it up and gave it him, saying, *I will give it thee up again: I desire the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge.* <sup>1</sup> After they had dispersed the meeting, four of the troopers met a poor sickly man about a quarter of a mile from the meeting place, and riding up to him, asked him, *Whether he was a Quaker?* He not denying it, they beat him so that the spectators thought he would have died on the place, and he had probably been killed but that he was taken into an house; however, he was disabled from getting his bread or providing for his family a long time after.

Persecution  
at Colche-  
ster conti-  
nued.

<sup>1</sup> On the 27th of same month thirty-eight of these troopers came riding among the friends, who

<sup>1</sup> Bessé.

CHAP. who were met in the street, and so cruelly beat  
 VIII. them with clubs and carbines as moved compas-  
 sion and tears in the standers-by. As the sol-  
 1663. diers forced some away by violence, they drove  
 them upon others of their comrades, who with  
 clubs beat them afresh, till the flesh of some of  
 them was become like a jelly, their blood for  
 the present stagnated, and their limbs deprived  
 of use.

Colchester. <sup>k</sup> On the 3d of the month called January many  
 friends being met at the usual place, the soldiers  
 fell furiously upon them, knocking down several,  
 one of whom they abused in such a manner, that  
 it was very much doubted whether one of his arms  
 would ever recover its use. Solomon Fromantle, a  
 merchant, was so grievously abused and beaten  
 that he lost much blood, yet the barbarous trooper  
 did not desist; his wife, fearing lest he should be  
 killed, fell down upon him, to cover and protect  
 him from their blows, many of which she received  
 on her own body. Edward Grant, father of Fromantle's  
 wife, about seventy years of age, was knocked  
 down, and survived the blow but a few days. On  
 the 6th of same month the soldiers had put into  
 their clubs iron spikes, sharpened with a file,  
 with which they wounded many, vaunting, scoff-  
 ing and jeering them when they started or  
 flinched at the pain; amongst the rest they  
 wounded an ancient woman in twelve several  
 places. After this, finding the constancy of the  
 sufferers invincible, they began to relent and  
 abate of their former violence, so that there was  
 a calm for two or three weeks, till the mayor  
 and

<sup>k</sup> Bessé.



and recorder pushed them on again to act against their wills. H A P.  
VIII.

These appear the principal sufferings in the city and neighbourhood on record in this year, but an incident in the summer thereof, in which they had no concern, involved George Fox and others in the country in great trouble, by cruel and long imprisonments, on the following occasion: The king and queen making a progress into the western counties, during their absence rumours of a new conspiracy were set on foot, said to be formed in the north among the republicans and separatists, to seize several towns in those parts, and raise a general insurrection. 1663.  
Rumours of  
a fresh conspiracy.

At this time George Fox was travelling in Yorkshire, where, when he first heard of this plot, in order to exculpate himself and friends, and preserve them steadfast in their peaceable principle, he was concerned, as he had been repeatedly under the preceding government, to write a paper as his testimony against all plots and conspiracies whatever; to admonish his friends to circumspection in their words and actions, and not to intermeddle in any of these commotions; copies of which he dispersed through the northern counties, and also sent one to the king and council. Notwithstanding these precautions he was soon subjected to a very unjust and rigorous prosecution and imprisonment, a pretended occasion being taken against him on account of this plot. G. Fox  
writes a  
paper dis-  
claiming all  
plots,  
yet is sub-  
jected to  
prosecution.

It seems as if uncommon pains were used to fix a suspicion on this people of being parties in the conspiracy, (whatever it was) to give a colour of reality to the groundless report of their

CHAP. their being concerned therein, and as if the  
 VIII. magistrates of the northern counties had re-  
 1663. ceived directions from above for that purpose,  
 and particularly to take up George Fox; for as  
 he passed along from Yorkshire through the  
 counties of Durham, Cumberland and West-  
 moreland, <sup>1</sup> several menaces were given out, and  
 sundry attempts made to take him, but he es-  
 caped them all, not by absconding, (his fortitude  
 founded in integrity disdaining mean evasions)  
 but accidentally or providentially, till he came  
 to Swarthmore. In his passing along he was well  
 informed that in Cumberland the magistrates had  
 offered a crown or a noble a day to any of the  
 peace officers that could apprehend the speakers  
 among the Quakers, but at the time of his passing  
 through that part they were gone to the sessions  
 to receive their wages, by which means he passed  
 on into Westmoreland unmolested, where he was  
 in jeopardy still, justice Fleming having in open  
 sessions offered five pounds to any man that should  
 take him. When he came forward to Swarthmore  
 he was informed that Colonel Kirby had sent his  
 lieutenant to search the house for him, and that he  
 had been so particular in his scrutiny, as to inspect  
 the trunks and chests.

Sundry attempts to take G. Fox.

G. Fox goes to Colonel Kirby's, who treats him with dissimbled kindness.

Upon this intelligence, and reflecting upon the successive designs he had been informed of to apprehend him, supported by conscious innocence, and to shew he was afraid of no scrutiny, he resolved to face his pursuers. Accordingly he went the next day to this Colonel Kirby's house, where he found several of the gentry

<sup>1</sup> George Fox's Journal.

try (so called) on a visit, to take their leave of Kirby, who was about setting off for London, to attend the parliament, and amongst them justice Fleming aforesaid. He addressed himself to Kirby, that understanding he was desirous to see him, he paid him this visit; to know what he had to say to him, or whether he had any thing against him; to which Kirby replied he had not. But, said he, Mrs. Fell must not keep great meetings at her house, being contrary to law. At parting he shook him by the hand, and repeated that he had nothing against him; but notwithstanding his fair carriage and apparent civility, it was understood he left private instructions with the other justices to prosecute him after he was gone.

In a short time after there was a private meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants at Holker-hall, the seat of justice Preston, where they granted a warrant to apprehend him. Of this transaction, secret as they thought it, he received intelligence, time enough to have withdrawn out of their reach. But considering that during this noise of a plot in these parts, although he had no meeting appointed, and was clear as to his service, yet if he should go away, it might give an advantage to his adversaries to interpret or represent his retreat as a symptom of guilt, and thence take occasion to fall with additional severity upon his friends; as, on the contrary, if he surrendered himself into their hands, his friends might come off the better; on these considerations he determined quietly to abide the consequence, and was apprehended the next day, and brought before the justices Raw-

C H A P.  
VIII.

1663.

At a private meeting the justices grants warrant to apprehend G. Fox, of which he hath notice, but resolves to stand his ground.

linson

C H A P. linson and Preston, and one \* Sir George Mid-  
 VIII. dleton at Holker-hall aforefaid, by whom being  
 1663. examined, and clearing himself of the plot, as  
 they had no evidence or foundation for com-  
 mitting him upon that account, they reforted to  
 the accustomed snare of tendering him the oath  
 of allegiance, and were, upon his declining it,  
 about making his mittimus; but upon further  
 confideration they contented themselves with his  
 engaging to appear at the sessions, and so dismiss-  
 ed him at that time.

In consequence of his engagement, he appear-  
 ed at the sessions at Lancaster; where he was en-  
 quired of what he knew of the plot? He told the  
 justices

This Middleton (a papist) discovered great bitterness of  
 spirit against George Fox, but he seemed not to know the man  
 he had to deal with: He first charged him *that he denied*  
*God, the church and faith*; to which George replied, "Nay,  
 "I own God, and the true church, and the true faith, but  
 "what church dost thou own?" At which query he was  
 greatly incensed, and said, "You are a rebel and a traitor."  
 George immediately returned upon him, "Whom dost thou  
 "speak to, or whom dost thou call rebel?" Choked with pas-  
 sion, Middleton was awhile before he could speak, but at last  
 got out, "I spoke to you." George's spirit, roused at the  
 charge, he struck his hand on the table and told him, "I  
 "have suffered more than twenty such as thou, or any that  
 "are here, having been six months a prisoner in Derby,  
 "where I suffered much because I would not take up arms  
 "against the king: And was afterward sent up a prisoner out  
 "of my native country by Colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell  
 "as a pletter to bring in king Charles; ye talk of the king,  
 "a parcel of you, but where were you in Oliver's days, and  
 "what did you then for him? I have more love to the king  
 "for his eternal good and welfare than any of you have."  
 Middleton proposing to tender him the oath of allegiance  
 and supremacy, George asked him, "whether he who was a  
 "swearer had taken the oath of supremacy, as for us we  
 "cannot swear, because Christ forbade it."

justices he heard of it in Yorkshire by a friend, C H A P. VIII. who had it from the high sheriff. They then asked him, whether he had declared it to the magistrates? He informed them of the aforementioned paper, which he had sent abroad, and had also sent to them, as soon as he came into the country, to remove all occasions of jealousy out of their minds concerning him and his friends. Then they went upon the act against meetings; but upon these subjects, finding no grounds to effect their purpose of committing him to prison, they had recourse to the usual means of crimination, they tendered him the oath of allegiance, and committed him to prison in a very incommodious room in Lancaster castle, where he was kept close prisoner till after the spring assizes 1665; after that removed to Scarborough castle, where he was detained upwards of a year longer; when finding means to get his case laid before the king, he soon after obtained his release, after an arbitrary and most rigorous imprisonment of more than three years.

1663.

G. Fox committed to Lancaster Castle.

<sup>m</sup> About a month after George Fox's commitment, Margaret Fell was sent for by the same justices to Ulverstone, and questioned about keeping meetings at her house, at which they seemed to be much offended, and insisted upon tendering her the oath of allegiance: In answer, she remarked, that "they knew she could not swear, and why should they send for her, from her own house and her lawful affairs, to ensnare her," adding "what have I done?" This expostulation, upon their disingenuous procedure, made an impression on them so far, that they

Margaret Fell summoned before the justices,

CHAP. VIII. they told her, "if she would not keep meetings at her house they would not tender her the oath:" A plain confession that this tender was only a mere pretext to be vexatious to the subject without real occasion, and that it was an arbitrary measure assumed for the mere purpose of persecution for religion, and nothing else: To this proposal, she magnanimously replied, "She should not deny her faith and principles, for any thing they could do against her, and while it should please the Lord to let her have a house, she would endeavour to worship him in it." Upon this they tendered her the oath, and upon her refusal committed her also to Lancaster castle; which prison was at this time quite crowded by the numbers of this people taken up and imprisoned there, some for meeting together, and some for refusing to swear. And many of them were poor men, whose families depending on their daily labour for their subsistence, were in danger of perishing for want, if the sympathy, affectionate care and charity of their friends had not been exerted to prevent it.

who tender her the oath of allegiance, and imprison her.

Their prison very incommo-  
dious.

<sup>a</sup> Such rigorous imprisonments as these people, particularly George Fox and Margaret Fell were subject to, being in smoky rooms, in such bad condition, that the rain came in upon them in abundance, was more than sufficient punishment for petty criminals; and an evidence of the unfeeling malice of their persecutors, needlessly to expose Margaret Fell in particular to such hardship, a woman of estate, the widow of a judge, and a man of consequence in the country.

<sup>a</sup> George Fox's Journal.

try, who had been used to comfortable accommodations in her own house, and was every way on a level with her persecutors, except the possession and abuse of power. But all the hardships she suffered, in being arbitrarily forced from her house and family, without cause or crimination, and hurried to this dismal jail, was not a sufficient gratification of the groundless enmity of these magistrates, till they went the farthest length they could go, by prosecuting her to a premunire, realizing the proverb, *Summum jus, summa injuria; the execution of perverted law is accumulated injury.* The account of the further proceedings against her and George Fox are postponed, as their trials were put off, and they continued prisoners till next year.

About the same time Francis Howgill met with treatment equally severe and unjust from the justices of Westmoreland; and it is probable, under pretext of the same plot, and in execution of the plan, adopted amongst these Northern justices of taking up the speakers among the Quakers, although they had no legal cause against them.

This very respectable member of civil and religious society, being in the market-place at Kendal upon his lawful occasions, was summoned by the high constable to appear before the justices then sitting at a tavern: Whither when he came they tendered him the oath of allegiance, and because his conscientious scruple to violate a divine command, obliged him to decline compliance, they immediately committed him to prison till the summer assizes to be held in the next month in Appleby: being brought thither,

C H A P.  
VIII.

1663.

Francis  
Howgill.

Taken out of  
the market  
at Kendal  
and imprisoned.

CHAP. thither, the oath was again tendered to him,  
 VIII. and upon refusal, an indictment was drawn up  
 against him, which he traversing, had liberty  
 1663. till next assizes to answer thereto. Being re-  
 quired to enter into bond for his good beha-  
 viour, he refused, as apprehending therein, not  
 only a tacit acquiescence in the implication of  
 ill-behaviour, which he was not chargeable with,  
 but also perceiving a snare therein to intangle  
 him further in the perplexities of the law, because  
 he thought his attendance of meetings, which  
 the persuasion of duty would not suffer him to  
 neglect, while at liberty, would by them be inter-  
 preted as a breach of his engagement; upon these  
 considerations, declining to enter into bonds,  
 he was recommitted to prison; from whence he  
 was not released, till it pleased divine providence  
 by his death to remove him beyond the reach of  
 unmerciful men; of his subsequent trials we  
 propose to exhibit a narration in due course.

The succeeding years affording variety of  
 matter, this seems a proper period to bring for-  
 ward the history of this people in other parts.



## C H A P. IX.

## N E W E N G L A N D.

*Persecution continued in New England.—Grievous Sufferings of Alice Ambrose, Mary Tomkins and Anne Coleman.—Whipped through three Towns.—Violently abused by two Constables.—Elizabeth Hooton obtains a Licence from the King to settle in any of the Plantations.—With which she returns to Boston, where no regard is paid to the Licence.—At Dover she is set in the Stocks.—Imprisoned at Cambridge.—Whipped through three Towns, and turned into the Wilderness.—Returning into Cambridge, to fetch her Clothes, is again whipped, together with her Daughter and Sarah Coleman.—She is a second Time whipped through three Towns, and turned into the Wilderness.—Whipped again at Boston, and sent away to Rhode Island, with a Warrant to whip her from Town to Town.—Edward Wharton's repeated Whippings in like Manner.*

**T**HOUGH the government of New England was restrained from putting the Quakers to death, and granted them liberty for a while, it lasted not long: \* The disposition of the magistrates

C H A P. IX.

1662.  
Persecution continued in New England.

\* Neale winds up his account of these persecutions in New England, in the like palliative strain we have noticed in many parts of his narration. "The court, says he, began to be sensible that the putting men to death for their religious principles

C H A P. IX. was still the same ; they returned again to their persecuting measures, and indulged their propensity

1662.

“ principles was odious in the eye of the world ; that in the “ case of the Quakers it did not answer their ends, for the “ more they persecuted, the more bloody work they had on “ their hands ; and therefore they resolved for the future, “ *only* to whip them at the cart’s tail as vagabonds, through “ all the towns, out of their jurisdiction.” Then after reciting the king’s mandamus, he adds, “ This put an effectual stop to the sufferings of the Quakers on account of “ their principles : some of them indeed have been punished “ since as vagabonds and criminals against the state, but none “ that I know of, purely for their sentiments in religion.”

Upon comparing this account with the present narrative of this and the following cases, as recorded by George Bishop and others, it will appear to be no evidence of the author’s impartiality, or strict regard to truth ; for that this mandamus put an effectual stop to the sufferings of the Quakers, on account of their principles, is not true, since their sufferings were continued several years after, and for their religious principles only ; and what were his humane feelings to term the barbarous usage these poor people met with *ONLY whipping them as vagabonds through ALL the towns out of their jurisdiction*. The order to whip three tender women through eleven towns was barbarous beyond parallel, and well nigh equal to capital punishment, and their subsequent abuse by the Roberts’s, such as no civilized government would suffer to be given even to vagabonds. And as to their being punished, not for religion, but as vagabonds and criminals against the state, it was easy for malice to give hard names of undefined meaning ; but if to create a criminal appellation were sufficient grounds to punish the person upon whom it was fixed, as a real criminal, then, if they had thought proper to call them thieves and felons, must they be punished as such, because enmity miscalled them so. It admits of no dispute that they were still punished not simply as vagabonds, but really as Quakers, and that they were thus unmercifully whipped and abused for no other cause, than that for which their friends had been put to death : If the three women above, by any forced and false construction of the word could be termed vagabonds, yet how could Elizabeth Hooton be a vagabond, who

penalty to cruelty in the punishment of this people, male and female, with the utmost severity in their power. C H A P.  
IX.

In the year 1662, Mary Tomkins, Alice Ambrose and Anne Coleman came under a religious concern to visit their friends about Piscataqua river, and to confirm them in the truth: They had not been long there before one Rayner, a priest of Dover, excited the magistrates to persecute them: He brought them before one Walden, a deputy magistrate, who telling them of the law they had to punish them, Mary Tomkins answered, \* *So there was a law that Daniel should not pray to his God.* He replied, *Yes, and Daniel suffered, and so shall you.* Also when Alice Ambrose

1662.  
Mary Tom-  
kins, Anne  
Coleman  
and Alice  
Ambrose.

C 2

brose

who came with the king's licence to purchase an habitation in the country, and had substance to purchase it? Is every one that removes to a new residence a vagabond? Or was Edward Wharton a residentiary inhabitant of Salem, when he came to Boston on lawful business, a vagabond? Then every man may be so termed, who doth not confine himself entirely at home, and make his own house his prison: Yet we see with what severity they were both, treated by cruel whippings frequently repeated. In their circumstances no man, nay, not even these men, would ever have thought of terming them vagabonds, only that they were *Quakers*, so called. As to the insinuated charge of their being *criminals* against the state, from all that I have heard or read, I am under no hesitation totally to deny the charge, as a groundless calumny, supported by no matter of fact. It is evident that it was purely for their sentiments in religion, and nothing else, that their punishment was continued. Their testimony against all religion without righteousness touched the demure, but persecuting priests and magistrates to the quick, and roused them to vengeance: So that though their hands were tied up from hanging them; they persisted in punishing them as far as they durst, with unabated malice and cruelty.

\* Bessé.

CHAP. brose said, *Her name was written in the Lamb's*  
 IX. *book of life, he answered, No body here knows*  
 1662. *that book, and for this you shall suffer.* On this  
 occasion the priest supplying the place of a  
 clerk, formed for him the following warrant or  
 order;

“ *To the Constables of Dover, Hampton, Salif-  
 “ bury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Wen-  
 “ ham, Linn, Boston, Roxbury, Dedham,  
 “ and until these vagabond Quakers are car-  
 “ ried out of this jurisdiction.*”

“ *You and every of you are required, in the  
 “ king's majesty's name, to take these vaga-  
 “ bond Quakers, Anne Coleman, Mary Tom-  
 “ kins, and Alice Ambrose, and make them fast  
 “ to the cart's tail, and driving the cart through  
 “ your severall towns, to whip them on their  
 “ backs, not exceeding ten stripes a piece on  
 “ each of them, in each town, and so convey  
 “ them from constable to constable, till they  
 “ come out of this jurisdiction, as you will  
 “ answer it at your peril: And this shall be  
 “ your warrant.*”

“ *Per me,*

*At Dover,* “ **RICHARD WALDEN.**”

*Dated Dec. 22d,  
 1662.*

This order was cruelly executed at Dover, while the priest stood by, looked at it and laughed, for which cruel levity when Eliakim Wardel and William Fourbush reprov'd him, the magistrate caused them to be put in the  
 stocks

stocks. They were then conveyed to Hampton, CHAP. IX. and then again whipped, and also at Salisbury; but the constable of that town, deputing a person to convey them farther, he, moved with compassion, determined to run the hazard of breaking the law, and set them at liberty, where-  
1662. Whipped through three towns.

<sup>a</sup> After a little time they returned again to Dover, where being met together with other friends on the first day of the week, whilst Alice Ambrose was at prayer, two constables, Thomas Roberts and John his brother, came into the meeting, and taking her each by an arm, inhumanly dragged her out of doors, and then with her face towards the snow, which was knee-deep, over stumps and old trees near a mile; when they had wearied themselves, they commanded two others to help them: then they fetched Mary Tomkins, and treated her in like manner: The next morning, which was excessively cold, they forced them into a canoe, together with Anne Coleman, who in love accompanied them, and carried them to the harbour's mouth, threatening that they would now dispose of them so, as that they would be troubled with them no more. And because they were not willing  
to

<sup>a</sup> Bessé, vol. ii. p. 228.

C H A P.

IX.

1662.

to go, they forced them down a very steep place in the snow, dragging Mary Tomkins again over stumps of trees to the water side, whereby she was much bruised and fainted under their hands: Alice Ambrose they pulled into the water, and kept her swimming by the canoe in great danger of drowning or being frozen to death. They would in all probability have proceeded in their wicked design of murdering them, had they not been prevented by a storm, which drove them back to the house, where they had kept them all the night before. They kept them there till near midnight, and then cruelly turned them out of doors, in the frost and snow, although Alice Ambrose's clothes were frozen as hard as boards. The barbarity exercised on these women was such, that to all human probability they must have perished, had not the hand of providence in a signal manner preserved them. It did not appear these men had any legal warrant or authority to meddle with them, but that they were animated and encouraged to this wicked abuse of these harmless women by a ruling elder of their church, miscalled *Hate-evil* Nutter.

Elizabeth  
Hooton.

Amongst the number released from prison along with Wenlock Christison, were Elizabeth Hooton and Joan Brocksup, two antient women each about sixty years of age, being driven with the rest into the wilderness, and left there among wolves and bears, without necessary provisions, they were left to wander through places uninhabited and hardly passable, in very great danger, 'till at length they came to Rhode-Island, thence to Barbadoes, and from thence not long after returned to New-England, for to that province  
was

was their message to testify against the spirit of persecution predominant there. Upon their coming to Boston they were presently apprehended by a constable, an illiberal and furious zealot, who declared, *It was his delight, and he could rejoice in following the Quakers to execution as much as ever.* They were immediately sent away to Virginia, from whence Elizabeth Hooton went back to England.

After some time she felt the impulse of duty to return to New-England; but previously to her going, she made application to the king, and obtained his licence to purchase for herself an house and dwelling in any of his plantations: Thus authorised, she and her daughter of the same name set sail in a ship bound for Boston, where, when they arrived, the magistrates, who zealously kept up all the persecuting laws which they durst, were determined to fine the master of the ship one hundred pounds, until they were informed she had a licence from the king, which deterred them from executing that design; but in contempt of the king's licence and her solicitations, they persisted in their resolution not to suffer her to purchase any habitation there. Instead thereof they let her feel the effects of their malicious disposition, which had suffered no diminution by the restraint put upon them. At Dover she was set in the stocks, and kept four days in prison in cold weather. At Cambridge she was imprisoned in a close stinking dungeon, without any thing to lie down or sit on, two days and two nights without bread or water, and when a friend in sympathy with her sufferings brought her some milk when she was ready to perish, he was fined five pounds and sent to prison.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1662.

Obtains a licence from the king to settle in any of the plantations,

with which she returns to Boston.

At Dover she is set in the stocks, imprisoned at Cambridge,

C H A P. prison.  
IX.

1662.  
whipped  
through  
three towns,  
and turned  
into the  
wilderness.

She was then whipped through three towns, Cambridge, Watertown and Dedham, with ten stripes in each, with a three-stringed whip and three knots at the end, and in this mangled condition she was carried on horseback in frosty weather many miles into the wilderness, and left there among wild beasts, in the hazard of perishing there; as her persecutors, who left her there, expressed their hopes that *they should never see her more*. And in all human probability she must have perished, had not a providential hand preserved her safe through the dismal desert and many deep waters to a town called Rehoboth, where she arrived the next day neither faint nor weary, and thence made her way to Rhode-Island, praising and magnifying the name of the Lord, who had signally supported her through such grievous tortures, as to her age and sex in all outward appearance were insupportable.

Returning  
to fetch her  
clothes, she  
is again  
whipped,  
together  
with her  
daughter  
and Sarah  
Coleman.

But her sufferings had not yet satiated the vindictive hatred of her persecutors. As they would not suffer her to take her clothes with her, when they sent her away as aforesaid, she returned to a place near Cambridge accompanied by her daughter to fetch them; and as they were returning with them to Rhode-Island, one Thomas Daufort, a magistrate, made out a warrant to the constable of Charlestown to apprehend them and Sarah Coleman, an ancient woman of Scituate, who had met them in the woods as they were going back. They were taken back to Cambridge, abused by the scholars, and then all three committed to the house of correction,  
and



and whipped by order of one \* Daniel Goggin, though no just cause could be assigned. Elizabeth Hooton came at this time on the reasonable errand of reclaiming her property, her daughter was guilty of no crime or offence but the filial duty of waiting upon and assisting her ancient mother, and the other accidentally fell into their company. The magistrates, not satisfied with this, sent the constable with an order to *take them from constable to constable toward Rhode-Island to be whipt in three towns.* Returning to Boston and preaching repentance she was again sent to the house of correction, whipped at the whipping-post as before, and afterwards at Roxbury and Dedham at a cart's tail; thence she was again taken in a mangled condition into the wilderness, and left there to make her way twenty miles, the weather still continuing very cold. Soon after, returning to Boston to visit her friends, she was again cast into prison, whipped from the prison door to the town's end, and then sent away to Rhode-Island, with a warrant to whip her from town to town, threatening *if ever she came thither again they would either put her to death or brand her on the shoulder.* Thus this good old woman, who was a woman of repute and substance, perfectly peaceable and inoffensive in her conduct; *no vagabond*, no criminal against the state was cruelly persecuted with three imprisonments, nine times was

CHAP.  
IX.  
1662.

\* The temper of this magistrate may be conceived from hence. He applied to one William Hathorne a magistrate of like disposition with himself, to *send him some Quakers that way that he might see them slashed*; which is a clear indication that he was of that temper which could take delight in the sufferings and torture of his fellow-creatures,

CHAP. was she tortured with severe whippings, twice ex-  
 IX. posed to perils in the wilderness, and left to  
 1662. perish, as far as in the power of these rigid and  
 hypocritical professors of religion. Whoever can  
 vindicate such proceedings, I should think he  
 either wronged his judgment, or was as callous  
 to the tender feelings of humanity as the unmer-  
 ciful magistrates of New-England. But in her  
 righteous cause as her afflictions abounded, so  
 her inward consolations did much more abound,  
 under the enjoyment whereof she testified her  
 willingness to endure much more for the propa-  
 gation of righteousness, and the love she bore to  
 the souls of all men.

The magistrates of this colony had suffered  
 their spirits to be so imbittered against this so-  
 ciety, that the very name exposed those who bore  
 it to punishment, and it is to be presumed few  
 of them escaped it in a greater or lesser degree ;  
 but some individuals seem to be more peculiarly  
 marked out by them as objects of their utmost  
 malevolence, such we have shewn were Lau-  
 rence and Cassandra Southick, and their son  
 Josiah, such were these innocent women, whose  
 sufferings are just remarked ; and such was Edward  
 Wharton of Salem, whose banishment, on pain  
 of death, hath been before recited ; but the  
 king's mandamus having prevented the perse-  
 cutors from carrying their sentence into execu-  
 tion, (for as he told them, he did not depart  
 from their jurisdiction, but kept his habitation)  
 they omitted no opportunity to wreak their ven-  
 geance upon him, and make his residence there  
 as uneasy and distressing as in their power.

Edward  
 Wharton.

1663. Being a man of Christian courage, in the  
 summer of this year he went into the court at  
 Dover,

Dover, a place where persecution had been hotly carried on, and expressed himself in the following terms: “Woe to all oppressors and persecutors, for the indignation of the Lord is against them; therefore, friends, whilst you have time prize the day of his patience, and cease to do evil and learn to do well: Ye who spoil the poor and devour the innocent.”

CHAP.  
IX.  
1663.

Having said this, he was immediately apprehended, and set in the stocks till they might consult what to do with him, for his expressions had touched them to the quick, and provoked their resentment against him. The result of their consultation was, that he should be severely punished as a *vagabond Quaker*, though well known to them as a reputable inhabitant of Salem, and about his lawful business: The clerk, who was employed to write the order for his punishment, was his next neighbour, (and consequently as much a *vagabond* as himself) as he was drawing it up, \* William Hathorne called to him, and bade him write *in the king's majesty's name*. Whereupon Edward Wharton made his objection, “Friends, you wrong the king and abuse his name, for I believe he never gave you  
“ order

\* This Hathorne, before he was a magistrate, appeared as a professed enemy to persecution, for when an act was preparing to prohibit any persons from preaching but such as should be approved by a particular set of men, he publicly opposed it, saying, *He looked upon it as a very bad act, and a sign that the Lord had forsaken them*. How unstable and contradictory are the sentiments of men in different stations of life? This man, after long seeking, being advanced to an office of magistracy, became a violent persecutor of others, for practising that Christian liberty which himself had asserted and contended for.

CHAPTER. "order so to abuse his honest subjects." However the court made the following order, viz.

IX.

1663.

"To the constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich and Wenham.

Warrant to whip him through three towns.

"You and every of you are required, in his majesty's name, to receive into your custody Edward Wharton, a vagabond Quaker, and convey him from town to town until he come to his habitation in Salem; and the constables of Dover, Hampton and Newbury are to whip him through their respective towns at a cart's tail, not exceeding ten stripes in each town, according to the law of vagabond Quakers in that behalf. This being the sentence of a court held at Dover the 4th of July, 1663.

"ELIAS STILMAN, cleric."

To which sentence Edward answered, "I fear not the worst you may be suffered to do to me, neither do I look for favour at your hands." The sentence was immediately executed at Dover, and the executioner told him he must prepare to receive the like at the next town. But refusing to go, except forced, he was put upon a horse's back, having neither bridle nor halter, nor any thing to hold by but the pommel of the saddle. In this ignominious manner, one leading the horse and two others guarding him on each side, he was carried like a notorious criminal from town to town, and whipped as the warrant directed.

Soon

Soon after this two of his friends, John Lyd-C H A P. IX. dal and Thomas Newhouse \*, being at a meeting at Salem, were apprehended, and by Hathorne ordered to be whipped through three towns. 1663. Whipped again at Salem. Edward remonstrating against this and other proceedings of this Hathorne, was sentenced to be whipped with fourteen lashes, which were inflicted at the whipping post in the said town.

About the same time Joseph Nicholson, Jane Millard and Anne Coleman were cruelly whipped through Salem, Boston and Dedham; the latter of whom, Anne Coleman, it was thought would have lost her life through the extreme torture she was put to, by the knots of the whip splitting one of the nipples of her breast; and it was a considerable time before she recovered. Cruel whipping of Anne Coleman and others.

Edward Wharton went about some temporal concerns to Rhode-Island, and from thence he, with George Preston and Wenlock Christison, went to Boston, and assembled there with others of their friends to worship God. Rawson, the secretary, coming to the knowledge thereof, issued his warrant to take a stranger, a preacher among the Quakers, &c. but before the constable reached the house the meeting was ended, and the stranger gone. Searching Nicholas Uphall's house he found Edward Wharton there, and insisted upon his going before the governor; but Edward demanding a sight of his warrant, and not being mentioned therein, he asserted his right as a subject of England, and refused to go under a warrant, 1664.

\* Thomas Newhouse was again whipped through the jurisdiction of Boston for bearing testimony against persecution in one of their meeting-houses; at which time having two glass-bottles in his hands, he threw them down, saying, "So shall you be dashed to pieces."

C H A P. a warrant, in which being neither named nor  
 IX. described, it was in no respect a warrant  
 1664. againſt him: But here, the magiſtrates and their  
 officers being of the ſame caſt, the conſtable  
 dragged him by violence out of the houſe, and  
 took him before the governor, who immediately,  
 notwithstanding he knew him very well,\* had  
 been perſonally obliged to him, and knew he  
 was an inhabitant of the colony, a reputable  
 tradefman in good circumſtances, told him *he*  
*ſhould ſuffer as a vagabond.* To which Edward  
 replied, *I defy the life of a vagabond; that law*  
*is a wicked law, and very wicked and unrighteous*  
*men they are that cauſe thoſe who fear the Lord*  
*to ſuffer by ſuch a wicked law.* But this remon-  
 ſtrance availed not. The governor, reſolved on  
 rigour, turned a deaf ear to his reaſoning, and  
 iſſued his warrant for him to be whipped in their  
 accuſtomed ignominious way at a cart's tail  
 through the towns of Boſton and Lynn, and  
 thence paſſed to Salem, the place of his abode.  
 If ever the term vagabond was miſapplied, as it  
 was in reſpect to this people in general, it was  
 moſt certainly in this caſe. A man on his way  
 home from a remoter place, whither his lawful  
 occaſions

Edward  
 Wharton  
 ordered to  
 be whipped  
 through  
 Boſton and  
 Lynn.

\* William Sewel, p. 339, writes that Endicot had been formerly in a circumſtance to acknowledge Edward Wharton's frienſhip to him, when he ſupplied him with neceſſaries in his want, promiſing then, that *if ever it lay in his power he would requite him.* In what manner he made that promiſe good theſe anecdotes make manifeſt. In a letter to Endicot from one John Smith, recorded by J. Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 209, and ſaid to be delivered into his own hand, I find this paſſage: "There remaineth in thee a ſpirit of cruelty and hard heartedneſs to thy poor neighbours, which thou haſt been formerly much beholden to, and relieved by in time of want, when thou haſt not bread to eat."

occasions in the way of his business had called him, apprehended at random in the breach of no law, not even their law, was surely neither vagrant (in any accepted sense of the word) nor criminal; no stranger, but well known in Boston; but he was known to be a Quaker, so called; this was his crime, and for this he suffered,—for his religion and nothing else\*. When the warrant was written, Edward was told, that “if he would promise the governor to come no more to the Quakers meetings at Boston, it was likely he would discharge him.” To which he replied, “Not for all the world; I have a back to lend to the smiter, and I have felt your cruel whippings before now, and the Lord hath made me able to bear them, and as I abide in his fear I need not fear what you shall be suffered to do unto me; but surely the Lord will visit you for the blood of the innocent, and your day is coming as it is come upon many, who but as yesterday were higher than ever you were or are likely to be, but now are made the lowest of many, and truly my soul laments for you.”

The next day he was cruelly whipped through Boston almost a mile, and sent away to Lynn; but the constable there considering him as a well known inhabitant of Salem, and the warrant an illegal one, refused to execute it.

Toward the end of the next month Alice Ambrose and Mary Tomkins being returned from Virginia, where they had been severely treated, and the latter, being very sick near unto death, Edward Wharton and Wenlock Christifon having intelligence

\* See note upon Neale, p. 33, &c.

CHAP. intelligence thereof, came from Salem to Boston  
 IX. to visit their sick friend. They were no sooner  
 1664. come to the house where she was, than two  
 constables followed, and forced them all together  
 before the governor, although the sick woman,  
 through extreme weakness, fell down by the way  
 as dead, yet they waited over her till she reco-  
 vered a little, and took her with the rest. Wen-  
 lock and the two women were ordered to be  
 whipped out of the jurisdiction, but their sen-  
 tence, through the intercession of Colonel Tem-  
 ple, was remitted. As for Edward Wharton,  
 he being an acknowledged inhabitant now (al-  
 though so lately a vagabond) they resolved upon  
 another course with him, and thereupon informed  
 him, that *unless he would subscribe to these four  
 propositions*: 1st, To promise to come no more  
 to any Quakers meetings in Boston. 2d, That  
 when he came to Boston he should acquaint the  
 governor and his deputy forthwith, and of his  
 business. 3d, That he would take the oath of  
 fidelity. And 4th, To give bond for his good  
 behaviour, *he should be tied to a great gun, and  
 severely whipped with thirty stripes on his naked  
 body*. A severe and arbitrary alternative; yet  
 this conscientious man was not long in deter-  
 mining his choice, he plainly told them that  
 “ he would not comply with their proposals;”  
 whereupon Daufort drew up the following war-  
 rant, and got Endicot to sign it:

“ To the constables of Boston, of Charlestown,  
 “ Malden and Lynn.

Warrant  
 for whip-  
 ping him  
 again at  
 Boston with  
 thirty  
 stripes.

“ You are required to take into your custo-  
 “ dy respectively Edward Wharton, convicted  
 “ of



“ of being a vagabond from his own dwelling-  
 “ place ; and the constable of Boston is to  
 “ whip him severely with thirty stripes on his  
 “ naked body ; and from constable to constable  
 “ you are required to convey him until he  
 “ comes to Salem, the place where he saith  
 “ he dwelleth : And in thus doing this shall be  
 “ your warrant. Dated at Boston the 30th of  
 “ June, 1664.

C H A P.  
 IX.  
 1664.

“ JOHN ENDICOT.”

Then they led him to the market place, and bound his arms to the wheels of a great gun, and barbarously whipped him with thirty stripes, so that it was testified that peas might lie in the holes, which the knots of the whip had torn in his flesh ; his body was much swelled and very black from his waist upwards. In that sad and miserable condition they led him as the warrant directed, not the nearest way to Salem, but round about the country, as if to expose him to the people as a spectacle, to terrify them with the notion of their unlimited power, and their rigorous cruelty in exercising it.

Barbarously  
 executed.

Soon after the signing this warrant Endicot was deprived of his power, which he uniformly applied, in concert with other magistrates of similar temper, to the punishment of those who could not square their religion by his pattern ; being seized with a loathsome disease, which caused a nauseous putrefaction before his breath left him, and terminated in his death.

Of his confederates some were gone before, and the rest were taken away one by one, so that from this time persecution in New England

C H A P.  
IX.  
1665.

gradually abated, as the persecutors lost their strength, and the eyes of the people began to be opened to see the evil of these rigorous measures, and more generally to condemn them, the magistrates became more cautious ; yet we shall, in sundry instances, see the vestiges of the persecuting spirit endeavouring to exert its power for the punishment of divers of this people several years after this, even till the Indians made destructive incursions into their jurisdiction, which brought on a war, and gave them more serious employment—to repel enemies much more formidable than the Quakers so called.

Edward Wharton, however, did not find all his persecutors removed in Endicot, for some months after, he was again cruelly whipped and imprisoned one month, for no other cause than accompanying some of his friends to Boston, who came thither to seek a passage to England. Such a series of inhuman whippings and other cruel sufferings for several years together, is scarce paralleled in history to be inflicted on any one person, for the cause of religion and a good conscience.


C H A P.

## C H A P. X.

## DETACHED OCCURRENCES.

*Travels of Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers into Italy.—On their Way to Alexandria are put into Malta.—Are put into the Inquisition.—Their Sufferings there.—Released by the Intervention of Lord D'Aubigny.—John Philly and William Moore travel into Hungary to visit the Hortefche Brethren.—From thence to upper Hungary.—Put in Shackles.—Rifled by the Officers.—Brought before the Inquisitor.—Repeatedly examined, but no cause of Crimination appearing they are put to the torture.—William Moore's Account thereof, and of their successive Trials and severe Sufferings.*

ABOUT this period two English women were imprisoned in the inquisition at Malta, where they were confined above three years: their names were Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers. These women, under a religious concern to propagate the doctrine of the divine light in man in the darker parts of the world, took their passage in a ship bound from London to Leghorn, where, through various trials and storms, they at length safely arrived, and stayed some time, during which they used their endeavours to answer the end of their coming, by dispersing fundry books, explaining the doctrines

C H A P.  
X.


1661.  
Catharine  
Evans and  
Sarah Chee-  
vers take  
passage to  
Leghorn,

C H A P. trines of this people ; and discoursing upon religion with the people who came to them, of whom curiosity drew numbers of all ranks daily ; and in these their christian endeavours they met with no molestation here.

X.  
1661.

thence intending for Alexandria are put into Malta.

Entertained at the English consul's.

From hence having got a passage in a Dutch ship, with intention to go to Alexandria, the master put into Malta, where he tarried some time. Next day after their arrival, being the first of the week, they went ashore, where they were met by the English consul, who enquiring the cause of their coming, they informed him, and gave him some books, upon which he let them know there was an inquisition there ; and kindly inviting them to his house, they accepted his invitation. While they abode here curiosity drew many to visit them, whom they found it their concern to call to repentance, whereby several were affected. They went by desire to the nunnery, to see the governor's sister there, where they discoursed with the nuns, and gave them some books. Here a priest brought them into the chapel, and wanted them to bow to the high altar ; but they refused, with abhorrence of that idolatry, and went back to the consul's, where they continued about three months, during which time they were repeatedly called before the inquisitors, and examined by them about their religious principles ; and through the wisdom and integrity they were favoured with, answered their interrogatories in such manner as not to give them the advantage against them which they were seeking for, nor give away the cause of that truth they believed in, by the least compliance with their requisitions to adopt their superstitious and showy

showy religion. The inquisitors, not adventuring to take them out of the consul's house without his consent or acquiescence, yet desirous to get them into their power, at length prevailed upon him by their flattery, their menaces, and (as was afterwards discovered) by bribery, to violate his duty, and withdraw his protection so far as to suffer them to be taken by the officers of the inquisition; for which purpose he confined them in his own house, though the governor had signified his willingness that they should retain their full liberty, as believing them to be honest women. The consul by fair carriage was desirous to conceal his insincere conduct; but they being under a sense that measures were in contemplation to their prejudice, and suspecting the consul to be a party therein, hinted to him their suspicions, remarking, that "Pilate would willingly do the Jews a pleasure, yet wash his hands in innocence;" which remark his consciousness of his duplicity applied home to himself, so that he required a sign of them, if they were the messengers of God: And they signified that this might serve for a sign, "That it would go well with them, but it would not go off well with him."

C H A P.  
X.  
1661.

The consul  
acts insincere-  
ly with  
them,

Soon after the consul informed them that they were sent for by the inquisition, in pursuance of orders from Rome, but that he hoped they would be set free; wherein he still dissembled, knowing (as they afterwards discovered) that they would be detained in prison. They were taken into custody by the officers of the inquisition, and carried before the lord inquisitor, whose first question was, "Whether they had  
" changed

and gives  
them up to  
the inquisition.

C H A P.  
X.

1661.  
Examined  
by the in-  
quisitor, and  
committed  
to prison in  
the inquisi-  
tion.

“ changed their minds? To which they answered, “ No, and that they should not change from the truth.” Then he asked, “ What new light it was they talked of?” They replied, “ It was no new light, but the same the prophets and apostles bore testimony to.” Next he asked, “ How this light came to be lost since the primitive times?” They answered, “ It was not lost, but men did not comprehend it, by reason of the night of apostacy which had overspread the nations.” Then he threatened them, if they would change their minds they should say so, or else they would use them as they pleased; but they signified they would not change, adding, *The will of the Lord be done.* Upon this the inquisitor and consul withdrew, and left them to the officers to conduct them to their prison, which was a close dark room, with only two little holes for light and air, and so extremely hot in that warm climate that it seemed as if the intention of the inquisitor was to stifle them to death.

The consul  
is troubled  
for giving  
them up.

They were brought under examination again and again, but no answer could be extorted from them to turn to their disadvantage; and being still kept close prisoners, the consul, who had been forewarned that his connivance at their apprehension would not go off well with him, became troubled in his mind to that degree that he came to them with tears in his eyes, expressing his sorrow for their detention; and he offered back what he had received for delivering them up, but could not prevail to have them set at liberty; and is said to have enjoyed no peace after

after as long as he lived, which was not very long. C H A P.  
X.

To describe minutely all the sufferings and trials they patiently endured during a cruel imprisonment for three or four years would lead me into too much prolixity. They were continually beset and perplexed with the impertinences of monks and friars, to cajole, terrify or beguile them into conformity to their superstitions; but all their efforts were quite ineffectual. These innocent women were too well established, and too steadfast in that purer religion they had experienced the efficacy of, to be perverted therefrom either by flattery, by menaces or by terror; although in apparent jeopardy every day, often threatened, and often under the dismal apprehensions of being led to the stake, as numbers before them on the like offence had been.

1661.

They are beset with the monks and friars.

But it looked as if their design was rather to get them put out of the way without noise, than to execute them publickly. They were therefore put into a room so exceedingly hot, close and suffocating, that it was thought they could not survive there long; where moreover they were so excessively stung by gnats that their faces were spotted and swelled as if they had been in the small pox. They were often forced to rise out of their bed, to lie down at the chink of the door for air to draw breath. By the excessive heat of the room, which was intense beyond conception, by an internal heat added to that of the climate, their skin was parched, their hair fell off, and they frequently fainted away. Their affliction here was too severe for humanity in its best state, especially in tender

Put into a room where they are almost suffocated,

C H A P. tender women, to support, so that at times they  
 X. were tempted to wish for death, to put an end  
 to their sorrows.

1661.  
 whereby  
 Catharine  
 falls sick.

It was not admirable that Catharine, by this treatment, fell into a fit of sickness, and the monks once bringing with them a physician, as they had done several times before, telling them it was in charity, Catharine asked them, "Whether they did not keep them in that hot room to kill them, and bring the physician to keep them longer alive in torment?" To this it was replied, "It was better to keep them there than to kill them." They wrote to the inquisitor, pleading their innocency, and complaining of the hardships they sustained, adding, "if it was their blood they thirsted after, they might as well take away their lives some other way as smother them there." This remonstrance he took so ill, that he ordered their ink-horns to be taken away. They asked, "Why their goods were taken away?" and were answered, "All is ours, and your lives too if we will." He ordered them also to be separated; but when they came to part them, Catharine's disorder had broke out in one continued eruption from head to foot, whereupon the doctor was sent for, who said, "They must have air, or else they would die." This being reported to the inquisitor, he ordered the door to be set open six hours in the day.

They are  
 separated.

Soon after they were separated, in hopes to make more impression upon them, by attacking them separately with their artful wiles or dreadful menaces, in order to bring them to submit to their requisition; but their assailants were greatly disappointed, for they found them afterwards



wards as immoveable as before, being strength-  
 ened separately as well as jointly to resist all  
 their attempts.

C H A P.  
 X.

1661.

As a specimen of their manner of making  
 converts I shall transcribe one of their dialogues  
 out of many. One time a friar came to Catha-  
 rine, and told her, If she would be a catho-  
 lick she should say so, otherwise they would use  
 her badly, and she should never see the face  
 of Sarah again, but she should die by herself,  
 and a thousand devils should carry her soul to  
 hell. She asked him, If he was the messenger  
 of God to her? and he said, Yes: Why,  
 what is my sin, or wherein have I provoked the  
 Lord, that he should send me such a message?  
 It is, replied he, because you will not be a  
 catholick: Whereupon she said, I deny thee  
 and thy message too, and the spirit which  
 speaks in thee, for the Lord never spoke so.  
 He, growing angry, threatened to lay her in a  
 whole pile of chains, where she should see  
 neither sun nor moon. Signifying her resigna-  
 tion and trust in divine protection, she said,  
 he could not separate her from the love of  
 God in Christ Jesus, lay her where he would.  
 Threatening to give her to the devil, she told  
 him, she did not fear him, for the Lord, said  
 she, is my keeper; the Lord is at my right  
 hand, and the worst you can do is to kill the  
 body; you can touch my life no more than  
 the devil could Job's. At this, quite enraged,  
 he told her, she should never go out of that  
 room alive; to which she undauntedly replied,  
 The Lord is sufficient to deliver me; but whe-  
 ther he will or no, I will not forsake the living  
 fountain to drink at a broken cistern; and  
 you

Discourse  
 of a friar  
 with Catha-  
 rine.

The friar  
 threatens  
 her.

C H A P. X. you have no law to keep us here, but such a law as Ahab had for Naboth's vineyard. At this the monk ran off in a rage, and pulling the door, said, Abide there, member of the devil: To which she said, The devil's members do the devil's works, and the plagues of the Lord will be upon them for it.

Even in the inquisition they find opportunities of preaching.

The house of the inquisition being rebuilding or repairing in some parts for the space of a year and an half, furnished them with frequent opportunities, even here, to incite the people to repentance, and to an attendance to the light of Christ in them, that thereby they might be preserved from evil, not only among the workmen, who were well affected and obliging to them, but often with the citizens of better quality who came to view the building.

Sometimes they spoke so effectually to those who came to see them that they could not gain-say the truths they declared, but were made to confess that God was with them. And Catharine's prison being so near the street that she could be heard of those that passed by, she frequently found it her duty, particularly as they passed to and from the place of worship hard by, to call them to repentance, and to turn them to the light, which would lead them from all sinful ways and worships to serve God in spirit and in truth, which seemed to have a considerable effect on many, who would stay to hear as long as they durst, for they were narrowly watched, and the consequence of their stopping might have been imprisonment at least. Others, greatly offended, applied to the inquisitor to have them chained, or punished some other way; and many of the lower order, embittered by the priests,

priests, manifested great malice in their words and actions. C H A P.  
X.

Thus they not only withstood all the efforts of the monks to beguile them from their faith, but bore open testimony to the truth they believed in, and against the superstition and idolatry of the religion established there; endeavouring, by a faithful discharge of duty, to keep a conscience void of offence to God as well as man; and they were supported in resignation to the divine will, in the midst of surrounding dangers, and in humble confidence in divine preservation, whereby at last they experienced deliverance. For whichundry intercessions were made to the inquisitor, both by their friends and others. One Francis Stuart, of London, a master of a ship, in company with an Irish friar, coming to that city, and engaging the assistance of the new consul, exerted themselves greatly, and made great interest to get them released by application to the chief magistrate, to the inquisitor, to the magistrates and friars; and obtained the consent of all or most of them to their release, except the inquisitor, who told them, *He could not set them free, without an order from the pope.* These men were however admitted to see and speak with them (a privilege rarely granted) the master with tears informed them of the ineffectual pains he had taken to procure their liberty; "It is this inquisitor," said he, "that prevents it; you have preached to this people." To which they replied, "That it was to preserve the testimony of a good conscience; and the truth they had borne witness to amongst them, they should stand to maintain, even with their blood."

1661.

Fra. Stuart, a captain of a ship, solicits their release without success.

The

C H A P.

X.

1661.

Dan. Baker  
also applies  
to the in-  
quisitor for  
their liber-  
ty.

The next effort for their liberty was made by Daniel Baker, one of the same profession; who, under a concern for propagating true religion, in company with John Stubbs, Henry Fell, and Richard Scoftrop had travelled to Leghorn, whence Stubbs and Fell took their departure for Alexandria; and Baker and Scoftrop for Smyrna and Constantinople, they preaching everywhere the light of Christ, and exhorting all to obedience thereto, as the means whereby they might experience salvation from sin, and a real conversion of their souls to God. This doctrine, delivered in meekness, and accompanied by inoffensive deportment, was received with contempt and indignation, more by the professors of christianity, than the Turks, Jews and Greeks. When they arrived at Smyrna, they were sent back by the English consul to Zant, where Richard Scoftrop died. Daniel Baker got passage from thence to Venice, and so to Leghorn, and at length to Malta, to visit the aforesaid women, with whose sufferings he had real sympathy, being engaged in the same cause. He obtained access to the inquisitor, and addressed him in Italian, thus, "I am come to demand the just liberty of my friends, the two English women in prison in the inquisition." The inquisitor asked, whether he was related to them as an husband or kinsman? And whether he came out of England on purpose to make this application? He answered, that he came from Leghorn for that purpose. The inquisitor told him, they should lie in prison till they died, except some English merchants, or others of sufficient ability, would give an obligation of three or four thousand

land dollars, that they should never return thither. C H A P.  
X.

He repeated his solicitations, but could obtain no other answer. During his stay of twenty-four days on the island, he frequently visited the prisoners, at the hazard of his life; administered to their necessities, and received several letters from them to take over to their friends in England; and although he was daily threatened with the inquisition, and their officers watched him narrowly, yet through the favour of divine Providence, he was preserved out of their hands, and returned safe to England, where he was soon after taken with others from the meeting at Bull and Mouth, in the 5th month (July) 1662; and after being detained some hours for a gazing-stock to the people in Paul's yard, was taken in the evening before alderman Brown, who ordered his attendants to smite him, which they did; and pulling him four or five times to the ground, beat him with their fists, and wrung his neck to gratify the ill temper of their master; who when he was satisfied with abusing him and his companions, committed them to Newgate: It was not without reason that Daniel Baker, reflecting on the treatment he had met with abroad, told him that Turks and Pagans would be ashamed of such brutish actions.

At last, after these women had endured the severities of their imprisonment in the inquisition upwards of three years, George Fox and Gilbert Latey understanding that the lord D'Aubigny could procure their liberty, applied to him for his friendly interposition, by writing to the magistrates there in their favour; which with a laudable humanity he readily promised to do, and his

*George Fox prevails on lord D'Aubigny to interpose in their favour, who obtains their release.*

C H A P. his mediation was so successful as to obtain their  
 X. release in the following manner.

1661.

They are  
 accordingly  
 set at liber-  
 ty.

The lord inquisitor with the chancellor and others came to the prison, and asked them, *Whether they would return to England to their husbands and children?* They replied, "It was their intent, in the will of God so to do." Whereupon they were released, and the inquisitor courteously took his leave of them, wishing them a prosperous journey to their own country, as did the other officers, without making any demand of fees for their attendance. Being thus restored to liberty, they kneeled down and prayed unto God not to lay to their charge the evil they had done unto them. And then they were delivered into the consul's hands: After about eleven weeks residence at his house, the Sapphire frigate coming to the island took them in, together with some knights of Malta, one of whom was the inquisitor's brother, who often interested himself with the captain in their favour, requesting they might want no accommodation the ship afforded. From Malta they came to Leghorn, where the merchants treated them with remarkable kindness, sending them wine and other things for their refreshment. From hence they passed to Tangier, at that time besieged by the Moors, notwithstanding which they went into the town, and got many opportunities of exhorting the people to the amendment of their lives, as they flocked greatly to the house where they lodged: They paid a visit to the governor, who received them courteously, took their admonition in good part, and signified his purpose to follow their counsel. He would have given them money, which they were not free to accept, but gratefully acknowledged his kindness.

From

Are kindly  
 entertained  
 at Leghorn.

and at Tan-  
 gier.

From Tangier they went aboard another ship for England, where, after some storms, they arrived in safety, rejoicing in the Lord, and magnifying his mercy manifested in their wonderful deliverance. C H A P. X.  
1661.

For some time previous to their discharge their tried integrity and blameless demeanour had made an impression on both the magistrates and inquisitor in their favour, so that the latter relaxed in his severity, and seemed inclined to give them their liberty; but the friars exerted their endeavours against it. However, he ordered that they should be supplied again with pens, ink and paper, to write to their friends. After this they wrote several letters and papers during their confinement.

Severe as the sufferings of the aforesaid women in the inquisition were, they fell short of those of two men friends, John Philly and William Moore, who being with other friends in Germany in the beginning of the year 1662, felt a concern on their minds to proceed farther into Hungary, on a visit to the Hortesche brethren, who were a kind of Baptists living in a community, and in imitation of the primitive christians, having their goods and possessions in common: they also refused to swear or fight, and dwelt by hundreds of them together in a family. To encounter the perils of so long a journey, through a tract of country unknown to them, and where they were unknown, amongst people far differing from them in language, in sentiments and in manners, was a discouragement, which nothing could surmount but a firm persuasion of duty, and in consequence a reliance on divine protection in the way thereof. By the information they had previously obtained,

John Philly and Wm. Moore travel into Hungary to visit the Hortesche brethren.

CHAP. <sup>X.</sup> tained, and further directions on the way, they made a prosperous journey to the nearest body of this people, residing near Cushart, about a day's journey from Presburg, where they were pretty hospitably entertained by some of them. They here dispersed some religious books, which they had taken with them for that purpose. They had afterwards some favourable opportunities of exercising their gospel labours amongst them, wherein they endeavoured to promote and advance their growth and experience in pure christianity.

Travel on  
into upper  
Hungary.

After they found themselves clear of their service there, they enquired after other families of their brethren, and were informed of one, three hundred miles farther at a city called Pattock, in upper Hungary; at the same time they were dissuaded by these people from going so far, but rather stay and visit the families thereabouts. With this proposal, although William was easy to comply, yet his companion thinking it his duty to go forward, he had not freedom to leave him, as John did not understand the language, which he had some knowledge of.

Surrounded  
with dan-  
gers on  
every side.

They therefore continued their journey in company to Presburg, and forward towards Comora, and on the way finding a boat going with meal to the garrison at Newhausel, which was on the way to Pattock, they endeavoured to get a passage in it. The boatmen asking whether they had any acquaintance there, and whether they had a pass? and being answered in the negative, they told them it would be dangerous going thither, and also to travel farther in these parts, being tributary to the Turks; that they would be encompassed with danger on all hands; in danger of being killed by the countrymen or Turks; and in equal danger if they went  
to



to Newhausel, as at that garrison they usually put those to death who were found on the tributary ground without permission. John Philly notwithstanding being desirous to proceed, they went on till they came near Comora, and lodged at an Hungarian's; but not being able to understand one another, they sent for a student from the college, with whom William conversed a little in Latin. The student enquiring concerning their country, and the purpose of their journey, William told him they came from Great Britain, and were desirous to go to Pattock. Afterwards they entered into discourse about religion, and in conclusion the student, taking his leave, wished them well, though his sentiments, he said, differed vastly from theirs.

Comora is in Schut, an island in the Danube, which river they must therefore cross to get to it; they made signs to a countryman to put them over, by holding out money to him, being ignorant of the risque they would run. He was accordingly getting his boat ready, when a Dutchwoman, coming up called out to him, What are you about? and told these strangers the governor would presently cause him to be hanged, if he took them over. So they returned to their lodging. Here William having heard there were many Dutch people on the south side of the town, went over the next day, and without apprehension of the consequence, took over some books, in order to seek an opportunity to convey them to Pattock. Meeting a soldier, and having one of the books in his hand, the soldier, looking at the title, told him of a certain place in the neighbourhood, which was in Turkey, whither, if he went, he might have good days there; to whom William signified his

CHAP  
X.  
1662.

W. Moore goes to Comora where he is apprehended.

CHAPTER. purpose to return back, and proceeded to the  
 X. water side, in order to rejoin his companion whom  
 he had left behind. Here the aforesaid soldier  
 1662. came up to him, and told him, he must come to  
 the captain, before whom appearing accordingly,  
 he asked for the book, and looking into it, asked  
 William if he was a Quaker? to which he an-  
 swered, *Yea*. The captain, in a passion, said,  
 These rogues shew no respect, and that he was a  
 young Hus come to seduce the people, and make  
 uproars. He then caused him to be stripped and  
 searched, and took away his money from him:  
 And William giving him to understand he would  
 not like such treatment himself, he told him,  
 When you get clear you shall have your money;  
 but that is not like to be the case. Being sent to  
 the guard, and shackled hands and feet, they en-  
 deavoured to terrify him, by insinuating as if he  
 should be roasted on a wooden spit, as some had  
 been, who had but just gone to the next village  
 without their order. He endeavoured to compose  
 himself in resignation to the divine disposal, ex-  
 pecting little less than immediate death. He was  
 desirous to convey intelligence to his companion  
 of his situation, and told some of the soldiers he  
 had a companion in the inn on the other side,  
 who would wonder what was become of him, if  
 he did not hear. On this intelligence they went  
 over and apprehended him in his lodgings, though  
 unconcerned in the crime they imputed to Wil-  
 liam, which was his going over into the garrison.  
 They were committed to separate prisons, Willi-  
 am to the Stockhouse, and John to the room ap-  
 propriated to the inhuman purpose of putting the  
 prisoners to the rack, where he had only the prof-  
 ect of the implements of torture before him.

Put in  
shackles.

John Philly  
also appre-  
hended.

After

After the officers had rifled their persons and port-manteau, and stripped them of what they pleased, they were not ashamed to use both threatenings and mean artifices to discover if they had any money left, and to extort it from them.

The day following they were brought before the inquisitor to be examined by him, who demanded of them, Whence they were? Whither they intended? Who was the author of their coming forth? What money they had taken up? William was farther examined concerning the books, and told it was a capital crime, and would cost him his life; to which he signified, What he had done therein he had done in simplicity. To the next question, Who had spoken to them in their lodging? he answered, A student. This student being accordingly sent for, and examined, his information was taken down in writing; but it doth not appear that any cause of crimination could be drawn therefrom, as to their pretended crime of coming as spies, or with treacherous intention, to the garrison. At a future examination the inquisitor had the student's information in his hand, but would not read it openly; for the proceedings of these courts have been long marked with infamy in all countries where they are not established, for their iniquitous mysteriousness in concealing from the unhappy prisoner every information or accusation they have against him, and proceeding by torture to extort a confession to their purpose, whether they have or have not any grounds of crimination. This was the wretched case of these men. When nothing as to their pretended crime could be made out, the inquisitor told them the books were enough, though there were nothing else; and then asked

C H A P.  
X.

1662.

They are  
rifled by the  
officers.

Brought be-  
fore the in-  
quisitor and  
examined.

C H A P. X. Whether they did not know that Catholics had laws to burn and torment Heretics, and such as carried such books? to which William warily replied, I should not have expected such dealings among good christians.

1662.

The inquisitor opening a book, real or pretended, of their corrupt laws, read or appeared to read therein, that persons who carry such books and papers are to be put to the rack. They were repeatedly brought to examination in the first eight days after their apprehension, and sundry ensnaring questions put to them, as what they thought of the sacrament; to which William replied, *the flesh profiteth little, it is the spirit that quickeneth*. This inquisitor was so strangely unacquainted with the scriptures, that in a surprize he applied to a priest present, "Sir, father, how is that? who recollecting himself said, *he did remember such an expression*. The inquisitor next asked him if he would turn catholick? to which he made this rational reply, "If I should do so for fear or favour of you, the Lord not requiring it of me, I should not have peace in my conscience, and the displeasure of the Lord would be more intolerable than yours;" adding that compulsion might make hypocrites, but not christians, as it did not change the heart.

Being thus sifted and tempted 'till the eighth day, without the discovery of any crime from their own confession, or the information of others, their persecutors proceeded to their usual resource, to extort the confession they wanted by torture. Of this the sufferer, William Moore, gives the following account, in a letter to William Caton, written soon after his release.

They are put to the torture.

"Notwithstanding our innocence, the government or would have us racked, which seemed to me, according

“ according to relation, a cruel torment ; and in  
 “ those days I often poured out my supplications  
 “ to the Lord with tears. They made ready the  
 “ benches, lighted the candles, put John out of  
 “ his room, and sent for me, the inquisitor sit-  
 “ ting there and two more officers, and the mar-  
 “ shal and executioner by them. The inquisitor,  
 “ addressing himself to me, said, William, that  
 “ you may not think we deal with you as tyrants,  
 “ we will inform you that you may tell what  
 “ you know in time, for if you be racked you  
 “ will be a miserable man, and must have your  
 “ head cut off besides. But I told them I had  
 “ done no evil that I knew of, nor had any in my  
 “ heart against them. Then he read a few lines  
 “ to this purpose, we Leopald, Emperor, &c. hav-  
 “ ing understood of two impeached persons, John  
 “ Philly and William Moore, found by our fron-  
 “ tier garrisons, our desire is they should be  
 “ racked, to know their intent. And then the  
 “ executioner, by their order, put an iron screw  
 “ hard upon my thumbs, and bade me tell out.  
 “ Then he slacked them and screwed them hard-  
 “ er again ; but their aim not being gained  
 “ thereby, he was commanded to proceed far-  
 “ ther ; upon which he tied a small cord about  
 “ my wrists behind my back, and another cord  
 “ about my ankles, with a battel of wood be-  
 “ tween my feet, and forced my body quite from  
 “ the ladder ; and at the first pull, my left arm  
 “ being dislocated, gave a loud crack, then he  
 “ was ordered to put it in joint again. So he  
 “ slackened : And then they told me, they had  
 “ three things especially, which they wanted to  
 “ be informed in, 1st. Why I asked the student  
 “ if one should come to them, and say he in-  
 tended

C H A P.  
 X.  
 1662.

W. Moore's  
 examination  
 on the  
 rack.

C H A P.

X.

1662.

“ tended to buy somewhat of them, if they would  
 “ kill him? Secondly, Why we had desired to  
 “ be fet over the water, and who was the au-  
 “ thor? Thirdly, Why I had written down  
 “ some of the names of the garrisons and other  
 “ places, notwithstanding I had them in the  
 “ maps?”

“ He further endeavoured to force me to  
 “ tell whether John Philly was a gunner, an  
 “ engineer, or a minister? Now this suspicion  
 “ of his being a minister was put into their  
 “ heads by an Irishman, who had an irrecon-  
 “ cileable hatred or malice against Englishmen,  
 “ as I afterwards from his own mouth plainly  
 “ understood; but I answered and kept to this,  
 “ that he was an husbandman and a maltman,  
 “ and I knew him not ’till he came to Amster-  
 “ dam. He asked me, if I had a mind to go to  
 “ the Turks, and be one? I said I had rather  
 “ die than be one. In the mean time I was so  
 “ racked, that my chin was close to my breast,  
 “ and my mouth so closed that I was almost  
 “ choked, and could not well speak any longer;  
 “ and I should not wish any to experience the  
 “ painful torture I endured; and when they  
 “ slackened, it was sometimes almost as painful  
 “ as the pulling, and yet still they would be  
 “ questioning me. Then I asked where is your  
 “ christian charity? do ye now as ye would  
 “ that others should do unto you? And I cried  
 “ the louder that the people without might hear,  
 “ and bear witness what they were doing to me,  
 “ for the door was shut and guarded: but some-  
 “ thing they would force out of me; and I told  
 “ them that by such means they might force  
 “ men to tell more than they knew, to be out  
 “ of

“ of their pain, as many had done. Finally, I CHAP.  
 “ told them, it was for love to our religion we X.  
 “ were come to those places. Then they left  
 “ off, as thinking there was crime enough. 1662.  
 “ Yet still the inquisitor threatened I should be  
 “ racked again on the third day.”

Then they fetched John, who not seeing me, John Philly  
 thought I had been hanged on the private gal- put to the  
 lows they had there, and put out of the way; torture.  
 but he was given up, being confident in the  
 Lord, who had sealed to him, he said, that his  
 life should be given to him for a prey before he  
 came forth; his thumbs were screwed, and he  
 was drawn up the ladder twice, but cried out,  
*innocent*; and they asking the interpreter, what  
 that was? they seemed smitten in their con-  
 sciences, and left off; and when all was done,  
 and they could find no contradiction, they in-  
 vented a lie. The marshal came to me, and told  
 me John had said, I had no money by me, but  
 what I had was his; and bid me tell how it  
 was; which I knew to be false: thus they sought  
 occasion to torment us the more; but we kept  
 to truth, and their expectation failed them.

After all, they told me there would be twenty They are  
 or thirty men of note, out of the quarters round threatened  
 about, appointed to hold a court of justice upon with death.  
 us, and to determine what deaths we should die,  
 and to make new laws for our sake; but in the  
 mean time the inquisitor came, and would have  
 me write down some of the heads of my religion,  
 which I did, at some of which he raged very  
 much.

John Philly being suspicious that the inquisitor J. Philly on  
 and priests, plotting to take away their lives, suspicion  
 might give a false representation of their con- of the in-  
 fession on the rack, called out to the gover- quisitors and  
 nor, priests ap-  
 ples to the  
 governor.

C H A P. X. nor, as he was passing in his coach, and upon sending to know his business, he informed him of the questions put to them, and their answers, which being true, there was not the least contradiction found therein. He afterwards wrote to him more fully, but the inquisitor, conscious of his evil dealing, intercepted the letter, and endeavoured to conceal it from the governor, which John understanding, took another opportunity to call to the governor, and informed him thereof, who ordered the inquisitor to give it to William to translate, which he did; soon after the inquisitor came to them, and informed them he was sent by the governor to let them know they might go forth to fill some earth in a wheelbarrow, whereby they might earn two pence a day to buy bread; for, continued he, that which remains in my hands of your money is little for my pains, and the marshal and the executioner must have some for theirs. This offer they willingly accepted, both for the sake of fresh air, and in hopes that their sufferings, being in open view, might move some compassion, there being many Lutherans and Calvinists there, who commiserated their condition, but durst not venture to visit or converse with them in the castle. Yet sometimes the marshal would not let them go out, and often kept back their wages.

Put to  
work at the  
wheelbar-  
row.

They both wrote again to the governor, in acknowledgment of his moderation, in preventing the desire of some of their adversaries, who wanted to proceed to greater severities. The inquisitor again intercepted their letters; but the governor, coming to the knowledge thereof, obliged him to give them up, and soon after their chains were taken off.

After



After they had been detained here about sixteen weeks, they were conveyed in chains, by a waggon, under a guard to general Nadaſti, who was addreſſed under the titles of *Judex Curiaë Hungariaë*, the Emperor's active privy counſellor and lord chamberlain. The next morning they were brought before him and fundry lords of that kingdom, by whom they were examined; and although ſome of them ſeemed affected with their answers, and none objected thereto, they paſſed ſentence upon them, that they ſhould be burned, if they would not be inſtructed in and embrace the popiſh religion, for that their laws tolerated only three religions, their own, the Lutherans and the Calviniſts; and whoſoever brought a new religion, by their laws was to be burned. Upon receiving this ſentence they were ſent away. Under this diſmal ſentence John was ſupported, and encouraged his companion, by a full perſuaſion of mind, that the power of the Lord would divide them in their council, which proved to be the caſe, as they afterwards underſtood by an Iriſh prieſt, who was ſent to demand an account of their religion in writing, which they gave him in Engliſh, and William having tranſlated it, gave into Nadaſti's own hands.

A prieſt was ſent to convert them, but his endeavours and thoſe of others being ineffectual, Nadaſti ſent them to a place within about five German miles of Vienna, where falling into the hands of the prieſts, their perils became aggravated. They were here again ſearched, their books and papers taken away. They were threatened with the execution of the ſentence paſſed upon them; that they could give them a ſpecimen of their ſtrong arguments for convincing hereticks, ſuch as burning under the arms, putting

C H A P.

X.

1662.

Removed  
in chains to  
general  
Nadaſti.Sentenced  
to be burnt.But not  
executed.A prieſt  
ſent to con-  
vert them.  
Threatened  
with the  
execution  
of their  
ſentence,  
and various  
tortures.

C H A P

X.

1662.

Their me-  
naces and  
frauds fruf-  
trated.

W. Moore  
under great  
difcourage-  
ment hath  
an encour-  
aging vifi-  
on.

ting hot irons or copper-plates upon their breasts, and other methods of torture. They brought them into their churches (fo called, to make them take off their hats and bow to their images. They fet others to enfnare them, in their words, and ftrove to do it themfelves, that they might get fome occafion to take away their lives. But their menaces, and pious frauds (as they have been termed) were fruflrated by the ftadfaftnefs of thefe men to the truth they believed in: They therefore put manacles on their wrifts, fo finall, as, when locked by main force, but them to extreme torture, fo that they could not help crying out. This feemed to give much joy to thefe obdurate ecclefiasticks. Then they were thruft into a narrow hole with fome Turks, that were prifoners, where they had fcarce room to fit down. Here they were again threatened to be fent back to Hungary to be burned. One of the priefts, being defired to treat them as men and chriftians, to allow them a little ftraw to lie on, and not to ufe them worfe than the Turks, replied, we prefer them before you. About the fame time they offered them drink, urging them greatly to take it, which they fufpecting to be poifon, refufed; upon this one of the priefts faid, *fufpectum eft*. Amongft thefe priefts they had a very uneasy time, being, in addition to their cruelty, almoft continually affaulted by their fnares, their taunts or their menaces. As Wil- liam under great difcouragement was fitting and mufing upon their fituation, he faid within him- felf, Lord help us! what will be the end of this? Will they have power to murder us here, where few may know of it? (for there were no Lu- therans and Calvinifts here as at Prefburg and Comora

Comora to be witnesses of their treatment :) In this musing state, he seemed as if he slept, and on a sudden to his imagination appeared a man all clothed in white, sitting on a milk-white horse riding in haste towards him, like one hastening to his rescue; whereby his faith was strengthened, imagining it was of divine appointment for his encouragement, lest he should be too much cast down. The very same day a message came from the Earl \*, signifying his displeasure at their proceedings.

C H A P.

X.

1662.

There was one Adam Bien, the Earl's barber, who had been educated amongst the Hortefche brethren aforementioned, and being favoured in his youth with an enlightened understanding in the nature of true religion, had been engaged to express his dissatisfaction with the darkness and deadness of the forms of those brethren. The Earl giving him some account of these prisoners, and shewing him some papers he had received from John Philly, his religious feelings were thereby revived, and a strong desire raised in his mind to get an opportunity of conversation with them, which through his interest with the Earl it was not difficult for him to attain. By their discourse he was reached and in a good degree convinced of the truth of their doctrine, and while they stayed there became a steadfast and very serviceable friend to them. He told them, he had it from the Earl that he imagined the priests must have been drunk when they gave the ill treatment which had displeased him; they  
in

Adam Bien, a religious man, by their conversation is affected with good will toward them and their principles.

\* Who this Earl was, we have no further account in William Moore's letter, from which this narrative is extracted; but I conjecture he was a person vested with the principal civil authority in this place.


CHAP. in return informed him they were so both with  
 X. rage and wine. The Earl's reproof had such effect as to stop for a season that current of abuse, that in various channels had hitherto run violently to bear them down: the streams began to turn, and some of those, who had distinguished themselves in promoting every cruel and malicious insult for the season, were endeavouring to ingratiate themselves with them by flattery, to wipe off the remembrance of their preceding treatment. The priests also were restrained from keeping them any longer in their hole of a prison, and using them with the cruelty they had done before, which was to them a great mortification.

At last have a prospect of obtaining their liberty, but prevented by a priest.

They seemed now to have a comfortable prospect of obtaining their liberty, having obtained certificates of their character from their friends in Holland, with the King's proclamation for setting their friends at home at liberty, which were of service: but a priest exerted his utmost efforts to prevent it, by infusing prejudices into the Earl's ear, and influencing him with a bad opinion of them. And this Earl going to Vienna was there confined by an heavy indisposition, by which means they were disappointed, for the present, in their hopes of liberty.

Specimen of the spirit of the ecclesiasticks.

Of the spirit of the religion of these ecclesiasticks we have several instances. About this time there came to them a spiritual Lord, (so called) an Englishman, from Vienna, who asked, if they were come to plant their religion? adding, Sects have occasioned much mischief in England, but now they will be rooted out. John remarked to him, the love of God can reconcile them: A pox take that love, said he, with other

other unfavoury expressions, very unbecoming C H A P.  
 his character of spiritual, manifesting him not X.  
 only carnal but profane. Another time there   
 came one, who was called Brother Valentine, 166z.  
 and speaking with them concerning the Bible,  
 said it had brought many thousands into hell.  
 And reading a paper of John's, which he had  
 written to the Earl and council, shewing that he  
 was an Englishman, and forasmuch as there was  
 no discord between England and the Empire,  
 he could not conceive why an Englishman com-  
 ing thither to visit a particular class of people,  
 and spend his money among them, should be used  
 with the cruelty they had been: upon reading  
 which this Valentine gave vent to the virulence  
 of his spirit in the following uncharitable ex-  
 pression, That they ought to be beheaded, for  
 if that had been done to Luther at first, there  
 had not been so many Lutherans or hereticks at  
 this day. This man's bitterness, no less than  
 the other's profanity, discovers a temper very dif-  
 ferent from the spirit of the gospel, which is  
 pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated,  
 full of mercy and of good fruits: wherefore they  
 took a very absurd method of recommending  
 their religion to the adoption of the prisoners,  
 who were better informed of the nature of true  
 religion, than not clearly to perceive theirs,  
 which allowed these liberties was not so; and  
 sensible enough to discern, that although priest-  
 craft might apply to such methods of support,  
 christianity abhorred them, as destructive of its  
 essence.

In the mean time Adam Bien had requested,  
 unknown to the prisoners, liberty for them to  
 reside in his house, during the extremity of the  
 winter; as their present prison, the guard-room,  
 was

CHAP. was very cold, the doors being open all day,  
 X. and much of the night, and from the confidence  
 he had in their integrity, proffered his own per-  
 1662. son in their stead, if they should make their  
 escape; but they were not free to add the bur-  
 den of supporting them to the obligations they  
 were under for his former acts of kindness, and  
 therefore chose to stay in the prison appointed  
 for them: yet they got liberty at times to go to  
 his house, where they sometimes met with some  
 of the brethren, and had religious opportunities  
 with them.

Their suf-  
 ferings con-  
 tinued.

They are  
 separated.

W. Moore  
 clandestinely  
 carried  
 off, and  
 cruelly a-  
 bused by  
 his atten-  
 dants.

But their sufferings were not yet at an end; both the priests and soldiers, though partly restrained by the awe they were in of Adam, on account of his intimacy with the Earl, continued at all secure opportunities they could get to be vexatious to them, and sought in various ways to insnare them. Finally, they seem by their insinuations to have prevailed upon the Earl to connive at least at a plot which was laid to separate them, by carrying William Moore off privately, probably, because, having some knowledge of the High-Dutch language and Latin, they might look upon him as the best qualified and most likely to promulgate their doctrines. For this purpose he was called out by one of the men employed to carry him off, who gave him two glass bottles, under pretence of going with him to fetch some wine; and when he had drawn him out of the town into the fields, whither came some sleds (the country being so deeply covered with snow, that waggons could not travel) being armed with a cudgel, he forced him on to one of them, and was presently joined by a soldier, whom William knew to be a desperate sort of a man, having been much threatened

threatened by him before. Upon his coming, William was sensible mischief was intended him, and fearing lest they should, under the pretence of his being run away, vent their vengeance on his companion and Adam too, to whom they bore a grudge for his kindness to them, he resolved to endeavour to get back; but was prevented by the wicked attendants, who beat and abused him greatly, threw him down on the snow, tied his hands and feet, bound him on the sled, with his face to the hay, and carried him off; so that he was under apprehension that their design was to murder him in an adjoining wood. They afterwards went by a gallows, where he imagined they might have it in view to execute him; but they passed by both. Some people coming that way, they covered him with a cloak, and one of them sat upon him, that he might not be seen. But hearing them passing by, he called out to them to let the barber know he was forcibly carried off. The soldier then again beat him severely, the other man having charged him not to suffer him to speak. At night, when they came to their lodging, they fettered his feet, and put a long chain tied over a beam about his neck. Next morning, passing through a village, he would gladly have spoke to somebody; but they forced him to lie down until they had got through the village. They carried him to a convent or some such place in a wilderness; but the prior not being at home, the monks would not receive him without his orders; so that night he was laid in chains as before. Next morning he was taken up to the monastery or castle, and his conductor gave directions that they should blindfold him, and put him in a deep dungeon, and give him only a little bread

C H A P.  
X.  
1662.

He is fettered in a convent.

CHAP. X. bread and water, and that none should be suffered to give any intelligence of him. A Jew being there, was prohibited, on pain of death to say any thing of what he had seen. He was accordingly put into an hole, where there was scarce any light, and kept there four days and four nights in cold frosty weather, so that it seemed admirable he was not starved to death.

1662.

He is apprehensive of being privately made away with.

From the clandestine manner in which he was conveyed hither, and the mysterious secrecy ordered to be observed, as to his present place of confinement, it is not to be wondered at, that he was apprehensive of being privately murdered, or made away with, so as never to be heard of more; and it is hard to account for this treacherous project otherwise, than that the original design of the projectors was such, or else to bury him alive in a dungeon, till death should release him, or till he should be wearied out, or terrified into an adoption of their religion: But the superintendency of divine providence rescued him from the former, and the well-grounded persuasion of the superior rectitude of his own religion from the latter.

Renewed endeavours to convert him to popery.

He had been confined twelve days, when the Prior came home, who sent for him and examined him, what end they had in view in coming into that country, and concerning some points of their religion; to which he answered agreeably to truth. The prior told him that was not enough, he must also believe that the Pope was Christ's Vicar, and that he, and they, had power to bind and loose in Heaven and on Earth. He was afterwards again examined on the same subject; and as his demeanour amongst them was inculpable and circumspect, consistent with



with the purity of the profession he made, they were the more desirous to gain him over as a profelyte, because they apprehended he would be an ornament to their profession. And a priest was sent to instruct and convert him, but his labour being ineffectual, they had recourse to menaces, threatening one while to cut out his tongue, another to slay him alive, if he would not turn papist.

C H A P.  
X.  
1663.

Adam Bien continued steadfast in his friendship to them in all their afflictions. After William was carried off, the Earl endeavoured to persuade him he was run away, which Adam could not believe; but by some means getting intelligence of the place of his confinement sent him some necessaries, and gave orders to supply him with bread on his account. Soon after the Earl being again seized with an indisposition, from which his recovery was doubtful, Adam solicited him in their favour, and obtained his promise to set them at liberty. But they being building a new cloister, William was detained by the Prior six weeks after to attend the masons, promising to tell him a good message when he returned, if he would be diligent. He afterwards took him aside, and told him the Earl would have him told, that if he would turn catholic he should have good service and preferment; but if not he could not detain him, for he had prisoners enough besides; but that it was concluded, that if he was found afterwards in Hungary or Austria, he should be burned, and his companion also.

Adam Bien  
a steadfast  
friend, con-  
tinues his  
solicitations  
in their fa-  
vour.

It was on the 4<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>mo</sup> (September) 1663, he was released, and his companion two days after, of whom I find no farther account but

William  
Moore re-  
leased, and  
through  
many dif-  
ficulties  
makes his

C H A P. that he set forward toward Germany. William,
   
 X. although set at liberty, yet having at first with
   
 1663. his companion, been stripped of their money,
   
 way into the Palatinate. which seemed more than sufficient for the ex-
   
 penses of their journey, found himself involved
   
 in difficulty still, a stranger in a remote country,
   
 without money and without friends ; but having
   
 been inured to close trials of his faith, he set
   
 out on his journey homeward, trusting in the
   
 superintending care of divine providence for his
   
 sustenance, from which he had experienced pre-
   
 servation in many straits, wherein there was lit-
   
 tle prospect of relief. Another danger attended
   
 him ; the Austrians being at war with the Turks,
   
 guards were placed at all the towns thereabout
   
 to examine strangers, and seize or prevent sus-
   
 picious persons entering into them ; he therefore
   
 avoided the garrisoned towns, and enquired the
   
 most private ways, and under the protection of
   
 that divine hand in which he trusted, in about
   
 a month he made his way into the Palatinate,
   
 where at Christein he got amongst his friends,
   
 who entertained him kindly. Here he tarried
   
 some weeks to rest and refresh himself after the
   
 long continued scene of danger, terror and dis-
   
 tress, which he had just passed through.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XI.

*John Audland's Death and Character.—He was a Teacher among the Independents.—Convinced by George Fox.—He travelled much in the work of the Ministry.—First who visited the City of Bristol.—His Widow's Testimony concerning him.—George Fox's Trial before Judge Twisden.—He traverses the Indictment.—Indictment quashed.—On his second Trial he is clandestinely condemned in a Premunire.—Severity of his Imprisonment.—Margaret Fell's Trial.—Francis Howgill's Trial.—At his second Trial condemned in a Premunire also.—Remarks upon his Trials.*

IT was near the close of this year that John Audland was taken off in a consumption, in an early stage of life. He was born near Camm-gill in Westmorland, the seat of his beloved companion in gospel labour John Camm (whose character and pious end is before related). From a child he is described as sharp in apprehension, of retentive memory and quick understanding; and as he approached a state of maturity, he applied the attention of his mind to religious thoughtfulness, and diligent reading the scriptures, and by the strength of his memory, and the goodness of his understanding, gathered a large treasure of scripture knowledge, and became an eminent teacher amongst the independents, of whom he had a very numerous auditory. He was one of the principal preachers at Firbank

C H A P.  
XI.

1663.

John Audland's death and character.

A teacher among the independents.

CHAP. chapel at the time when George Fox had the  
 XI. memorable meeting there, and not the least  
 amongst the number then convinced of the truth  
 and efficacy of the doctrines he published. Not-  
 withstanding the contemptible light in which  
 learned prejudice has viewed and represented  
 George Fox, yet it appears manifest his artless  
 preaching and honest simplicity of style, con-  
 veying heart-felt experienced truth, with gospel-  
 authority, was more conducive to fix the best  
 impressions on the hearts of his auditory, and  
 to open their understandings into a clear per-  
 ception of the emptiness of speculative religion,  
 unproductive of inward purity and establishment  
 in righteousness, than most of the elaborate  
 discourses of lettered eloquence. This was the  
 effect it had upon John Audland, impressing his  
 mind with such reflections as these; *What avail-  
 eth our great profession? All our building tumbles  
 down; the day of the Lord is upon it, and the  
 fire of his word consumes it as dry stubble, and  
 puts an end to all high notions, and professions with-  
 out life and substance, to all the wisdom of fallen  
 man. We must forsake the world and all its  
 glory; it is all but vanity and vexation of spirit.  
 It is a Saviour I long for. O that I may be ga-  
 thered into his life; overshadowed with his glory!  
 sanctified throughout by his word, and raised up  
 by his eternal power.* Under this view of the  
 necessity of taking up the cross in order to at-  
 tain peace, he willingly submitted thereto; and  
 resigning all his own self-righteousness, acquired  
 wisdom, and the reputation he had attained there-  
 by, he spent many days in silence and solitude,  
 in self-abasement, humiliation and mental prayer,  
 under the washing of regeneration, of which,  
 after

1663.  
 convinced  
 by George  
 Fox, at Fir-  
 bank chapel.

after a season of mournful travail of spirit, he was favoured with the experience. Through divine condescension he attained the desire of his soul, that inward peace which exceeds the comprehension of un sanctified men; and an extraordinary qualification, with wisdom and lively zeal to promulgate the way of salvation and reconciliation to God, no longer under the cold influence of barren speculation, but the animating energy of living experience. In the exercise of profitable ministry he zealously and faithfully exerted his talents for several years, travelling much through fundry parts of the nation to propagate the doctrines of the gospel maintained by the people called Quakers. He was early married, about the twentieth year of his age, to Anne Newby, a young woman of a good family, who proved a well suited companion, being a virtuous, valuable and well accomplished woman: With her he enjoyed much domestick happiness. But such was the unre served dedication of heart to the service of God, and christian fortitude of these professors of the light of Christ within, that neither the allurements of domestic ease and satisfaction, nor the dangers and hardships which awaited them every where abroad, were of sufficient consideration with them, to prevent their ready obedience, when they apprehended the call of duty summoned them to go forth with the message of the gospel: Herein approving themselves, by the same divine spirit to be fashioned after the model of primitive christianity: Remembering the time was short, *they that had wives, were as though they had none, they that bought as though they possessed not, and they that used the world as*

CHAP.  
XI.

1663.

He travels  
much in the  
work of the  
ministry.

not

C H A P.

XI.

1663.

*not abusing it.* Such were this pious pair; closely united as they were in mutual affection to each other, in similitude of sentiments and disposition, and of devotion to the service of their creator; when this service commanded their separation, he hesitated not to proceed in the line of duty; nor she to give him up freely thereto. By which means it happened, that for a considerable part of the time from their marriage to his death, they were much deprived of each other's company. Although few were happier in each other than they; yet looking for their principal happiness in futurity, they were willing to deny themselves of that part of their present satisfaction, which might be any obstruction to the steady pursuit of the future.

First who  
visited the  
city of Bristol.

John Audland was one of the earliest preachers of this persuasion, being the first of them, in company with John Camm, who visited the city of Bristol, and the western counties; where, as well as at other places, his powerful ministry was effectual to the convincing of many. Being fluent in expression, engaging in his manner of delivery, and abundantly replenished with matter, adapted to the different states of his auditory, the number of his hearers increased to such a degree, that for want of an house large enough to contain them, he and his companion held their meetings frequently in an orchard without the city. He was not only a partaker with his brethren in gospel labour, but in the perils and sufferings of that trying day; in repeated imprisonments and corporal abuses; by which, with his zealous exertions in these large meetings, beyond his bodily ability to sustain without

without injury, he was affected with a violent cough, which appeared consumptive, and finally terminated in a slow fever, whereby he was reduced to great weakness of body; but through the comfortable evidence of inward peace, in a consciousness of a life well spent, in the service of God and man, he was preserved easy and lively in his spirit, and bore his indisposition with exemplary patience. Reflecting upon his past labours and their effects he expressed, “that in those great meetings in the orchard at Bristol he often forgot himself, without considering the inability of his body, from a desire to be heard of all: But that his reward was with him, and he content to be with the Lord, which his soul valued above all things.”

Not long before his decease, being visited by some of his friends, he addressed them with such encouraging consolation and exhortation to fidelity under the trials they were exposed to, and with such pertinency and reaching energy, as if he was raised above the feeling of his weakness. In tender sympathy with his beloved and affectionate wife, who was with child, nigh to her delivery, to encourage her resignation, in case of his removal, he said, “My will is in true subjection to the will of the Lord, whether life or death, and therefore give me up freely to his disposing.” And being, through divine assistance, strengthened to comply with this advice, her sincere resignation under this affliction contributed greatly to the ease of his mind. He was not only preserved in peaceful serenity of mind at this solemn period, but at times even filled with joy in the prospect of approaching

C H A P.  
XI.  
1663.

C H A P.

XI.

1663.

proaching felicity, under the impresson whereof, in the time of extreme bodily weakness, his soul was raised up in praise to the almighty, and in prayer for the prosperity of his friends in righteousness, "That they might be preserved in the truth, "out of the evil of the world; that his gospel "might spread and be published to the gathering of all that pertain to Israel." His strength daily diminishing, he terminated a virtuous life in great tranquillity at the age of thirty-four years, which to him was of duration sufficient, being so well spent, as we trust, ensured him the end of his faith, the salvation of his soul.

His widow's testimony.

His widow (who bore her affliction in her trying circumstances, being about ten days after his decease delivered of a son, with remarkable resignation and discreetness) wrote a very pathetic testimony to his memory, which contains a sensible and lively description of affection, founded in religion; and christian fortitude, in acquiescing in divine disposal, in which she saith, "God, who by his Providence joined us together in marriage in our young days, in his blessed counsel caused also his day to spring from on high upon us; in the marvellous light and shining whereof he revealed his son in us, and gave us faith to believe in him, the eternal word of life, by which our souls came to be quickened and made alive in him; and also in and by the quickening of his holy power we were made one in a spiritual and heavenly relation, our hearts being knit together in the unspeakable love of truth, which was our joy and delight, and made our days together exceeding comfortable, as being that by which our temporal enjoyments were sanctified



“ sanctified and made a blessing to us. How  
 “ hard it was, and how great a loss to part  
 “ with so dear and so tender an husband, is far  
 “ beyond what I can express; the sorrow of  
 “ my heart, my tongue or pen is not able to  
 “ declare; yet in this I content myself, that it  
 “ was the will of the Lord that he was taken  
 “ from the evil, and that my loss, though great,  
 “ is not to be compared to his eternal gain.”

CHAP.

XI.

1663.

1664.

In the last year we left George Fox, Margaret Fell and Francis Howgill in prison, under arbitrary and illegal commitments; the two former in Lancaster castle, and the latter in Appleby jail. George Fox was brought to his trial for refusing to take the oath of allegiance at the spring assizes, the beginning of this year, before Judge Twifden; and after giving his reasons why he could not, for conscience sake, comply with the requisition to take the oath, he asked the judge, If he owned the king? Who replying in the affirmative: Why then, said he, dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came into England, that no man should be called in question for matters of religion, so long as they lived peaceably? Why dost thou call me in question, and put me upon taking an oath, seeing neither thou nor any other can charge me with unpeaceable living? At this the judge was so provoked that he cried out, “ Sirrah, will you swear?” To which George boldly rejoined, “ I am none of thy sirrahs, I  
 “ am a christian; and for thee who art an old  
 “ man and a judge, to sit there and to give nick-  
 “ names to prisoners, doth not either become  
 “ thy

G. Fox's  
 trial before  
 Judge Twif-  
 den.

CHAP.  
XI.

1664.  
Traverſes  
the indictment.

“thy grey hairs or thy office.” Two days afterward being brought before the judge again, and asked, whether he would traverse the indictment or submit, he desired liberty to traverse, whereupon he was continued in prison till the next assizes, and during his confinement writ several papers to the magistrates, manifesting the evil of persecution, and exhorting to virtue and piety.

The indictment  
quashed.

He was called again before Judge Turner at the succeeding assizes held in the month called August, where an indictment was found against him for refusing the oath; and he being brought in guilty by the jury, in arrest of judgment he pleaded so many material errors in the indictment that the court could not get over acknowledging them sufficient to quash it, and it was accordingly laid aside; whereupon he appealing to the judge, demanded justice of him, for he did not look for mercy. The judge told him, You must have justice, and you shall have law. Asking then, Am I free from all that hath been done against me in this matter? Yes, replied the judge, but then recollecting himself, and starting up in a passion, said, I can put the oath to any man here, and I will tender it to you again; which he did accordingly, and recommitted him to prison till the next assizes, which were held the 16th of March, (so called) 1664-5, when he was tried on another indictment.

Remark.

The arbitrary and unjust treatment of this worthy man is very obvious throughout, being hitherto detained in a very incommodious prison, as before described, upwards of twelve months, without the least shadow of crime: a sufficient

sufficient punishment of itself for evil doing; and when tried for a created offence, and the indictment was proved erroneous in many essential points, instead of obtaining his liberty, as of right he ought, a repeated advantage is taken of his conscientious scruple, to prolong his punishment. Although the judge confessed him legally at liberty, yet he contrives to remand him to his severe imprisonment. Thus justice was perverted under the influence of party-prejudice, and the law stretched beyond due bounds to punish inculpable demeanour.

In his trial on the second indictment before Twisden he met with still harder treatment; for although he proved this as well as the former erroneous in sundry particulars, the judge arbitrarily overruled all his objections, and ordered him to be taken away. When he was gone the jury brought in a verdict for the king: he was called no more, but sentence of premunire was passed upon him in his absence.

<sup>a</sup> Colonel Kirby, though seemingly fair and civil in his carriage towards him to his face, was at the bottom a bitter enemy, and the chief promoter of his first imprisonment and the severity of this prosecution, who, having now obtained his desire, ordered the jailer to keep him close, and suffer nobody to come near him. The jailer, in compliance with this order, locked him up in a smoaky tower, sometimes so filled with smoak that he could scarce see the candle when burning. Here he was sometimes almost smothered, and in wet weather it rained in upon his bed, so that his shirt was often quite wet in

C H A P.  
XI.

1664.

On his second trial before Judge Twisden he is clandestinely condemned in a premunire.

The severity of his imprisonment.

<sup>a</sup> Sewel. Bessé.

CHAP. in attempting to stop the rain. In this dif-  
 XI. treffing condition he lay through a long cold  
 1664. winter, whereby he was so affected by the cold  
 and wet, that his body was much swelled and his  
 limbs benumbed.

M. Fell's  
 trial.

At the aforefaid affizes, in the month called  
 Auguft, Margaret Fell was alfo brought to her  
 trial on the fame account, an abſtract of whose  
 trial followeth :

Margaret Fell being brought to the bar, and  
 the indictment read, the Judge ſaid, Come, will  
 you take the oath ?

*M. Fell.* There is a clause in the indictment  
 that the church-wardens informed of ſomething,  
 which ſeemeth that it ſhould be the ground or  
 cauſe of this indictment, I deſire to know what  
 matter of fact they did inform of, for I was  
 ſent for from my own houſe, from amongſt my  
 children and family, when I was about my out-  
 ward occaſions ; when I was at no meeting,  
 neither was it meeting day ; therefore I deſire  
 to know what this foundation or matter of fact  
 was, for there is no law againſt the innocent  
 and righteous ; and if I be a tranſgreſſor let me  
 know wherein.

*Judge.* You ſay well, the law is made for  
 tranſgreſſors : But, miſtreſs, do you go to  
 church ?

*M. Fell.* I do go to church.

*Judge.* What church ?

*M. Fell.* The church of Chriſt.

*Judge.* But do you go to church with other  
 people ? You know what I mean.

*M. Fell.* What doſt thou call the church, the  
 houſe or the people ? The houſe you all know  
 is

is but wood and stone ; but if thou call the people a church, to that I answer, As for the church of England that now is, I was gathered to the truth, unto which I now stand a witness, when this was not the established church. I was separated from the general worship of the nation, when there was another set up, than that which is now, and was persecuted by that power which then was, and suffered much hardship ; and would you now have us deny our faith and principles, which we have suffered for so many years, and turn to your church contrary to our consciences ?

C H A P.  
XL.  
1664.

*Judge.* We spend time about these things : Come to the matter in hand, What say you to the oath and to the indictment ?

*M. Fell.* I say to the oath, as I have said before in this place, Christ Jesus hath commanded me *not to swear at all*, and that is the only cause, and no other, the righteous judge of heaven and earth knoweth. And this I do testify unto you here, that for the matter or substance of the oath, and the end for which it is intended, I do own one part and deny the other. I do own truth, faithfulness and obedience to the king, and all his just and lawful commands and demands ; and I also deny all plottings and contrivings against the king, and all popish supremacy and conspiracy ; and I can no more transgress against King Charles in these things than I can disobey Christ's commands. I do not deny this oath, because it is the oath of allegiance, but I deny it because it is an oath, because Christ Jesus hath said I shall not *swear at all*. If I might gain the whole world for swearing an oath I could not, and whatever I have

C H A P. have to lose this day for not swearing an oath  
 XI. I offer it up.

1664.

*Judge.* What say you to the indictment?

*M. Fell.* What should I say? I am clear and innocent of wronging any man upon the earth as the little child that stands by me; and if any here have any thing to lay to my charge let them come and testify it before you all; and if I be clear and innocent you have no law against me.

Then Colonel Kirby and the sheriff whispered to the judge, whereupon she accosted the colonel:

*M. Fell.* Let us have no whispering: If thou hast any thing to lay to my charge come down and testify against me?

*Judge.* Jury, take notice she doth not take the oath.

*M. Fell.* This matter is weighty to me, whatever it be to you, and I would have the jury take notice of it, and consider seriously what they are going to do. I stand here before you on account of the loss of my liberty and my estate; secondly, I stand here obeying Christ's command, and keeping my conscience clear; but if I keep the king's commands in obeying this law, I defile my conscience and transgress the law of Jesus Christ, who is the king thereof: And the cause and controversy in this matter that you are all here to judge of this day is betwixt Christ Jesus and King Charles; this is his cause, and whatsoever I suffer it is for him, and so let him plead my cause when he pleaseth.

*Judge to the jury.* Are you agreed? Have you found it?

*Jury.*

*Jury.* For the king.

*M. Fell.* I have counfel to plead to my indictment.

The court adjourned till after dinner, when being met again they proceeded.

*M. Fell.* I defire we may have time till tomorrow morning to bring in our arrest of judgment ?

*Judge.* You fhall have it. Miftrefs Fell, you wrote to me concerning the badnefs of your prifons, that it rains in, and that they are not fit for people to lie in.

*M. Fell.* The fheriff knows, and hath been told of it feveral times, and now it is raining, if you will fend you may fee whether it be fit for people to lie in or not.

Then Colonel Kirby ftanding up to excufe the fheriff, and to extenuate the badnefs of the place,

*M. Fell* faid, if you were to be in it yourfelves you would think it hard, but your mind is only in cruelty to commit others, as William Kirby here hath done, who hath committed ten of our friends and put them into a cold room, where there was nothing but bare boards to lie on, where they have lain feveral nights, fome of them above threefcore years of age, and known to be honeft men in the country where they live ; and when William Kirby was asked, Why they might not have liberty to fhift for themfelves for beds ? He answered, They were to commit them to prifon, but not to provide prifons for them. And being asked, Who fhould do it then ? He answered, The King.

*Judge.* You fhould not do fo ; they ought to have prifons fit for men.

Next

C H A P. XI. Next morning her counsel pleaded in arrest of judgment, and found several errors in the indictment, which yet the judge would not admit of, but passed sentence of premunire upon her.

1664.

*M. Fell.* The Lord forgive thee for what thou hast done: This law was made for Popish recusants, but you pass sentence on few of them. Although I am out of the King's protection, yet I am not out of the protection of Almighty God.

She remained in prison about twenty months before she could obtain liberty to go to her own house, which then she got for a little time, and returned to prison again, where she continued about four years, till released by an order of the king and council.

F. Howgill's trial.

Francis Howgill was also brought to his trial at the spring assizes this year at Appleby, before Judge Twifden aforesaid. Coming into court before the judges sat, he enquired of the clerk whether his appearance was expected then or not? Who gave him expectation that he would not be called upon that assize. But Sir Philip Musgrave, a violent man and a principal promoter of the prosecution, unfairly endeavoured to prepossess the judge against him, by representing him as *a dangerous person, a ringleader of the Quakers, and a great upholder of their meetings.* Whereupon they resolved to proceed to his trial. Judge Twifden, in his preparatory charge to the grand jury, adopting the pretences and language in fashion, informed them, There was a sort of people, who under pretence of conscience and religion, and seeming to build upon the king's declaration from Breda, under colour thereof hatched

Sir Philip Musgrave influences the judge.

Charge to the grand jury.



hatched treasons and rebellions; charging them to enquire after and present such, that the peace of the nation might be preserved. The jury was then empannelled, and Francis called to the bar. The judge proceeding very calmly in the following speech:

CHAP.  
XI.  
1664.

*Judge.* The times being dangerous, and things having now a worse appearance than at last assizes, and people under pretence of conscience violating the laws, and hatching treasons and rebellions, although I have nothing of that kind to charge against you; yet seeing you did refuse to take the oath of allegiance at the last assizes, the law doth presume such persons to be enemies to the king and government; however I shall give you time to prepare for your trial till the next assizes, only you must enter into recognizance for your appearance then, and for your good behaviour in the mean time.

*F. Howgill* having requested and obtained leave to speak, said, Thou very well knowest, Judge Twisden, upon how very slender an account, or none, I was brought before thee the last assizes, where thou wast pleased to tender me the oath of allegiance, though, I believe, both thou and the rest of the court did know that it was a received principle amongst us, *not to swear at all*: Many reasons I then gave to shew, that I did not refuse the oath out of obstinacy, but conscientiously, and that I was none of them, who make religion a cloak of maliciousness, nor conscience a cloak to carry on plots and conspiracies: The Lord hath redeemed me and many more out of these things. I desire therefore that my verbal promise and

CHAP engagement to appear at the next assizes may  
 XI. be accepted.

1664.

*Judge.* You must enter into bond in this dangerous time; I would have you consider of it, and either give me your answer now, or before we go out of town.

A day or two after he was called again.

*Judge Twisden* made a speech against treasons and rebellions, saying, these things were carried on under colour of conscience and religion, and reflected upon the Quakers.

*F. Howgill.* As to those things, I am clear: I hope neither the court nor country have any thing to lay to my charge: I bless the Lord I have nothing to accuse myself with, for I have peace, and seek it with all men; and seeing the court is pleased to give me time to answer to my indictment till the next assizes, and since it is a matter of great consequence to me, on which my liberty and estate depends, I hope the court will not be against my having liberty for these five months to prepare for my trial.

*Judge.* We do not desire your imprisonment, if you will be of good behaviour.

*Justice Fleming.* My lord, he is a great speaker, it may be the Quakers cannot do without him.

*Judge.* Let him be what he will, if he will enter into bond. What do you tell us of conscience, we meddle not with that, but you contemn the laws, and keep up great meetings, and go not to church.

*F. Howgill.* It hath been a doctrine always, and a received principle, as any thing we believe, that Christ's kingdom could not be set up with carnal weapons, nor the gospel propagated by force of arms, nor the church of God built  
 with

with violence; but the Prince of Peace is manifest among us, and we cannot learn war any more, but can love our enemies, and forgive those that do evil to us; and though this unhappy contrivance hath fallen among some men, who have brought trouble on the country and misery on themselves, we have no hand in it. This is the truth, and if I had twenty lives, I would engage them all that the body of the Quakers will never have any hand in war, or things of that nature, that tend to the hurt of others, and if any such whom you repute to be Quakers, be found in such things, I do, before the court here, and before all the country, deny them: They are not of us.

C H A P.  
XI.  
1664.

*Justice Musgrave.* My lord, we have been remiss toward this people, and have striven with them, and put them in prison again and again, and as soon as they are out they meet again.

*Sir John Lowther.* My lord, they grow insolent notwithstanding all laws, and the execution of them, yet they grow upon us, and their meetings are dangerous.

*Justice Musgrave.* My lord, it happened that some of the Quakers being sent to prison, one of them died there, and they set this paper on the coffin, "This is the body of such an one, who was persecuted by Daniel Fleming to death."

*F. Howgill.* Notwithstanding here has been diligent enquiry made by the grand jury concerning this plot, what have you found against the Quakers?

*Justice Musgrave.* There was one Reginald Fawcet, a Quaker, that is run away, that was an intelligencer from the county of Durham.

C H A P.

XI.

1664.

*F. Howgill.* Fawcet hath been disowned by us these six years, nor do I believe he hath pretended to come among us these two years: And if perhaps any by you reputed Quakers should be found offenders in this nature, I believe they would testify for us against themselves, that the body of our friends and meetings did disown them. It is therefore unkind to represent us thus hardly to the country. God is with us and hath kept us from evils and temptations of this nature, of plotting and fighting, notwithstanding all the provocations and sufferings we have passed through.

*Judge.* The gentlemen and I have spent much time with you, and I shall not discourse with you any longer.

*F. Howgill.* I acknowledge your moderation towards me, and I shall not trouble you much longer. I shall be willing to appear to answer my indictment at the assizes, and shall in the mean time live peaceably and quietly as I have always done.

*Judge.* You must enter into bonds, and come at no more meetings.

*F. Howgill.* I cannot do that; if I should, I must be treacherous to God and my own conscience, and even you yourselves and this people would think me a hypocrite.

The court ordered him to prison, and as he was going he turned to the people, saying, *The fear of God be amongst you all.*

The people generally appeared very affectionate to him, and pitied his hard circumstance.

At the summer assizes held in the same place the 22d and 23d days of the month called August,

gust, he was again brought to the bar, and finally  
condemned in a prenuire, under which he lay  
in prison to the end of his days.

C H A P.

X I.

1664.

Previous to his second trial he caused two papers to be presented to the judges; one of them was a declaration containing the substance of the oath, and the other a modest defence of himself for refusing to swear; both which he was informed the judges read. Here follows his trial before Judge Turner.

*Clerk.* Bring Francis Howgill to the bar.

*Judge.* Here is an indictment against you for refusing to swear, you must plead *guilty* or *not guilty*.

*F. Howgill.* May I have liberty to speak and make my defence?

*Judge.* Yes, you may.

*F. Howgill.* I will lay the true state of the case before thee, seeing Judge Twisden is not here, who was privy to all the proceedings hitherto against me. I was born and brought up in this county; my carriage and conversation is known, that I have walked peaceably toward all men, as I hope my countrymen can testify. About a year ago, being in a neighbouring market-town about my reasonable and lawful occasions, I was sent for by an high-constable out of the market to the justices of peace, before whom I went: They had nothing to lay to my charge, but fell to asking me questions to ensnare me about our meetings, and when they could find no occasion, they seemed to tender me the oath of allegiance, though they never read it to me, nor did I positively deny it; yet they committed me to prison. At next assizes Judge Twisden declared that my *mittimus* was insufficient: Nevertheless

C H A P.

XI.

1664.

theless he there tendered me the oath, and engaged me to appear the next assizes after, which I did; and then refusing to give bond for my good behaviour, and not to be present at any of our meetings, I was committed to prison, where I have been these five months, some of that time under great restraint, and my friends not suffered to speak to me. Now as to the oath, the substance thereof, with the representation of my case, is already presented to the court, unto which I have set my hand, and shall in those words testify the same in open court if required; and seeing it is the very substance of what the law doth require, I desire that it may be accepted, and that I may be cleared from my imprisonment.

*Judge.* I am come to execute the law; and the law requires an oath, and I cannot alter it: Do you think the law must be changed for you, or only for a few? If this be suffered the administration of justice is hindered, no action can be tried, nor evidence given for the king: Your principles are altogether inconsistent with the law and government; I pray you shew me which way we shall proceed, shew me some reason, and give me some ground.

*F. Howgill.* I shall: In the mouth of two or three witnesses every truth is confirmed, and we never denied to give, and are still ready to give evidence for the king in any matter for ending of strife between man and man in truth and righteousness, and this answers the substance of the law.

*Judge.* Is this a good answer, think you? Whether to be given with an oath or without an oath; the law requires an oath.

*F. Howgill.*

*F. Howgill.* Still evidence may be given in truth, according to the substance of the law, so that no detriment cometh to any party, seeing true testimony may be borne without an oath; and I did not speak of changing the law: Yet seeing we never refused to give testimony, which answereth the end and substance of the law, I thought it reasonable to receive our testimony, and not expose us to such sufferings, seeing we scruple an oath only on a conscientious account, for fear of breaking the command of Christ, the Saviour of the world, which if we do, there is none of you able to plead our cause with him.

C H A P.  
XI.  
1664.

*Judge.* But why do you not go to church, but meet in houses and private conventicles, which the law forbids?

*F. Howgill.* We meet only for the worship of the true God in spirit and in truth, having the primitive christians for our example, and to no other end but that we may be edified and God glorified; and where two or three are met together in the name of Christ, and he in the midst of them, there is a church.

*Judge.* That is true; but how long is it since you have been at church, or will you go to the church the law doth allow of? Give me some reasons why you do not go?

*F. Howgill.* I have many to give, if thou hast patience to hear me. 1st, God dwells not in temples made with hands. 2dly, The parish-house hath been a temple for idols, and I dare not have fellowship with idols, nor worship in idols temples; for what have we to do with idols, their temples or worship?

*Judge.* Were there not houses called the houses of God and temples?

*F. Howgill.*

CHAP. *F. Howgill.* Yes, under the law, but the  
 XI. christians who believed in Christ separated from  
 these, and the temple was made and left deso-  
 late; and from the Gentiles temple too, and  
 met together in houses, and broke bread from  
 house to house; and the church was not con-  
 fined then to one place, neither is it now.

*Judge.* Will you answer to your indictment?

*F. Howgill.* I know not what it is. I never heard it, though I often desired a copy.

*Judge.* Clerk read it.

The indictment was read, importing that he had wilfully, obstinately and contemptuously denied to swear when the oath was tendered.

*F. Howgill.* I deny it.

*Judge.* What, do you deny?

*F. Howgill.* The indictment.

*Judge.* Did you not deny to swear?

*F. Howgill.* I gave unto the court the substance of the oath, as you all know; I also told you that I did not deny it out of obstinacy or wilfulness, neither in contempt of the king's law and government, for I would rather chuse my liberty than bonds, and I am sensible it is like to be a great damage to me. I have a wife and children, and some estate, that we might subsist on, and do good to others, and I know all this lies at stake; but if it were my life also, I durst not but do as I do, lest I should incur the displeasure of God: and do you judge I would lose my liberty wilfully, and suffer the spoiling of my estate, and the ruining of my wife and children, in obstinacy and wilfulness? Surely not.

*Judge.* Jury, you see he denies the oath, and will not plead to the indictment: only excepts  
 against



against it because of the form of words; but you see he will not swear, and yet he saith, he denies the indictment, and you see upon what ground.

C H A P.

XI.

1664.

Then the jailer was called, and gave evidence that the oath was tendered to him at a former assizes, which he did refuse to take.

So the jury, without going from the bar, brought in their verdict, Guilty.

The next day, towards evening, he was again brought to the bar to hear his sentence.

*Judge.* Come, the indictment is proved against you, what have you to say, why sentence should not be given?

*F. Howgill.* I have many things to say if you will hear them. 1st, As I have said, I deny not swearing out of obstinacy or wilfulness, but am willing to testify the truth in this matter of obedience, or any other matter wherein I am concerned. 2dly, Because swearing is directly against the command of Christ; and 3dly, against the doctrine of the apostles. 4thly, Even of some of the principal members of the church of England, as Bishop Usher, sometime primate of Ireland, who said in his works that the Waldenses denied all swearing in their age from that command of Christ and the apostle James, and that it was a sufficient ground. And Doctor Gauden, late Bishop of Exeter, in a book I lately read, cites many ancient fathers, proving that the christians, for the first three hundred years, did not swear, so that it is no new doctrine.

*Judge.* Surely you mistake?

*F. Howgill.* I have not their books here.

*Judge.*

CHAP. *Judge.* Will you say upon your honest word  
. XI. that they denied all swearing?

~~~~~  
*F. Howgill.* What I have said is true.

1664. *Judge.* Why do you not come to church and hear service, and be subject to the law, and to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake?

*F. Howgill.* I am subject; and for that cause do we pay taxes, tribute and custom, and give unto Cæsar the things that are his, and unto God the things that are his, *to wit*, worship, honour and obedience: But if thou meanest the parish assemblies, I tell thee faithfully, I am persuaded, and that upon good grounds, that their teachers are not the ministers of Christ, nor their worship the worship of God.

*Judge.* Why it may be for some small thing in the service you reject it all.

*F. Howgill.* First of all it is manifest they are time-servers, one while preaching that up for divine service to the people, which another time they are crying down as popish, superstitious and idolatrous; and that which they have been preaching up twenty years together they make shipwreck of all in a day, and now again call divine, and would have all compelled to that themselves once made void.

*Judge.* Why, never since the king came in?

*F. Howgill.* Yes; the same men that preached it down once, now cry it up, and so unstable and wavering are they that we cannot believe they are ministers of Christ. 2dly, They teach for hire, and live by forced maintenance, and would force a faith upon men contrary to Christ's and the Apostle's rule, who would have *every one persuaded in their own minds*, and said, *whatsoever is not of faith is sin*; and yet they  
say

say faith is the gift of God, and we have no such faith given; and yet they will force theirs upon us, and if we cannot receive it, they cry, You are not subject to authority and the laws, and nothing but confiscations, imprisonment and banishment is threatened; and this is their greatest plea. I could descend to more particulars.

C H A P.  
XI.  
1664.

*Judge.* Well, I see you will not swear, nor conform, nor be subject, and you think we deal severely with you; but if you would be subject we should not need.

*F. Howgill.* Yes, I do think so indeed, that you deal severely with us for obeying the command of Christ. I pray thee canst thou shew me that any of these, for whom the act was made have been proceeded against by this statute, though I envy no man's liberty?

*Judge.* Oh yes! I can instance you many up and down the country that are premunired. I have pronounced sentence myself against divers.

*F. Howgill.* What, against the papists?

*Judge.* No.

*F. Howgill.* What then, against the Quakers? So I have heard. It seems then that statute which was made against the papists, thou lettest them escape, and executest it against the Quakers.

*Judge.* Well, you will meet in great numbers, and do encrease, but there is a new statute which will make you fewer.

*F. Howgill.* Well, if we must suffer it is for Christ's sake and for well doing.

Then

C H A P.

XI.

1664.

Then the judge pronounced with a \* faint and low voice, You are put out of the king's protection and benefit of the law. Your lands are confiscate to the king during your life, and your goods and chattels for ever, and you are to be prisoner during your life.

*F. Horwiggill.* Hard sentence for obeying the command of Christ; but I am content, and in perfect peace with the Lord; and the Lord forgive you all.

*Judge.* Well, if you will yet be subject to the laws, the king will shew you mercy.

*F. Horwiggill.* The Lord hath shewed mercy to me, and I have done nothing against the king nor government, nor any man, blessed be the Lord, and therein stands my peace; and it is for Christ's sake I suffer, and not for evil doing.

So he returned to prison, where he continued to the end of his days.

I thought it worth while to insert these successive trials of this worthy man at large, as exhibiting a specimen of the solidity of that religion, which preserved him in so much tranquillity, meekness, and command over his passions in the most affecting circumstances of accumulated injury and unmerited severity. Modesty, equanimity, good sense and sober reasoning on his part, seem to soften the sternness of judges (habituated to menacing and reproach) into apparent moderation; though not to justice or clemency;

\* This appears to me an evidence that this judge was sensible this honest man was greatly wronged, while he was completing his wrong, and that he passed sentence upon him contrary to the conviction of his own conscience.

mency ; and his unprejudiced countrymen into a commiseration of his wrongs. On the other hand, when we view the pointed malevolence of the persecuting justices in Westmoreland, without any real cause administered by him, to send for him, when engaged in his lawful affairs, on purpose to entrap him, on account of a religious scruple, and taking advantage thereof, to commit him to prison several miles from home, and confine him there. When we see them unfairly endeavouring to prepossess the judge in the prejudice of an honest inoffensive neighbour by invidious calumnies, and to precipitate his ruin as to his outward circumstances, by the weight of their joint influence and enmity ; in short, when we review all the cruel treatment of a worthy and respectable character, whose moral conduct and peaceable demeanour were unimpeachable ; whose virtues were conspicuous and reputation in his neighbourhood untainted, we are naturally led to regret the pernicious effects of a religious or a political party spirit, which blinds the judgment to such a degree, that the most conspicuous virtue in one of opposite sentiments loses its complexion, and is misconstrued into vice. That in mistaken zeal for religion the plainest rules of morality are violated, and in forcing uniformity in unessential points, the substantial parts, mercy, justice and truth are obliterated.

C H A P.

XI.

1664.

## C H A P. XII.

*Act against Conventicles.—Quakers the greatest Sufferers.—Remarks on this Act.—Eight Persons tried on this Act and sentenced to banishment.—Customary to commit for a few Days to expedite their Banishment.—The Bill returned ignoramus.—The Jury sent out again and find the Bill.—Offered to be released upon paying the Penalty, which they refuse.—The Jailer contracts with Thomas May to transport them in his Ship.—He refuses to take them.—But is compelled against his will.—He dismisseth them.—Returning they acquaint the King and Council, who ordered them to prison, where they are confined seven Years.—In London great Numbers imprisoned.—Alderman Brown very abusive.—Speech of Judge Keeling.—Remarks thereupon.—Sixteen tried at Hicks's-hall.—Hard Case of Hannah Trigg.—Forty more tried.—Jurymen, for objecting to the Evidence, menaced.—For refusing to alter their Verdict bound over to the King's Bench.—Edward Brush and James Harding transported to Jamaica.—Robert Hayes, put aboard with them, dies there.—His Character.*

C H A P.  
XII.

1664.

THE statute which judge Turner, in the afore-said trial, seemed to exult in, as one he was confident would certainly reduce the numbers of this people, was entitled *An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles.*

Every rumour of a plot (real or pretended) seems, under this administration, a prelude to an

an additional penal law against nonconformists. C H A P.  
 The plot alledged to be formed in the North, of XII.  
 which mention hath been made, and on the pre-  
 tended account whereof the three forementio-  
 ed persons were taken up, and premunired, was  
 made a pretext for this new act, whereby the act  
 of 35 of Elizabeth was declared to be in full  
 force \*. It further enacts, " That if any per-  
 " son of the age of sixteen years or upwards,  
 " after the first of July 1664, shall be present  
 " at any meeting under colour or pretence of  
 " any exercise of religion, in any other manner  
 " than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of  
 " the church of England, where shall be five  
 " or more persons beside the household, shall  
 " for the first offence suffer imprisonment not  
 " exceeding three months, or pay a sum of mo-  
 " ney not exceeding 5l. upon record made upon  
 " oath, under the hands and seals of two justices  
 " of peace: for the second offence, the penalty  
 " to be doubled: and for the third offence, be-  
 " ing convicted before the justices at their quar-  
 " ter sessions, or judge of assize, by the verdict  
 " of a jury, to be transported to some of the  
 " American plantations (excepting *New England*  
 " *and Virginia*) for seven years, or pay 100l. &c.  
 " And in case they return, or make their escape,  
 " such persons are to be adjudged felons, and  
 " suffer death. Sheriffs or justices of peace, or  
 " others commissioned by them, are impowered  
 " to dissolve, dissipate and break up all unlaw-  
 " ful conventicles, and to take into custody such  
 " of their number as they think fit. Persons  
 " who suffer such conventicles in their houses or  
 " barns are liable to the same penalties and for-  
 " feitures as other offenders. Persons convict-

Act against  
conven-  
ticles.

1664.

ed

C H A P. XII. " ed of the third offence to be transported at  
 " their own expence, and in default of ability  
 " to pay the same, to be made over to the mas-  
 1664. " ter of the ship or his assigns to serve them as  
 " labourers for five years. Married women  
 " taken at conventicles are to be imprisoned  
 " for a term not exceeding twelve months, un-  
 " less their husbands pay a sum not exceeding  
 " forty pounds for their redemption. This act  
 " to continue in force for three years, and to  
 " the end of the next session of parliament."

It is observable, that the former act passed in 1661 enacted the same penalties, though not so largely or particularly expressed as this: nor doth it appear that it was rigorously enforced, as this was. <sup>a</sup> The penalties of that act affected the Quakers only; but this extending them to all who meet in any other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the church of England, reached all the nonconformists of every class.

Quakers  
 the greatest  
 sufferers.

But although it appears levelled at every body of dissenters, still the greatest weight of sufferings fell upon the people called Quakers. I have met with no account of any others condemned to transportation upon this act, but with numbers of these who were. Other classes of dissenters could dissemble, temporize or meet clandestinely \* to avoid the force of the law; but

<sup>a</sup> Rapin.

\* Before the conventicle act took place, the laity were courageous, and exhorted their ministers to preach 'till they went to prison; but when it came home to themselves, and they had been once in jail, they began to be more cautious, and consulted among themselves how to avoid the edge of the law in the best manner they could; for this purpose their assemblies were frequently held at midnight, and in the most private



but the Quakers (so called) were more upright C H A P.  
 than to evade sufferings by insincerity, more re- XII.  
 gardful of the reputation of their religious per- 1664.  
 suasion, than to give any advantage against it by  
 mean subterfuges, and more zealous in the con-  
 scientious discharge of duty to God, than to be  
 deterred from paying him the reasonable service  
 of united worship, for fear of human penal-  
 ties.

It is not wonderful that a law of such pernicious tendency to the liberty and security of so large a body of the people should become the subject of severe criticism, and give occasion to

Remarks  
on this law.

VOL. II.

H

free

private places: and yet notwithstanding all their caution, they were frequently disturbed. But it is remarkable, that under all their hardships they never made the least resistance, but went quietly with the soldiers or officers when they could not fly from them. The distress of so many families made some confine themselves to their own houses, some remove to the plantations, and others have recourse to occasional conformity, to avoid the penalties of not coming to church.

Indeed the Quakers gloried in their sufferings, and in short gave such full employment to the informers about London, that they had less leisure to attend the meetings of other dissenters.

In London where the houses joined, it was thought the law might be evaded if the people met in several houses and heard the minister through a window or hole in the wall; but it seems this was over-ruled. Neale's history of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 650, 651.

In the year 1666 a proclamation was issued against meetings. In Herefordshire, George Fox writes, we were told of a great meeting of Presbyterians, who had engaged themselves to stand and give up all rather than forsake their meetings. When they heard of the proclamation the people assembled; but the priest was fled, and left them to themselves. Then they met in Leominster privately, and provided bread, cheese and drink, that if the officers should come they might put up their bibles and fall to eating. The like contrivance they had in other places.

CHAP free animadversion. An anonymous pamphlet,  
 XII. soon after published, set forth the absurdity and  
 severity thereof in cases like these \*. Since all  
 1664. religion exercised by six persons, not according  
 to the formality of the church of England was  
 forbidden, if a woman being in travail, and her  
 life in danger, one of the company said a prayer;  
 or if any one spoke any thing to comfort the  
 near relations of a person deceased; or prayed  
 for the health or happiness of a new married  
 couple, &c. it might happen that some, by the  
 malice of their enemies, might not only incur  
 imprisonment for three months, but by the re-  
 petition

\* It doth not appear that these probable consequences were merely imaginary. Neal relates that such was the severity of these times, that many were afraid to pray in their families, if above four of their acquaintance that came to visit them were present. Some families scrupled to ask a blessing on their meat, if five strangers were at table. And in George Fox's journal I meet with the following remarkable passage, as the great professing Jews "did eat up God's people as bread," and the false prophets and priests then preached peace to the people, so long as they put into their mouths; but if they fed them not, they prepared war against them: so these that profess themselves christians now (both priests and professors) stirred up persecution, and set the wicked informers at work; so that a friend could hardly speak a few words in a private family before they sat down to eat, but some were ready to inform against them: a particular instance of which I have heard as follows. At Droitwich, Jo. Cartwright came to a friend's house, and being moved of the Lord to speak a few words before he sat down to supper, there came an informer, and stood hearkening under a window. When he had heard the friend speak, he went and informed, and got a warrant to distrain the friend's goods, under pretence that there was a meeting at his house: whereas there were none present in the house at that time, but the man of the house, his wife and servant maid. But this evil-minded man, as he came back with his warrant in the night, fell off his horse and broke his neck.

petition of such friendly offices be condemned to transportation. CHAP. XII.

George Whitehead also (one of the people called Quakers) took up his pen upon this occasion to expose the unreasonable severity of the persecutors; to strengthen his friends to steadfastness in their christian testimony; to exculpate them from the charge of obstinacy, and to answer some specious objections, particularly the following one, "That the Quakers might keep small meetings, and so not fall under the lash of the law; for if they did not meet above five in number they would keep above the reach of the law, and might also acquit their consciences before God." To this he answered, "That it might have been objected to the prophet Daniel, that he might have prayed secretly and not with open windows and thrice a day, after King Darius had signed the decree, That whosoever should ask a petition of any God or man for thirty days, save of the King, should be cast into the lion's den; but that Daniel notwithstanding that decree continued to pray as aforesaid."

1664.

And as to the judges continuing to enforce this act in their customary unequal and arbitrary manner, he represented "How unreasonable it was to influence the jury on ill-grounded suspicion, without leaving them the liberty of their own judgment: how unequal it was that soldiers, who abused his friends in their meetings, should be called as witnesses against them; and that they should be locked up with thieves and felons, since this was contrary to the right of a free-born Englishman?" Josiah Coale likewise about this time published a re-

CHAP. monitroncé to the King and both houses of par-  
 XII. liament against perfecution; but remonstiances  
 however reasonable had little effect upon the  
 men now possessed of power, and previously de-  
 termined to exert it with vindictive violence in  
 the punishment of nonconformists, some in fa-  
 vour of uniformity, and others to promote less  
 obvious designs. Perfecution to banishment was  
 resolved on, and almost immediately endeavoured  
 to be put in execution.

1664.  
 Eight persons tried  
 and sentenced to  
 transportation.

Customary  
 to commit  
 them for a  
 few days to  
 expedite  
 their ban-  
 nishment.

For at the assizes at Hertford in the very next  
 month (August) the following eight persons of  
 this profession, viz. Francis Prior, Nich. Lucas,  
 Henry Feast, Henry Marshall, Jeremy Hern,  
 Thomas Wood, John Blendale and Samuel  
 Trahern were brought to their trial before judge  
 Orlando Bridgeman, and indicted for the third  
 offence against the conventicle act. This is a  
 remarkable instance of the precipitant eagerness  
 of the persecutors; for this act was not in force  
 'till the first of the month called July, and these  
 persons were arraigned for the third offence on  
 the 12th and 13th of the succeeding month.  
 Now as the penalty for the first offence was im-  
 prisonment for a term not exceeding three  
 months, and for the second not exceeding six,  
 at the arbitrary discretion of two justices; it  
 was usual with these justices to commit them for  
 a few days for the first and second offence, \* not  
 out

\* Of this we meet with the following account in George  
 Whitehead's journal, part ii. p. 283. On the 16th of 8<sup>mo</sup>  
 1664, being the first day of the week, our friends were met  
 together according to their usual manner at their meeting  
 place at Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate, London, and Geo.  
 Whitehead being there was concerned to preach: after some  
 time

out of tenderneſs, but in order to ſubject them CHAP. more ſpeedily to the penalty of transportation XII. for the third offence. For, from their long ap- 1664. proved conſtancy, they promiſed themſelves an aſſurance of finding them again at their religious aſſemblies, as ſoon as at liberty.

An indictment was drawn up againſt the afore- ſaid eight perſons, expreſſing, That they had been at an unlawful meeting three fundry times, at ſuch times and places, and being delivered to the grand jury, they could not agree in their verdict; for there were ſome among them whoſe conſciences would not ſo eaſily allow them to be acceſſary to the condemnation of the innocent, and therefore they returned the bill ignoramus. Now although this was a legal verdict, and the court by law had no right to reject it, yet the privileges of the ſubject were held by ſo preca- rious

The bill  
returned by  
the jury ig-  
noramus.

time a great company of men with halberts came into the meeting, but gave him no interruption, 'till the mayor and Richard Brown, with a great company, came in; then in a ſhort time a rude fellow pulled George Whitehead down and haled him near the door. The halbert men took George Whitehead and forty-three others men and women into the ſtreet, where after they had kept them ſome time they were ſent in companies to Newgate without warrants, being fined one ſhilling each, or ſix days imprifonment. At the ſame time a particular warrant was ſent to detain five of them for a third offence. And the ſhortneſs of our imprifonment (ſaith he) as well as the ſmallneſs of the fines, ſeemed deſigned to diſpatch us ſooner out of the land by baniſhment. On the 24th of the month called July, twenty-ſeven perſons were taken from the meeting in Wheeler-ſtreet, and committed to Newgate for three days; from Mile-end twenty-two for ſix days; and on the 31ſt fifteen for five days: on the 7th of Auguſt (ſo called) twenty from Wheeler-ſtreet, and thirty-two from Mile-end-green for four days: on the 14th nineteen more ſent for two days, and two for the third offence. Beſſe, vol. i. p. 394.

C H A P. rious a tenure at this time, and the judges were  
 XII. so inured to go over every barrier of the con-  
 {stitution to gratify the partial views of them-  
 1654. selves or others, that instead of accepting this  
 return of the grand jury, Bridgman addressed  
 the jury with this angry speech, " My masters,  
 " what do you mean to do? Will you make  
 " a nose of wax of the law, and suffer the law  
 " to be baffled? Those that think to deceive  
 " the law, the law will deceive them. Why  
 " don't you find the bill?" With this menace  
 and fresh instructions he sent them out again,  
 they then found the bill, with which the court  
 seemed well pleased. Four of the prisoners  
 were then brought to the bar, who pleaded not  
 guilty, and added, we have transgressed no just  
 law: but replied the judge, *you have trans-*  
*gressed this law* (holding the conventicle act in  
 his hand) *and you have been twice convicted* al-  
 ready. If you be now found guilty, I must  
 pass sentence of transportation against you: but  
 if you will promise to have no more such meet-  
 ings, I will acquit you of what is past. This  
 favour you may receive before the jury is charg-  
 ed with you, but not afterwards. What say  
 you, will you meet no more? They answered  
 with one accord, *We can make no such promise.*  
 Upon which the jury was sworn, and witnesses  
 examined, who deposed that they found those  
 persons assembled above five together at certain  
 times and places, but that they neither heard  
 any of them speak, nor saw them do any thing.

The judge then summed up the evidence, and  
 gave his charge to the jury, in which he told  
 them, " You are not to expect plain punctual  
 " evidence of any thing said or done, a bare  
 " proof of their being met for worship in  
 " their

Rejected  
 by the  
 judge.

The jury  
 sent out  
 and find  
 the bill.

“ their manner, not being according to the liturgy  
 “ and practice of the church of England, is suffi-  
 “ cient for their conviction. *'Tis not your business*  
 “ *to enter into the meaning of the law, but singly*  
 “ *determine the fact.*” The jury, with these in-  
 structions, went out, and soon brought them in  
 guilty, and the judge forthwith passed sentence  
 upon them, viz. *You shall be transported beyond*  
*the seas to the island of Barbadoes, there to remain*  
*for seven years.*

CHAP.

XII.

1664.

Then the other four were set to the bar, and  
 tried in like manner, and condemned to be  
 transported to Jamaica; and a fifth, John Rey-  
 nolds, was tried along with them; but the wit-  
 nesses deposing they had not seen him in the meet-  
 ing, but within a yard of the doer, with his  
 face from it, he was brought in not guilty, and  
 accordingly acquitted. The eight persons con-  
 victed were informed by the judge of that clause  
 in the act, which provides that upon paying  
 100l. each, before the rising of the court, they  
 might be discharged. The court adjourned, and  
 when they met again, sent to the prisoners to  
 know whether they would pay the 100l. to  
 which they unanimously answering no, the court  
 broke up.

Offered to  
 be releas'd  
 upon pay-  
 ing the pe-  
 nalty which  
 they refuse.

Pursuant to the sentence, the jailer, by the  
 sheriff's order, as he said, applied to one Thomas  
 May, master of a ship, called the Anne, and  
 contracted with him to carry them to Barbadoes  
 at 5l. a head, and those to Jamaica at 6l. telling  
 him they were freemen, and that six of them  
 would carry goods. When they were brought  
 to the master, and he found they were under  
 compulsion, he refused to receive them, as his  
 contract was to carry freemen and no others.  
 The jailer, vext at the disappointment, betook  
 himself

The jailer  
 contracts  
 with Tho.  
 May to  
 take them  
 in his ship,

who refuses  
 to take  
 them.

CHAP. himself to the secretary of state, and made oath  
 XII. that he had contracted with Thomas May for the  
 prisoners' passage, as persons convicted by the  
 1664. act. May being sent for, took with him witnesses of his contract; but the secretary told him, oath having been already made for the King, his witnesses could be of no use, he must carry the prisoners. During this time they were closely confined, and but few of their friends admitted to see them.

But is compelled against his will.

The master being thus compelled to transport them against his will, they were put aboard; but put on shore by the master, and taken in again fundry times between London and Gravesend; it being very remarkable, that although many other vessels passed them down the river, this ship could make no way, nor with the utmost application of the seamen make fail to any purpose. Having by the master's orders followed him from place to place, at last he met them all together at Deal, and before several witnesses declared, that though they had followed the ship so long, yet he was resolved not to carry them. Here he finally dismissed them, with a certificate, to shew that they did not make their escape, but were freely put ashore by him, assigning for his reasons, that seeing the adversities and various disappointments he had hitherto met with, he concluded the hand of the Lord was against him. That therefore he durst not proceed on his voyage with these prisoners, they being innocent persons, and charged with no crime worthy of banishment. That there is a law in force, that no Englishman shall be carried out of his native country against his will. That his men refused to proceed on the voyage, if he carried them.

The master of the ship dismisses them.

There



There was on board one Manning, a man of a different disposition from the rest, who had been very officious in getting them aboard, and desirous of detaining them there with design, as was thought, of making a market of them beyond sea. This Manning, disappointed in his views, carried a complaint to the deputy or principal officer at Deal, that the prisoners had made their escape from the ship, but they producing the master's certificate he refused to concern himself in the matter. Then Manning with two others forced four of them into a boat which he found on the beach, to put them again on ship-board; but as nobody would assist him to row it, he was forced to let them go. The master sailed that night, and so left them behind. The relation of the manner in which the ship left them was attested by eleven persons, who were eye witnesses thereof.

Being thus set at liberty they returned home, and by letter acquainted the king and council thereof, which letter being read at the council board, under pretence that their liberation was effected by a collusion concerted between the master and them, by order of council they were again committed to prison, until means of transporting them by some ship to those parts could be found, and were continued in prison until released by the king's letters patent more than seven years after.

Returning home, they acquaint the king and council, who order them to prison again, where they are kept upwards of seven years.

On their return to prison they found twenty-one more of their friends lying there under the like sentence, who at the quarter sessions held at Hartford the 3d, 4th and 5th of October this year were condemned to banishment, under

C H A P.  
XII.

1664.

CHAP. der which sentence most of them lay there till  
 XII. released by the same letters patent in 1672.

1664. In London this conventicle act was no sooner  
 in force than multitudes were imprisoned for the  
 first and second offence, which (as hath been  
 noticed) was usually for a few days. On the  
 14th of the month called August the sheriffs,  
 with many officers and others armed, entered  
 the meeting-house at Bull and Mouth, and or-  
 dered the person who was preaching to come  
 down, after which two of the officers stepped  
 on a form near him, drew their swords, and  
 struck him and another friend with such force  
 that one of their swords was broken; then they  
 laid hold both on men and women, and haling  
 out near two hundred drove them to Guildhall,  
 where they were kept prisoners till near mid-  
 night, and then, by the mayor's orders, con-  
 ducted with lighted torches by a guard of hal-  
 berdiers to Newgate, where they were thrust  
 up among felons. On the 15th about twenty  
 were fined and committed, as were twelve more  
 on the 17th, and about sixty others on the 19th,  
 some for fourteen and others for nine days.

Alderman  
 Brown very  
 abusive.

On the 21st the mayor with the sheriffs and  
 alderman Brown came again to the meeting at  
 Bull and Mouth: This officious Brown, with  
 his usual rudeness, kicked some, pulled others  
 by the hair, and pinched the women's arms  
 until they were black. By this rude behaviour  
 and shameful abuse, degrading the dignity of his  
 office, and proving himself too vulgar for, and  
 absolutely unworthy of, the magistracy he bore in  
 any well regulated government. The mayor  
 causing the doors to be shut sent about one hun-  
 dred and fifty-nine of them to Newgate for four  
 days,

days, where they had not room to sit down nor scarce to stand, being close shut up among the felons, without respect to age or sex. On the 25th one hundred and seventy-five were also sent to Newgate as privately as possible, the magistrates, its probable, being ashamed to expose their unrelenting severity to the public eye. On the 4th of September two hundred and thirty-two more were committed.

By such commitments the prisons being soon filled, it was intended to proceed to the trial of such as were in for the third offence, preparatory whereto Judge Keeling, at the sessions at the Old Bailey on the 7th of September, made the following speech to the grand jury :

“ Because this day was appointed for the trial of these people, and inasmuch as many are come hither expecting what will be done, I shall say something concerning them and their principles, that they might not be thought worthy of pity, as suffering more than they deserve, for they are a stubborn sect, and the king has been very merciful to them. It was hoped that the purity of the church of England would, ere this, have convinced them, but they will not be reclaimed.

“ They teach dangerous principles ; this for one, That it is not lawful to take an oath. You must not think their leaders believe this doctrine, only they persuade these poor ignorant souls so ; but they have an interest to carry on against the government, and therefore they will not swear subjection to it ; and their end is rebellion and blood. You may easily know that they do not believe them-

“ selves

C H A P.  
XII.  
1654.  
Speech of  
Judge Keel-  
ing against  
the Qua-  
kers.

CHAP. XII. 1664. “ selves what they say, when they say it is not  
 “ lawful to take an oath, if you look into the  
 “ scriptures. That text (Mat. 5th) where our  
 “ Saviour saith, *Swear not at all*, will clear it-  
 “ self from such a meaning as forbids swear-  
 “ ing, if you look but into the next words,  
 “ where it is said, Let your communication be  
 “ yea, yea, nay, nay; and it is said, An oath  
 “ is an end of all strife: this for the new  
 “ testament: And the old is positive for swear-  
 “ ing; and they that deny swearing deny God  
 “ a special part of his worship.

“ Now you shall see how this principle of  
 “ not swearing tends to the subversion of the  
 “ government: First, It denies the king the  
 “ security he ought to have of his subjects for  
 “ their allegiance, which oath they deny, and  
 “ security by bond is not so good, for thereby  
 “ they are not engaged in conscience, and they  
 “ will only wait for a convenient season to for-  
 “ feit their bonds without hazard, and make  
 “ sure work in overthrowing the present go-  
 “ vernment and secure their own securities;  
 “ but an oath binds the conscience at all times,  
 “ and that they cannot abide. Again, this  
 “ principle tends to subvert the government,  
 “ because without swearing we can have no  
 “ justice done, no law executed; you may be  
 “ robbed, your houses broke open, your goods  
 “ taken away and be injured in your persons,  
 “ and no justice or recompense can be had, be-  
 “ cause the fact cannot be proved: The truth  
 “ is, no government can stand without swear-  
 “ ing, and were these people to have a govern-  
 “ ment among themselves they could not live  
 “ without an oath.

“ Whereas

“ Whereas they pretend in their scribbles  
 “ that this act against conventicles doth not  
 “ concern them, but such as under pretence of  
 “ worshipping God do, at their meetings, con-  
 “ spire against the government: This is a mis-  
 “ take, for if they should conspire, they would  
 “ then be guilty of treason, and we should try  
 “ them by other laws; but this act is against  
 “ meetings, to prevent them of such conspiracy,  
 “ for they meet to consult to know their num-  
 “ bers, and to hold correspondency, that they  
 “ may in a short time be up in arms.

C H A P.  
 XII.  
 1664.

“ I had the honour to serve the king at York  
 “ upon the trial of those wicked plotters, and  
 “ we found those plots were hatched and car-  
 “ ried on in these meetings, and we hanged up  
 “ four or five of the speakers or praters, whom  
 “ we found to be chief leaders in that rebel-  
 “ lion. I warrant you their leaders will keep  
 “ themselves from the third offence, we shall  
 “ not take them. If we could catch their  
 “ leaders we should try them by some other  
 “ law, which, if executed, will take away their  
 “ lives. This is a merciful law, it takes not  
 “ away their estates, it leaves them entire, only  
 “ banishes them for seven years if they will not  
 “ pay an hundred pounds; and this is not for  
 “ worshipping God according to their consci-  
 “ ences, for that they may do in their families,  
 “ but forsooth they cannot do that, but they  
 “ must have thirty, forty or an hundred others  
 “ to contrive their designs withal.”

One might imagine this judge looked upon  
 the bench as a privileged place to utter false-  
 hoods, and because his office and power ex-  
 empted him from detection there, he might take  
 the

Re-  
 thereupon.

CHAP. the liberty not only of misrepresentating fact,  
 XII. but, in order to deprive honest people, whom  
 he was determined to punish with the utmost  
 1664. rigour of this unrighteous law, of compassion,  
 and to add public odium to exorbitant severity,  
 to bring any aggravating accusations against them  
 without regard to truth. But his false assertions  
 were detected in a reply to this notable speech  
 published soon after. He intended immediately  
 to have proceeded to the trial of some of them,  
 for which purpose a young lad was brought from  
 Newgate, who being asked if he were not at  
 the Bull and Mouth meeting such a day, he  
 replied, *I was not*; whence the judge took  
 occasion to reproach the Quakers with common  
 place reflections, saying, that for all their pre-  
 tensions to truth, they could lie for their interest,  
 and to evade suffering. But this youth persisting  
 in his denial, witnesses were called for, to prove  
 his being there, but none could be found; which  
 the judge observing, said, Here is a disappoint-  
 ment; threatened some should suffer for it, and  
 so dismissed the jury. This disappointment was  
 want of evidence to answer the purpose of the  
 court, to prevent which in future, orders were  
 issued that the jailer of Newgate, the marshal  
 and his men should attend the meetings, and be  
 prepared to give evidence against the next  
 sessions.

The judge disappointed of convicting the first upon trial for want of proof dismisses the jury.

On the 10th of October the sessions began at Hicks's-hall before Sir John Robinson, and on the 13th a bill of indictment was preferred against sixteen Quakers for the third offence, about which the grand jury could not agree that night, but next morning, at the importunity of the justices, found the bill by a small majority.

Sixteen tried at Hicks's-hall.

They

They were tried and convicted, and twelve of them received sentence of transportation, amongst whom was a young woman named Hannah Trigg, whose treatment was unreasonably tyrannical and illegal, even by this severe law, for being asked in form, why sentence should not be passed upon her, she replied, she was not sixteen years of age, one of the justices told her *she lied*: And although a certificate of her birth, signed by two women present thereat was produced, asserting she was born the 20th day of August 1649, it was arbitrarily rejected by the justices, who were so intent on multiplying convicts, that they seemed determined to go over all objections legal or illegal, whereby any might escape the designed punishment. The case of this young woman was yet more severe in this; that soon after she was sentenced to banishment, she sickened in Newgate, and dying there, the same unfeeling inhumanity, insatiate with her life, was extended to her lifeless corps: her relations were debarred even of the consolation of paying the last office of natural affection, by interring her as they desired, but she was carried to the burying place, where they usually inter felons and others who die in the jail. When the bearers came to the ground, finding no grave made, they left the corps unburied, saying, they would make a grave next morning. The girl's mother attending the funeral, had the grief and anguish to behold this inhuman usage of her daughter's remains in silent sorrow without the power of remedy. The other four being married women were sentenced to eleven months imprisonment in Bridewell.

C H A P.  
XII.

1664.  
Hard case  
of Hannah  
Trigg.

She dies in  
Newgate,  
and is bur-  
ied among  
felons, &c.

CHAP. On the 15th above forty more were brought  
 XII. to the sessions at the Old Bailey, and called to  
 the bar, one, two, three or four at a time, as  
 they were included in one indictment. About  
 sixteen, considering the indictment as a charge  
 of contemning the law, and acting contrary to  
 the king's peace, pleaded not guilty. Others  
 giving general answers, such as, *I have wronged  
 none, I am innocent, &c.* were set by as mute,  
 and the fact taken *pro confesso*. Then the court,  
 at which Judge Hyde presided, proceeded to try  
 the former sixteen. The witnesses against them  
 were the under-keepers of Newgate and the mar-  
 shalmen. The first was one Dawson, a turn-  
 key, who was greatly confounded in his testi-  
 mony, for having sworn that he took John Hope,  
 who had been in prison three weeks at the Bull  
 and Mouth last Sunday, and the court endea-  
 vouring to set him right, he correcting himself,  
 said the Sunday before, which was equally false.  
 Afterward he said the prisoner was brought out  
 to him, and that he did not see him in the  
 meeting. Upon which one of the jury, ad-  
 dressing himself to the judge, said, "My lord,  
 "I beseech you let us be troubled with no more  
 "such evidence, for we shall not cast men upon  
 "such evidence as this;" but the judge endea-  
 voured to palliate it, and reproved the juryman  
 for being too scrupulous.

A Juryman  
 objecting to  
 the evidence  
 discounte-  
 nanced and  
 threatened.

Another evidence was William Turner, a  
 turnkey too, who being asked if the prisoner  
 was at the Bull and Mouth, answered, he was  
 there that day, he came with the constable;  
 whence it appeared he did not see him, till he  
 came to Newgate. So one of the jury objecting  
 to this witness, the judge grew angry, and  
 threatened



threatened him for undervaluing the king's witnesses, and told him the court had power to punish him, and would do it. After some time the jury was sent out, who brought in their verdict, that four of the prisoners were *not guilty*, and the rest they could not agree on. The judge being much displeas'd sent them out again with fresh instructions, they returned with this verdict, *guilty of meeting, but not of fact*. The judge enquiring what they meant by not guilty of fact, the jury replied, "Here is evidence that they met at the Bull and Mouth, therefore we say guilty of meeting; but no evidence of what they did there, therefore we say, not guilty of meeting contrary to the liturgy of the church of England." The judge asked some of the jury, Whether they did not believe in their consciences that they were there under colour and pretence of worship? To which one of them replied, "I do believe in my conscience, that they were met to worship in deed and in truth." Another said, "My lord, I have that venerable respect for the liturgy of the church of England, as to believe it is according to the scriptures, which allow of the worship of God in spirit; and therefore I conclude to worship God in spirit is not contrary to the liturgy; if it be, I shall abate of my respect to it." In short, neither persuasions nor menaces could induce the jury to alter the verdict: Whereupon six of them were bound in 100*l.* each to appear at the King's Bench bar the first day of the next term.

On the 17th, those who had been set by were brought to the bar to receive sentence: First, four married women condemned to the house of correction

CHAP.  
XII.

1664.

Six of the jury, for not altering their verdict, bound over to the King's Bench. Four married women

CHAP. correction for twelve months, the rest to banishment; the men to Barbadoes, and the women to Jamaica, there to remain seven years.

1664. Thus the persecuting magistrates and judges continued to imprison, try and condemn to banishment the members of this society in great numbers, there being, by an account published at this time, upwards of six hundred in prison. All the absurdity and arbitrariness of their proceedings particularly to recount would lead me into a disagreeable prolixity; suffice it to observe, that by authentic records I find that upwards of two hundred were sentenced to banishment in different parts of the nation, in this and the succeeding year, of whom upwards of one hundred and fifty were condemned at the Old-Bailey and Hicks's-Hall; and what is very remarkable, out of all this number I find no particular account of more than two at one time and about fifteen at others, who were actually transported, which was not owing to any relaxation of severity in the government or subordinate magistrates, but the disappointments they met with of the means of transporting them, as hath been observed with regard to those condemned at Hertford, and will further appear in the process.

These two were named Edward Brush and James Harding, who on the 24th of the month called March, very early in the morning, were, without any warning, hurried from Newgate by some of the turnkeys to Blackfriars, and thence to Gravesend, where they were forced on board a ship, which carried them to Jamaica, where it pleased God to prosper them, so that they lived there in good circumstances; and Edward Brush, who

committed to the house of correction, the rest to banishment. Upwards of six hundred in prison.

Two hundred are sentenced to banishment.

Edward Brush and James Harding transported to Jamaica.

Edward Brush lived to return.

who was at that time a grey-haired aged man, a citizen of good repute among his neighbours, and well esteemed by many persons of consequence, after suffering the anguish of being thus violently separated from a beloved wife and only child, aged as he was, survived the term of his exile, lived to come back, and end his days in peace at home.

Along with these two, a third named Robert Hayes, was also in like manner put on ship-board; in whom we have a fresh instance of the unfeeling barbarity which actuated his persecutors, for being taken fasting out of prison, though in a weak state of health, and under a course of physick, and carried down the river on a very cold day without any refreshment afforded him; within a little time after he was put on board, he died there. His body was brought back to London, and interred in the burying ground belonging to his friends. George Whitehead, who knew him, gives the following account of Robert Hayes: "He was a very innocent loving man, a goodlike person, of a fresh comely countenance, seemed healthy, and in the prime of his strength when first imprisoned." And adds, "I was very sorrowfully affected, when I heard how quickly he was dispatched out of the world by the shameful cruelty and inhuman usage of these merciless persecutors."

C H A P.  
XII.

1664.

Robert  
Hayes put  
on board  
along with  
them.Dies on  
board.His charac-  
ter.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Exemplary Patience of this People under Suffering.—Sundry Friends by Example and Precept encourage them to steadfastness.—George Fox, jun. his Warning to England.—George Bishop's to the King and Parliament.—Reflection on the Manners of the Age, which are thought to draw down the Judgments of Heaven upon it.—1. The Dutch War.—2. A depopulating Pestilence.—More than one hundred and twenty condemned to Transportation in London.—An Embargo laid on the Shipping, in order to oblige the Masters to transport the Prisoners.—Fifty-five taken from Newgate to be transported.—The Plague breaks out in the Ship and carries off twenty-seven of the Prisoners.—The Ship taken by a Dutch Privateer, and the surviving Prisoners set at liberty.—The Plague encreases.—Fifty-two of the People called Quakers die in Newgate of the Pestilence, notwithstanding which the Prisons are crowded with fresh Prisoners.—Death of Samuel Fisher, Joseph Fuce, and William Caton.*

C H A P.  
XIII.

1664.  
Exemplary  
patience of  
this people  
under their  
sufferings.

**EXPOSED** as this people was to multiplied penalties and severe execution of unequal laws, yet through all the exertions of malicious violence, wanton despotism and manifest injustice, during the heat of the persecution, they fainted not in their minds; strengthened by divine support and the testimony of a pure conscience, they

they were enabled to endure sufferings exceeding the patience of meer humanity with meekness, and without repining, in resigned acquiescence to divine permission, and in humble dependance upon divine protection and support, under the arbitrary deprivation of the protection of the king, the laws and immunities of their native country. There were among them some, who were not only examples in steadfastness in suffering themselves, but by their exhortations in word and writing, as well as example, encouraged their brethren to steadfastness therein; so that through all these efforts of the persecutors to abolish this society, they encreased notwithstanding in strength and in numbers. George Fox, George Whitehead, Francis Howgil and Josiah Coale were of this number. Others were engaged to bear testimony against persecution by their epistles, remonstrances and prophetic warnings, addressed to the king and parliament in much plainness; and yet (what was very remarkable) amongst the great number condemned to banishment, not one of these eminent and active members was included, although they never sought to escape by subterfuge, but continued, when at liberty, to example their brethren to an open and diligent attendance of meetings, as well as to encourage them thereto.

C H A P.  
XIII.  
1664.

Sundry  
friends by  
example and  
precept en-  
courage  
them to  
steadfastness.

Two of these prophetic warnings are too remarkable to be past over unnoticed, although lettered pride, which reluctantly admitting of any divine revelation, considers all modern claim thereto as enthusiasm, and quakerism in particular as founded therein, yet other readers, who with me may not be quite so sceptical, may perhaps

C H A P. perhaps be modestly backward to decide upon a  
 XIII. point above the determination of human wisdom,  
 especially when the predictions appear to be fulfilled: So leaving the reader to make what comment seems good, I shall proceed to transcribe them as I find them recorded in the authors before me.

1664. The first is extracted from a publication of George Fox the younger in 1661, wherein lamenting England, because of the judgments that were coming upon her inhabitants for their wickedness and persecutions, he saith, "The Lord had spoken in him concerning the inhabitants, "The people are too many, I will thin them, I will thin them!" Further, "that an overflowing scourge, yea even a great and terrible judgment, was to come upon the land, and that many in it should fall and be taken away."

Geo. Fox,  
 jun his  
 warning to  
 England.

The next is a short admonitory caution from George Bishop, of Bristol, addressed

G. Bishop's  
 warning.

"To the King and both houses of parliament.  
 "Thus saith the Lord,  
 "Meddle not with my people, because of their  
 "conscience to me, and banish them not out of  
 "the nation because of their conscience; for if  
 "you do I will send my plagues upon you, and  
 "you shall know that I am the Lord.  
 "Written in obedience to the Lord by his ser-  
 "vant,  
 "Bristol 15th 9<sup>mo</sup> 1664. G. BISHOP."

Reflection  
 on the  
 manners  
 of the age.

<sup>a</sup> Yet whilst these rigorous measures were thus rigorously executed, for forcing uniformity in religion, true religion perhaps was never less cultivated

<sup>a</sup> Neale, vol. ii. p. 651.

cultivated or promoted than at this time, by the ruling party. The manners of the age were corrupt and immoral to a scandalous degree. Through the example of their superiors, and the pliant doctrine of their teachers, adapted to flatter the great, and in general more pointed against nonconformity than vice, “the common people (says Neale) gave themselves up to drunkenness, profane swearing, gaming, lewdness, and all kinds of debauchery, which brought down the judgments of heaven upon the nation.”

C H A P.  
XIII.  
1664.

The people called Quakers also of this age, looked upon the train of succeeding calamities as divine judgments inflicted upon a sinful and persecuting generation; and although the secrets of the Almighty are a great deep, and his ways above the investigation of human wisdom, yet I think scripture warrants us to consider signal national calamities in this light, when national corruption becomes remarkably general as at this time.

Which are thought to draw down judgments upon the nation.

The first of those evils, mentioned by Neale, was a war with the Dutch, wantonly and in unjust policy commenced by the English court, and promoted by the selfish policy of France, which cost the nation much blood and treasure, and many lives were lost on both sides and no advantage gained by either.

1st. The Dutch war.

The next general calamity which befel the nation had more the appearance of a divine visitation for the sins of the people; it was the most dreadful plague that had been known in the memory of man. Neale writes “that it was preceded by an unusual drought; the meadows were parched and burnt up like the highways, insomuch that there was no food

1665.  
2d. A depopulating pestilence.

“ for

CHAP. XIII. 1665. “ for the cattle, which occasioned first a mur-  
 “ rain among them, and then a general conta-  
 “ gion among the human species, which en-  
 “ creased in the city and suburbs of London ’till  
 “ eight thousand or upwards died in a week.  
 “ The wealthier inhabitants fled into the re-  
 “ moter counties ; but the calamities of those  
 “ who stayed behind, and of the poorer  
 “ sort, are not easily described.” <sup>b</sup> Trade  
 was at a full stand. Intercourse between Lon-  
 don and the country was much interrupted.  
 In London the shops and houses were quite shut  
 up, and grass was growing in the most populous  
 streets, now become a scene of solitude, silence  
 and gloom ; and it was remarked that the first  
 house in which it broke out and was shut upon  
 account of the infection, was the very next door  
 to the late dwelling of Edward Brush, lately trans-  
 ported on the conventicle act.

It was certainly a most awful and awakening  
 visitation, sufficient one would think to rouse the  
 most inconsiderate souls to serious thoughtfulness,  
 and close consideration of their ways and  
 of their latter end, when the examples of mor-  
 tality were daily multiplying before their eyes,  
 and none could be certain, whose turn it would  
 be next, or whether himself had many days to  
 live : yet such was either the hardness of heart,  
 or the mistaken persuasion of their doing well,  
 in the persecuting magistrates, that unawed by  
 these symptoms of divine displeasure, not soften-  
 ed to compassion by the common calamity, they  
 proceeded for a season to carry this conventicle act  
 into force, by encreasing the number of Quaker  
 prisoners and exiles, as if nothing extraordinary  
 had fallen out.

In

<sup>b</sup> Sewel.



In the month called April 1665, twelve more of this society were sentenced to transportation, and seven more taken from Newgate to Gravesend, and there put on shipboard, to be transported to the plantations, and in the succeeding month eight others. And a few days after their embarkation, judge Hide, who had been an active man in promoting the conviction and sentencing of many to banishment, was suddenly taken off, being in health in Westminster in the morning, and found dead in his closet the same day at noon.

C H A P.  
XIII.  
1665.

At the next sessions at the Old-Baily four more were condemned to transportation, under which sentence there remained in Newgate more than 120 persons, whom the sheriffs knew not how to get rid of; for the masters of ships, persuaded of the men's innocence, generally refused to carry them, and the encreasing pestilence confirmed them in their refusal, it being esteemed by them and many others as a judgment on the nation for its persecuting laws. To remedy this difficulty, an embargo was laid on all merchantmen, with an order that none should go down the river without a pass from the Admiral; and this would be given to no master going to the West-Indies, but on condition of his engaging to carry some Quakers. Remonstrances of the illegality of carrying Englishmen out of their native country by force were vain. At length they found a man for their purpose, one Fudge, a person so hardened as to say, *he would not stick to transport his nearest relations.* With this man the sheriffs agreed to carry the prisoners to Jamaica, and in pursuance thereof fifty-five were taken

More than  
120 con-  
demned to  
transporta-  
tion.

Embargo  
laid on ships  
in order to  
oblige them  
to transport  
the prison-  
ers.

55 taken  
from New-  
gate to be  
transported  
whom the  
mariners  
refuse to  
help aboard.

C H A P. taken out of Newgate, put into a barge and carried down the river to his ship, lying at Bugby's-hole, a little below Greenwich. When they came to the ship's side, the master being absent, the seamen refused to assist in forcing them on board, and the prisoners were unwilling to be active in their own transportation. The turnkey and officers used high words to the seamen, insisting that the prisoners were the King's goods, and that they ought to be assistant in taking them aboard; but the mariners were inflexible, and would not move a finger in that work. At length with much difficulty they got only four on board, and being weary, returned with the rest to Newgate, where they lay about two weeks, and then were again carried to the barge. Soldiers were sent from the Tower in boats, to be assistant in putting them aboard. Several of their friends in other boats accompanied them, though the soldiers threatened to sink them, if they would not be gone. The commander of the soldiers called to the seamen to assist, but few of them regarded. Then the soldiers in the barge laid hold on the prisoners, dragging some, kicking and punching others, heaving many by the legs and arms, and in this manner got them all on board in about an hour's time, being thirty seven men and eighteen women.

On board, the men were all thronged together between decks, where they could not stand upright. The master of the ship being in the mean time arrested for debt, and cast into prison, the ship was detained so long in the river, that it was about seven months before they reached the land's-end: and in the intermediate time, the pestilence breaking out in the ship, carried off 27 of the prisoners. At last another master being

XIII.  
1665.  
Soldiers sent from the Tower to assist.

The plague breaks out in the ship and carries off 27 of the prisoners.

being procured, on the 23d of the month called CHAP. February, the vessel sailed from Plymouth, and XIII. was the next day taken by a Dutch privateer off the Land's-end, and carried to Hoorn in North-Holland. When the commissioners of the admiralty there understood that they would not be exchanged as prisoners of war, they set them at liberty, and gave them a passport and certificate, "That they had not made their escape, but were sent back by them." From Hoorn they made their way to Amsterdam, where they met with a kind reception from their friends, who provided them with lodging and clothes, their own having been mostly taken from them by the privateer's crew. From hence they all returned to England, except one, who being a foreigner stayed in Holland. By these means the exiles were delivered, and the design of the persecutors was frustrated by the ordering hand of divine providence.

1665.  
The ship taken by a Dutch privateer, and the surviving prisoners set at liberty.

In the same week that these 55 persons were put on shipboard, the bills of mortality in London amounted to upwards of 3000, and in the next week to 4030, and went on increasing till in the month of September they increased to upwards of 7000 in the week. Persecution notwithstanding continued, and the meetings to be disturbed as before. As this destructive pestilence was esteemed to be a fore and heavy judgment on a wicked, profane and persecuting generation, who had long sported themselves in oppressing the innocent, so it might be reckoned a merciful visitation to the faithful and conscientious prisoners, in releasing them from a life worse than death in the filthy holes of Newgate. For a contagion which spread through all the city with unabated violence must naturally be supposed!

The plague increases.

C H A P.  
XIII  
1665.  
52 die in  
Newgate  
of the pest-  
ilence.

supposed to infect the jails (at all times liable to infection, where numbers are pent up together in a polluted air, in close, damp and filthy rooms) with an additional baneful effect. In the aforementioned prison no less than fifty two of the people called Quakers laid down their lives in testimony of a good conscience, twenty-two of whom lay there under sentence of transportation.

Notwith-  
standing  
which the  
prisons are  
crowded  
with fresh  
prisoners.

But what must fix an indelible stamp of utter insensibility to every motive of humanity, of civility or common decency, on the characters of those magistrates, to the disgrace of the government, and of that church with which they were so zealous to force conformity, was, that during the very height of the contagion they continued to crowd the infected prisons with fresh prisoners. On the 9th of the month called August, Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, sent a body of soldiers to break up the meeting at the Peel, who entered it in the accustomed hostile manner, crying to the assembly, "They were all their prisoners." John Eldridge asking by what authority they came, was answered by a blow on the head with a musquet; and another for asking the same question was knocked down. <sup>d</sup> The soldiers carried away thirty two of them to Newgate, without paying any regard to the perilous situation of that prison, which bears an aspect of barbarity insatiable in punishment short of death; as there was at the time of their imprisonment no human probability of their all coming out alive; nor did they; some of these being in the number of the prisoners carried off by the plague in that prison.

In

<sup>d</sup> Bessé.

In the same month eighteen others were committed to the Gatehouse Westminster, by warrants from the Duke of Albemarle, four of which number died there of the contagion.

H A P.  
XIII.  
1665.

But now having prosecuted their vindictive measures to imprisonment, little short of murder, the devouring pestilence continuing to cut off multitudes of the citizens, and little or no trade stirring, the poorer people grew discontented: The melancholy state of the city, and general distress of the citizens, damped the fury of persecution in the city for the present; and this calamity of the plague being the next year succeeded by another little less distressing, a destructive and extensive conflagration, the successive and extraordinary symptoms of divine displeasure discouraged, (or the necessary care for the relief of the distressed citizens diverted the attention of) the government and magistrates from prosecuting the dissenters as hitherto, in order to apply it to more pressing exigencies; so that this people in the city of London had a respite of some years, wherein they were suffered to hold their meetings with less disturbance.

Amongst the great numbers who laid down their lives in prison in the course of this year, was Samuel Fisher, with whom the reader hath been before made acquainted; that he was a man of great parts and literature, formerly a parish preacher at Lydd in Kent, but voluntarily relinquished his benefice of near two hundred pounds per annum, and joined in society with the baptists. In the year 1655 he was convinced of the truth, as held by the people called Quakers, and through obedience thereto became a faithful

Death and  
character of  
Samuel  
Fisher.

C H A P.

XIII.

1665.

a faithful minister of the same, and travelled much in the exercise of his ministerial labours for the propagation of righteousness both in England and foreign parts. At Dunkirk in Flanders he had good service in testifying against the idolatry of the priests and friars, and preaching to the English garrison there. He afterwards travelled on foot, in company with John Stubbs, over the Alps, and through Italy to Rome, where they bore faithful testimony to the simplicity of truth, and against the superstitions of the religion of that place; they also distributed some books amongst the ecclesiastics there, and when their service was over passed away without molestation. But although he escaped persecution abroad amongst the Romanists (amongst whose pernicious tenets Protestants have ranked the persecution of Hereticks) he met with his full share of it amongst the professed protestants at home, his sufferings being very great after his return to England. The greatest part of the four last years of his life he spent in prison; for in 1661 he was several months a prisoner in the Gatehouse in Westminster: Soon after his release he was illegally apprehended, as before related, sent to Bridewell, and after some time brought to Guildhall, where refusing to take the oaths he was committed to Newgate, and confined there about twelve months. And in a short time after his discharge was taken again at Charlewood in Surry, and committed to the White Lyon prison in Southwark, where after near two years imprisonment, on the last day of the month called August, he finished his course in this life, in perfect peace with God; in good esteem both with his friends and many others,

not

not more on account of the eminence of his natural parts and acquired abilities, as a scholar, than of his exemplary humility, social virtues, and circumspect conversation as a christian: In meekness instructing those who opposed him, and labouring incessantly by his discourses and by his writings to propagate and promote true christian practice and piety.

C H A P.  
XIII.  
1665.

Along with him was taken at the same meeting, and committed to the same prison, Joseph Fuce, who also laid down his life there, a prisoner, for the testimony of a good conscience. In the work of the ministry he had travelled through several countries; his gift being in a peculiar manner adapted to the convincing of gainfayers, he was frequently engaged in disputes with independents, baptists and other preachers. \* He was a man of a patient and meek spirit; very laborious in the work of the ministry; and, as well as his brethren, a deep sufferer on account of his religious persuasion, and religious discharge of duty: In the year 1655, being on his travels in the exercise of gospel labour, he was taken up by order of the mayor of Arundel, and sent to Portsmouth to be shipped for Jamaica, among a company of disorderly persons, who had been convicted and sentenced to transportation for their vicious courses. By what means he escaped this undeserved punishment doth not appear, but it is reasonable to suppose that, in consideration of the barefaced illegality of banishing a subject not only unconvicted, but legally charged with no crime, some of the more temperate and prudent

imprisoned  
at Arundel  
with design  
to transport  
him.

\* Bessé.

CHAP. XIII. 1665. Again imprisoned on the rising of the fifth monarchy men.

dent magistrates must have released him. <sup>c</sup> In 1660, being at a meeting at Deal, after the insurrection of the fifth monarchy men, several armed men and others rushed in, and took thence Joseph Fuce and twenty-three others; they were all committed to Sandown castle, and there kept several days and nights, their friends not being allowed to bring them either food to eat, or straw to lie on. Afterwards he and another friend were removed to Dover castle, where their treatment was still more barbarous. They were kept locked up with five others of their friends within two or three doors in one room, from which they were permitted no egress on any emergency, however urgent, not even to answer the necessities of nature; neither were their friends allowed access to them to bring them necessaries; for the marshal had charged his servant that he should permit nobody to come near them, and the man having shewn them some little favour, was turned out of his place, and another substituted therein more suited to the marshal's disposition in a similarity of temper; for when one of their wives had come six miles to bring her husband some necessaries, he would not suffer her to see him. Joseph Fuce, taking an opportunity to remonstrate to the marshal against the unreasonableness of this cruel usage, was answered with a volley of oaths and execrations, which profanity being very wounding to the ears of this religious man, he thought himself in point of duty obliged to bear his testimony against it, by a serious reproof, for which he met with treatment more cruelly

Grossly abused for reproving the marshal.

<sup>c</sup> Bessé, v. i. p. 291.



cruelly severe. The marshal, exasperated to CHAP. rage, caused him to be dragged headlong down XIII. several stone steps, into a dungeon, under the bell-tower, overrun with filth and with vermin, to a degree which decency recoils to describe, without aperture for light or air, only some holes cut in the door. There he was kept two days and two nights without fire, candle, straw, or any thing to lie on but an old blanket. Afterward when he got some straw for a bed, for want of air, through the damp and stench of his dismal lodging, it was no wonder he fell sick; and after nine days confinement in this contagious hole, he seemed at the point of death, when the fear of being questioned for murdering him, incited the cruel marshal to let him out, and suffer him to return to his fellow-prisoners, with whom he continued several months, till released by the king's proclamation. He was also confined in Ipswich jail some time, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and at last laid down his life in the White-lion prison, Southwark, as above related.

1665.

In this year also William Caton departed this life at Amsterdam. His service was much in that country; of his religious disposition, conviction and qualifications for usefulness in society, a pretty full account having been given, at his first introduction into this history, it seems unnecessary to enlarge thereupon here, further than to remark that besides his literary accomplishments, and religious conversation, <sup>f</sup> being remarkable for the courteousness and affability of his disposition, he engaged the general esteem of

William  
Caton's  
death.

VOL. II.

K

those

C H A P. XIII. those who were acquainted with him. His person while living, and his memory after his removal, were much respected, even by persons of consequence in that state.

1665.

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C H A P. XIV.

*The Parliament convened at Oxford pass the Five-mile Act.—Friends suffer by this Act though not made against them.—Several Friends come from the Country to London to visit and help their Brethren in this calamitous Season.—George Fox still a Prisoner at Lancaster.—From thence removed to Scarborough Castle.—Where his Imprisonment is very severe.—His Friends debarred from visiting him.—Several Persons come to dispute with him.—Menaces added to the Rigour of his Imprisonment.—At last by Application to the King he obtains his Release.—The City of London laid waste by Fire.—Bull and Mouth Meeting-house destroyed.—Grace Church-street Meeting-house built.—George Fox travels through several Counties to London.—His Labour and Travels in establishing Discipline amongst his Friends.—Dissertation on Discipline.*

C H A P. XIV.

1665.

The parliament being convened at Oxford, pass the five mile act.

AS the plague still continued its ravages in the city of London, the parliament was convened

ed this year at Oxford: but the joint calamities of war and pestilence, which at this time distressed the city and the nation, seem to have made no profitable impresson on the members of this parliament, so as to incline them to a better temper towards the non-conformists; for instead of being humbled in their minds, or mollified in their tempers; instead of sympathizing in the general distress, or conforming to the occasion, and attempting a reformation of the dissolute manners of the age, as if neither war, pestilence, or any symptom of divine displeasure, were calamities of equal magnitude, with the existence of non-conformity, they proceeded to enact a fresh penal law, commonly known by the name of *The Oxford five-mile act*, which received the royal assent October the 31st, 1665. It was entitled, *An act to restrain non-conformists from inhabiting corporations*; the preamble to which sets forth, “ that divers Parsons and  
 “ others in holy orders, not having subscribed  
 “ the act of uniformity, have taken upon them  
 “ to preach in unlawful assemblies, and to in-  
 “ stil the poisonous principles of schism and re-  
 “ bellion in the hearts of his Majesty’s subjects  
 “ to the church and kingdom: Be it therefore  
 “ enacted that all such non-conformist ministers  
 “ shall take the following oath,  
 “ I, A. B. do swear that it is not lawful,  
 “ upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms  
 “ against the king; and that I do abhor that  
 “ traiterous position of taking arms by his autho-  
 “ rity against his person, or against those that are  
 “ commissioned by him, in pursuance of such com-  
 “ missions; and that I will not at any time endea-  
 “ vour any alteration of government in church or  
 “ state.

C H A P.  
 XIV.  
 1665.

C H A P. “ And all such non-conformist ministers shall  
 XIV. “ not after the 24th of March, unless in passing  
 1665. “ the road, come or be within five miles of  
 “ any city, town-corporate or borough, that  
 “ sends burgessees to parliament, or within five  
 “ miles of any parish, town and place, wherein  
 “ they have, since the act of oblivion, been  
 “ parson, vicar or lecturer, &c. or where they  
 “ have preached in any conventicle, on any  
 “ pretence whatsoever, before they have sub-  
 “ scribed the abovesaid oath, before the justi-  
 “ ces of peace at the quarter sessions for the  
 “ county in any court, upon forfeiture for every  
 “ such offence of forty pounds, one third to the  
 “ king, another third to the poor, and a third  
 “ to him that shall sue for it. And it is further  
 “ enacted, that such as shall refuse the oath  
 “ aforesaid, shall be incapable of teaching any  
 “ public or private schools, or of taking any  
 “ boarders or tablers to be taught or instruct-  
 “ ed, under the penalty of forty pounds, to be  
 “ distributed as above. Any two justices of  
 “ peace, upon oath made before them of any  
 “ offence committed against this act, are em-  
 “ powered to commit the offender to prison for  
 “ six months without bail or mainprize.”

This bill  
 opposed in  
 the house of  
 lords.

This bill met with great opposition in the house of lords, upon account of its enforcing an unlawful and unjustifiable oath. Even the Earl of Southampton (Clarendon's intimate friend, who in concert with Archbishop Sheldon, Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, and their creatures, is said to be the contriver and promoter of this act) was strenuous in the opposition, declaring the oath to be such *as no honest man could take*: But the heat and passion of party prejudice prevailed

vailed against propriety, reason and humanity, and the bill was passed into a law. C H A P.  
XIV.

Now though this act was principally aimed at the Presbyterians and Independents, who had formerly enjoyed the emoluments of the church, so called, and been incumbents of parishes, yet it was also frequently enforced against the people called Quakers, who, because for conscience-sake they could not swear, were upon this law prosecuted and imprisoned, as well as the other numerous penal laws of this reign. 1665.  
Quakers  
suffer by  
this law,  
though not  
made a-  
gainst them.

The pestilence having carried off, according to most accounts near one hundred thousand of the inhabitants of London, in the course of this year; and amongst them many of the people called Quakers, who left many poor widows and fatherless children; and this people, from their first existence, having been distinguished for their charitable regard towards, and care of each other, this calamity of consequence must awaken their tender feelings: But the number of objects demanding their brotherly assistance and attention at this period, proving too burdensome for the men, who held occasional meetings in the city, for the purpose of providing for the necessity of the poor; they called upon some of the most grave and tender-hearted of their female friends to be assistants to them in this necessary care, who readily complying, met for this purpose once a week at London.

Such was the fraternal regard, and feeling sympathy which prevailed amongst this people, at this time, that not only the resident inhabitants were exercised in this care; but several, as George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Josiah Cole and others felt themselves incited, by the pointings Several  
friends  
come out of  
the country  
to London,  
to lend their  
assistance in  
the needful  
care in this  
calamitous  
season.

CHAP. pointings of duty, to come out of the country  
 XIV. to London, as with their lives in their hands, in  
 faith in divine protection, and resignation to the  
 1665. divine will, to suffer with their friends there,  
 whatever might be permitted to befall them; to  
 strengthen and encourage them by their exam-  
 ples and exhortations to keep up their meetings;  
 to edify them with their gifts; and to visit and  
 comfort the sick and imprisoned; and through  
 all were mercifully preserved from the infection,  
 and from imprisonment in this season of dan-  
 ger.

George Fox  
 still a pri-  
 soner at  
 Lancaster.

In the mean time George Fox, whose solicitude for the welfare of the society which he had been first made instrumental to gather and establish, was unremitted, found himself secluded from the opportunity of extending his pastoral and paternal care towards them in this season of their accumulated distress; having been for three years kept a prisoner so close, that to his friends he was as a man buried alive. We left him a prisoner in Lancaster castle, under a clandestine sentence or record of premunire, whence the neighbouring justices, who had been active in his prosecution, perceiving that the arbitrary proceedings against him at the assizes, being publickly known, and freely canvassed, exposed them to public censure and disrepute, determined to exert their endeavours to procure his removal to some remote prison, as the most probable means to make the general dislike of their conduct die away. In order to effect their purpose, it seems they sent up some virulent, though groundless, accusations to the king and council, and obtained an order from them to remove him from Lancaster, accompanied with a letter from  
 the

His enemies  
 by misre-  
 presentati-  
 ons endea-  
 vour to get  
 him remov-  
 ed from  
 thence to  
 some other  
 prison.

the Earl of Anglesey, importing, "that if those  
 " things were found true against him, with  
 " which he was charged, he deserved no mercy."

C H A P.  
 XIV.

1665.

Thus when men are once tempted to transgress the bounds of rectitude, they too frequently endeavour to cover their former errors by the commission of more and greater. These men well knew they could convict him of no offence, but his conscientious declining an oath, or their present ill-will would have incited them to have done it; yet to erase the memory of their past injurious conduct, they add wrong to wrong, by hidden misrepresentations, rendering him obnoxious to government in order to screen their own misconduct, and satiate their malice, by aggravating the unmerited sufferings of a man who had done them no wrong.

When they were prepared for his removal, the under-sheriff and bailiffs fetched him out of the castle, when he was so weakened by lying in that cold, wet and smoky prison, that he could hardly go or stand. They took him into the jailer's house to Colonel Kirby and others, who called for some wine to give him; but considering them as the principal authors of his imprisonment, he, who detested all insincerity, would not accept their shew of kindness, when suffering so severely under the effects of their malice. The horses being ordered out, he desired to see their order, if they intended to remove him, insisting "that he was not the  
 " king's prisoner, but the sheriff's; for they  
 " and all the country knew he was not fully  
 " heard at the last assize, nor suffered to shew  
 " the errors in the indictment, which were suf-  
 " ficient to quash it: But they all knew there  
 " was

He is in  
 consequence  
 removed  
 from Lan-  
 caster in a  
 weak con-  
 dition,

C H A P.

XIV.

1665.

“ was no sentence of premunire passed upon  
 “ him, therefore being still the sberiff’s pri-  
 “ soner, he again desired to see their order.”

But they would shew him none but their swords, and instead thereof haled him out, and lifting him upon one of the sberiff’s horses, hurried him that night fourteen miles to Bentham, though he was so very weak, that he was hardly able to sit on horseback; he was treated with much rudeness and incivility, which gave him occasion to remark to the officers, that he received neither christianity, civility nor humanity from them.

and imprisoned in Scarborough castle,

At Bentham being delivered into the custody of a fresh guard, he was taken on to Giggleswick that night, although exceeding weak and weary: All this while he was kept in ignorance of the place of his destination; and upon his enquiry of some of the soldiers, who guarded him, whither he was to be sent? Some of them told him “ beyond sea;” others “ to Tinmouth castle.” Being guarded thence to York, by troopers under Lord Frecheville, he fell into better hands, for they treated him with civility; admitted his friends to visit him on the way, and allowed him two days rest at York, from whence the marshal and four or five soldiers conveyed him to Scarborough castle, his appointed prison.

where his imprisonment is very severe.

One may naturally imagine the Lancashire justices must have made a dreadful representation of the danger to be apprehended from him (although they had no matter of fact to support their charge) for he was here closely confined, like a prisoner of state, under a military guard, a sentinel being placed on his room in the castle;



tle ; but he being so weak as frequently to faint, C H A P.  
 for a while they permitted him at times to walk X I V.  
 out for air, with a sentinel to attend him. He  
 was soon removed from his first room to another, little better, if not worse, than that in  
 which he was confined at Lancaster, being 1665.  
 so open as to admit the rain, and exceedingly offensive with smoke. Inasmuch that  
 the governor, Sir Jordan Crossland, in company with Sir Francis Cobb, coming one day  
 to see him, having a little fire, the room was so filled with smoke, that they could hardly find  
 their way out. He laid out about fifty shillings to keep out the rain, and prevent the  
 smoke ; which when he had done, and thereby made it tolerable, he was removed into another  
 still worse, without chimney or fire-place, so open to the sea-side, that the wind drove in the  
 rain so violently, that the water poured in upon his bed and about the room, till he had it to  
 skim up with a platter. And when his clothes were wet, being without fire to dry them, his  
 body was benumbed with the cold, and his fingers swelled to double their natural size. Few or  
 none of his friends would be suffered to come to him, even to bring him food, wherefore he was  
 under the necessity of hiring others to do it. Against this hard treatment he pleaded the indulgence  
 which Paul received from the Romans, who were not christians but heathens. But at the same time  
 whilst his friends were debarred from admission to him, numbers of others were freely admitted,  
 whom curiosity drew to gaze upon him, or who came to dispute with him.

C H A P.

XIV.

1665.

Several  
come to dis-  
pute with  
him.

Of these latter he had visitants of most denominations, Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Papists, particularly of the last (the governor being of that persuasion) by whom he was much teized with the advancing of their doctrines, as the infallibility of the Pope, and such like; but he seemed seldom at a loss for a suitable reply to all that came to discourse or dispute with him, being actuated through all with an innocent boldness in confuting error, and contending for the true faith according to scripture testimony.

Menaces  
added to the  
rigour of  
his impris-  
onment.

To the rigour and hardships of his imprisonment, his keepers added frequent menaces in order to terrify him. The deputy governor once told him, *That the king, knowing he had a great interest in the people, had sent him thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang him over the wall.* He replied to this menace, *If that was what they desired, and it was permitted them, he was ready, for he never feared death or sufferings in his life; but was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from stirrings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men.*

At length his patience having surmounted the hardships he was exposed to, and his innocence pleading in his favour with his keepers, they gradually relented, relaxed their severity, and finally became favourable and respectful to him. The officers would frequently say, he was as stiff as an oak, and as pure as a bell, for we could never bow him.

1666.

At last by  
application  
to the king  
he obtains  
his release.

After he had been a prisoner in Scarborough castle above a year, he laid his case in writing before the king, relating the manner of imprisonment,

sonment, and the hard treatment he had met with; subjoining, that he was informed that no man could deliver him but the king himself. His friend Esquire Marsh exerted his endeavours to procure success to his application, and through the master of requests, obtained the king's order for his release, the substance whereof was, "that the king being certainly informed that George Fox was a man principled against plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all times to discover plots rather than make any, &c. therefore his royal pleasure was that he should be released from his imprisonment." As soon as this order was obtained, it was quickly brought to Scarborough, and delivered to the governor, who upon receipt thereof immediately discharged him, and gave him the following passport.

" Permit the bearer hereof George Fox, late a prisoner here, and discharged by his majesty's order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions, without molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough castle this 1st day of September, 1666.

" JORDAN CROSSLANDS,

" Governor of Scarborough castle."

George Fox when he received his release was willing to make the governor an acknowledgment for the civility and kindness he had lately shewn him, who would not receive any thing, but told him, " Whatever good he could do him or his friends, he would do it, and never do them any hurt:" which promise his consequent

C H A P. frequent conduct made good, being humane and  
 XIV. favourable to his friends through the remainder  
 of his life.

1666.  
 The city of  
 London  
 laid waste  
 by fire.

It was just at this time (after the city and suburbs of London were so greatly depopulated by the plague) that the said city was laid in ashes by a dreadful conflagration, which broke out in Pudding-lane, over against the place where the Monument is erected, whereby in a few days time the greatest part of the city within the walls was consumed: The inhabitants, in amazement, terror and despair, were forced to flee for their lives, with what goods they could save, into Moorfields, where they lodged in huts and tents. Many families, who were last week in opulence, were now reduced to great distress; and for the space of three days it spread devastation, and baffled all human exertions to stop its progress. At last it ceased almost as wonderfully as it began; when all human efforts failed, it seemed to die away, and be extinguished on every side, as by a peculiar interposition of providence.

Various were the conjectures formed concerning the causes and authors of this conflagration; but as no investigation led to certainty, what cause it arose from, why may we not safely acquiesce in the opinion of the most pious and religious sort of that age, who ascribed it to the visitation of heaven upon a city shamelessly immersed in vice and immorality, and which had not been sufficiently humbled by the pestilence of the foregoing year?

Bull and  
 Mouth  
 meeting-  
 house de-  
 stroyed.

The Bull and Mouth meeting-house being destroyed by the fire, the meetings of this people continued to be held regularly as they fell in course in their other meeting-houses, which had escaped, viz. Wheeler-street, Peel, Devonshire-house,

house, &c. and they had some respite and ease from violent persecution and disturbance for a season, until the city was in a great measure rebuilt.

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1666.

But their numbers increasing, they had the courage and resolution, in faith, to build a new meeting-house this year in White-hart Court, Grace Church-street, which from its central situation became afterwards the place for their yearly meetings. Here, as well as in other places, they met with frequent disturbance by the trained bands and informers, being many of them often haled out by force, and often forcibly kept out, they were obliged to hold their meetings in the street.

Grace  
church-  
street  
meeting-  
house  
built.

It appears a manifest evidence of divine protection, supporting and prospering this society, that they were not only preserved steadfast to the truth in which they believed, in patient resignation to the divine will, and a blameless demeanour toward mankind, under a successive train of severe trials; but continually encreased their numbers, with the powers of the world against them.

Remark.

The history of this people from their first rise to this time presents one continued series of persecution, through the successive revolutions of government; the secular powers, urged on by the ecclesiasticks, to whose power and emolument their principles were adverse, exerted every effort, short of capital punishment, to lessen their numbers, and stop their progress, and from man they had little countenance; yet notwithstanding, by the support of the divine hand, the society encreased, so that they were now become a numerous body.

As

CHAPTER. As soon as George Fox was freed from his  
 XIV. long confinement, he proceeded as usual in his  
 religious labours and services. He passed through  
 1666. part of Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottingham-  
 Geo. Fox travels through several counties. shire, visiting his friends, and having many large  
 and edifying meetings amongst them; notwith-  
 standing some attempts to have him taken again,  
 which were frustrated, for persecution was still  
 hot in some counties. So proceeding southward  
 through divers counties he came to London;  
 but he was so weak with his cruel and hard impri-  
 sonments for the greatest part of three years,  
 and his joints so stiff and benumbed, that it was  
 with difficulty he could mount his horse or  
 alight.

Of the es-  
 tablishment  
 of meetings  
 of discip-  
 line.

The numbers and the exigencies of the society  
 being encreased, as before remarked, he saw it  
 necessary to encrease the number of meetings of  
 discipline, for the good government of the  
 church. The service of these meetings seems  
 to have gradually opened, as the state of the so-  
 ciety required. In the year 1660 we have ta-  
 ken notice of a general meeting for church af-  
 fairs, held at Skipton in Yorkshire, which had  
 then been held some years, wherein the business  
 was confined to the taking an account of  
 their sufferings, and to the making collections  
 for the relief of their poor. Afterwards quar-  
 terly meetings were established in London and  
 in other parts, which in addition to the former  
 subjects of attention, had the charge of the re-  
 putation of the society, to watch over the mem-  
 bers, and admonish and exhort such as might  
 appear disorderly and uncircumspect in their con-  
 versation, not agreeable to the strictness of their  
 religious profession; besides the women's meet-  
 ings.

ings, which had chiefly the care of poor widows and orphans. But during his stay in London at this time, he felt it his concern to recommend the establishing five monthly meetings of men and women in that city, to transact such matters as had before been the employment of the quarterly meeting, and to unite in a general meeting once in three months as before, for mutual counsel, advice and deliberation, in relation to the common affairs and care of the whole body in the city. Having staid here to see his recommendation in part reduced to practice, and his friends settled in comely order; the advantage resulting therefrom appeared to him so evident, that he found it his duty to make a progress, first through the adjacent counties, afterwards many of the more remote, to get these monthly meetings in like manner established amongst friends throughout the nation; having a clear view opened to his mind of the method and order, wherein the monthly and quarterly meetings were to be established and conducted, which he communicated by letter to such counties as he could not visit in person, and to his friends in Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Barbadoes, and the continent of America; whom he afterwards visited in person, to assist and promote the regular establishment thereof.

CHAP. XIV.  
1666.  
Monthly meetings.

Geo. Fox visits fundry places to procure the establishment of monthly meetings.

After monthly meetings were established, the service of them still extended. George Fox after his circuit through the counties, returned to London; there he perceived the expediency of the monthly meetings taking cognizance of the orderly proceedings towards marriage, and therefore recommended, "That proposals of marriage

The service of monthly meetings extended to take cognizance of marriages.

C H A P. “riage should be laid before the men’s monthly  
 XIV. “meetings, that friends might see, that the rela-  
 ~~~~~ “tions of those who proceeded to marriage were  
 1666. “satisfied, that the parties were clear from other  
 “engagements, and that widows had made pro-  
 “vision for their first husband’s children before  
 “they married again, and whatever other enqui-  
 “ries were necessary for keeping all things clean  
 “and pure, in good order and righteousness, to  
 “the glory of God.”

Geo. Fox  
 travels un-  
 der much  
 weakness of  
 body to fet-  
 tle monthly  
 meetings.

Thus was this valuable man engaged in long and painful travels, under great infirmity of body in consequence of the hardships, he had lately passed through in his dismal prisons, as himself expresseth, “I was so exceeding weak, I was hardly able to get on, or off my horse’s back; but my spirit being earnestly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in, and sent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the weakness of my body, having confidence in the Lord that he would carry me through, as he did by his power.” From London he continued his travels to other counties, ’till the meetings for discipline were settled in all, or most parts of the nation, whereby the care over the members of the society was widely spread, and the body became compacted together in a mutual concern for each others temporal and spiritual prosperity. The discipline which George Fox was singly instrumental thus to establish, notwithstanding the contemptuous light in which he has been viewed, and represented by sundry writers, bearing the marks of a peculiar wisdom in the contrivance, and goodness of heart in the ends in view, realized in the beneficial effects it then had, and hath since continued to produce, seems to demand a particular



particular disquisition in a work of this nature, and this appears the proper place to introduce it.

C H A P.  
XIV.

1666.

*A DISSERTATION on the DISCIPLINE  
exercised amongst the People called Quakers.*

S E C T. I.

The first meeting for church affairs that I find any clear account of, was held at Skipton in Yorkshire, whether occasionally by particular appointment, or at certain stated times, doth not appear. Of this meeting, the nature and use is described by George Fox in his journal as follows: “ To this meeting came many “ friends out of most parts of the nation; for “ it was about business relating to the church, “ both in this nation and beyond the seas. Se- “ veral years before, when I was in the North, “ I was moved to recommend to friends the set- “ ting up of this meeting for that service; for “ many friends suffered in divers parts of the “ nation, their goods were taken from them “ contrary to law, and they knew not how to “ help themselves, or where to seek redress; “ but after this meeting was set up, several “ friends, who had been magistrates, and others “ who understood something of the law, came “ thither, and were able to inform friends, and “ assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that “ they might be laid before the justices, judges “ or parliament. This meeting had stood several “ years, and divers justices and captains had “ come to break it up; but when they under- “ stood the business friends met about, and saw “ friends books and accounts of collections for

First meet-  
ing of dis-  
cipline at  
Skipton.

CHAP. XIV.   
 1666.   
 “ the relief of the poor ; how we took care,   
 “ one county to help another, and help our   
 “ friends beyond sea, and provide for our poor,   
 “ that none of them should be a charge to their   
 “ parishes, &c. the justices and officers confessed   
 “ that we did their work, and would pass away   
 “ peaceably and lovingly, commending friends   
 “ practice.” By this account it appears as if   
 this was a general meeting for the whole nation,   
 or a great part thereof, and fixed in this town   
 as a central situation, the greatest body of this   
 people in the earliest times being in the North.

Quarterly   
 meetings.

But about the year 1666, the society being   
 encreased, and their sufferings multiplied, it be-   
 came requisite to establish a meeting of disci-   
 pline in each county, to be held once a quarter ;   
 and afterwards again to subdivide these into se-   
 veral monthly meetings, which order is con-   
 tinued to this day.

Monthly   
 meetings.

These were termed monthly meetings, because   
 in the most general way, they were appointed to   
 be held once a month ; yet as exigency, and   
 multiplicity of business, in large cities particu-   
 larly, pointed out the necessity of shorter inter-   
 vals, some are held every two or three weeks,   
 and some at greater intervals. They are also   
 in such places composed sometimes of the mem-   
 bers of one particular meeting only ; but most   
 generally through the counties consist of several   
 contiguous meetings ; and in this case it is the   
 practice in many places for friends of each par-   
 ticular meeting to hold a preparative meeting,   
 to enquire into the state of the society in that   
 meeting, in respect to want, to general conduct,   
 or to the sufferings of their members ; and to   
 appoint representatives to report what may ap-   
 pear

pear needful to the monthly meeting. Four or six particular meetings usually compose a monthly or general men's meeting.

C H A P.  
XIV.  
1666.

These monthly meetings also are fewer or more in number in each respective county, as the number, situation and circumstances of the members in each might render most expedient.

The setting up of monthly meetings did not occasion the abolition of quarterly meetings; but the former taking upon them the executive part of the discipline, which had before employed the latter, it appeared conducive to general benefit, that the quarterly meetings should still continue, as superintendent and assistant by advice to the monthly meetings. It was therefore agreed, that all the monthly meetings in a county should, by their representatives, and other members, constitute the quarterly meeting for that county, which all the most zealous, and judicious friends, in a general way thought it their duty to attend, for the mutual communication of their sentiments, the advice and help one of another, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a monthly meeting was tender of determining a matter. These monthly and quarterly meetings in some counties were fixed, or held mostly in the same place; in others they were held in rotation at different places, as the members found it most convenient.

Quarterly  
meetings  
continued.

§ Sometime after monthly and quarterly meetings were established, viz. in the year 1669, it was found expedient, and agreed upon, to hold a general meeting in London, representative of

Yearly  
meeting of  
London.

L 2

the

CHAP. the whole body in England, and all other parts  
 XIV. where any of the society were settled, which  
 having been thenceforward held annually, is de-  
 1665. nominated the yearly meeting in London.

This meeting is constituted of representatives deputed from each quarterly meeting in England, from the half-year's meeting in Ireland, and sometimes from other parts, yet without restraining any member in unity with the society from attending. And such places in Europe and America, as by their remote situation cannot conveniently send representatives thereto, keep up a correspondence with this meeting by epistles.

But as the first establishment of the yearly meeting was in a time of great suffering under a multiplicity of penal laws, the collecting accounts of these sufferings in order to lay them before government and seek redress, took up much of the attention of that meeting at that time, as appears from the queries of that meeting, the three first of which are, 1. What present prisoners? 2. How many discharged last year? When, and how? 3. How many died prisoners? As many exigencies in suffering cases might arise in the intervals between the yearly meetings, demanding a more speedy application for relief than the delay in waiting for the succeeding yearly meeting might occasion, pointed out the expediency of establishing a committee of correspondence in London and the several counties and other places, to be consulted in the intervals between the yearly meetings upon any emergency: The members appointed correspondents in London, with others who may be in the city, meet the sixth day in every week, for the purpose of considering and consulting upon such matters as may be laid before them  
 by

by any of the country correspondents; particularly any suffering cases of friends that may want their counsel or assistance: and from thence is called *the meeting for sufferings*, and is a meeting of record.

C H A P.  
XIV.  
1666.

This œconomy hath ever since subsisted amongst this people, whereby the great ends of religious society, real devotion of heart towards God, a careful and circumspect conversation in righteousness and honesty amongst men, and the mutual edification of each other in love, have been materially promoted, and a people dispersed in sundry quarters of the world rendered a compact body, engaged in a zealous and mutual concern for the promotion of peace and piety amongst themselves and mankind in general.

Advantage  
of this dis-  
cipline.

For by this œconomy the care of the body at large may be conceived to extend to every member; and on the other hand, every member to become accountable for his conduct to the body at large, as well as the object of their brotherly aid, if his sufferings or want demanded it. For the part being always considered as subordinate to the whole, and the lesser meetings to the more general for direction, assistance and advice; particular meetings to the monthly meetings, monthly to quarterly, and the quarterly meetings of the counties to the yearly meeting in London: And the religious care devolved upon each meeting over its own members, operating within its own sphere; that of particular meetings exercised in the inspecting of the state, the conduct or the necessities of the members and families belonging to them respectively: Again, the quarterly meetings taking cognizance of the  
state

C H A P. XIV. 1666. state and reports of the monthly meetings, giving them counsel and instructive advice, according as exigency required; and collecting from their reports, a general report of the state of the society in the county, to the yearly meeting, by which intelligence the said meeting is furnished with the subjects of their deliberation and advice: The result of which deliberations, and the advices appearing requisite to the state of the society, are generally transmitted to the counties in an epistle from the said yearly meeting.

## S E C T. II.

*Of the Manner of conducting these Meetings.*

No member in full unity with the society excluded from meetings of discipline.

From these meetings of discipline no members of the society are excluded; but every one in unity hath liberty to attend and express his sentiments with freedom in the fear of God, upon the subject matters of deliberation; but the sense of the subordinate meetings, in particular cases, is generally understood by the representation of their deputed representatives. No chosen or deputed officers preside in their meetings, after the manner of the assemblies of other societies, <sup>h</sup> “Christ only being their president, as he is pleased to appear in life and wisdom in any one or more of them; whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, not of authority, but *conviction*, which is the divine authority, and the way of Christ’s power and spirit in  
“ his

<sup>h</sup> William Penn’s Rise and Progress.

“ his people ; making good his blessed promise, C H A P.  
 “ that he would be in the midst of his, where XIV.  
 “ and whenever they were met together in his  
 “ name, even to the end of the world.” 1666.

Yet they have a clerk in each meeting, who generally undertakes the office voluntarily at the desire of the meeting, whose business is to take down minutes of their proceedings : For in all those meetings, yearly, quarterly and monthly, a regular record is kept of all their proceedings, appointments and subjects of deliberation ; of their collections and disbursements generally in a distinct book ; of the sufferings of their members and other necessary matters ; and as for these purposes they have several separate records in sundry parts, different members are engaged in keeping them in regular order, one undertaking the care of one record, and another of another.

And as the business of these meetings is of a solemn and religious nature, they are preceded by a solemn meeting of worship ; that friends by united worship, and waiting in conjunction for the influence of divine wisdom and power, may thereby feel their minds properly prepared to assist in the weighty business of the day ; for it is a principle of belief with them, that under the influence of the holy spirit this discipline was originally established, and that the same divine influence is the requisite qualification for conducting it with propriety to edification, as well as for the work of the ministry, and every other service of the church. William Penn, in the treatise before quoted, records his experience, “ That these meetings being opened, and usually concluded in solemn waiting upon God,  
 “ he

Records of  
 their proceedings  
 kept.

Meetings  
 for discipline  
 preceded by a  
 meeting of  
 worship.

C H A P. XIV. “ he is sometimes graciously pleased to answer  
 1666. “ them with as signal evidences of his love and  
 “ presence, as in any of their meetings of wor-  
 “ ship.” And it appears almost self-evident,  
 that a number of men sitting down together  
 under an awful sense of the presence of the All-  
 seeing eye, the witness of their transactions, and  
 of the frame of their hearts, are under the pro-  
 perest temper of mind for deliberating and de-  
 ciding upon the subject of religion and its con-  
 cerns.

### S E C T. III.

*Of the Objects of Discipline in the sundry Meet-  
 ings.*

#### I. MONTHLY MEETINGS.

The monthly meetings may not be improperly termed the executive power of this society, as it is their business to apply the rules of the discipline to the particular cases and exigencies of the individuals. The subjects of their enquiry and dealing will not improperly be described in the order that the enquiries of the quarterly meeting are made into their care; as contained in the following queries, which are answered by each monthly meeting to the quarterly meeting.

“ 1. Are meetings for worship and discipline  
 “ duly attended; and do friends avoid all un-  
 “ becoming behaviour therein?”

“ 2. Are love and unity preserved amongst  
 “ you, and do you discourage all tale-bearing  
 “ and detraction?”

“ 3. Is



“ 3. Is it your care by example and pre<sup>not C H A P.</sup>  
 “ to train up your children in a godly conve.<sup>XIV.</sup>  
 “ sation, and in frequent reading the holy scrip- 466.  
 “ tures; as also in plainness of speech, beha-  
 “ viour and apparel?”

“ 4. Do you bear a faithful and christian tes-  
 “ timony against the receiving or paying tithes,  
 “ priests demands or those called church rates?”

“ 5. Are friends careful to avoid all vain  
 “ sports, places of diversion, gaming, and all  
 “ unnecessary frequenting of ale-houses or ta-  
 “ verns, excess in drinking, and intemperance  
 “ of every kind?”

“ 6. Are friends just in their dealings, and  
 “ punctual in fulfilling their engagements, and  
 “ are they advised carefully to inspect the state  
 “ of their affairs once in the year?”

“ 7. Is early care taken to advise and deal  
 “ with such as appear inclinable to marry con-  
 “ trary to the rules of our society; and do none  
 “ remove from or into your monthly or two  
 “ weeks-meetings without certificates?”

“ 8. Have you two or more faithful friends  
 “ deputed in each particular meeting to have the  
 “ oversight thereof? and is care taken when any  
 “ thing appears amiss that the rules of our dis-  
 “ cipline be put in practice?”

Of the zeal of the members of this society in  
 the attendance of their religious meetings, this  
 history abounds with remarkable instances: <sup>Attendance</sup>  
 neither penal laws, personal abuse, long and <sup>of meetings.</sup>  
 hard imprisonments, loss of substance, nor the  
 prospect of banishment, could damp the ardour  
 of their zeal in keeping them up, evidencing,  
 that peace of mind, resulting from discharge of  
 duty, was of more consideration with them,  
 than

C H A P. than fleshly ease or worldly enjoyments. At this  
 XIV. time, the society being composed of members,  
 who, having received their religion, not by  
 tradition or education, but by convince-  
 ment of their understandings, and conver-  
 sion of heart, acted upon principle, and attend-  
 ed meetings, from a conscientious persuasion of  
 duty. Although in these perilous and suffering  
 times some were concerned to encourage and  
 strengthen their brethren herein, yet I apprehend  
 at this time it was not needful to engage  
 much care of the monthly meetings, to incite  
 them to a duty, of the obligation whereof they  
 were inwardly convinced. But in process of  
 time, individuals falling from their first love,  
 were for introducing flesh-pleasing doctrines and  
 a temporizing disposition to evade suffering,  
 which occasioned the following minute of the  
 yearly meeting, 1675.

“ It hath been our care and practice from the  
 “ beginning, that an open testimony for the  
 “ Lord should be borne, and a public standard  
 “ for truth and righteousness upheld in the  
 “ power and spirit of God, by our open and  
 “ known meetings, against the spirit of perse-  
 “ cution that in all ages hath sought to lay  
 “ waste God’s heritage, and that only through  
 “ faithfulness, constancy and patience, victory  
 “ hath been and is obtained : So it is our ad-  
 “ vice and judgment that all friends gathered  
 “ in the name of Jesus keep up these public  
 “ testimonies in their respective places, and not  
 “ decline, forsake or remove their public assem-  
 “ blies because of informers, or the like perse-  
 “ cutors ; for such practices are not consistent  
 “ with

“ with the nobility of truth, and therefore not  
 “ to be owned in the church of Christ.”

C H A P.  
XIV.

1666.

Others afterwards born in the society, and holding the profession of their religion in the form, as the religion of their education, without effectually submitting to the converting power thereof, giving way to thoughtlessness, or secular engagements, grew remiss in this reasonable service, the neglect whereof gave occasion to its becoming an especial part of the care of monthly meetings to apply their endeavours to remedy this deficiency. The means they employed for this purpose were earnest exhortation, directed to convince them of the reasonableness and obligation of this duty; exciting them by powerful persuasions to a diligent attendance of religious meetings, not only on the first day of the week, whereon even the laws of the land prohibit us to transact worldly affairs; but to manifest their love to God and devotion to duty by *sacrificing* that portion of time on other days, set apart for the important purposes of worshipping God, and edifying the body in love. These endeavours were frequently used by members deputed by the monthly meetings, when the deficiency of any member was obviously remarkable, and sometimes in a more private way, as any friend found a concern on his mind, to labour with a brother for his good.

Love, the characteristick of discipleship, and unity, the bond of society, were cultivated with uncommon care amongst them, and eminently distinguished those of the first generation, “ it  
 “ being” (as William Penn testifies) “ a com-  
 “ mon remark in the mouths of all sorts of peo-  
 “ ple

2.  
Love and  
unity.

C H A P. “ ple concerning them, *they will meet, they will*  
 XIV. “ *help and stick to one another, look how the Qua-*  
 1666. “ *kers love and take care one of another: And if*  
 “ loving one another, and having an intimate  
 “ communion in religion, a constant care to  
 “ meet and worship God, and help one another,  
 “ be any mark of primitive christianity, they  
 “ had it in an ample manner.” In this age they  
 had many skilful watchmen, and especially  
 George Fox, who were diligent in detecting the  
 approach of every danger of weakening or dis-  
 solving the bonds of amity and unity, and faith-  
 fully warning, and carefully guarding, the dif-  
 ferent classes of the society against the danger,  
 as we have seen in the case of James Naylor, and  
 shall further have occasion to remark in the  
 sequel.

As to the preservation of love and unity in  
 general, the discipline of this society extends  
 only to caution and admonition; but in some  
 cases where ambitious, envious or refractory spi-  
 rits have arisen to head a party, and cause rents  
 and divisions in the society, they have been con-  
 strained, for preventing the evil consequences,  
 publickly to testify against them and their prac-  
 tices; but such instances have been rare, there  
 being, I believe, no society that have been more  
 careful to maintain unity, or avoid the occasions  
 of contention than this.

And as to differences about matters of pro-  
 perty, it is an established rule with them that  
 all disputes on this account between two mem-  
 bers be referred to the determination of judi-  
 cious and impartial men chosen by the parties  
 from among their brethren. For brother to go  
 to law against brother among them, is deemed  
 utterly

utterly a fault, as among the primitive christians, and commencing suits at law, except in cases of necessity, and with the consent of the monthly meeting, is deemed an absolute breach of good order, cognizable to the society. By this branch of discipline much expence, perplexity and vexation is saved to individuals, and matters as justly determined, as by pursuing them through the intricacies of the law.

C H A P.  
XIV.  
1666.

And as private animosities and differences about matters of property have a tendency to interrupt unity, introduce contention, and propagate parties and divisions in the church, it hath been the care of this society in their collective capacity to give warm and pressing advices to monthly meetings to put a speedy end to all differences arising amongst them; and as the original of private animosities or dislike is often from reflections and insinuations tending to injure the reputation one of another, the latter part of the query is properly subjoined, directing to the discouragement of tale-bearing and detraction; as being an unchristian-like practice, having a tendency to sow discord among brethren.

We come now to the third head of discipline, and that a very important one, the religious education of youth, which appears, especially in these early times, to have engaged the care and attention of the church in a degree proportioned to the importance thereof, both by a constant recommendation, that parents should instruct their children in the principles of the christian religion, inure them to a frequent reading of the holy scriptures, to habits of industry, temperance and sobriety; preserve them from  
corrupting

3.  
Education.

C H A P.

XIV.

1666.

corrupting company, and instil into them a sense of the necessity and advantages of a religious circumspect conversation; as also train them up in plainness of habit and speech, agreeable to the simplicity of their profession, as well as in necessary and useful learning; and by a constant enquiry how this advice is put in practice. The direction of the yearly meeting on this subject is, “wherever a deficiency of this  
“fort appears, that monthly and quarterly meet-  
“ings stir up those concerned to their duty  
“therein.” Particularly in the year 1731 this weighty subject seems to have engaged their very serious consideration, which produced the following lively recommendation.

“Inasmuch as we have a large body of youth growing up, the off-spring of friends, these call for our especial care and concern, that they may be preserved in the way of truth, in which our forefathers walked; and in order thereto, we tenderly recommend to all parents and guardians,

“First, that they take heed to themselves, that their own spirits be rightly seasoned and directed for the help and good government of their children; and then, that they have a constant watchful eye in love over them for their good, and keep them as much as possible within their notice and observation, for this we are sensible of, that the miscarriages of youth have very much proceeded from their being imprudently indulged, or left to themselves; by which means they become exposed to the danger of evil examples on the one hand, and vicious corrupt principles on the other, with which the world too much abounds; and therefore we earnestly  
and

and tenderly advise all parents and guardians to be watchfully concerned in this respect, and that they take all proper occasions, both by example and instruction, to help their children: And that mothers of children, as well as fathers, (as they have frequently the best opportunities) would take particular care to instruct them in the knowledge of religion and the holy scriptures; because it hath been found by experience, that good impressions made early on the tender minds of children, have proved lasting means of preserving them in a religious life and conversation. This practice was enjoined strongly upon the people of Israel by Moses and Joshua, the servants of the Lord, who required them to read, or repeat, the law to their children; and the apostle Paul takes notice of Timothy's being well instructed in the holy scriptures from a child, and of the unfeigned faith which dwelt in his grandmother Lois and mother Eunice, *2 Tim. i. 5.* who no doubt had a religious care of his education.

C H A P.  
XIV.  
1666.

“ But where parents or guardians are deficient in such their care, we recommend monthly meetings, that they stir them up thereto, either by visiting them in their families, or in such manner as in the wisdom of God they may see meet, that so the doctrines of the gospel, and a conversation agreeable thereunto, may be maintained unto all generations.

“ And in order to render these advices more effectual, we farther tenderly recommend to all heads of families, that they do frequently call their children and servants together, and in a solemn religious way cause them to read the holy scriptures, and in so doing, that they humbly

C H A P.  
XIV.  
1666.

bly wait upon God with their families, for instruction and counsel to them, respecting christian faith and practice, according to the former advices of this meeting, particularly that in the year 1706, to which in an especial manner we refer on this occasion: which is as follows, *viz.*

“ Forasmuch, as next to our own souls,  
 “ our children and offspring are the most immediate objects of our care and concern, it is  
 “ tenderly recommended to all that are or may  
 “ be parents or guardians of children, that they  
 “ be diligently exercised in this care and concern, for the education of those committed to  
 “ their charge, that in their tender years they  
 “ may be brought to a sense of God, his wisdom, power, and omnipresence, so as to beget an awe and fear of him in their hearts,  
 “ (which is the beginning of wisdom) and as  
 “ they grow up in a capacity, to acquaint them  
 “ with, and bring them up in the frequent  
 “ reading of the scriptures of truth; and also  
 “ to instruct them in the great love of God,  
 “ through Jesus Christ, and the work of salvation by him, and of sanctification through his  
 “ spirit; and also to keep them out of the vain  
 “ and foolish fashions and ways of the world,  
 “ and in plainness of language, habit and behaviour, that being thus instructed in the way  
 “ of the Lord when they are young, they may  
 “ not forget it when old; or however, that all  
 “ concerned may be clear in the sight of God,  
 “ that they have not been wanting in their duties to them. And that the labour and travail of *friends* therein may be more effectual,  
 “ it is our tender desire that seasonable opportunities may be taken to wait upon the Lord,  
 “ with



“ with your children, in your families, for the  
 “ manifestation of his blessed power, to make  
 “ them sensible of his witness and seed of life  
 “ and grace in their hearts, in order to beget  
 “ in them the living knowledge and love of the  
 “ truth as it is in Jesus.”

C H A P.  
 XIV.  
 1666.

As to the subject of the fourth query, the receiving or paying of tithes, I have before explained the grounds of their declining the payment thereof, and therefore shall not enlarge upon it here, further than to observe, that being a term of communion, and in their view a testimony of importance, the violation of this testimony is a breach of unity; but monthly meetings are instructed to take great pains to convince the delinquents (who are most commonly such, not from a persuasion of the claimant having any just right to these demands; but merely to evade suffering) of their weakness or error, before they proceed to pass any censure upon them.

4.  
 Tithes.

A people honestly directing their researches after pure religion, and the first principles of christianity, could not be long in discovering the inconsistency of vain sports and diversions, such as theatrical exhibitions, horse-racing, dancing, musical entertainments, cards, dice, and other species of gaming, with the precepts and spirit of the gospel; to which they are diametrically opposite in their root and origin, nature and tendency; being not the genuine growth of christianity, but a branch from the corrupt root of gentilism, adopted by professed christians to their hurt. This people in their search after primitive christianity, recurring to the example and precepts of Christ and his apostles, could not reconcile these diversions to their practice, nor

5.  
 Sports and  
 diversions.

C H A P. to  
XIV.  
1666.

such precepts as these, “<sup>a</sup> For every idle word you must give an account.” “<sup>b</sup> Pass the time of your sojourning here in fear.” “<sup>c</sup> Use all diligence to make your calling and election sure.” “<sup>d</sup> Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good, to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient, but rather giving of thanks. Let no man deceive you by vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience.”

For these and other reasons, they thought it their duty both to disuse the attendance of vain sports themselves, bear their testimony against them, and make it a point of communion, and an object of discipline, that their members should refrain the attendance thereof, or be dealt with as transgressors; because they looked upon them to be unlawful, and evil in themselves, and frequently an inlet to grosser evils, esteeming them as inventions of Satan or degenerate men, to draw the minds of mankind out of themselves, throw them off their guard, deaden the convictions, and stifle the voice of God’s witness in their consciences, set them at ease in their sins, and lay them open to the destructive snares and temptations of the great enemy of their eternal happiness.

The unnecessary attendance of taverns and alehouses having a like tendency to draw into unsuitable company, unfavoury discourse, riot and

<sup>a</sup> Mat. xii. 36. <sup>b</sup> 1 Pet. i. 17. <sup>c</sup> 2 Pet. i. 10. <sup>d</sup> Theff. xxix. 5, 4, 6.

and excess of drinking, is esteemed an equal object of the church's care, to guard every avenue to evil by timely caution and admonition; which if it fail, and habitual drunkenness overtake any of their members, if repeated gospel labour to reclaim them prove ineffectual, the party is to be testified against and disowned.

C H A P.  
XIV.  
1666.

Justice in trading and dealing was perhaps amongst no people practised with more scrupulous punctuality, and conscientious regard, than amongst this people in the beginning, such a thing as a failure in the punctual payment of their debts according to contract, much less a bankruptcy, was scarce known amongst them. Being daily liable by unreasonable fines and forfeitures and exorbitant distrains, to be stripped of all they had, they were extremely cautious of contracting debts at all; that the losses they might be exposed to might be purely their own property, and not that of others; when they contracted them, they were on this account very solicitous to pay them at a short time. Their religious principle against every species of luxury, and superfluity in eating and drinking; in their apparel, and the furniture of their houses; against frequenting alehouses and vain sports; reduced their expenses to the necessary support of nature, which they found did not require much: And esteeming it a point of duty (when not engaged in higher service) to be diligently employed in their lawful callings, they procured thereby more than a sufficiency for their own wants, without invading any man's property. And it had been well for their posterity, if they had more universally adopted these prudent maxims of conduct, and carefully

6.  
Justice in  
commerce.

C H A P.

XIV.

1666.

trodden in their footsteps; but too many of the succeeding generations, giving way to an aspiring spirit, aiming at great things in this world, and directing the bent of their minds to the amassing of riches, gave occasion to lively and warm admonitions of the yearly meeting to recur back to, and imitate the honourable examples of their worthy predecessors, particularly to the following minute of 1732.

“ We find it our duty to remind our respective members, of the remarkable uprightness and honesty of our friends in the beginning, in their commerce and converse. How exact were they in performing their words and promises, without evasive excuses and insincere dealings! How careful not to involve themselves in business which they understood not, nor had stock of their own to manage! How circumspect not to contract greater debts than they were able to pay in due time! which brought great credit and reputation to our religious society. But with sorrow we observe, that, contrary to their example, and the repeated advices formerly given by this meeting against an inordinate pursuit after riches, too many have launched into trades and business above their stocks and capacities; by which unjustifiable proceedings, and high living, they have involved themselves and families in trouble and ruin, and brought considerable loss upon others, to the great reproach of our holy profession.”

“ We therefore recommend to friends in their respective quarterly and monthly meetings, to have a watchful eye over all their members;”

“ and

“ and where they observe any deficient in dis-  
 “ charging their contracts and just debts in due  
 “ time, so as to give reasonable suspicion of  
 “ weakness or negligence, that friends do ear-  
 “ nestly advise them to a suitable care and neces-  
 “ sary inspection into their circumstances, in  
 “ order that they may be helped; and if any  
 “ proceed contrary to such advice, and by their  
 “ failure bring open scandal and reproach on the  
 “ society, that then friends justifiably may, and  
 “ ought to testify against such offenders.”

In the times whereof I am now writing, there seems to have been little or no occasion for admonition, this people proved by an undeviating regard to an internal monitor, that they were shewn what they should do, and what the Lord their God required of them, *to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God*; so that the first advice we meet with on this subject is in the year 1688, near twenty years after the establishment of the yearly meeting, and exhibits a specimen of their watchful care against every thing that might dishonour or defile the reputation of their society.

“ Advised that none launch into trading and  
 “ worldly business beyond what they can manage  
 “ honourably and with reputation; so that they  
 “ may keep their words with all men, that their  
 “ yea may prove yea indeed, and their nay,  
 “ nay; for whatsoever is otherwise cometh of  
 “ evil: and that they use few words in their  
 “ dealings, lest they bring dishonour to the  
 “ truth of God through their forwardness; and  
 “ the holy profession of his name and truth:  
 “ Such are for judgment, and the judgment of  
 “ truth ought to be set over them, that those  
 “ who

C H A P. “ who abide and walk in the truth may be clear  
 XIV. “ of their iniquities.”

1666.

Their ideas of justice in commerce were not confined to the regular payment of their just debts; but extended to prevent all deceit or dishonesty in every shape; that the fabrick of their manufactures should be made good and substantial in their respective kinds; of just and lawful measure; and to answer the expectations of the purchaser. They looked upon it inconsistent with strict justice to launch into trade beyond their own capitals, or risque any mans property but their own, on the uncertain probability of future contingencies. The same religious care to their words and actions circumscribed them in their commercial engagements, as in every other part of life. They found themselves restrained from the too common practice of dealers, in using a multiplicity of words in their dealing, in which there wanteth not sin, nor very often deceit. They trusted to their goods (by the care and honesty employed in fabricating them) to recommend themselves by their service, and were very sparing in their verbal recommendations. They were at a word in buying and selling. Seeking no unfair advantage; in buying they at once offered what they thought the value; in selling, at the first word, told the lowest price they would accept, nor would the habitual method of bargaining in those they had to deal with tempt them to vary from their settled rule.

7. Foreseeing the manifest ill consequences, temporal and spiritual, which might result from intermarriages with those of different persuasions, both to individuals, to families, and to religious society;

society; that, if the apostle thought it expedient C H A P. XIV. for christians all to walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing; much more those who are connected in this close alliance, which makes two as one: But where there is a difference of sentiment and persuasion about religion and religious worship, it hath a tendency to divide asunder those who ought to be united in the closest bonds of affection and unanimity; to introduce confusion and perplexity in the place of harmony and satisfaction; to interrupt the peace of families, and introduce distraction in the great concern of the religious education of children: On these important considerations, this society thought it requisite to make it a point of communion, that their members should marry among themselves, according to the good order established amongst them; and in order to prevent the consequences to themselves and the society, of individuals violating this rule of discipline, an early care and vigilance is recommended to give suitable attention, by oversight, timely admonition and zealous endeavours to preserve youth and others from entangling themselves in improper connections, or joining in marriage by a priest or otherwise, contrary to the good order established in the society, in order to avoid the disagreeable necessity (to preserve their regularity) of testifying against them as transgressors thereof.

1666.

And in order to a proper knowledge of their own members, it is a rule with them, that every professor amongst them, who removes his or her place of residence shall apply for a certificate of his or her conduct and conversation, and their right to fellowship with the society, from the  
monthly

C H A P. monthly meeting they remove from, to that they  
 XIV. remove into; and in case of neglecting such  
 1666. application, the monthly meeting they remove  
 from is to send such recommendation as they  
 can give; or the monthly meeting they remove  
 to, upon the observation of a stranger or stran-  
 gers coming to reside amongst them and fre-  
 quenting their meetings, is to enquire of them  
 whence they came, and to write for a certificate  
 or character for them.

“ Their way of marriage is peculiar to them \* ;  
 and shews a distinguishing care, above other so-  
 cieties professing christianity. They say that  
*marriage is an ordinance of God, and that God  
 only can rightly join man and woman in marriage.*  
 Therefore they use neither priest nor magistrate;  
 but the man and woman concerned, take each  
 other as husband and wife, in the presence of  
 divers credible witnesses, *promising to each other,  
 with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in  
 that relation, till death shall separate them.* But  
 antecedent to this, they first present themselves  
 to the monthly meeting, for the affairs of the  
 church where they reside; there declaring their  
 intentions to take one another as husband and  
 wife, if the said meeting have nothing material  
 to object against it. They are constantly asked  
 the necessary questions, as in case of parents or  
 guardians, if they have acquainted them with  
 their intention, and have their † consent.”

“ The

\* Penn's Rise and Progress.

† If it be discovered that any man hath proposed  
 marriage without first obtaining the consent of the  
 young woman's parents or guardians, he is obliged  
 to



“ The method of the meeting is, to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper persons to enquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents or guardians ; and to make report thereof to the next monthly meeting, where the same parties are desired to give their attendance. In case it appears they have proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in their meeting-book. And in case the woman be a widow and hath children, due care is there taken, that provision also be made by her for the orphans, before the meeting pass the proposals of marriage : advising the parties concerned to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fit notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours, as they desire should be witnesses of their marriage : where they take one another by the hand, and by name promise reciprocally love and fidelity, after the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative in way of certificate is made, to which the said parties first set their hands, thereby confirming it as their act and deed ; and then divers relations, spectators and auditors set their names as witnesses of what they said and signed. And this certificate is afterward registered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is solemnized. Which regular method, where it hath been by crosses and ill designing people for want of the accustomed formalities of priest and ring disputed, has been,

as

to condemn such proceeding in writing, previously to the meeting taking cognizance of the marriage.

C H A P.

XLV.

1666.

CHAP. as it deserves, adjudged in courts of law a good  
 XIV. marriage\*.”

1666.

\* In the year 1661, a cause was tried at the assizes at Nottingham, respecting the validity of a friend's marriage. The case was this: Two friends having been married amongst friends, lived together as man and wife about two years, when the man died leaving his wife with child, and an estate in lands of copyhold; afterwards another friend married the widow. A person near of kin to her former husband, brought his action against the present husband with a view to dispossess them of the land, deprive the child of its inheritance, and possess himself thereof as next heir to the woman's first husband, under the plea "That the child was illegitimate, as the parents had not been married according to law." In opening the cause, the plaintiff's counsel taking an indecent liberty of expression, too common in such cases, asserted, "that the Quakers went together like brute beasts," with other unseemly expressions concerning that people. After the counsel on both sides had pleaded, judge Archer opened the cause to the jury in the following manner: "There was a marriage in paradise when Adam took Eve and Eve took Adam, and it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage. As for the Quakers he did not know their opinions, but he did not believe they went together as brute beasts, but as christians, and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir." To confirm his judgment he related this case: "A man that was weak in body and kept his bed had a desire to marry, and did declare before witnesses that he did take such a woman to be his wife, and the woman declared she took that man to be her husband. This marriage being afterward called in question, all the bishops (he said) did conclude it to be a lawful marriage." Whereupon the jury brought in their verdict in favour of the child.

“ The

C H A P.  
XIV.  
1666.

“ The observance of the aforesaid ceremonies they have refused: not out of humour, but conscience reasonably grounded; inasmuch as no scripture-example tells us, that the priest had any other part of old time, than that of a witness among the rest, before whom the Jews used to take one another: and therefore this people look upon it, as an imposition to advance the power and profits of the clergy: and for the use of the ring, it is enough to say, that it was an heathenish and vain custom, and never in practice among the people of God, Jews or primitive Christians: the words of the usual form, as *with my body I thee worship*, &c. are hardly defensible. In short, they are more careful, exact and regular, than any form now used; and it is free of the inconveniencies with which other methods are attended: their care and checks being so many, and such, as that no clandestine marriages can be performed among them.”

“ It may not be unfit to say something here of their births and burials, which make up so much of the pomp of too many called christians. For births, the parents name their own children; which is usually some days after they are born, in the presence of the midwife, if she can be there, and those that were at the birth, who afterwards sign a certificate for that purpose prepared, of the birth and name of the child or children; which is recorded in a proper book, in the monthly meeting to which the parents belong, avoiding the accustomed ceremonies and festivals.”

“ Their

CHAP. XIV. 1666. “ Their burials are performed with the same simplicity. If the body of the deceased be near any publick meeting-place, it is usually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of those that accompany it to the burying-ground. And it so falls out some times, that while the meeting is gathering for the burial, some or other has a word of exhortation, for the sake of the people there met together. After which the body is borne away by young men, or else those that are of their neighbourhood, or those that were most of the intimacy of the deceased party: the corps being in a plain coffin, without any covering or furniture upon it. At the ground they pause some time before they put the body into its grave, that if any there should have any thing upon them to exhort the people, they may not be disappointed; and that the relations may the more retiredly and solemnly take their last leave of the body of their departed kindred, and the spectators have a sense of mortality, by the occasion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwise they have no set rites or ceremonies on those occasions. Neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear mourning; \* they looking upon it as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp; and that what mourning is fit for a christian to have, at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, should

\* *N. B.* Since the time this account was first published, *Anno* 1694, some of the posterity of this people have visibly degenerated from the primitive plainness of their predecessors in this respect: nevertheless the collective sense and judgment of the church herein, remains the same, as is manifest by the frequent advices given forth from their yearly and other meetings.

should be worn in the mind, which is only sensible of the loss: and the love they had to them, and remembrance of them, to be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice, and care of those they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved. Which conduct of theirs, though unmodish or unfashionable, leaves nothing of the substance of things neglected or undone: and as they aim at no more, so that simplicity of life is what they observe with great satisfaction; though it sometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in." *Thus far William Penn.*

H A P.  
XIV.  
1666.

However obnoxious this society may have been to unmerited calumny on other accounts, their charity hath been too obvious not to procure general approbation; for while they have been particularly attentive that nothing should be wanting to the necessary supply of their poor, that there should be no beggar amongst them, nor any sent to the parish for relief; and that their children should partake of necessary learning, and be put out apprentices to suitable trades; at the same time they have cheerfully paid their quota to the poor of their respective parishes; besides private donations by many amongst them to proper objects of any denomination, which they never desired should be known; their religion being of that cast, which instructed them *to do good to all, but especially to the household of faith.*

The sentiments of these people on this subject may be perceived from the following extract from an epistle of Stephen Crisp.

“ Concerning practical charity ye know it  
 “ is supported by liberality, and where liberality  
 “ ceaseth, charity waxeth cold; where there is  
 “ no

C H A P.

XIV.

1666.

“ no contribution there is no distribution; where  
 “ the one is sparing the other is sparing; and  
 “ therefore let every one nourish charity in the  
 “ root, that is, keep a liberal mind, a heart  
 “ that looks upon the substance that is given  
 “ him, as really bestowed upon him for the sup-  
 “ port of charity, as for the support of his  
 “ own body; and where people are of this  
 “ mind, they will have a care of keeping back  
 “ any of God’s part; for he hath in all ages  
 “ in a most singular manner espoused the cause  
 “ of the poor, the widow and the fatherless,  
 “ and hath often by his prophets and ministers  
 “ given a special charge to rich men, that they  
 “ should look to it, that they were faithful  
 “ stewards of what they possessed.

“ Now as concerning the necessities of the  
 “ poor, there is great need of wisdom, when  
 “ ye meet together about that affair; for though  
 “ the worthiness or unworthiness of persons is  
 “ not to be considered in judgment, yet in this  
 “ it is; and you will find some that men have  
 “ made poor; some that God hath made poor,  
 “ and some that have made themselves poor,  
 “ which must all have their several considera-  
 “ tions, in which you ought to labour to be  
 “ unanimous, and not one to be actuated by an  
 “ affection to one more than another, but  
 “ every one to love every one in the universal  
 “ spirit, and then to deal out that love in the  
 “ outward manifestations thereof, according to  
 “ the measure that the Lord in his wisdom work-  
 “ ing in you, shall measure forth to them.”

“ And as to those who by sickness, lameness,  
 “ age, or other impotency are brought into po-  
 “ verty by the hand of providence, these are  
 “ your peculiar care, and objects pointed out to  
 “ you

“ you to bestow your charity upon, for by them  
 “ the Lord calls for it; for as the earth is the  
 “ Lord’s and the fulness thereof, he hath by his  
 “ sovereign power commanded that a part of what  
 “ we enjoy from him should be thus employed.  
 “ The Israelites were not to reap the corners of  
 “ their fields, nor gather the gleanings of the  
 “ corn or vintage, these were for the poor. And  
 “ in the time of the gospel, they were, on the  
 “ first day of the week to lay by a part of what  
 “ God had blessed them with, for the relief of  
 “ those that were in necessity; nay, they did  
 “ not confine themselves in their charity to their  
 “ own meetings, but had an universal eye  
 “ through the whole church of Christ, and  
 “ upon extraordinary occasions, sent their be-  
 “ nevolence to relieve the saints at Jerusalem in  
 “ a time of need: and all that keep in the  
 “ guidance of the same universal spirit, will  
 “ make it their business to be found in the same  
 “ practice of charity and good works; to do  
 “ good, and communicate, forget not, saith the  
 “ apostle. They then, that forget not this chris-  
 “ tian duty will find out the poor’s part in the cor-  
 “ ners and gleanings of the profits of their trades  
 “ and merchandizings, as well as the old Israelite  
 “ did in the corners and gleanings of his field;  
 “ and in the distribution of it, will have a re-  
 “ gard to comfort the bowels of such who are  
 “ by the divine providence of God put out of  
 “ a capacity of enjoying those outward comforts  
 “ of health and strength, and plenty which  
 “ others do enjoy; for while they are partakers  
 “ of the same faith, and walk in the way of  
 “ righteousness with you, they are of your  
 “ household and under your care, both to visit,  
 “ and to relieve as members of one body, of  
 “ which

C H A P.  
 XIV.  
 1666.

C H A P.  
XIV.

1666.

“ which Christ Jesus is head, and he that  
“ giveth to such poor lendeth to the Lord and  
“ he will repay it.

“ But there is another sort of poor, who make  
“ themselves poor through their sloth and care-  
“ lessness, and sometimes by their wilfulness;  
“ being heady and high-minded, and taking  
“ things in hand that are more than they can  
“ manage, and make a flourish for a season,  
“ and through their own neglects are plunged  
“ down into great poverty; these are a sort the  
“ primitive churches began to be troubled with-  
“ al in the early days of the gospel; for the  
“ apostle took notice of some that would not  
“ work at all, and sharply reprov'd them, and  
“ said, *They that would not work should not eat* :  
“ and these are commonly a sort of busy-bodies,  
“ and meddlers with others matters, while they  
“ neglect their own, and run into a worse way  
“ than unbelievers, while they profess to be be-  
“ lievers, yet do not take due care for those of  
“ their own household.

“ The charity that is proper to such, is to  
“ give them admonition and reproof, and to  
“ convince them of their sloth and negligence;  
“ and if they submit to your reproof, and are  
“ willing to amend, then care ought to be taken  
“ to help them into a way to support themselves;  
“ and sometimes by a little care of this kind,  
“ some have been reclaimed: but if they will  
“ not receive your counsel and admonition, but  
“ kick against it either in their words or actions,  
“ friends will be clear of such in the sight of  
“ God; for it is unreasonable in them to expect  
“ you should feed them, who will not be ad-  
“ vised by you, because they dissolve the obliga-  
“ tion of society by their disorderly walking;  
“ for



“ for our communion doth not stand only in fre-  
 “ quenting meetings, and hearing truth preach-  
 “ ed, but in regulating the life and conversa-  
 “ tion by the principle and spirit of truth, and  
 “ therein both the rich and the poor have fellow-  
 “ ship one with another.

CHAP.  
 XIV.  
 1666.

There is another sort that are made poor by cruelty and oppression; by long imprisonments, and spoiling of their goods: These oppressed poor cry loud in the ears of the Almighty, and he will in his own time avenge their cause: But in the mean time there is a sympathetic tenderness to be extended towards them, not knowing how soon it may be our turn; and if there be need of counsel and advice, or if any applications can be made to any that are able to deliver them from the oppressors, let all that are capable be ready and willing to advise, relieve and help the distressed: This is an acceptable work of charity, and a great comfort to such in sharp afflictions, and their souls shall bless the instruments of their ease and comfort.

## S E C T. IV.

### *Of their Method of Dealing with Transgressors.*

Having given a general view of the subjects of the christian discipline amongst this people, I proceed to their method of dealing with such as violate the laws of virtue and morality, and the rules of this society founded thereupon.

In every external society of men there must be some rules, principles or laws accommodated to promote the ends of their confederacy, for the

CHAPTER XIV.  
1666.

regulation of the members thereof, to which in proportion to their conforming their conduct and conversation, they are entitled to the benefits and privileges of membership in that society:

Rules and laws are in themselves only a dead letter. Sanctions are necessary to make them obligatory. The law, saith the scripture, was added because of transgression, i. e. sanctions and penalties were annexed to prevent transgression, or declare how the transgressors are to be treated, more or less of which are in every society.

In civil society, laws for the preservation of peace and property are established by human policy with temporal coercion, confiscation, or corporal penalties, the same principle mistakenly applying these penalties to transgressions in religious society, is persecution, at this day very justly and very generally exploded. The sanctions of the laws or rules for the government of religious society are to be drawn from the fundamental code, the bible, especially the new testament, which restricts the utmost penalty merely to exclusion, without any temporal penalty whatever. The prescription of the highest authority was this, "If thy brother offend thee, tell him between him and thyself; if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that, in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be established: And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."

To this may be added the following precepts C H A P. XIV.  
of the apostle, 2 Theff. iii. 6. “ We command 1666.  
“ you, brethren, in the name of our Lord  
“ Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves  
“ from every brother, that walketh disorderly.”  
And 1 Cor. v. 11. “ I have written unto you,  
“ not to keep company, if any man, that is  
“ called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous,  
“ or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard,  
“ or an extortioner, with such an one, no not  
“ to eat.” These rules and precepts authorize  
and regulate the proceedings of this society with  
those who transgress their rules.

These things premised; I proceed to lay before  
the reader a more particular account of  
the method of their proceedings in the words  
of William Penn.

“ It may be expected, I should here set down  
“ what sort of authority is exercised by this  
“ people, upon such members of their society  
“ as correspond not in their lives with their  
“ profession, and that are refractory to this  
“ good and wholesome order settled among  
“ them; and the rather, because they have not  
“ wanted their reproach and sufferings from  
“ some tongues and pens, upon this occasion,  
“ in a plentiful manner.

“ The power they exercise, is such as Christ  
“ has given to his own people, to the end of the  
“ world, in the persons of his disciples, viz.  
“ To oversee, exhort, reprove, and after long  
“ suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and  
“ refractory, to disown them, as any longer of  
“ their communion, or that they will stand  
“ charged with the behaviour of such trans-  
“ gressors or their conversation, as any of them,  
“ until

CHAP. " until they repent. The subject matter about  
 XIV. " which this authority, in any of the foregoing  
 " branches of it, is exercised, is first in relation  
 1666. " to common and general practice. And, se-  
 " condly, about those things that more strictly  
 " refer to their own character and profession,  
 " and which distinguish them from all other  
 " professors of christianity; avoiding two ex-  
 " tremes upon which many split, viz. Perse-  
 " cution and libertinism, that is, a coercive  
 " power to whip people into the temple; that  
 " such as will not conform, though against faith  
 " and conscience, shall be punished in their  
 " persons and estates: Or leaving all loose and  
 " at large, as to practice; and so unaccounta-  
 " ble to all but God and the magistrate. To  
 " which hurtful extrem, nothing has more con-  
 " tributed than the abuse of church power, by  
 " such as suffer their passions and private in-  
 " terests to prevail with them, to carry it to  
 " outward force and corporeal punishment. A  
 " practice they have been taught to dislike, by  
 " their extrem sufferings, as well as their  
 " known principles for an universal liberty of  
 " conscience.

" On the other hand, they equally dislike an  
 " independency in society. An unaccountable-  
 " ness in practice and conversation to the rules  
 " and terms of their own community, and to  
 " those that are the members of it. They dis-  
 " tinguish between imposing any practice that  
 " immediately regards faith and worship, which  
 " is never to be done or suffered, or submitted  
 " unto, and requiring christian compliance with  
 " those methods that only respect church busi-  
 " ness in its more civil part and concern; and  
 " that

“ that regard the discreet and orderly mainte-  
 “ nance of the character of the society as a so-  
 “ ber and religious community. In short, what  
 “ is for the promotion of holiness and charity,  
 “ that men may practise what they profess, live  
 “ up to their own principles, and not be at li-  
 “ berty to give the lie to their own profession  
 “ without rebuke, is their use and limit of  
 “ church power. They compel none to them,  
 “ but oblige those that are of them to walk  
 “ suitably, or they are denied by them: That  
 “ is all the mark they set upon them, and the  
 “ power they exercise, or judge a christian so-  
 “ ciety can exercise upon those that are mem-  
 “ bers of it.

“ The way of their proceeding against such  
 “ as have lapsed or transgressed, is this: He is  
 “ visited by some of them, and the matter of  
 “ fact laid home to him, be it any evil practice  
 “ against known and general virtue, or any  
 “ branch of their particular testimony, which  
 “ he in common professeth with them. They  
 “ labour with him in much love and zeal, for the  
 “ good of his soul, the honour of God, and re-  
 “ putation of their profession, to own his fault  
 “ and condemn it, in as ample a manner as the  
 “ evil or scandal was given by him; which for  
 “ the most part, is performed by some written  
 “ testimony under the party's hand: And if it  
 “ so happen, that the party prove refractory,  
 “ and is not willing to clear the truth they pro-  
 “ fess, from the reproach of his or her evil  
 “ doing or unfaithfulness, they after repeated  
 “ entreaties and due waiting for a token of re-  
 “ pentance, give forth a paper to disown such a  
 “ fact, and the party offending: Recording the  
 “ same

C H A P.

XIV.

1666.

C H A P. “ same as a testimony of their care for the ho-  
 XIV. “ nour of the truth they profess.

1666. “ And if he or she shall clear their profession  
 “ and themselves, by sincere acknowledgment  
 “ of their fault, and godly sorrow for so doing,  
 “ they are received and looked upon again as  
 “ members of their communion. For as God,  
 “ so his true people, upbraid no man after re-  
 “ pentance.”

I have already observed that the executive part of the discipline is vested in the monthly meetings: But if any person censured or disowned be dissatisfied, or think himself injured by the judgment of any monthly meeting, he may appeal to the quarterly meeting of the county or province to which the monthly meeting belongs, where the case is heard generally by a committee, composed of members of all the monthly meetings, except that from whose judgment the appeal is made. And if the quarterly meeting confirm the judgment of the monthly meeting and he be still dissatisfied, he may appeal from their judgment to the yearly meeting of London, or in Ireland to the national half-year's meeting in Dublin, where the matter is again heard by a committee, from which the members of the meeting appealed from are excluded.

It is further to be observed, that in all their proceedings, they endeavour to exemplify the spirit of the gospel which is love, in earnest entreaties to restore them, or bring them to a feeling sense of their misconduct, that they may experience a proper temper of mind to condemn it honestly and sincerely for removing the reproach occasioned thereby, and when this is the case,  
 such

such condemnation is frequently accepted, and published instead of a paper of denial, as before observed by William Penn. And when they find it necessary to publish a testimony of disunity, it contains no tincture of the spirit of the excommunications of the Romish hierarchy, nothing like an anathema or curse; but in the pure spirit of christianity is concluded with an earnest desire or prayer, that they may timely come to a feeling sense of their misconduct, and be favoured with repentance unto salvation.

C H A P.

XIV.

1666.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XV.

*Violent Proceedings of William Armourer in Berkshire.—Abingdon Session.—Thomas Curtis's whole Family in Prison.—Trial of fifty Prisoners.—The Jury bring them in not guilty.—Some of the Prisoners remanded, and the Oath tendered.—The Oath tendered to Anne Curtis, who remonstrates against it.—Twenty premunured, and two sentenced to banishment.—Trial of Joseph Phipps on the Act for Banishment.—Persecution in Northamptonshire.*

C H A P.  
XV.

**DURING** the rebuilding of London after the fire, the heat of persecution abated for a season, not only in the city, but through the nation in general: Yet in some parts it was kept alive in the breasts of some magistrates, who still continued to harrass the members of this society with persevering violence and rigorous treatment.

Violent  
proceedings  
of William  
Armourer  
in Berk-  
shire.

1663.

In Berkshire in particular, they had been grievously persecuted and grossly abused for a series of time from the year 1663, principally through the antipathy of William Armourer, a justice of peace, and a man of a violent turn of mind; his implacability to them instigated him to extend the persecuting laws of this reign to their utmost severity, and in cruelty of execution to exceed the bounds of the law, in endeavours to effect



effect the ruin of his quiet and peaceable neighbours, who had done him no wrong. CHAP. XV.

From a meeting at Thomas Curtis's at Reading, the 27th of the month called March, 1664, having sent thirty-four men to the county jail for being at an unlawful assembly, he came again that day week, and finding only two men there, Robert Paine and John Boulton, he committed them to prison after the rest. 1664.

He continued to visit their meetings from time to time, till he had imprisoned most or all the men, and then he proceeded to imprison the women also. And afterwards coming with his usual rage, and finding only a few children and young maidens in the meeting, he struck one of them with his staff, ordered them to be pulled out, and threatened to send them to prison, if they should come thither any more.

At the quarter-sessions at Abingdon, the prisoners were called to the bar; but instead of a legal trial, upon the cause of their commitment, the accustomed snare was resorted to, the tender of the oath of allegiance: The first, who was called, was James Whiteheart, who, coming with his hat on, was by the angry justices ordered to be taken away, without being questioned, whether he would take the oath or not. Abingdon  
sessions.

The next was Henry Pizeing, not a Quaker, who coming to the bar, with his hat off, and bowing, the judge, Thomas Holt, said, "Here's a man has some manners," and asked him, whether he would take the oath of allegiance? to which he replied, "I have taken it already." But, said the judge, "you were no Quaker then." Henry replied, "neither am I now, but have been many weeks among them, and  
" I never Henry  
Pizeing, no  
Quaker.

C H A P. “ I never saw any hurt by them ; but they are  
 XV. “ an honest civil people.” Upon which Ar-  
 mourer stood up and said, “ Why did you  
 1664. “ not tell me so before? Henry answered,  
 “ Your worship was so wrathful, that you would  
 “ not hear me.” The oath being then tender-  
 ed, he took it, and was discharged.

Several other prisoners being called and inter-  
 rogated in like manner, answered, they were  
 not committed on account of the oath, but for  
 being at a meeting. But the oath being insist-  
 ed upon, Thomas Curtis informed the court,  
*that he did not refuse the oath, through any de-  
 fault of allegiance to the king, but because Christ  
 commanded, not to swear at all ; that he had  
 approved himself a faithful subject to the king,  
 and would take that oath as soon as any ; and  
 therefore desired the court to direct one of their  
 ministers to inform him from scripture how he  
 might take it, and not break the command of  
 Christ. Upon this a priest sitting by was desired  
 to satisfy Thomas in that point : But being  
 cautious of entering into debate upon a subject,  
 wherein he might doubt the validity of his ar-  
 gumentation, he put it off, under the pretence  
 that they were an obstinate people and not to be  
 satisfied. At length Armourer ordered them to  
 be taken away, saying, I know they will not take  
 it ; although many of them did not refuse it.*

Thomas  
 Curtis stop-  
 ped by Ar-  
 mourer  
 from going  
 to Bristol  
 fair.

Thomas Curtis, against whom and his wife  
 Anne (whose father it hath been remarked, lost  
 his life for his fidelity to the king) Armourer  
 bore a particular ill-will, having obtained liberty  
 from the sheriff, whose prisoner he was, to at-  
 tend Bristol fair on his trading concerns, this  
 Armourer hearing of it, sent for him to an inn,  
 and

and addressing himself to him, said, " I hear  
 " you are going to Bristol fair, but I will stop  
 " your journey:" And by arbitrary compulsion,  
 without legal authority, removed him out of the  
 sheriff's custody to the town prison of Reading.

C H A P.  
 XV.  
 1664.

Having gratified his malice so far as to have  
 Thomas Curtis and his wife both shut up in pri-  
 son, Thomas's trade and house were under the  
 care of a man and maid servant, whom he  
 threatened also to send to jail, and nailed up the  
 doors, to prevent any more meetings to be held  
 there. Soon after he sent his warrant to take  
 the man servant, to whom, when brought before  
 him and the mayor, they tendered the oath of  
 allegiance, and upon his declining it, committed  
 him also to prison; but could not accomplish  
 their design of preventing the continuance of  
 meetings there. Some time after he committed  
 the maid servant to the house of correction for  
 forty-eight hours. At which time the whole fa-  
 mily were in prison.

Thomas  
 Curtis's  
 whole fa-  
 mily in pri-  
 son.

It is really astonishing to see what lengths,  
 party resentments will carry men pretending to  
 rationality and christianity, in opposition to the  
 plainest principles of reason and equity; and the  
 unjust use made of this oath of allegiance, not  
 to secure government against danger; but merely  
 to bring innocent people under the lash of a  
 law never intended against them; and for their  
 being subjected to the severe penalties of it, tho'  
 they had given no just occasion. It seems mani-  
 fest that Armourer, in defiance of every senti-  
 ment of justice and humanity, aimed at the ruin  
 of this couple as to their outward circumstan-  
 ces, by thus obliging them to shut up their shop,  
 and

CHAP. and disabling them from carrying on their bu-  
 XV. siness, while thus pent up in prison; perverting  
 law and government, to the destruction of pro-  
 1664. perty, which ought to be directed to the secu-  
 rity of it.

Armourer  
 drags Joseph  
 Cole out of  
 Thomas  
 Curtis's,  
 and sends  
 him to the  
 house of  
 correction.

Whilst Thomas Curtis, his wife and man  
 servant were in prison, Armourer sent his man  
 to enquire if there were any in the house beside  
 the family, and the maid informing him there  
 were not, he came in person a little after, and  
 knocked at the door, which the maid, being in  
 fear, was not forward to open. Armourer then  
 drawing an instrument from his pocket, picked  
 the lock, entered the house, and searching it  
 from room to room, found Joseph Cole, whose  
 dwelling was there, and who was confined by  
 indisposition. Armourer taking him by the arm,  
 and dragging him down stairs, asked him, *if he*  
*would take the oath of allegiance*, which he refus-  
 ing, was sent to the house of correction. From  
 the prison the said Joseph wrote a letter to the  
 justices exhorting them to the fear of God, to  
 righteousness, justice and a temperate considera-  
 tion of their proceedings towards their neigh-  
 bours, how inadequate their imputed offences  
 were to the severity of the punishments inflicted  
 upon them, in terms conceived in the meekness  
 of wisdom, and arguments founded in right rea-  
 son: But these intemperate magistrates were not  
 to be diverted by reason or argument, from their  
 determined purpose to prosecute the Quakers even  
 to their ruin. This honest man was kept  
 in prison till his death, which happened in  
 1670.

At

At the quarter-fessions held at Reading the latter end of the year 1664, about fifty prisoners were brought to the bar, and an indictment read against them for wilfully refusing the oath, to which at Newbury sessions they had pleaded not guilty. The evidences were Sir William Armourer and the clerk of the peace, who swore that the oath had been tendered, and read to them at last Abingdon sessions. The council for the king insisted much on the credit of the witnesses, telling the jury, *they must either bring in the prisoners guilty, or they would make Sir William Armourer and the clerk as perjured persons.* Nevertheless the jury on strict enquiry, perceiving that the tender of the oath was irregular, and the clerk acknowledging he could not tell whether it was read before or after they were called over, brought in their verdict, not guilty. Upon which the court broke up, and many of the prisoners being discharged by the jury, went away. But Armourer and some others staying behind, ordered the jailer to call back the Quakers. Thomas Curtis, George Lambold and their wives with three others appeared, the rest being gone away.

C H A P.

XV.

1664.  
Trial of  
fifty pri-  
soners.The jury  
bring in  
their ver-  
dict not  
guilty.

To these they proceeded to tender the oath afresh; whereupon Thomas Curtis remarked it was not the part of men of honour, to endeavour to ensnare those whom the jury have cleared; but such proceedings will appear as blots in your escutcheons: We do believe you aim to ensnare us, and it is our estates you are seeking after. It is well if some of you have not begged them already. George Lambold being next required to take the oath, answered, as to the oath of obedience, he could promise very much and

and should keep his promise. Not content with administering the oath to the men, they proceeded to do the same to their wives, to which Anne Curtis remonstrated, that it was a very hard case, she should be required to take the oath, being under covert, "and my husband here a sufferer for the very same thing" "for," added she, "there is no other woman in England under covert (that I have heard of) who is required to take that oath, and kept in prison on that account." But Armourer in a passionate vulgarism, cried out, "hold your tongue, Nan, and turn your back." And so she with the rest was sent back to prison.

C H A P. XV.  
 1664.  
 The oath tendered to Anne Curtis, who remonstrates against it.

Thus the arbitrary magistrates of this reign broke every barrier of the constitution to wreak their vengeance on a harmless body of men. We have seen juries overawed and menaced, their verdicts refused, themselves bound over to the King's Bench, and here their verdict made of none effect; by contriving to remand to prison the persons whom they had just acquitted: What availed this boast of the Englishman's privilege, while he could be alternately imprisoned and tried, tried and imprisoned on new created offences, until a jury could be found to condemn him.

By the time of the succeeding session at Newbury, Armourer had got in prison again a considerable number of those who were released at last sessions, and at that time escaped his hands: The prisoners to the number of twenty-six were continued from sessions to assizes, and from assizes to sessions until near the end of the year, when at the session at Reading twenty were condemned in premunire, and remanded

1665.  
 Twenty premunired and two sentenced to banishment.

to

to prison, and two women convicted of meeting the third time were sentenced to be transported to Barbadoes. C H A P.  
XV.

Such a specimen of premunire by wholesale seems to confirm Thomas Curtis's observation, that it was their estates they wanted; and himself, as one possessed of the greatest property was not passed by. For on the 19th of the month called June, this year, John Witham under-sheriff, and Thomas Ross, the Duke of Monmouth's tutor, came to the jail and told Thomas Curtis and George Lambold they had a warrant from the king to seize their estates. They seized their books, papers and writings, and one hundred and fifty pounds in money of Thomas Curtis's; then they went to their houses, and took an inventory of what they could find, but on their promise to be answerable for the goods, they did not remove them. 1666.

Effects of  
Thomas  
Curtis and  
George  
Lambold  
seized.

Anne Curtis and Sarah Lambold were brought to the sessions at Newbury, but their trial was put off. However Armourer their professed adversary not being present, the justices granted them their liberty, upon promise of appearing at the next sessions. This displeased Armourer, who presently sent the jailer's man to fetch them to prison again: The man told him that the justices had given them liberty until the next sessions: To which Armourer replied, "What have the justices to do with my prisoners?" and threatened to lay the man by the heels if he did not obey his orders: So he fetched Sarah Lambold back to prison; but Anne Curtis being gone to Bristol, was for the present out of his reach. Further account of  
Armourer's  
violent proceedings.

But

C H A P.

XV.

1666.

But on the same day her husband's effects were seized as above related, she was by Armourer's warrant carried again to prison, where after she had been detained about two months, at the intercession of the persons, who had the charge of her husband's estate, who it is likely judged it too unreasonable even in this unreasonable age to premunire the husband, and imprison the wife at the same time, for the same offence; she was set at liberty by a discharge under Armourer's hand and seal; notwithstanding which he sometime after remanded her to prison upon her former commitment, at a time when she was confined to her chamber through indisposition. Acting thus arbitrarily, without fear of controul.

But to recite the whole catalogue of this man's cruelties in violation of justice, of law, of humanity, and of a good conscience would draw me into a tedious detail; so I shall only just touch upon some other instances of his rude and indecent behaviour. He threatened to gag a prisoner for speaking in his own defence. He sent young girls to the house of correction, where they lay a long time. He came to a meeting, and finding only four young maids there, he sent for water, which he threw with great violence in their faces until one of them was almost suffocated, and then turned them wet out of the meeting. On another occasion the profaneness and obscenity of his language was such as decency recoils at. By his words and actions proving himself ill qualified to support the dignity and repute of his station, as such conduct would disgrace an office much inferior to that of a justice of the peace. To Anne Curtis he bore



bore a peculiar animosity, because being a wo- C H A P.  
 man of good sense, she was qualified to make XV.  
 some pertinent observations on the impropriety of his conduct. 1666.

But before I leave this county, as a further illustration of the lawless proceedings of this man and his associates, I shall take notice of another trial at their sessions at Reading on the 16th of the month called January this year. It was that of Joseph Phipps for the third offence on the act of banishment. A Quaker who had been just before tried was acquitted; whereupon the court dismissed the jury and impanelled another. Armourer's direction to the bailiffs being *go out and pick a jury, you know there are honest men enough in the town*, one of the bailiffs answered, *Yes, Sir William, I'll fit you*. Another jury being sworn, Joseph was set to the bar, and having pleaded *not guilty*, he insisted there were not five persons of sixteen years of age at the meeting, and therefore he was not within the act. Edward Dolby answered, if there were but one of that age, yet if there were five present, he would send that one to prison as a breaker of the law; for though the rest were not punishable by the act, yet they would serve to make up the number. This unequal construction of the law was pressed upon the jury; as was also the confession of the prisoners, that they were met to seek the Lord. And when one of them asked whether to seek the Lord was a crime worthy of banishment? the judge answered, yes. The jury went out but could not agree: Such as favoured the prisoners cause were threatened; and they were ordered to be kept up all night without fire or candle. Next morn-

Trial of  
 Joseph  
 Phipps, on  
 the act for  
 banishment.

CHAP. ing the court sat again, and sent to know whether they were agreed; one of them said, *I am not satisfied*: Yet the Foreman said *guilty*, although four of the jury had not agreed to the verdict: However the judge passed sentence on Phipps, that he should be transported to some of his Majesty's plantations, there to remain seven years; under which sentence he was returned to prison, and lay there until discharged by the King's letters patent, about six years after.

Persecution  
in Northampton-  
shire.

In Northamptonshire also, persecution was carried on without relaxation through this and the succeeding year. Several were tried on the act of banishment, of whom four were sentenced to transportation. One William Smith, foreman of the jury, was a very active man in their conviction, and exerted his influence over the other jurors to join with him in bringing them in guilty, to display his zeal in forcing a conformity to the liturgy of the church of England, when now the church of England had the upper hand: having been equally zealous against it in Oliver Cromwell's days, and equally forward to promote persecution.

Imprisonments were frequent and numerous. At one time a constable came with a rabble of assistants to a meeting at the house of John Mackernefs in Findon, took about forty of the persons assembled, detained them in an alehouse all night; and next day conveyed them like criminals in a cart and waggon to justice Yelverton's, who in conjunction with another justice fined them forty shillings, and for non-payment sent them to the county jail for six weeks. Another time fifteen men and ten women were carried before the same justice Yelverton, who signed

signed a mittimus for committing ten of the men to prison; but another justice's hand being necessary, he directed his clerk to carry it to justice Ward. The ten men were again put into the cart, and conveyed with the mittimus to the said justice, but he refused to sign it, and no other justice was found willing to do it, nor could the jailer legally receive them without the signature of two justices. So the prisoners, after being thus driven from justice to justice, were permitted to return home. But some time after six of them were taken by another warrant, and sent to jail; three of whom were afterwards sentenced to transportation. The number of persons of this persuasion at one time under close confinement in the county jail were more than four score, of whom many were husbandmen, locked up from their business both in hay time and harvest, to their great loss and detriment.

C H A P.  
XV.  
1666.

## C H A P. XVI.

*William Penn's Birth and Education.—At the College he is partly convinced.—His Father in Resentment banishes him from his House.—Sends him to France.—He goes to Ireland.—Where he is thoroughly convinced by the Ministry of Thomas Loe.—His Father endeavours to bring him off from joining with Friends.—Banished from his Father's House a second Time.—Called to the Work of the Ministry.—Robert Barclay's Birth and Education.—Convinced of the Principles of the People called Quakers.—He receives a Gift in the Ministry.—Roger Haydock convinced.—Miles Halhead taken up in Devonshire.—Death and Character of Richard Farnsworth.—Further Instances of Armourer's rude and arbitrary Proceedings.—Unjust Verdict.*

C H A P. XVI. **I**N this year and the next, two members eminent for their virtue and piety, as well as for their natural abilities, were added to this society, viz. William Penn and Robert Barclay, who for their very great usefulness and services therein claim a particular attention.

William Penn's birth and education.

William Penn was born in the city of London, 24<sup>th</sup> of 8<sup>mo</sup>. 1644. His father of the same name, a man of a good estate and reputation, in the time of the Commonwealth had filled some of the highest stations in the navy, viz.

viz. those of Rere Admiral, Vice Admiral, Ad-  
 miral of Ireland and Vice Admiral of England,  
 with honour and fidelity. He retained his post  
 after the Restoration, was knighted by Charles II.  
 and was peculiarly distinguished as a favourite  
 by the Duke of York. His father's affectionate  
 attention, and the promising prospect he enter-  
 tained of his son's advancement, procured him a  
 liberal education; and by the acuteness of his  
 genius and diligent application to his studies,  
 he made such proficiency in learning, that about  
 the fifteenth year of his age he was entered a  
 student in that called Christ Church College in  
 Oxford.

CHAP.  
 XVI.  
 1667.

Some time after his removal to the college, at  
 a meeting of the people called Quakers, through  
 the reaching ministry of Thomas Loe, he receiv-  
 ed some relish of pure and spiritual religion,  
 and was impressed with an ardent desire after the  
 experimental attainment thereof. In conse-  
 quence, he, with certain other students of that  
 university, withdrawing from the public worship,  
 held private meetings for the exercise of reli-  
 gion, where they both preached and prayed a-  
 mong themselves. This gave great offence to  
 the heads of the college, and he, at sixteen  
 years of age, was fined for non-conformity;  
 but this punishment not abating the fervour of  
 his zeal, he was at length, for continuing in  
 the like religious exercises, expelled the col-  
 lege.

At the Col-  
 lege he is  
 partly con-  
 vinced.

From thence he returned home; but still took  
 great delight in the company of sober and reli-  
 gious people, from whom his father fearing he  
 might contract a turn of mind little accommo-  
 dated to advance him to that preferment in the  
 state,

C H A P.  
XVI.

1667.  
His father  
in resent-  
ment ba-  
nishes him  
from his  
house.

Sends him  
to France,

whence he  
returns an  
accomplish-  
ed gentle-  
man.

state, which he fondly flattered himself, his interest might procure him, he endeavoured, both by words and blows to deter him therefrom; but finding those methods ineffectual, he was at last so incensed, that he turned him out of doors.

Patience surmounted this difficulty, until his father's affection subdued his anger; who then sent him to France, in company with some persons of quality, that were taking a tour thither. He continued there a considerable time, until his conversation amongst that gay and volatile people diverted his mind from the serious thoughts of religion. At his return, his father finding him not only a good proficient in the French language, but polite and courtly in his behaviour, flattering himself with the success of his scheme, as having gained his point, *welcomed* him with a joyful reception.

For some time after his return from France his genteel and complaisant behaviour procured him the character of an accomplished young gentleman, and of consequence the estimation and good opinion of his acquaintances, and the world around him: but amidst the caresses and flatteries of men, he found a disturber of his satisfaction therein, within his own bosom, reminding of his former seriousness and good resolutions; of a state of futurity, and the certainty of a day of strict account: And although guilty of nothing, which the world terms criminal, yet by the light, with which his mind was illuminated, he was sensible he had lost ground, as to the attainment of that inward purity of heart, in which he had seen the substance of religion to consist; and was renewed into an earnest desire of

of regaining what he had lost, and applying his mind to the pursuit of pure religion, as the same had been manifested by the divine light to his understanding. But in directing his attention this way, he suffered a painful spiritual conflict: His natural inclination, his lively and active disposition, his acquired accomplishments, his father's favour, the respect of his friends and acquaintance, were so many strong incentives to embrace the glory and pleasures of this world, then even courting his acceptance; and mountains of opposition in his way to adopt that pure religion, which might endanger his relinquishing them all. Mountains of this magnitude might seem almost insurmountable; but the earnest supplication of his soul being to the Lord for preservation in the way of duty to him, he was pleased to grant him such a portion of his grace and good spirit, as enabled him in due time to overcome all opposition, in a holy resolution to follow Christ, whatsoever reproaches or persecutions might attend him.

In the course of the year 1666 his father having committed to his care and management a considerable estate he had in Ireland, he went over to that kingdom, and being in the city of Cork, he was informed that Thomas Loe was likely to be at a meeting there: he went to hear him: who began his public testimony in these words, *There is a faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world*; upon which subject he enlarged with great clearness and energy: And by the reaching powerful testimony of this man (whose ministry had made profitable impression upon him several years before) he was so thoroughly

C H A P.  
XVI.  
1667.

Goes to Ireland,

where he is thoroughly convinced by the ministry of Thomas Loe.

C H A P

XVI

1667.

His father  
endeavours  
to bring  
him off  
from join-  
ing with  
friends.

roughly reached and convinced, that from this time he joined the society of the Quakers, and constantly attended their meetings through all the heat of persecution.

It was not long before his father was informed by a nobleman of his acquaintance, what danger his son was in of being profelyted to Quakerism, whereupon he remanded him home: and although there was no great alteration in his dress, yet the seriousness of his deportment, and the solid concern of mind he appeared to be under, were manifest indications of the truth of the information his father had received, who thereupon renewed his efforts to bring him off from a way of thinking and conduct, which would disappoint all his sanguine hopes, and baffle his fond schemes of seeing him advanced at court. But his efforts proved in vain; for although his son felt all the force of natural affection and filial duty, and would have been far from offending him in any case, wherein the peace of his conscience was not concerned; yet in this case he durst not comply with the requisition of his earthly father, to disobey, as he thought, the requirings of his heavenly father.

At length, after much striving with him, finding him too firmly fixed in these principles to be brought to a general compliance with the customary compliments of the times, his father seemed inclinable to have borne with him in other respects, provided he would appear uncovered in the presence of the king, the duke and himself, which being proposed to him, he desired time to consider of it, and retiring to his chamber, humbled himself with fasting and supplication



tion to receive divine direction, and was so strengthened in his mind, that, returning to his father, he humbly signified that he could not comply with his desire therein.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1667.

When all endeavours proved ineffectual, and his father found himself utterly disappointed of his hopes, he could no longer endure him in his sight, but turned him out of doors the second time, whereby he was exposed to the charity of his friends, having no other subsistence, except what his mother privately sent him. Thus he endured the cross with christian patience and magnanimity, and evinced the sincerity of his conversion, by a voluntary relinquishing of every tempting worldly prospect, in order to attain the favour of Heaven and solid peace of mind.

Banished from his father's house a second time.

Having thus bought the truth by parting with all for its sake, and abiding under the enlivening influence thereof, he received qualification to incite others to do likewise, being called to the work of the ministry about the twenty-fourth year of his age, in which he approved himself a workman that need not be ashamed. Nor was he only eminently distinguished for his qualifications and labours in the ministry, but also for his writings in defence of the principles he had adopted, and for propagating religious thoughtfulness, and the practice of piety among mankind in general, which being collected, compose two volumes in folio.

Called to the work of the ministry.

Robert Barclay was exempted from the severe obstructions and discouragements which stood in the way of William Penn's embracing this profession, his father having adopted it before him. He also was well descended, and had received the

Robert Barclay's birth and education.

C H A P. the advantage of a good education. He was the son  
 XVI. of colonel David Barclay of Ury near Aberdeen,  
 descended from the Barclays of Mathers in the  
 kingdom of Scotland, an ancient and honour-  
 able family among men, and of Catharine Gor-  
 don, of the house of the duke of Gordon. Yet  
 it was not from his descent he received his prin-  
 cipal honour, and the degree of estimation he  
 attained both within the society and without ;  
 but from his personal merit and inherent good  
 qualities. His native city was Edinburgh, be-  
 ing born there in 1648, and in his infancy he  
 was educated among the Calvinists in his own  
 country ; but being early removed from thence,  
 for the sake of an opportunity of a more exten-  
 sive education under the tuition of his uncle,  
 who was president of the Scotch college at Paris,  
 where the learning common to our schools and  
 universities was taught, he attained a proficiency  
 in the French language as well as the Latin, with  
 other branches of literature.

The Papists, taking advantage of the immatu-  
 rity of his judgment in his minority, endeavoured  
 to make a profelyte of him. Their endeavours  
 in that tender age made some impression  
 upon him, but as his judgment ripened, he soon  
 clearly discovered the errors of their religious  
 system. He returned home about 1664, in the  
 16th year of his age, and during his absence his  
 father having joined himself in fellowship with  
 the people called Quakers, by his religious con-  
 versation and circumspect example, as well as  
 the converse and conduct of others of that  
 profession, he was impressed with a perception  
 and relish of the excellency of that reli-  
 gion, which produced so remarkable a con-  
 sistency of conduct in life and conversation with  
 the

1667.  
 W. Penn's  
 testimony.

the spirit and precepts of the gospel, amongst its professors in a general way. C H A P.  
XVI.

Under this impression he was induced to attend the religious meetings of this people, whereby he felt his inclination toward them strengthened, and his conviction promoted, of which he himself hath left us this account \*. “ It was not by strength of argument, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and conviction of my understanding, that I came to receive and bear witness of the truth ; but by being secretly reached by the [principle of light and life, to which they were gathered] for when I came into the *silent assemblies* of God’s people, I felt a *secret power* among them, which touched my heart, and as I gave way to it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up, and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after this power and life, whereby I might feel myself perfectly redeemed.”

1667.

In the year 1667 he was thoroughly convinced and made public profession of the principles of this society, taking up his cross to the glory and friendship of the world, and despising the shame, he esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, manifesting to the world that the contemptible name of a Quaker could not deter him from following, owning and defending truth, wherever to be found, counting all things as dross in comparison of the knowledge of Christ, which he intently sought after and embraced as his crown, and received a gift in the

Convinced of the principles of the people called quakers.

\* Apology, prop. 11. § 7.

CHAP.  
XVI.

1667.  
He receives  
a gift in the  
ministry.

the ministry as his greatest honour, in which he laboured to bring others to the knowledge of God, and his labour was not in vain in the Lord. Besides his ministerial labours, he was much engaged in controversy with the opponents and slanderers of the society, chiefly his own countrymen, both verbally and in writing; for which business his qualifications were remarkably eminent, being not only master of useful literature, but of a clear comprehension, a capacious reach of thought, a close and convincing manner of reasoning, delivered in a neat style, though plain and unaffected; to which adding the excellency of his temper from the prevalence of religion in his mind, whereby he was so preserved in coolness, that passion (so general in controversial writers) did not blind his judgment, or lead him into indecent reflection, whilst his regard to plain truth prevented him from flattering error or excusing calumny. His reach of thought penetrated to the bottom of his subject, and pointed out clearness of method, and the weight of his arguments proved him an overmatch for his antagonists. In short, by means of his essays, and those of William Penn and some other cotemporary writers, as George Whitehead, Thomas Elwood, Isaac Penington, &c. Quakerism (so called) hitherto exposed to contempt and odium, by the hideous form wherein their adversaries (particularly the priests of various denominations) had misrepresented and exposed it to publick view, began to put on a more pleasing appearance, and to be exhibited in its native and genuine complexion, whereby the candid and dispassionate part of mankind were ready to own it to be no absurd combination of wild

wild notions, but a regular system of important, rational and practical truths.

C H A P.  
XVI.

1667.

Yet it is not from hence to be conceived that they introduced any new doctrines into this society, or modelled a new system of principles, for these had been their tenets from the beginning; but through a candid examination of their doctrine and practice, they were convinced, and induced to join the society, amongst whom they found these doctrines received as articles of faith and rules of practice.

<sup>a</sup> About this time Roger Haydock of Lancashire came over to this society, whose conversion had something peculiar in it. His elder brother John having joined their communion, occasioned considerable uneasiness to his mother, a zealous Presbyterian; when Roger coming to his father's house, and being reputed a learned intelligent man, she prevailed upon him to use his endeavours to convince his brother of the absurdity of his choice, and dissuade him from persisting therein: he accordingly entered into discourse with him upon the subject, when John gave him such cogent reasons for his change, as soon put him to silence; his mother being displeased that he did not hold out the argument more stoutly, he told her, *it was truth, and he could not gainsay it.* Being thus brought to the acknowledgment of the truth, he soon came to make publick profession thereof, and in process of time became an eminent minister, and a very serviceable member of this society.

Roger Haydock convinced.

Miles Halhead travelling this year in Devonshire, and being taken up and brought before the magistrates, was asked, what business he (who dwelt

Miles Halhead taken up in Devonshire.

CHAP. dwelt in Westmoreland) had in Devonshire?  
 XVI. To which he answered, that he was come to  
 see some of his old friends, whom formerly  
 1667. about ten years ago he had acquaintance with.  
 One of the magistrates asked him what were  
 the names of his friends he meant, upon which  
 he named several former magistrates of that coun-  
 ty: one of the present magistrates remarked,  
 "Truly, gentlemen, though this man calls these  
 "his friends, yet they have been his persecu-  
 "tors." Another of the magistrates then gave  
 him an account of the disasters which had be-  
 fallen them, and how they had lost their estates;  
 that one of them had been imprisoned for high  
 treason, and was escaped out of jail and had  
 fled the country, adding, "if these men were  
 "your persecutors, you may be sure they will  
 "trouble you no more; for if they that perse-  
 "cuted you have no better fortune than these  
 "men, I wish that neither I nor any of my  
 "friends may have any hand in persecuting  
 "you."

Death and  
 character of  
 Richard  
 Farns-  
 worth.

In this year Richard Farnsworth laid down  
 the body in the city of London. He was one  
 of the first that received George Fox's testimo-  
 ny, soon after his release from his imprisonment  
 at Darby, while the name of Quaker was but  
 just known; and joined him in society and mi-  
 nisterial labour, which was attended with such  
 a convincing power, that many were converted  
 by him from the evil of their ways; and he was  
 not only admitted to a part in the ministry of  
 the gospel with his brethren, but partook in the  
 sufferings to which they were exposed. About  
 the year 1656, walking with one of his friends  
 in the street of Banbury, he met the mayor and  
 a justice

a justice of peace whose name was Allen. And because he did not put off his hat to them, Allen in a passion struck it off his head. They afterwards sent for him and committed him to prison. Next day when their pride and passion were a little abated, they sent for him, and told him, if he would pay the jailer's fees and promise to go out of the town that night, he should have his liberty: but he would promise nothing, knowing that they had committed him illegally. Wherefore, to cover their unlawful procedure, they tendered him the oath of abjuration, and his refusal furnished them with a pretence for his recommitment to prison, where he lay about six months.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1667.

After about fifteen years spent in acting and suffering for those doctrines, he had received as truth, he was taken ill in London, and a short time before his departure out of this life, gave the following evidence of his full assurance of faith, and exhortation to his friends with affecting energy and strength of spirit, as if he were in full health, *Friends, God hath been mightily with me, and supported me at this time, and his presence and power have encompassed me all along; God hath appeared for the owning of my testimony.—I am filled with his love more than I am able to express.—God hath really appeared for us.—Therefore I beseech you, friends, here of the city of London, whether I live or die, be you faithful to the testimony which God hath committed to you.*

<sup>b</sup>The Earl of Clarendon, prime minister to King Charles, and reputed to have been a principal promoter of all the severities hitherto inflicted

on

<sup>b</sup> Rapin.

C H A P.

XVI.

1667.

on the dissenters, and contriver of the penal laws, by raising or exaggerating rumours of plots, about this time lost his influence, and became himself obnoxious to popular odium and unmerited prosecution: this gave the dissenters encouragement to hope for more ease, which they enjoyed for a season: and perhaps it may not be unworthy of remark, that with what measure he had meted, it was measured out to him again: for he, who had been instrumental to the imprisoning and banishment of numbers of innocent persons for no cause, or on trivial grounds, was himself at last condemned to banishment on groundless or frivolous accusations.

Further instances of Armourer's rude and arbitrary proceeding in Berkshire.

In Berkshire, Armourer continued his arbitrary proceedings through this year, while persecution subsided in a great measure in most other parts. Coming with his man to the meeting, the man looking in at the door and going out again, pulled the door after him, which having a spring lock shut them out. His master finding the door fast, called for a sledge to break it open; but one within opening it, that no handle might be made thereof to throw a suspicion of plotting upon them, he manifested the violence of his temper by saying, if it had not been opened for him he would have broken it open. Upon his being let in, he sent nine of the persons assembled to prison; one of them, Mary Coale (whose husband was under sentence of premunire) he committed for six months; three women were committed on the third offence in order to banishment.

At the succeeding assizes at Abingdon, they were arraigned, and pleaded not guilty, but their



their trial was postponed. Henry Adams on a like indictment was tried, but no record of his first or second offence could be produced, nor did any witness appear to prove a third offence, so that the jury brought him in *not guilty*. This verdict being displeasing to the court, the jury were sent back, and by Armourer's influence and menaces, who swore that the records, though lost, were true, some of the jury brought in a contrary verdict, which the rest, through fear, did not oppose. Upon which the prisoner was remanded to jail; but no sentence pronounced against him in court. When he afterwards asked the jailer, *what order he had concerning him?* His answer was, "Harry, thee art for transportation; they have done it since among themselves." He continued in prison five years 'till released with others in 1672.

CHAP.  
XVI.

1667.

Unjust verdict against Henry Adams.

## C H A P. XVII.

*Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian Preacher, vilifies Friends, who demanded a publick Meeting to vindicate themselves.—The Meeting held, but interrupted by the Rudeness of the Auditory.—William Penn appeals to the Publick in a little Tract.—For which he is imprisoned in the Tower.—Where he writes No Cross no Crown.—Death of Thomas Loc, Josiah Cole, and Francis Howgill.—Account of Josiah Cole and Francis Howgill.*

C H A P.  
XVII.  
1668.

**A**LTHOUGH the Quakers (so called) were freer from disturbance by the government than in the foregoing years, yet they met with some uneasiness and trouble from another quarter. The other societies of Dissenters were, some of them, during the heat of persecution, ready to acknowledge the christian courage of this people, in standing in the gap, and bearing open testimony to the truth they believed in, in opposition to human laws; as by this means, while the weight of sufferings fell upon them, these other escaped more easily: but as these other societies at bottom, bore them no good will, as soon as the suspension of persecution encouraged their preachers to officiate publickly, they returned to promulgate their invectives against the Quakers. Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian preacher, losing two of his hearers, who going to the Quakers meetings,

meetings, to see for themselves, whether they were so erroneous in principle and practice, as they had been represented, were convinced, and joined their society: this so irritated Vincent, that he indulged his passion in a licence of expression, not only beyond the bounds of christian moderation, but of common decency, telling his hearers, that he had as lief they would go to a bawdy-house, as to frequent the Quakers meetings, because of their erroneous, damnable doctrines; and pointing to the window said, if there should stand a cup of poison, I would rather drink it, than suck in their damnable doctrines. He farther expressed himself in this manner to one of them, if ever you go again, I will give you up, and God will give you up, that you may believe a lie and be damned.

These railing accusations coming to the ears of some of the people at whom they were cast, they demanded of him a publick meeting to vindicate themselves from these foul aspersions, or give him an opportunity to prove them, if he were able; which, after some demur, he agreed to; but took care to have the house filled before the hour appointed with his own hearers and partisans, also to procure three assistants, Thomas Danfon, Thomas Doolittle and ——— Maddocks.

George Whitehead and William Penn attended this meeting, to hear what erroneous doctrines Vincent could charge the Quakers with, and what proofs he could bring; but instead thereof he took upon him the office of a catechist, opening the conference with this question, *Whether they owned one Godhead in three distinct and separate persons?* On which subject framing an in-

CHAP.

XVII.

1668.

Thomas Vincent a Presbyterian preacher, vilifies the people called Quakers,

who demanded a publick meeting to vindicate themselves.

The meeting held, but interrupted by some of the auditory.

CHAP. conclusive and unintelligible fyllogifm, after the  
 XVII. manner of argumentation then in ufe, George  
 Whitehead rejected his terms as not to be found  
 1668. in fcripture, nor deducible from the text he in-  
 ftanced; wherefore he defired him to explain  
 the terms fo that they might be underftood,  
 inafmuch as God did not ufe to wrap his truths  
 in heathenifh metaphyficks, but deliver them in  
 plain language; but they would neither keep to  
 fcripture terms, nor allow them in their antago-  
 nifts, calling George Whitehead's explanation  
 and reduction of their matter to fcripture fenfe,  
 to fuit it to the auditors apprehenfion, an indi-  
 rect way of anfwering; and after many rude in-  
 fults offered them by ridiculing, hissing, fhoving  
 and ftigmatizing with opprobrious nicknames,  
 Vincent abruptly broke up the meeting by falling  
 to his prayer, wherein with an affected tone he  
 accused them as blaſphemers; and then to de-  
 prive them of an opportunity of clearing them-  
 ſelves, he defired the people to withdraw, giv-  
 ing them an example by retreating himſelf with  
 his three coadjutors. But ſome of the people  
 ſtaying, they found an opportunity of vindicat-  
 ing themſelves from the invectives of their adver-  
 ſaries.

They applied to Thomas Vincent for another  
 opportunity, but he evaded it. Wherefore Wil-  
 liam Penn appealed to the publick in a little  
 piece, entitled, *The ſandy foundation ſhaken*, which  
 gave great offence to ſome powerful eccleſiaſticks,  
 who preſently applied to their accuſtomed me-  
 thod of refuting what they call error, viz. for an  
 order for imprifoning him in the tower of Lon-  
 don. There was he under cloſe confinement,  
 and even denied the viſits of his friends; but  
 yet

Wm. Penn  
 appeals to  
 to the pub-  
 lick in a  
 little piece,

for which  
 he is imprif-  
 oned in the  
 Tower,

yet his enemies attained not their purpose. For when his servant brought him word, that the bishop of London was resolved he should either publicly recant, or die a prisoner, he signified his resolution also that his prison should be his grave, before he would yield the least compliance in violation of his conscience; for he owed his conscience to no mortal man.

A spirit warmed in the cause of religion, the love of God, and the welfare of mankind, ever pursues its main design. This worthy person, precluded from the opportunity of promoting piety by his ministerial labours, was not in his confinement unmindful of this great purpose of his life, he applied himself to promote it by writing: Several treatises were the fruits of his solitude, particularly that excellent one, entitled "No Cross no Crown," a book tending to promote the general design of religion, was well accepted, and hath passed sundry impressions.

CHAP. XVII.  
1668.

where he writes his *No Cross no Crown*.

And in order to clear himself from the aspersions cast upon him in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity, &c. he published a piece called "Innocency with her open Face," by way of apology for "The sandy Foundation shaken," in which he so successfully vindicated himself, that soon after he was released from his imprisonment, which had been of seven months continuance<sup>a</sup>.

The latter part of this year and beginning of the next deprived this society of three eminent and serviceable members, viz. Thomas Loe, Josiah Coale and Francis Howgill. With the abilities and qualifications of Thomas Loe, the reader

Death of Thomas Loe.

<sup>a</sup> Sewel.

CHAP. der hath been partly made acquainted at his  
 XVII. first introduction into this work. He visited Ire-  
 land several times, and having an excellent gift  
 1668. in the ministry, was much followed, and had  
 generally crowded audiences, amongst whom his  
 ministry was effectual to bring many over into  
 the society of his friends. We have just observ-  
 ed it was by his powerful ministry, as the instru-  
 mental means, that William Penn was first reach-  
 ed and afterwards convinced. He was a man  
 of a fine natural temper, easy, affable and pleas-  
 ing in conversation, benevolent in his disposi-  
 tion, and tenderly sympathizing with his friends  
 in affliction, which made his company not only  
 profitable from the subjects of his instructive ob-  
 servations, but desirable and agreeable from the  
 manner of them; whereby he gained the affec-  
 tion and esteem of those he conversed with,  
 and opened a door for the readier reception of  
 his ministry.

Piety pro-  
 moted.

His cha-  
 racter.

He also travelled in divers parts of England, and was several times imprisoned for his testimony. By his travels and labours his natural strength was impaired, and coming to London this year in the course of his travels, he was there seized with that disease, which terminated his labours and his existence in the body.

His pious end was agreeable to the tenour of his life, having in the time of health, chosen and steadily pursued himself (and zealously exhorted others to choose) that good part which should never be taken from him, he felt the consolation thereof in his bodily weakness. At which time being visited by William Penn, for whom he cherished the best desires to the last, he addressed to him the following exhortation, *Bear thy*

*thy cross, and stand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which shall prosper than that which the holy men of old walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. His love overcomes my heart. Glory be to his name for evermore.* This dying testimony of his honoured friend to the virtue of that grace and truth, through fidelity to which he was enabled to attain victory over death, and triumph over the terrors of the grave, must have been a comfortable and confirming evidence to William Penn of the solidity of that religion, of which he had been effectually convinced by the same worthy man. At another time Thomas Loe said to his friends that stood by his bed-side, *Be not troubled, the love of God overcomes my heart.* And to Geo. Whitehead and others, *the Lord is good to me, this day he hath covered me with his glory, I am weak but am refreshed to see you.* Another friend asking him how he was, he answered, “ I am “ near leaving you, I think, but am as well in “ my spirit as I can desire, I bless the Lord; I “ never saw more of the glory of God than I “ have done this day.” Thus rejoicing in hope ’till his end; his parting breath expressed a song of praise to that Almighty being, whose goodness preserved him through life, and deserted him not in his end.

Josiah Coale was born at Winterborn, Gloucestershire, near the city of Bristol, and was one amongst the great number of those, who were reached, and turned to a close attention to the light of Christ in their own hearts by the powerful and effectual ministry of John Audland

CHAPTER  
XVII.  
1668.

Death and  
character of  
Josiah Coale

CHAP. XVII. land about the year 1655; whose testimony made so deep an impression on him, as produced a solid and earnest desire after redemption and salvation: And from the clear sense of his condition and deficiency of that state of purity which by the light in his conscience was discovered necessary to be attained, in order to peace and happiness, he walked for a time mournfully under judgment for sin, and that godly sorrow, which worketh true repentance; and by taking heed to that which reproved him for evil, he received strength to get the victory over it; being purified by the washing of regeneration, he became well prepared for the reception of a gift in the ministry, and proved an able and zealous minister of the gospel; to this service he devoted his whole life: Few spent themselves more in the service of God and man than he did; it being the delight and principal engagement of his soul, from the time of his conversion, to testify with zeal against iniquity, and promote truth and righteousness amongst mankind; for which he was well qualified by a peculiar talent; his testimony being as a sword sharp and piercing against the workers of iniquity, attended with an eminent power penetrating the very souls of the auditors. At other times flowing in a stream of life and encouraging consolation to the pious and virtuous.

<sup>e</sup> To him, with his brethren, it was given not only to believe in the truth, but to suffer for it. He was hardly distinguished as a member of this society, until he was imprisoned in 1656 in Newgate in Bristol, along with Thomas Robertson, for

<sup>e</sup> Bessie, v. i. p. 14.



for bearing testimony to the truth in one of the public places of worship, having been first grievously abused by the populace, and dragged bareheaded under the spouts in a time of rain. In the same year at Melcomb-Regis in Dorsetshire, Josiah with three other friends, for their christian intention of exhorting the people to piety, met with severe and despightful abuse from them, and after being violently beaten by them, were by the mayor committed to prison.

In the year 1658 believing it his duty to pay a religious visit to the English Colonies in America, and not being able to procure a passage to New England (no master of a ship being willing to take him, for fear of the penalties enacted in that state against such of them as should bring in any Quakers) he in company with Thomas Thirston got a passage to Virginia, whence they made their way on foot through a tract of wilderness of several hundred miles, until then deemed impassable for any but the Indians, a hardy race of men. By the Indians [of the Susquehanna Tribe] these strangers were treated with remarkable attention and hospitality, being not only entertained by them with the best lodging and provisions which they had, but provided with guides to conduct them to the Dutch plantations, from which they proceeded to New England. Yet the journey of these travellers, through that large uncultivated wilderness, was attended with much hardship and danger, for they had not only pinching cold to encounter with in the winter season, but were often in danger of being devoured by wild beasts, or perishing in unknown waters, marshes and bogs.

So

CHAP.  
XVII.  
1668.

Visits the  
American  
Colonies,  
and makes  
a dangerous  
journey  
through the  
wilderness.

C H A P. So that even their adversaries, admired at their  
 XVII. preservation, in which more than human power  
 was manifested.

1668.  
 New Eng-  
 land judged.

<sup>d</sup> In New England he partook of the treatment usually given to his friends in that jurisdiction. Being in company with John Copeland, in a friend's house at Sandwich, they were both seized there, haled out in a violent manner and sent to prison. He was some time after banished from Maryland. The comparing of his treatment here with that which he received amongst those generally termed savages, as supposed destitute of religion and civilization, gives them the advantage as to civility and humanity above those lofty professors of New England, whose natural tempers had been imbittered by false principles of religion, to the eradication of all tenderness, and compassion towards those who differed from them. He travelled also through Maryland and Barbadoes; and in Europe through most parts of England, and in Holland and the Low Countries, in the work of the ministry, which being animated by a divine power, was effectual to the conversion of many. To this service he devoted the prime of his life and strength, and continued unmarried, that, being disengaged from worldly cares, he might be more at liberty to attend to his ministry. And though he went through many perils, imprisonments and persecutions, he was valiant in the cause of truth, undaunted in danger, and by the support of a peaceful conscience borne up above the fear of man. Disinterested in his endeavours to promote pure religion, he was careful not to make  
 the

<sup>d</sup> Bessé.

the gospel chargeable; but having an estate of his own, he freely spent it in the best service: And not only in his travels bore his own charges abroad, but was an exemplary pattern of liberality at home.

His natural temper was chearful; but religion tempering it with seriousness, and his unaffected affability being mixed with a circumspect and exemplary demeanour, his whole conversation illustrating the purity of his religion, was an ornament to his profession, and a confirmation in the truth to those whom his ministry had converted thereto.

Having by hardships in his travels and imprisonments, and his zealous ministerial services for the space of twelve years, wasted his natural strength, he finished an honourable, useful and virtuous life at a middle age by a gradual decline; but the warmth of his zeal and the firmness of his spirit bore him up in the exercise of his ministry for a season, until the increase of his distemper obliged him to submit to confinement. During which George Fox visiting him, enquired *whether any thing lay on his mind to the friends in England?* <sup>c</sup> But he signified, that having discharged his duty fully in his travels amongst them, he had nothing on his mind to write. George, after praying by him, seeing him grow heavy, advised him to lie down, which he did; but being more uneasy in this posture, he soon rose again with the help of his friends, and sitting on the side of the bed, with an affecting power he addressed his friends sitting by with the following exhortation, *Well, friends, be faithful to God,*

<sup>c</sup> Besse,

CHAP. XVII. *God, and have a single eye to his glory, and seek nothing for self or your own glory: And if any thing of that arise, judge it down by the power of the Lord God, that so you may stand approved in his sight, and answer his witness in all people; then will you have the reward of life. For my part I have thus far finished my testimony, and have peace with the Lord: His Majesty is with me, and his crown of life is upon me. So mind my love to all my friends. He said to Stephen Crisp, Dear heart, keep low in the holy seed of God, and that will be thy crown for ever. A little afterwards fainting, and being supported by his friends, he departed in their arms, as one falling into an easy sleep; full of consolation he passed into immortal life at the age of thirty-five years and two months.*

Francis  
Howgill.

As Francis Howgill was one of the principal persons amongst the first promulgators of the doctrines of this society, his qualifications, his virtues, his services and his sufferings have been in various instances laid before the reader. We left him confined in prison under a rigorous and undeserved sentence of premunire, from which he was only released by death: He lay near five years under this sentence, deprived of every comfort and convenience in the power of his persecutors to take from him; but the freedom of his spirit and the purity of his conscience (possessions beyond the reach of human power) he retained unimpaired, remembering, doubtless, the gracious promise of the hundredfold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting.

This

This valuable member of society was a native CHAP. of Westmoreland, educated in the profession of XVII. the established religion, and trained up at the 1668. University, in order to be ordained to the priest's His educa- office in the church; but being scrupulous of tion. complying with the ceremonies thereof, he withdrew from that communion, joined in society with the independents, and became a preacher of eminence among them, being in esteem no less for his virtue and exemplary conversation, than for a zealous and laborious discharge of his duty as a minister. Yet still he found not that satisfaction in himself which he desired, feeling, notwithstanding his punctuality in fasting, praying and other religious exercises, the root of sin still remained in him. The prevailing opinion that Christ had taken the guilt of sin upon himself, he was afraid to repose his dependence upon, his conscience suggesting to him, *his servant thou art whom thou obeyest.* Encreasing in understanding, it was revealed in him, that the Lord would teach the people himself, and that the time approached nigh. It was not long 'till George Fox had that remarkable meeting at Firbank chapel, where Francis officiated, and hearing him assert that, *the light of Christ in man shews the way to Christ*, he was deeply affected thereby, believing it to be a certain truth. And in consequence attending to the reproofs of this inward light, he perceived the unfruitfulness of all his own righteousness, and his labour therein: He now forsook the independents, and taking up the cross, joined himself to the despised and persecuted society of the people called Quakers, and in silence and patient resignation, bearing the administration of con-

Joins the independents.

Convinced by George Fox.

demnation

**C H A P.** demnation for sin, in due time he was favoured  
**XVII.** with the experience of a happy transition to the  
 more glorious dispensation of justification in  
 1668. righteousness, and fitted by previous sanctifica-  
 tion for the reception of a gift in the ministry. But  
 upon his public appearance as a minister among  
 this people, both the priests and magistrates, his  
 former friends and admirers, turned his enemies ;  
 and almost as soon as he was known as such  
 he was confined by their means (as we have seen)  
 in a very filthy uncomfortable prison in Appleby,  
 and detained there for some time without any le-  
 gal cause. After his release, he prosecuted his  
 service in his ministry with zeal and diligence,  
 travelling about mostly on foot to promote righ-  
 teousness, or to serve the society of which he  
 was a member. He and Edward Burrough were  
 almost constant companions in gospel labour,  
 closely connected in unity of spirit and senti-  
 ment, in similarity of abilities for service, and  
 in the pure bonds of gospel fellowship ; which  
 drew from Francis a very pathetick testimony to  
 the memory and worth of his beloved compa-  
 nion, when so suddenly taken away.

His first im-  
 prisonment.

Travels  
 much on  
 foot.

Second im-  
 prisonment

In the year 1661 being in London he suffered  
 imprisonment amongst the multitude of his  
 friends taken up in consequence of the insur-  
 rection of the fifth-monarchy men. And after  
 he was set at liberty, continued his labours and  
 travels as before, 'till the year 1663, that he  
 was summoned to appear before the magistrates  
 at Kendal, as before related, and in consequence  
 premunied and imprisoned for life. † On the  
 20th of 11mo. called January 1668-9 he finished  
 his

† Sewel.

his course in this life, in his prison at Appleby, after a sickness of nine days. During his imprisonment, he evidenced the peaceful and easy tenour of his soul, by his patience, and resigned acquiescence in all his sufferings; and that his outward losses were abundantly compensated by that inward peace, which he was favoured with in reward of fidelity to manifested duty: Whereby in his sickness he was preserved to the last in that amiable equanimity; which had so remarkably characterized him through life. As he approached the verge of time, he felt the full benefit of his having passed the time of his sojourning here in fear; being, through this last scene of mortality, borne up in his spirit superior to his sufferings, by the serenity of his conscience; and above the fear of death, by feeling the sting thereof taken away. Expressing himself in his sickness; *That he was content, and ready to die; praising the Almighty for the many sweet enjoyments and refreshing seasons, he had been favoured with on that his prison-house bed whereon he lay, freely forgiving all who had an hand in his restraint.* “*This, (said he,) was the place of my first imprisonment, and if it be the place of my laying down the body, I am content.*” Two days before his death, his wife and friends being present, he addressed himself to them as follows, “*Friends, as to matter of words, you must not expect much more from me, neither is there any great need of it; as to speak to matters of faith to you, who are satisfied, only that you remember my dear love to all friends who enquire of me, for I ever loved friends well, and any others in whom truth appeared; and truly God will own his people as he*”

C H A P.  
XVII.

1668.

Piety pro-  
moted.“*hath*”

C H A P. “ hath ever hitherto done, and as we have daily  
 XVII. “ witnessed: For no sooner had they passed that  
 “ act against us for banishment, to the great  
 1668. “ suffering of many good friends, than the Lord  
 “ stirred up enemies, even three great nations,  
 “ whereby the violence of their hands was ta-  
 “ ken off. As for me, I am well, and content  
 “ to die: I am not afraid at all of death: And  
 “ truly, one thing I have observed, which is,  
 “ that this generation passeth away—many good  
 “ and valuable friends have been within these  
 “ few years taken from us, and therefore friends  
 “ had need to watch and be very faithful, so  
 “ that we may leave a good and not a bad fa-  
 “ vour to the succeeding generation; for you  
 “ see, it is but a little time, that any of us have  
 “ to stay here.”

Several of the principal inhabitants of Ap-  
 pleby, and particularly the mayor, visited him  
 in his sickness, and some of them praying that  
 God might speak peace to his soul, he answered,  
*He hath done it.* A few hours before he de-  
 parted, some friends from other places being  
 come to visit him, he enquired after their wel-  
 fare, and prayed fervently, *That the Lord by his*  
*mighty power might preserve them out of all such*  
*things as might spot and defile.* His voice then  
 by reason of weakness failed, yet recovering a-  
 gain he said, “ I have sought the way of the  
 “ Lord from a child, and lived innocently as  
 “ among men; and if any enquire concerning  
 “ my latter end, let them know that I die in  
 “ the faith in which I lived and suffered for.”  
 After these words, he uttered some others in  
 prayer to God, and so finished his life in  
 perfect



“ perfect peace in the fiftieth year of his  
 “ age.”

C H A P.  
 XVII.

The efforts of his enemies (causelefsly fuch) exerted with feverity on his perfon and property, could not fully his reputation any more than his confcience: Confpicuous for his virtues, and the innocence and integrity of his life, he was as generally refpected and fpoken well of amongft moft who knew him, as his fufferings were commiserated, and the unmerited enmity and cruelty of his perfecutors condemned. In his outward confinement his free fpirit, his love to the brethren, and his zeal for the caufe of truth, remained unconfined, whereby his perfecutors were fruflrated in their defigns, as far as they expected by his imprifonment to deprive the fociety of his ufeul fervices; for although he was reftrained from travelling and edifying his friends by his miniftry, yet he neglected not, by his pen, to comfort and ftrengthen them under their deep trials, in which he was their companion; to defend their doctrine againft thofe who opposed it, and his own practice, for which he fuffered, in a copious treatife againft oaths, wherein he maintained the unlawfulness of fwearing under the gofpel.

1668.

Some time before his deceafe he made his will, wherein he bequeathed a token of his affectionate remembrance to feveral of his brethren and fellow-labourers in the miniftry. He alfo left a legacy to his poor friends in thofe parts where he lived. For although his personal eftate was forfeited to the king for ever, the confifcation of his real eftate was only during his life; fo from thence having fomething left, he ordered the difpofal thereof by will.

C H A P. He writ also an Epistle of Advice and Counsel  
 XVII. as his last will and testament to his daughter,  
 1668. imparting direction for her future conduct in  
 life, which conveying useful instruction to young  
 people, more peculiarly those of the female sex,  
 it may not be uselefs to annex the following ab-  
 stract thereof.

“ Daughter Abigail,

Abstract of  
 his letter  
 to his  
 daughter.

“ This is for thee to take heed unto and ob-  
 “ serve, for the regulating thy conversation in  
 “ this world, so that thy life may be happy and  
 “ thy end blessed, and God glorified by thee in  
 “ thy generation. I was not heir to great pos-  
 “ sessions ; but the Lord hath endowed me with  
 “ a competency, and hath been as a tender fa-  
 “ ther to me, because I trusted in him, and loved  
 “ righteousness from a child.

“ My counsel to thee is, that thou remember  
 “ thy Creator in the days of thy youth, fear  
 “ him and serve him all thy days : First seek the  
 “ kingdom of God and the righteousness there-  
 “ of. Though thou be born into the world a  
 “ reasonable creature, yet thou must be born  
 “ again into God’s image. Seek and thou shalt  
 “ find ; wait and thou shalt receive. If thou  
 “ ask, in what and how must I seek and wait ?  
 “ I inform thee that thou must silence all thy  
 “ own thoughts, and thou must turn thy mind  
 “ to that which is holy and good within thy-  
 “ self, the light of Christ Jesus, wherewith thou  
 “ art enlightened, which shews thee when thou  
 “ dost evil, and checks and reproves thee for  
 “ it : Take heed unto that, and it will shew the  
 “ evil motions and thoughts ; and as thou lovest  
 “ it,

“ it, it will subdue them, and preserve thee for  
 “ the time to come out of the evil; and thou  
 “ wilt feel thy heavenly Father working in thee,  
 “ and begetting thee into life, and thou wilt  
 “ feel the power of the Lord strengthening thee  
 “ in thy little, and making thee grow in the  
 “ immortal seed, and outgrow all evil, so that  
 “ thou wilt daily die to it, and take no pleasure  
 “ in it, but in the Lord, and his goodness and  
 “ virtue shed abroad in thy heart. Love the  
 “ Lord with thy heart and soul, even him that  
 “ made thee, and gave being to thee and all  
 “ things in heaven and on earth. And do  
 “ thou enquire of thy dear mother, she will in-  
 “ form thee, she knows him and the way to  
 “ life and peace; and hearken to her instruc-  
 “ tions.

C H A P.  
 XVII.  
 1668.

“ Be sober-minded in thy youth, and delight  
 “ to read the scriptures and friends books, and  
 “ take heed to what thou readest, to conform  
 “ thy practice thereto, as far as thou under-  
 “ standest, and pray often to the Lord, that he  
 “ will encrease thy knowledge in his law, and  
 “ open thy understanding in the things of his  
 “ kingdom. Search thy heart often by the light  
 “ of Christ in thee, bring thy deeds to it, that  
 “ they may be tried thereby; and examine thy-  
 “ self, how the case stands between the Lord  
 “ and thee: And if thou feel conviction for  
 “ any wrong thing, regard the reproofs of in-  
 “ struction, they are the way of life; humble  
 “ thyself in sorrow, and turn unto the Lord  
 “ and he will shew thee mercy, and take heed  
 “ for the time to come that thou run not into  
 “ the same evil again: Keep thy heart clean;

Q 2

“ watch

CHAPTER. “ in charge to observe as my MIND and WILL  
XVII. “ and COUNSEL unto thee unalterable,



1668.

“ Thy dear father,

“ FRANCIS HOWGILL.”

“ 26th, 5mo. 1666.”

\*Persecution for religion seemed at present to subside; and more liberal sentiments to have been adopted by the moderate part of the leading men among the episcopals. A scheme was said to be in agitation for comprehending the presbyterians in the body of the English church, and granting a toleration to other dissenters. The Chief Justice Hales undertook to draw up the bill, and the keeper of the great seal, Orlando Bridgeman, to support it in parliament with all his interest. Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, being apprized of the design, gave the alarm to the bishops by circular letters, enjoining them to make an exact enquiry into the number of conventicles within their respective dioceses. Having received all the information he could procure, he in company with other bishops exerted endeavours to frustrate the good design, and by exaggerating all circumstances to the king, prevailed with him to issue a proclamation ordering the laws against non-conformist ministers to be put in execution. The parliament, upon meeting after the prorogation seconded the efforts of the bishops, by a resolve, prohibiting the bringing in any such bill, by an  
address

addresses of thanks to the king for issuing his proclamation, and appointing a committee to enquire into the conduct of the non-conformists, who reported that divers conventicles and seditious assemblies were held in the neighbourhood of the parliament, in defiance of the laws, and endangering the public tranquillity, whereupon the house declared, they would adhere to the king for the support of government in church and state. Thus the persecuting laws were kept in force, and in consequence thereof some steps were taken to break up the meetings of the dissenters, which had been for some time held without molestation. The people called Quakers nevertheless, appear to have been pretty much undisturbed by the civil power through this year, in comparison of the former, their sufferings being mostly by excommunications, imprisonments and distrains for their conscientious scruple against paying ecclesiastical demands, several of which however were unreasonably severe\*.

C H A P.  
XVII.  
1668.

In

\* Robert Goodes of Wraslingworth in Bedfordshire, was prosecuted in the King's Bench for tithes of 45*l.* value, at the suit of one Goodchild a tithe-farmer, who obtained a verdict for 135*l.* treble value; for which his goods were taken by an execution to the value of 200*l.* but so undervalued by the sheriff's officers, that they pretended yet to want 41*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* of their demand, for which they took away his bed, and committed him to prison. Bessé, vol. i. p. 7.

From Thomas Cole of Lexden in Essex nine cows worth 30*l.* were taken by distress for tithes. Bessé, vol. i. p. 202.

Robert Latche of Cherinton in Kent, had his corn seized and taken off his waggon, as he was bringing it home, by a person employed by an impropiator, who had before taken his tithe off the land. This proceeding was without any colour of law, and was so rudely acted, that the said Robert's

C H A P.

XVII.

1669.

In the spring of this year, George Fox travelling in the northern countries received intelligence,

bert's wife, being with child, was inhumanly abused, thrown into a ditch among the bushes, and stamped upon. Bessé, vol. i. p. 294.

John Sagar of Lancashire, prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court, was excommunicated for not appearing there at a time when he was close shut up in jail, and in consequence of that excommunication was detained in prison four years and an half. His wife, afflicted at the loss of her husband, and the difficulty of supporting four children in his absence, became distracted: The prosecutor would not permit him the liberty of so much as once visiting his wife in that doleful condition. Bessé, vol. i. p. 317.

George Craggs, priest of Anderley in Lincolnshire, with three servants, came to William Cliff of that town, as he was loading his corn, and demanded tithes, which because William refused to give him, the priest ordered his servants to strike him and his wife, saying, *they are excommunicated persons, and if you knock them on the head, there is no law against you: I will be your warrant; the way is clear.* His servants not answering his purpose, he himself struck the man's wife with a fork, and the husband desiring him to forbear, and not abuse his wife, who was then with child, the priest, enraged, pushed her violently on the body several times, and threw her down; he also said to his servants, *fetch my sword, I will be revenged of them.* In short the poor woman was so affrighted, and sorely hurt and bruised, that she soon after miscarried of two children, one of which had plain marks of the blows received, and she herself was in great danger of her life. Within a few days after this barbarity to the woman and her unborn babes, the priest also cast her husband into prison by a writ *de excommunicato capi-endo*, by that means as it were burying the man alive, whom he could not excite his servants to kill. Bessé, vol. i. p. 350.

William David of Cardiganshire, a poor man, who rented some land at 50s. per annum, was annually demanded 20s. for tithe, for which five times the value was constantly taken, so that his tithe amounted to double his rent. One year the tithe-mongers took from him two cows, whose suckling calves for lack of sustenance died. Bessé, vol. i. p. 742.

gence, when he came into Lancashire, that his old adversary, Colonel Kirby, had thrown out threatenings, that if he came into those parts he would cast him into prison; but at the time of his coming, Kirby being confined by the gout, he escaped out of his hands, continued his journey to Liverpool, and embarked from thence in company with John Stubbs and Thomas Briggs for Ireland, spent some time in visiting his friends in that nation, and soon after his return married Margaret Fell.

CHAP.  
XVII.  
1668.

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C H A P. XVIII.

W A L E S.

*Abuses of Friends previous to the Insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy men.—Unlawful Seizure of Cattle.—Sufferings of Francis Winson.—Of Several Friends consequent to the Insurrection.—Of Friends of Shrewsbury.*

THE number of the people called Quakers in many parts of this principality being considerably encreased, they were exposed to the like severities with their friends in England, even before the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy men had furnished a palliative for violating the king's

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1660.

C H A P. king's promise of protection to tender consciences. We meet with the following specimen of the malicious disposition which actuated their adversaries, and of their precipitancy, in these remote parts as well as many others, hurrying them into persecution without waiting for any apparent cause or colourable pretence, except that of holding their religious meetings.

XVIII.  
1660.

Abuses of friends previous to the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy men.

In Merionethshire, in the month called August, about fourteen friends being met for religious worship, were assaulted by Alban Vaughan, and several rude persons armed with swords, who haled them out of the meeting place, and threatened to carry them to Carmarthen castle twenty-six miles off; but after they had driven them about two miles, frequently striking them with their swords, they let them go. A few days after the same body of armed men on horseback came to the several dwelling houses of those they had thus abused, and haled them out by violence, some out of their beds, wounding, beating and bruising several; and drove them on foot before their horses twenty miles to Bala: Four of them were required to take the oath of allegiance, and for refusing it were committed to the jailer's custody, who put them in irons, and caused them to go fettered twelve miles to prison, where he kept them with others of their friends, above twenty in all, about fifteen or sixteen weeks, not suffering any to carry them food or other necessaries, and taking away their bibles, inkhorns, knives and money, and daily insulting and abusing them in a barbarous manner.



Nor was the corporal abuse and imprisonment of their persons a sufficient gratification of the malignity or avarice of their persecutors, exorbitant depredation was added to personal injury; for several of said persons, during their imprisonment, had their cattle seized in great numbers, about six hundred and fifty head in all, which were driven to Bala, there sold, and the amount disposed of at pleasure, without rendering any account thereof to the owners.

They continued to be harrassed in like manner in different parts of this principality; their meetings being illegally broken up by soldiers with swords drawn and lighted matches; they generally took the men to some justice to tender them the oaths, and for their conscientious refusal drove them in crowds to prison, until the insurrection of the Millenarians or fifth-monarchymen broke out, upon which the friends in Wales suffered equally with their brethren in the different parts of England. Francis Winson was taken out of his own house by soldiers, kept two days upon guard, and sixteen days at the marshal's house, where he was hardly used; after which he was brought before the commissioners, who tendered him the oath, and sent him to prison, where he was shut up in a dungeon. He was a poor labouring man, had a wife and five small children, whose subsistence depending upon his labour, they suffered much hardship by means of his confinement.

On the 31st of the month called January, Walter Jenkins, John Williams, Philip Williams and Charles Jenkins were forcibly taken out of their beds, their doors being broken open by a party of horse, several of whose officers

C H A P.  
XVIII.  
1660.  
Unlawful  
seizure of  
cattle.

Sufferings of  
Francis  
Winson, a  
poor man.

Sufferings  
of several  
friends, con-  
sequent to  
the intur-  
rection.

C H A P.  
XVIII.

1660.

officers were papists. They broke open their coffers and trunks under pretence of searching for arms, and though their violent search discovered none, they drove these inoffensive men several miles, through mire and dirt, to an old castle, where they were detained until the next morning, when the captain of the troop came, and ordered a party of rude soldiers to conduct them to Monmouth, who drove them thither most inhumanly along the dirty road, not suffering them to walk on the foot-way. The mayor of Monmouth committed them to prison for refusing to swear, where they were confined in a place noisome and offensive by its filthiness to an extraordinary degree. Hither William John, who was taken from his business in the field, was sent to bear them company, where being confined together several of them fell sick, through the noisomeness and unwholesome air of their prison, upon which the jailer removed them to his own house. Several were taken travelling on the highway about their lawful occasions and sent to prison, and in some parts watches were set with orders to suffer no Quaker or Anabaptist to go from one parish to another, or gather together to any meeting or conventicle, but to take especial care to secure all Quakers in their respective parishes. Such was the violent bitterness of the persecutors here, that the mere name of Quaker exposed those that bore it to the loss of their liberty, and in consequence of these orders forty persons of this denomination were taken, some from their own houses, some on the highway, and others from their religious meetings, and sent to prison at Cardiff.

At

At Shrewsbury the number of prisoners being also large, many of their friends, from the impulse of christian love, came to visit and assist them. As soon as the soldiers who kept guard at the prison discovered any of these persons coming to visit the prisoners, they immediately apprehended them, and carried them to the mayor, who tendered them the oath and sent them to prison. To recite at full length all the severity and abuse they underwent in the different parts of Wales, similar to the inhuman treatment they suffered in different parts of England, would be tedious and irksome to write and to read; suffice it therefore to remark, that the same vindictive spirit, which hunted them from their meetings, their houses, their lawful employments, to prison, was manifested in the usage they met with there, shut up in filthy close rooms, seven in a hog-house, exposed to all weathers without sufficient shelter; others thrust among felons and murderers, who robbed them of their food and money, and otherwise abused them with impunity; aged and sickly people kept whole winters without fire, whereby their hands and feet were much swelled; wives who had come many miles through great difficulty to see their imprisoned husbands, prohibited from seeing them or carrying them provisions, and forcibly sent away. One of them, Elizabeth Holme, only for this office of affection and duty, had her horse and saddle seized, and herself detained in prison with her husband. Many of those at liberty were grievously beaten and abused to the hazard of their lives by wicked persons on the road, who on presumption of impunity

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1660.  
Sufferings of  
friends at  
Shrewsbury.

C H A P. XVIII. punishment made it their sport to insult and abuse them.

1660. Thus in time of peace, undisturbed by them, they were exposed to all the evils of war (except a violent death,) for what usage more inhuman could they experience from the invasion of a foreign enemy, than they did from their own neighbours in this heat of party-rage and civil tumult, artfully kindled for the mere purpose of forcing conformity against conscience, or punishing conscientious non-conformity?

## C H A P. XIX.

## S C O T L A N D.

*Convincement of Alexander Jaffray and Margaret Molleson, James Urquhart, Robert Gordon and John Robinson.—William Forbes, contrary to conviction, publishes an Excommunication against Urquhart.—Next under the like Conviction, being about to publish one against his own Daughter, is prevented by sudden Death.—George Gray and Agnes Simon convinced.—The Priests of Aberdeen endeavour to stir up Persecution.—The Populace excited to riot.—The Priests by application to the Bishop get Andrew Jaffray fined and confined.—David Barclay convinced.—And soon after his Son Robert.—And Lillias Skein.*

**I**N 1659, Stephen Crisp, a man well qualified for that work, travelled into Scotland to preach the gospel there, and some time after William Dewsbury; the gospel testimony of these faithful witnesses did reach the consciences of many who heard them, and amongst these some noted professors in <sup>a</sup> Aberdeen, particularly Alexander Jaffray, who had been chief magistrate of that city, a man in high repute amongst the highest professors

CHAP.

XIX.

1659.

Alexander  
Jaffray, &c.  
convinced.<sup>a</sup> Bells.

C H A P. professors of religion, and Margaret Molleson,  
 XIX. wife of Gilbert Molleson, a magistrate of Aber-  
 deen, a woman of distinguished character amongst the better sort for her religious endowments.

1663.

The said Alexander Jaffray, soon after his convincement, removed to Inverary, and was instrumental to settle a meeting there: By means whereof several thereaway having the opportunity of hearing the doctrines of this people declared, were convinced: Of these were James Urquhart and his wife, Robert Gordon and John Robinson. After some time James Urquhart fell under the censure of the presbytery and was excommunicated; the excommunication was sent to William Forbes, priest of the place of Urquhart's residence, with an injunction from the presbytery for him to publish it from the pulpit. To complying with this injunction he felt great reluctance, from a conviction of the worth and integrity of the person he was enjoined to read the sentence against; but under the prospect of the probable loss of his stipend, in case of his disobeying the presbytery, interested considerations overcame his convictions, and he publicly pronounced the sentence against him, in direct opposition to the dictates of his own conscience. He afterwards fell under great uneasiness and anxiety of mind, which discomposed him to so great a degree that for some time he was disqualified from performing the offices of his function, until at length he made this ingenuous confession, *That his discomposure was a just judgment upon him, for cursing with his tongue a person whom he believed in his own conscience to be a very honest man.* But notwithstanding the strength

James Urquhart, Robert Gordon, John Robinson.

William Forbes contrary to conviction publishes an excommunication against James Urquhart.

strength of his convictions at that time, he afterwards fell into the like error in a case more nearly affecting him; his own daughter *Jane Forbes* was convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers, and joined them in society: Church proceedings were carried on against her to an excommunication, which her father was required by the presbytery to pronounce. It is easy to imagine in how distressing an alternative he must be hereby involved, under the prospect of either wounding his conscience and parental feelings, by pronouncing excommunication against his own daughter, whom he knew to be an honest woman, or be ejected from his living for disobeying the presbytery. Again the latter consideration preponderated against conscience and natural affection: But alas, the anxious conflict between conscience and self-interest was too oppressive for nature to support, he determined to read the excommunication, but was suddenly struck with death, at the very time he purposed to do it.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1663.

And under like conviction being about to publish one against his own daughter is prevented by sudden death.

About the same time with James Urquhart before mentioned, George Gray and Agnes Simon were convinced, two persons so highly thought of for their religious attainments and circumspcct conversation, that the priest of the parish whereto they belonged made it his boast, that he had a weaver and a poor woman whom he would defy any of the Quakers to equal, either in knowledge or a good life: but when shortly after both these hearers of his withdrew from under his teachings, and joined the Quakers, the priest was exceedingly enraged thereat.

George  
Gray and  
Agnes Si-  
mon.

C H A P.  
XIX.

1663.

The said Agnes Simon, after her conviction, readily opened her house for the keeping of religious meetings, and the neighbouring people flocked to the assemblies held there in such numbers, that her house could not contain them, wherefore they met in the open field, where Patrick Livingstone was made instrumental, with some others, to the conviction of many in those parts. This conviction drawing away many of their hearers, mightily alarmed the priests of Aberdeen, viz. \* George Meldrum and John Menzies and others, who in consequence thereof exerted their endeavours to prevent the progress of this people, by aspersing them

\* The ministers refuted them and their testimony, by aspersing them with many gross calumnies, lies and reproaches, as *demented, distracted, bodies possessed of the devil, practising abominations under colour of being led to them by the spirit; and as to their principles, blasphemous deniers of the true Christ, of heaven, hell, angels, the resurrection of the body, and day of judgment.* This was the vulgar and familiar language of the pulpits, for a time received as unquestionable truths, till about the year 1663 some sober and serious persons in and about Aberdeen began to examine the ways and principles of this people more narrowly, which proving upon enquiry to be far otherwise than they were represented, their enquiry let them see the integrity and soundness of this abused people, and the prejudiced dissingenuity and enmity of their accusers. *R. Barclay's preface to Truth cleared of calumnies.*

1666. George Meldrum preached a most virulent sermon against the Quakers, wherein he represented them in such colours as he thought most adapted to excite his hearers indignation against them, and conscious of the possible groundlessness of his accusations, to secure his calumny from confutation, enjoined his auditors, who had taken it down in writing, *not to let the Quakers have a copy:* But Alexander Jaffray and George Keith obtained a copy, which they found easier to answer than to procure. *Bessie vol. ii. p. 498.*



them from the pulpit with undeserved calumnies and reproaches, in order to incense the magistrates to suppress them, and to raise among the ruder and less intelligent part of their hearers, a spirit of riot and indignation, prone to abuse and vilify them on all occasions. Their efforts to excite the magistrates against them met not, as yet, with the success they wished for, their violent attempts being in several instances frustrated; for they could not by their utmost endeavours prevail upon the secular power to exert itself to the height of persecution they aimed at, which was the total suppression of that people. But with the ignorant and ill-judging populace, their slanders had a more effectual influence, for it frequently happened that as soon as any of this persuasion appeared in their streets, a mob gathered about them, stoning, beating and abusing them as they passed quietly along: and so deeply was this spirit of riot and mischief implanted in them, that this species of persecution and lawless abuse was continued in many parts of this nation, long after legal persecution was abolished by the act of toleration.

Being less successful with the secular power than they desired, inimical as their principles were to the power and office of bishops, these priests, to compass their aim, made no scruple to excite the bishop of Aberdeen, and by his means archbishop Sharp, to exert their power against the people called Quakers. Andrew Jaffray, a man of a blameless life, and of good esteem among the sober and serious inhabitants, at the suggestion of these priests, was summoned to appear before the high commission court, before which he was enabled to bear a faithful testimony to the truth; and although the archbishop

C H A P.  
XIX.

1663.

George Meldrum and John Menzies, ministers of Aberdeen, grossly calumniate the people called Quakers, and endeavour to stir up persecution.

The populace excited to riot and abuse.

These priests by application to the bishop procure Andrew Jaffray to be fined and confined.

C H A P. shop himself entered into a conference with him,  
 XIX. he could gain no advantage in argument against  
 1663. him; yet, to satisfy the priests, the court passed  
 sentence upon him, "That he should be con-  
 fined to his own dwelling house, and keep  
 no meetings therein, nor go any whither with-  
 out the bishop's license, under the penalty of  
 a fine of 600 marks," which they esteemed  
 to be one fourth of his yearly rents. By the  
 like means, at the suggestion of James Gordon,  
 priest of Alford, to the bishop of Aberdeen,  
 Alexander Forbes of Archinhamper, and Alex-  
 ander Gelly, were apprehended, carried away to  
 Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the Cannongate  
 Tolbooth some time.

But by these rigorous proceedings the priests  
 did not attain their desire, others from time to  
 time fell off from them, and joined the Quakers  
 by conviction, and amongst them some per-  
 sons of note: In the year 1666 David Barclay  
 of Ury, adopted their profession, and steadfastly  
 continued therein the remainder of his days.  
 And in or about the next year his son Robert  
 was also convinced as before remarked. As was  
 about the same time Lillias Skein wife of Alex-  
 ander Skein, one of the magistrates of Aberdeen,  
 a woman much esteemed for her religious accom-  
 plishments, and in a particular manner by the  
 aforesaid George Meldrum their priest. She was  
 convinced or confirmed in her conviction by  
 a very remarkable circumstance. She was actu-  
 ated by an earnest desire to find out the way of  
 truth, but discouraged from looking towards this  
 society by notions and prepossessions industri-  
 ously instilled into her mind and that of others  
 of their hearers by the priests against that people,  
 that they denied the scriptures, and did not pray

*in the name of Jesus, of whom the scriptures testify.* C H A P.  
 But being visited with indisposition, she kept her XIX.  
 chamber in an apartment under the same roof }  
 with Barbara Forbes, one of that society, at 1666.  
 whose dwelling the Quakers sometimes met, so  
 near the said Lillias's apartments that she could  
 distinctly hear what passed: here, attentively  
 listening, she heard two Englishwomen exercised  
 both in preaching and praying, whose testimo-  
 nies she observed to be replete with scripture ex-  
 pressions, and their prayers put up in the name  
 of Jesus, and attended with life and power.  
 From this demonstrative confutation of the ca-  
 lumniating accusations of these priests, whom  
 she formerly admired, and to whose representa-  
 tions she had given entire credit, she was freed  
 from her prepossessions; and discovering the  
 falsehood of their assertions, she withdrew from  
 their communion, and in consequence of this  
 discovery and the effectual reach of the testimo-  
 ny she had heard, she was fully convinced and  
 joined in society with that people. And not  
 long after her husband, who had been a zealous  
 opposer of them, became a sincere convert to  
 their christian principles. This added fuel to  
 the passion of the priests, who renewed their  
 exertions to excite the magistrates against them,  
 but still, as yet without attaining the full grati-  
 fication of their wishes.

## C H A P. XX.

## I R E L A N D.

*Great Numbers imprisoned in consequence of the Rising of the Fifth-monarchy Men. — William Edmundson solicits and obtains their Release. — Several Friends fined by Judge Alexander. — Sufferings for Tithe. — Extreme Virulence of George Clapham, Priest of Mountmelick. — Ireland governed by men of Moderation. — William Edmundson lays a Narrative of Clapham's Proceedings before the Government. — Who is summoned before the Privy Council and sharply rebuked. — His malignant Proceedings in revenge. — Sufferings of Friends in Cork through the Rancour of Christopher Rye, Mayor. — Richard Pike dies in Jail. — Meetings of Discipline settled. — George Fox arrives in Ireland.*

C H A P.  
XX.

1657  
1660.

**R**OBERT TURNER <sup>a</sup> having about the year 1657 been instrumental to the convincement of some persons who resided about Grange near Charlemount, and by means of the labours of other friends, who travelled in the exercise of their ministerial gifts, their numbers encreasing, a meeting was settled there this year, which continues a large meeting at the present time.

Upon the revolution of government which took place at the King's restoration, and the rising

<sup>a</sup> Rutty.

rising of the Fifth-monarchymen, the people called Quakers in this nation, shared deeply in the like severities with their brethren in England; their meetings were broken up with violence, they were taken out of their houses, out of their fields, on the public roads, and haled to prison in such numbers, that before the end of the year there was a general imprisonment of friends through the kingdom. William Edmundson hath left an account in his journal that he with many more friends was prisoner at Maryborough, but that the Lord supported them, and bore up their spirits above their sufferings and the cruelties to which they were exposed, that friends were fresh and lively, contented in the will of God; that they had many good meetings in prison, the Lord's presence being with them, to their great consolation in him, who wrought liberty for them in his own time.

C H A P.

XX.

1660.

Great numbers imprisoned in consequence of the rising of the fifth-monarchy men.

They continued under suffering through this year and part of the next; but neither the governors nor inferior magistrates in general seem to have been *influenced* against them to an equal degree of animosity with those in England. Several of them on the contrary discovered an amicable disposition and readiness to relieve them. For after the nation became settled, and the passions of the people began to cool, William Edmundson, being then a prisoner, obtained his liberty for about twenty days from the sheriff, whereupon he went immediately to Dublin and solicited the lords justices, the earls of Orrery and Mountrath and Sir Maurice Eustace to set his friends at liberty, who were imprisoned in different parts of the nation, and was so successful as to obtain an order for their release. Several

William Edmundson solicits and obtains their release.

CHAP. XX. veral copies of the order being procured and signed by the lords justices, were forwarded to the sheriffs of the several counties, where any of his friends were prisoners.

1660.

And soon after he visited the meetings of his friends through the nation, and enquired whether the sheriffs had complied with the order, which appeared to be generally done. In about six weeks he accomplished the business and returned home; but found his friends in the Queen's county, where he resided, still detained in prison; wherefore at the ensuing quarter sessions he went to Maryborough, to demand of the justices and high sheriff the reason why the order of the lords justices was not obeyed; the sheriff replied, they were detained for their fees, and they should pay them, or lie there and rot. This circumstance occasioned him another journey to Dublin. But previously perceiving the justices did not approve of the sheriff's conduct, but sympathized with the prisoners, whose innocence had begot compassion in the minds of them and others, he procured from them a certificate of the reason of their detention, which was signed by three of the justices present.

Thus provided he renewed his application to the lords justices, and through the particular favour of the earl of Mountrath (who, as well as his son after him, entertained a personal regard for William Edmundson, and a benevolent disposition towards his friends in general) he readily procured a positive order to the sheriff to set friends at liberty without paying fees to any person: with this order he hastened back, and delivered it to the sheriff, who immediately complied in releasing them, but with an ill-grace; for  
being

being greatly exasperated at the deprivation of this perquisite, he could not refrain from venting abusive language and hard names at William Edmundson for his intercession in favour of the prisoners.

C H A P.  
XX.  
1660.

The good effect of this order, and the benevolent disposition of many magistrates, is farther evinced by the testimony of Edward Cooke, in a letter from Dublin dated the 29th of 9<sup>mo</sup>. this year, in which he writes, " Friends are generally well, and none in prison but in Cork, where we expect shortly to be released; the justices are very ready to help us at their sessions, so that at present we have no just cause to appeal any where else<sup>a</sup>."

Yet there were some magistrates whose treatment of this people was marked with a malevolence, exciting them to illegal severity and injustice resembling the persecuting measures we have noticed in England, particularly in this year judge Alexander, who caused Henry Rose, Thomas Shannon and nine others, who had been apprehended at a meeting and committed to prison at Carlow by John Masters, Portrieve, without examination or mittimus in writing, and had been indicted at the quarter sessions, and by the jury found *not guilty*, to be again indicted at the assizes, and being found guilty of meeting, he fined them 320l.

Several friends fined in large sums by judge Alexander

At Cork he fined Alexander Atkins, Philip Dymond, Thomas Cooke and several other prisoners 1190l. on the same account. And at Waterford, upon William Blanch, William Wright and eight others he imposed a fine of 580l. And at Limerick fundry friends being prisoners

<sup>a</sup> Bessé.

C H A P  
XX. prisoners for the same cause of simply meeting together, he fined them 40l. a piece, and remanded them to prison, where they continued four months, 'till released by an order from the lords justices.

1665.

They were also here as well as in England liable to grievous sufferings and spoil of goods from the covetousness and malevolent disposition of self-interested ecclesiasticks, who by themselves or agents frequently took distresses from them manifold their demands, which for conscience sake they could not pay. Many were imprisoned, and long continued in prison on definitive sentences and writs of excommunication, to which some of the clergy, in the true spirit of priestcraft, endeavoured to give the force and extent of an outlawry, and annex all the dreadful consequences with which they were attended in the darkest ages of popery. George Clapham, priest of Mountmelick in the Queen's county, having procured the excommunication of William Edmundson and several others, endeavoured to deter the millers from grinding their corn for the use of their families, or any to speak or trade with them: <sup>b</sup> he watched the markets and the Quakers shops, and to those he saw or knew to deal with them, he would send an apparitor to summon them to the bishop's court, the apprehension whereof generally terrified them into a pecuniary composition both with the mercenary priest and apparitor, to get free from the effects of a prosecution in this dreaded court.

This same priest degraded the dignity of his function of a minister so far, as to tell his hearers, That if they met any of the excommunicated Quakers

Sufferings  
for tithes.Extreme  
virulence  
of George  
Clapham,  
priest of  
Mountme-  
lick.

<sup>b</sup> William Edmundson's Journal.



Quakers on the highway they should smite them as they would smite the plague; that if they owed them any debt, they need not pay it; or if they knocked them on the head, the law would bear them out. Strange doctrine indeed from one assuming the character of a minister of the gospel! His doctrine however had not the desired effect upon his hearers; they received it with abhorrence, and knowing the integrity of their peaceable neighbours, this specimen of his malignity lessened their reverence to their minister, and awakened their sympathetic feelings for the sufferers, they offered their servants to carry their corn to the mill to supply them with bread for their families, or any other kindness in their power, and by their humanity frustrated so far the evil designs of this envious priest.

It was the happiness of Ireland at this time to be governed in church and state by men of more moderation, and less biased by the influence of a party spirit and partial political designs, than several of those in high stations in England seem to have been. The primate Boyle, who was also chancellor, appears to be actuated by a very different temper from archbishop Sheldon: I conceive from his conduct in this business the discreet and judicious governor, who knew how to distinguish between real and imputed disloyalty; between the administration of legal and arbitrary rule; and to establish the authority of the governor in the justice and humanity of the man. William Edmundson drew up a narrative of Clapham's gross proceedings, and got it attested by the signature of several of his own people, with which he went to Dublin, and petitioned

C H A P.

XX.

1665.

Ireland governed by men of moderation, particularly primate Boyle.

William Edmundson lays a narrative of Clapham's proceedings before the government.

C H A P.  
XX.

1665.

who is summoned to appear before the privy council, and is sharply rebuked.

tioned the government upon the subject thereof. The primate, as well as the privy council, before which it was laid, expressed his indignation at his proceedings, as contrary to all law and rule; and immediately an order was issued for the priest and apparitor to appear before the council. They appeared accordingly, and met with severe reproof. The primate said he would make examples of them, and would have had them punished; but William Edmundson informed him that he and his friends wanted nothing more by their application, than a stop to be put to such cruelty as they had suffered under, in order that they might live peaceably in their callings without molestation. The primate bade William, if they did not desist from such proceedings, only write to him, and *he would make them examples to the nation*. So William forgave them, and let the matter drop. This instance of his pacific and forgiving spirit further conciliated the good opinion of many principal men in authority of his principles, and a favourable regard towards him and his fellow professors in general.

Clapham's malignant proceedings in revenge.

But Clapham being mightily incensed against William Edmundson, for exposing his proceedings, and bringing him under the censure of his superiors, continued to be vexatious to him and his friends, as far as in his power. Having procured a neighbour's horse and car, he came to William's house, loaded and carried away a considerable quantity of cheese from him, and much goods, corn and even wearing apparel from other friends of the meeting he belonged to, for some church rates, as he said; and not satisfied herewith, he, being a justice of peace, sent

sent a constable to apprehend William Edmundson (from a meeting at Mountmelick) and made a mittimus to send him to Maryborough jail; but the earl of Mountrath superseded his warrant, and set William at liberty 'till the ensuing assizes, at which the earl patronizing his cause, and four lawyers pleading for him unfeud, against two indictments which the priest had preferred against him, the indictments were quashed, and the priest gained nothing by this vindictive attempt against his peaceable neighbour but shame and disgrace.

Yet notwithstanding these repeated disappointments, he continued to discover his propensity to persecution by various efforts to bring both William Edmundson and several others of the people called Quakers into trouble. He indicted William for not paying an assessment towards the repairs of the public worship house, although he had been distrained by the wardens and constable for the same before, who took a mare away from him worth 3l. 10s. He again indicted several friends for being at meeting on a certain day, and for not being at church (as he termed it) the same day; in consequence of this prosecution several were fined, and warrants issued for levying the fines by distraints. In order to use endeavours to rescue his friends from suffering for the conscientious discharge of apprehended duty, from the malice of unreasonable men, William Edmundson went again to Dublin, and presented a petition upon the subject to the lord lieutenant and council: himself and another friend were admitted into the council-chamber to state their grievance; and after a patient and candid hearing the council gave judgment that the proceedings against them were

CHAP.  
XX.  
1665.

CHAP. were illegal. The lord lieutenant being desirous  
 XX. to be informed why they did not pay tithes to  
 1665. the ministers, William Edmundson informed him  
 from the Scriptures, that *the law was ended that gave tithes, and the priesthood ended that received them, by the coming and suffering of Christ, who had settled a ministry on better terms, and ordered them a maintenance*: he then enquired what maintenance the ministers must have? and William replied, Christ's allowance, pointing out from the Scriptures what that was; as the Lord, he saith, opened them to him, and gave him wisdom and utterance to treat the subject clearly to their understandings. There were three bishops present, but none of them made any objection in reply. The lord lieutenant, in conclusion, bid *God bless them*; adding that *they should not suffer for not going to the public worship, nor for going to their own meetings*. This favourable disposition of the chief ruler awed the priest into quietness, and occasioned a public opinion that the Quakers had received a toleration of their religion, which was productive of much ease to the members of this society, who had suffered greatly both by imprisonments and loss of substance on a religious account.

In effect of this moderation in the governors, the sufferings of the Quakers (so called) were inconsiderable through the course of the succeeding year, and longer in most parts; but in the year 1667 persecution grew hot in Cork, through the intemperate rancour of Christopher Rye, mayor of that city, to the members of this society, who imprisoned them in great numbers, only for keeping up their religious meetings, and caused their imprisonment to be particularly rigorous

Sufferings  
 of friends  
 in Cork  
 through the  
 rancour of  
 Christopher  
 Rye, m. y.  
 67.

rigorous and severe; and amongst other respectable inhabitants of the city, Richard Pike, who lost his life by cold and distemper, contracted in the jail; and William Penn, lately convinced there, as before related, who during his residence in these parts, having contracted an intimate acquaintance with many of the nobility and gentry, wrote to the earl of Orrery, lord president of Munster, acquainting him with the cause and manner of their imprisonment, and soliciting him to interpose his authority for restoring them to their liberty, which request, so far as related to himself, was readily granted, the earl immediately ordering his discharge.

C H A P.

XX.

1667.  
Richard  
Pike dies  
in jail.

The society being now greatly encreased in number, upon the receiving of George Fox's

1668.

epistle of advice to set up meetings of discipline, the usefulness and necessity thereof appearing manifest to friends in Ireland, they proceeded to establish them, in the same manner as their brethren in England had done. The care whereof rested principally upon William Edmundson, who had been chiefly instrumental to the gathering of the society in that nation, and preserving them in fidelity to their principles. They began with establishing provincial meetings to be held once in six weeks; for these were prior to the monthly meetings, as the quarterly meetings in England were prior to the monthly meetings there; and those affairs which have since been the subjects of deliberation in monthly meetings at first fell under the cognizance of the provincial meetings, because in these times of infancy and sufferings the mutual help and advice of friends assembled from different parts appeared

Meetings  
of discipline  
established  
in Ireland.

C H A P appeared necessary, when some particular meet-  
X X. ings were weak and small.

1669. In the forepart of the succeeding year George  
Geo Fox's arrival in Ireland. Fox landing in that nation in company with Robert Lodge and some other friends, seconded his epistolary advice, by his presence and personal assistance and directions in settling men's and women's meetings. At Dublin he recommended the holding of their men's and women's meetings once in two weeks, which hath continued ever since; in some places they were agreed to be held monthly; in others once in six weeks, as exigency or convenience required: He likewise recommended the establishment of a general national meeting to be held half yearly in Dublin in the third and ninth months. The first meeting of this sort was held there in the third month 1670, O. S. and this settlement still continues.

By which establishment the society in that nation (as well as in England) became a compact body, united in a benevolent concern for the mutual help and edification one of another, and of the body in general, as the exigencies of individuals or the society at large might render requisite.

In those early days the principal employment of these meetings was the collecting and recording the sufferings of the respective members of the society, and the account upon which they suffered; and to make proper application for the relief of friends, or for their release from imprisonment.

But in process of time many other weighty affairs, respecting good order and discipline in the church, seemed necessary subjects of considera-  
tion

tion in these meetings; and friends in that nation became eminently conspicuous for their zeal and diligence in the supporting thereof; the the same spirit of wisdom and sound understanding leading them and their brethren in England into the same salutary rules, excellent in themselves, and highly conducive to the preservation of the community in a life and practice consistent with the purity of their profession.

C H A P.  
XX.  
1669.

George Fox travelled over several parts of the nation, visiting his friends in their meetings of discipline, as well as worship, to set a-foot those meetings in the different quarters; and when he had accomplished his service, he took his leave of his friends in much affection, in the sense of the heavenly life and power that was manifested among them, and with his companions returned to England.

Of this visit Geoge Fox himself gives the following account. "The priests and magistrates were envious, but the Lord disappointed their counsels, and gave us many blessed opportunities to visit friends, and spread truth in that nation. Meetings were large, friends coming to them far and near: Many were reached and convinced, and gathered to the truth, and friends greatly refreshed."

## C H A P. XXI.

## I S L E O F M A N.

*Persecution in the Isle of Man exceedingly grievous.—William Callow and Evan Christen suffer severe Imprisonment for very trivial Demands.—Warrant issued by two Priests for committing the Quakers, so called, to prison.—They are excommunicated without Process, and delivered over to the secular Power.—Order for their Transportation.—Put on board a Ship to be transported, upon which the Sailors leave the Ship.—Forced on board other Ships and taken to Dublin, and sent back by the Mayor.—William Callow and Evan Christen have a long Conference with the Bishop and Dean.—They go to the Island, but are not suffered to land.—Their Estates seized.—William Callow, after an ineffectual Application to the Earl of Derby, solicits the Intercession of the Duke of York and Prince Rupert.—The Bishop's Inhumanity.—Four Women banished with Circumstances of Barbarity—Attempt to transport William Callow to Virginia.—Is landed in Ireland.*

C H A P.  
XXI.

1662.

Persecution  
in the Isle of  
Man, extremely  
grievous.

**P**ERSECUTION in this sequestered island, under the arbitrary rule of the lord of the land (the



(the Earl of Derby) and the uncontroled power of a rigid prelate, whose intemperate bigotry excited his blind zeal more to force uniformity in religious profession and ceremonious worship, than to cultivate in himself or his flock the essentials of true religion, viz. the fear and love of God, and benevolence to mankind; was continued with additional severity after the restoration, even beyond the severity of the rulers under the long parliament and commonwealth, before related, against the few residents in this island, who went under the denomination of Quakers.

The number of them here was very small; the power and influence of the clergy being more prevalent in this dark corner, where the ignorance and rudeness of the inhabitants furnished opportunity, than in the more enlightened nations. This power and influence they have uniformly exerted, rivalling popish ecclesiastics in the darkest ages, to prevent the introduction of any other doctrines than those themselves have adopted and taught; but particularly such as are adverse to their interest and authority; so that through the awe with which the generality of people regarded these teachers, they were deterred from attending to or receiving any doctrines different from theirs, and the more so still from the observation of the unfeeling cruelty, with which those few, who had received those of the people called Quakers, were treated.

The clergy exert themselves to prevent the introduction of new doctrines.

William Callow and Evan Christen, the former for refusing to pay sixteen-pence, and the latter two-pence, demanded by a priest *for bread and wine for the sacrament*, were committed to the prison called St. Germain's in *Castle Peel*, and were

William Callow and Evan Christen committed to hard imprisonment for very trifling demands.

C H A P. were close shut up in a dismal dungeon without  
 XXI. fire, candle or bedding, having only straw to  
 lie upon and a stone for their pillow: Here they  
 1662. lay sixteen days, until some of their neighbours,  
 out of mere compassion, unknown to them, paid  
 the money, otherwise they might have perished  
 there, their rigid persecutors, two priests, one  
 the complainant, the other the judge of the bi-  
 shop's court, who granted the warrant for their  
 commitment, appearing by their actions to value  
 the lives of two honest innocent men at less than  
 eighteen-pence. They were again, with several  
 others, imprisoned ten days for absence from the  
 public worship, and a third time, with six others,  
 for being at meeting, were confined in a high  
 tower at Castle-Rushen, without fire or candle,  
 fifteen weeks in the cold winter, only William  
 Callow, after a month's imprisonment, appealing  
 to the Earl of Derby, obtained permission to go  
 to London, where at length he procured the  
 Earl's warrant for the discharge of himself and  
 the rest.

1663. They were imprisoned again the succeeding  
 year, together with Evan's father, eighty years  
 1664. of age; and the following year presents us with  
 the extent and independency to which ecclesiastical  
 power was stretched in this wretched island,  
 by the following order issued by two priests,  
 judges of the Bishop's Court, for imprisoning the  
 Quakers.

Warrant issued by two priests for the general imprisonment of this people.

“ We have received orders from our reverend  
 “ ordinary to admonish the Quakers to conform  
 “ and come to church, or be committed until  
 “ they submit to law; and forasmuch as they  
 “ refuse, after several charges and publications  
 “ in

“ in the parish church, but continue their re-  
 “ factoriness to all government of the church,  
 “ and are therefore censured to be committed  
 “ into St. Germain’s prison, and there let them  
 “ remain till orders given to the contrary, and  
 “ for so doing this shall be your discharge.

C H A P.

XXI.

1664.

“ ROBERT PARR.

“ JOHN HARRISON.

“ P. S. If they refuse to be committed by  
 “ you, call for the assistance of a soldier from  
 “ Captain Ascough. Let the sumner put this  
 “ in execution immediately.”

By this order the said William Callow, Evan Christen and some others were again lodged in their former dismal mansion of Germain’s, and in about four months after all the \* women of this profession were arrested by a sumner or apparitor, by virtue of an order of the bishop to carry them all to prison, they being, he said, both men and women excommunicated, of which excommunication they had not the least intelligence; before he now declared it to them.

\* These were the wife of said William Callow, (who being just recovering out of a fever, and unable either to walk or ride, was suffered to stay at home for the present) Jane Christen, Jane Kennell, Anne Christen, Mary Callow and Mary Christen; one of whom was seventy-four and another sixty-seven years of age, a third a poor serving man’s wife, who had three children, the youngest at her breast; the fourth, the wife of one not called a Quaker, had a large family and many children, and the fifth a servant of William Callow, who was forcibly taken from her sick mistress.

The

CHAP. XXI. The prison allotted them was the same gloomy  
 XXI. dungeon in which the men were confined, whi-  
 ther when the apparitor had brought them, he  
 took off his hat, and formally pronounced what  
 he called the bishop's curse, to this effect, "I do  
 here before the standers-by deliver you up into  
 St. Germain's prison, by the law of my lord  
 the bishop and his clergy, you being cast out  
 of the church by excommunication, and I do  
 take witness that I do deliver you over from  
 the power of the bishop and his law, to be  
 and continue the Earl of Derby's prisoners."  
 What he meant by this reverie, the prisoners  
 could not devise, as there were none present but  
 himself and they. Having finished his speech he  
 left them, and they continued there many months,  
 enduring the hardships of a close and unhealthy  
 confinement, the cruel mercies of the bishop and  
 his clergy.

1664.  
 Excommu-  
 nicated  
 without  
 process, and  
 delivered  
 over to the  
 secular  
 power.

1665. Being thus after the example of Romish priest-  
 craft turned over to the secular power, which ap-  
 pears here as arbitrary, as that of the ecclesiastics  
 was exorbitant, seeming to be exercised by  
 the mere will and pleasure of the Earl of Der-  
 by, in the month called June, 1665, Henry  
 Nowell, deputy governor, came to the castle,  
 and read to the prisoners an ORDER from the  
 Earl, that *they must be forthwith transported to  
 some other land*: And near the end of the  
 month two priests came to them, and informed  
 them they were come by the deputy governor's  
 order to admonish them to come to church,  
 otherwise they must be banished forthwith.

Order for  
 their trans-  
 portation.

On the 5th September the commander of the  
 castle received an order to send all the Quakers  
 prisoners to Douglas, which was done on the  
 7th:

7th: And there they were kept under a guard of soldiers until the 14th, when they were put on board a ship of which Thomas Brittain was master; but as the prisoners entered on one side of the ship, the seamen went out at the other into the boat, telling the master they were not hired to carry people out of their native country against their wills, and that they would not go with him if he carried them, so went on shore, leaving him only a boy or two. The master finding his men determined, and himself unable to proceed on his voyage without them, set the prisoners on shore again, which being done, the sailors returned, and the ship set sail.

About three days after several vessels came into the road; but all refused to carry the prisoners. The soldiers endeavoured to force them on board the ship of Anthony Nicholson, of Whitehaven; but he strenuously opposed it, insisting that he would carry no prisoners, except they would send a guard of soldiers, and money to maintain both the prisoners and them, and also signify in writing the crime laid to their charge. However, on the 18th, about midnight, four of the prisoners, viz. William Callow, Evan Christen, Jane Christen and Mary Callow, were \* hurried out of their beds with such precipitancy, that they were not allowed time to put on their clothes, but obliged to leave some of them behind; two of them were forcibly put on board Nicholson's ship, and the other two on board William Crosthwaite's against the will of

C H A P.  
XXI.

1665.

Put on board a ship to be transported, but the sailors leave the ship.

They are forced on board other ships against the will of the masters, and taken to Dublin, but sent back by the mayor.

\* They purposed also to have sent another woman of seventy-four years of age, but left her, being too weak to remove, lying, as they thought, at the point of death on a bed of straw.

C H A P. the master's. They failed to Dublin, where nei-  
 XXI. ther the seamen nor prisoners were suffered to  
 land, until Crosthwaite was examined by the  
 1665. mayor, who demanded his warrant for bringing  
 the prisoners without their consent, to which he  
 answered, that he had no warrant, but was com-  
 pelled to take them on board by one Quail, an  
 officer, who took away his sails, and would not  
 let him put off without the prisoners, and his  
 vessel was in danger of breaking. Upon which  
 the mayor gave him the following order.

“ S I R,

“ You are hereby required to take back in  
 “ your own vessel, the prisoners called Quakers,  
 “ which you brought against their voluntary con-  
 “ sent out of the Isle of Man, and them to put  
 “ on shore on the said island, to follow their ne-  
 “ cessary occasions; of which you may not fail  
 “ at your peril.

“ Dated the 27th of September, 1665.”

Carried to  
 White-  
 haven and  
 thence back  
 to Dublin,  
 and from  
 Dublin to  
 White-  
 haven  
 again.

Pursuant to this order he brought them back,  
 but either being, or pretending to be, driven by  
 the island by contrary winds, he carried them to  
 Whitehaven, and there put them on shore; but  
 John Lamplugh, a justice of peace, issued his war-  
 rant to the constables of Whitehaven to cause  
 them to be put on board Crosthwaite's ship, to  
 be carried back to the isle, as no order or legal  
 proceedings appeared to authorize him to bring  
 them into that country. So on the 12th Decem-  
 ber, Crosthwaite took them on board again,  
 but instead of carrying them to the island, car-  
 ried

ried them again to Dublin, but would not be suffered to land them there until he had given security to convey them to the island on his return. But in violation of his engagement he returned with them to Whitehaven. Thus were these innocent persons harrassed and tossed backward and forward in the cold winter season. Being landed again in England, the two men went to the Earl of Derby, and while they were employed in fruitless solicitations to him and the bishop, for liberty to return to their places of residence and lawful occupations, Crosthwaite carried the two women back to the island, where they were again shut up in prison.

CHAP.  
XXI.  
1665.

These two men, after long attendance upon the Earl of Derby, were by him referred to the bishop, to whom (after some time coming to Knowlesly Hall in Lancashire, the said earl's seat) they got admittance, and had a long conference with him and the dean, wherein they endeavoured to move him to compassionate their case, and give an order for their return to their wives and children, and to their honest labour at home; but he appeared callous to every sensation of clemency, he would by no means admit of their return, and by his influence the earl was also hardened against them; for although his officer had pretended to deliver them over from the bishop's power, as excommunicated persons, to the civil power, and this bishop himself pretended he had done with them; yet it appears by his own acknowledgement in their conference with him, and by their subsequent sufferings, that so far from having done with them, he was the principal instrument in promoting all the persecuting measures against them. The conference itself is

1665.  
The two men have a long conference with the bishop and dean.

CHAPTER. too prolix to be introduced here at full length;  
 XXI. but a small part thereof, as conveying an idea  
 of this bishop's spirit, may not be impertinent to  
 1666. lay before the reader.

*Bishop.* What have you to say to me?

*Answer.* We have to say to thee, viz. to let thee know that we are persecuted, and banished from place to place for conscience-sake, and most of it long of thee.

*Bishop.* I did not banish you—I left you fast enough when I left the island.

*Answer.* Yet notwithstanding we know that our banishment is long of thee, or else the earl would be loth to use us there worse than his tenants in this country.

*Bishop.* I have no more to do with you or say to you; but what I told you before, that if I can persuade my lord to the contrary, you shall not go again to the island.

*Answer.* Indeed we expect no better from the spirit of persecution in any whomsoever; but thou art contrary to the spirit of Christ, who said, do unto all men as you would be done unto, who taught to love our enemies and not to persecute.

*Bishop.* You are not persecuted, but *banished*, because you do not come to church.

How easily men suffer themselves to be imposed upon, and run into weak and absurd reasoning, by using unmeaning expressions, or giving wrong names to things. If banishing men because they do not come to church be not persecution, I would fain know what is?

After their ineffectual conference, these exiles returned into Cumberland; and although they could not obtain the earl's or bishop's permission



from to return home, the distressed state of their families, in their absence, from which they had been forcibly separated, determined them at any risque to return to them, and accordingly they took shipping again for the island; but before they could get on shore, the master of the vessel received orders not to suffer them to land; in consequence whereof they were detained on board until the 1st of September, when the master sent a petition to the bishop, requesting that they might go on shore until he was ready to return, and then, if required, he would carry them back to England, whereunto the bishop replied,

CHAP.

XXI.

1666.  
They go back to the island, but are not suffered to land.

“ I am content that the Quakers be secured on shore until the return of the vessel, upon security given by the owner of the vessel and the Quakers for their return upon his departure from the island.

“ ISAAC SODER and MAN.”

They continued at home about a month, when they were brought to Ramfey, and forced again from wife and relations. William Cal- low's wife taking her leave of him with tears, so affected the master of the ship, that he wept too, endeavouring to comfort the poor woman with promises of kindness to her husband. But this obdurate bishop, contrary to his assertion, had not done with them yet; for one Qualtrop, an attorney, just about the same time they were sent off, took possession of their estates, and an inventory of all their substance real and personal, by virtue of an order signed by the said bishop and others.

Their estates seized.

others. It is difficult to conceive a more arbitrary government than seems at this time to have subsisted in this island, where men could be deprived of both their liberty and property, at the mere will of their governors, without conviction of any crime, or even being brought to a legal trial.

XXI.

1666.

William Callow renews his application to the Earl of Derby, but being ineffectual solicits the intercession of the Duke of York and Prince Rupert.

<sup>a</sup> Upon their being landed again in England, William Callow went into Lancashire, and renewed his application to the earl, for his permission to return home, but with no better success than before: Wherefore he went to London, and represented his case to the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, the latter of whom compassionated it so far, as to intercede by letter in his behalf, wherein, after reciting the account he had of his character, as a quiet inoffensive person, he presumes, that if there was nothing more against him than his being a Quaker, the earl might be inclined to restore him and his family to their antient possessions, and to prevail upon him to do so (he says) was the reason of troubling him with that application. But even this powerful solicitation proved less effectual with the earl, than the bishop's influence, and for his declining compliance with which he gives the following reason. "There is not now in the island \* one Quaker or dissenting person of any

<sup>a</sup> Besse.

\* This was a mistake, there being three women of that denomination prisoners in the island, and as this island was a kind of asylum for bankrupts and other fugitives both from Britain and Ireland, it seems probable there might be many dissenters from the former and many papists from the latter; but the fear of the bishop's court, and the consequential severities

“ any persuasion from the church of England, CHAP.  
 “ and I humbly conceive your highness, for that XXI.  
 “ one man’s concern, would not have that place  
 “ endangered to be infected with schism or 1666.  
 “ heresy, which it might be liable to, if Qua-  
 “ kers were permitted to reside there.”

While William Callow was occupied in London in soliciting for liberty to return home, he received intelligence from his wife, that she, his daughter Anne, her sister Jane Christen and Mary Callow had been prisoners in Castle-Peel five or six weeks, and that all their estates, real and personal, were seized, and that she heard the attorney would shortly come and take away all their goods; that she and Jane Christen being with child; they had applied by letter to the bishop for leave to return to their houses until the spring, and then return to prison, they not having wherewith to subsist during the winter, nor necessaries for persons in their condition, but that the bishop, deaf to their entreaties, had returned the following severe answer.

The bishop's inhumanity.

“ If upon releasement they will put in security to promise to come to the service, and conform to the order of the church, and all such as are excommunicated to acknowledge their schisms, and receive absolution, I shall so far presume upon my lord’s favour, as to grant them liberty; otherwise I have no power to meddle with them, they being my lord’s

rities might awe them to conceal their dissent under an occasional conformity, which to men of no principle was a temporary evil not hard to endure. In every view it is a proof of the exorbitant stretch of ecclesiastical power in this barbarous isle.

“ prisoners;

CHAP. XXI. “ prisoners ; and if they miscarry in their health  
 or lives, it is wholly imputable to their dis-  
 obedience, and they must be accounted their  
 own murderers ; and this is all I can say to  
 them.”

“ ISAAC SODER and MAN.

“ Castletown, 15th December, 1666.”

Thus the bishop, who had power and influence to persecute with cruelty, but pretended want of power to relieve, while he wanted only tenderness to feel, hardened his heart against every remonstrance, and persisted in his obstinacy to force these unhappy persons into conformity against their consciences, or leave them in danger of starving and perishing in jail. And William Callow, who upon the receipt of this affecting intelligence, determined at all events if possible to visit his wife in her weak and distressed condition, and endeavour to give her such relief as was in his power, accordingly returned home, where, although he found his wife in a weak condition, as he expected, he was not suffered to give her any effectual assistance ; for the very day he came home he was sent to prison by order of the bishop, where he was detained seven days, and then put on board a vessel again, and sent off to England. He then wrote a moving account of his hard usage to the Earl of Derby, and waited personally upon him with it ; but he turned a deaf ear to his complaints, refused to receive his paper, and dismissed him with this rude answer, “ If he would not conform, he should not return to poison his island.” The  
 bishop

William Callow returns home, and is sent to prison the same day.

bishop had before used the like argument in defence of his persistence in refusing them liberty to return, alledging, if they had their liberty, they would corrupt all the neighbours about them. To which they answered, "Nay, we would not corrupt them, they are corrupted enough, swearers, liars, whoremongers, are all corrupted."

CHAP.  
XXI.

1666.

In the year 1668 those four women were imprisoned again and banished with such circumstances of barbarity as even drew tears from their neighbours, who were commanded to be assistant in taking them. Two soldiers came to William Callow's house, with an order from the bishop to take his wife to prison, and they said the order from the bishop was peremptory to take her and the others to prison, though they should die by the way. William's wife being very weak in bed, they took her each by an arm, and endeavoured to pull her out of the bed; but her children crying round her, and the neighbours also at the sight of their cruelty, moved them to desist at that time, but they returned the next day and took her, Evan Christen's mother, an antient woman between seventy and eighty years of age, Jane Christen and Mary Callow, all to Castle-peel. The very next day an order came from the bishop to send them back again to Ramsey, where they were detained several weeks until a vessel was ready to take them away; when one Captain Ascough, in whose custody they were, brought them to the boat with their children weeping after them, whom he cruelly separated from them, not suffering them, though desirous, to take any but the youngest along with them. So William Callow's wife,

The four women again imprisoned and banished with circumstances of savage barbarity.

Mothers cruelly separated from their children.

C H A P. to her other painful sufferings, had the piercing  
 XXI. mortification to leave four children behind her  
 without father or mother to provide for or take  
 care of them. Jane Christen in like manner was  
 forced to leave five. They being forced on  
 board were landed at Whitehaven. After some  
 stay there, they together with William Callow  
 were sent back by order of two Cumberland jus-  
 tices. The day after their arrival at the island  
 they were forcibly taken out of their beds by  
 order of the deputy governor, and put on board  
 the ship in such hurry, that the women were  
 obliged to take their children naked in their  
 aprons, crying through the streets, in the night.  
 They were now taken to Dublin, whence a ship  
 was pressed to take them back again by order of  
 the mayor. The passage was tedious by reason  
 of contrary winds, and the women suffered much  
 for want of provisions and necessaries, William  
 Callow's wife being near the time of her deli-  
 very. As soon as the bishop and governor were  
 informed of their arrival, they set a watch upon  
 the vessel to prevent William Callow's landing,  
 and the women having been landed before, were  
 soon forced again on board by soldiers by their  
 orders, with aggravated circumstances of inhu-  
 manity. The master of the ship being brought  
 before the governor and the bishop, represented  
 the weak condition of the women, and what  
 they had suffered at sea, and the danger to which  
 they must certainly be exposed by being hurried  
 again on board; but the bishop, whose heart  
 seems steeled against every impression of huma-  
 nity, unmoved by the representation, sent an  
 order to raise the parish people to put William  
 Callow's wife on board. The messenger inform-  
 ed

1666.  
 Landed  
 at White-  
 haven and  
 sent back.

Taken to  
 Dublin and  
 back.

Further in-  
 stances of  
 the bishop's  
 cruelty.

ed him she was very weak, and they did not know but in labour. The bishop, nevertheless, renewed his orders, and the soldiers coming to her bed side, ordered her to get up and go with them, swearing that they had orders from the bishop, if she would not go, to carry her in a cart or across a horse's back. They took her children out of bed from her, and scarce giving her time to put on her clothes, hurried her to Ramsey; they rifled her pockets of 4s.; they took away her box of clothes and linen, leaving the poor woman neither linen nor any thing else but what she had on her, alledging they seized her goods by the bishop's warrant. Three of the neighbours who refused to assist in this cruel treatment of an helpless woman, were by the bishop's order committed to prison, as if, in his estimation, compassion were a crime. The exiles were detained on board an open boat half decked, and that so badly that when it rained they could not sit dry, which landed them at Peel in Lancashire; but upon their landing, two justices of peace made an order to send them back again; pursuant to which order they were all sent back (except Anne Callow, who being in childbed was left behind) and on their arrival at Ramsey, were detained prisoners on ship-board from the 8th of the month called August 'till the 1st of September.

Thus were innocent persons, legally convicted of no crime, a second time tossed from shore to shore, as if unfit to live on the earth; though they had injured no man, nor were burdensome to any, but able to support their families respectably, while they were suffered quietly to follow their lawful occupations. But it seems proper

CHAPTER XXI. to remark that the magistrates of Dublin, and of the British ports, where they were landed, appear not to have sent them back in any ill-will to them; but rather in testimony of abhorrence of the bishop's arbitrary and illegal proceedings. The reasons assigned by the Lancashire justices in their warrant for the taking them back are, that they had all estates in the Isle of Man, but had none elsewhere, that [stripped of all their property] they were like to be burdensome to the King's subjects in these parts, if they should be permitted to settle—that they had been banished out of the island, the place of their habitation, without any legal proceedings, that do any way appear, and not sent or confined to any certain place of banishment by any legal authority, but turned out as vagabonds to the wide world, to the scandal of the laws and the King's government.

Endeavours  
to transport  
William  
Callow to  
Virginia

Finding that both from England and Ireland the banished were continually sent back with a censure of the illegality and unreasonableness of their proceedings, in order to free themselves from the like trouble and reproach for the future, they determined to transport William Callow to Virginia by a London ship, then at anchor in Ramsay bay, bound thither, of which Ralph Harwood was master. On the 1st of September an order was sent to captain Ascough to send William Callow under the conduct of a soldier to the governor, who upon his appearance enquired of him, if he was willing to go to Virginia? to which he replied, "I have no business there; but, replied the governor, "We will send thee thither." William enquired by what law? *Answer.* "By my lord's order."



“ der.” William desired a fair trial, insisted that he had never been tried; never been brought before any court; demanded to be tried by the laws of his own country, or by the laws of England; he appealed to the laws of his country; to the king and council, before whom, he said, his cause was already. The benefit of the law was refused, and his appeals rejected by this insolent governor, who was resolved, by the wanton exertion of illegal violence, to put it out of his power to avail himself of legal redress for the wrongs he received, or prosecute any appeal to effect. After a short conference, in which William, with a fortitude founded on innocence and conscious integrity, strenuously maintained his right to exemption from the proposed banishment, and denying the legality of the governor’s power to transport him, against which the governor had little farther to advance than, “ Upon my credit thou shalt go to Virginia—I deny thy appeal—What I do I will answer it,” he ordered the soldiers to take him away, upon which two of them, taking each an arm, haled him to the boat, and then left him on ship-board. When he was put on board, the sailors refused to go the voyage, if he was to be carried with them, saying, *they never heard of a ship which carried Quakers against their will that ever prospered.* Whereupon the master promised them, that he would carry him no further than Ireland, and accordingly the next day set him on shore about forty miles north of Dublin. William went directly to Dublin, took shipping and landed at Whitehaven; also about the same time Evan Christen, his aged mother, and Alice Coward, arrived in England from the Isle of Whitehorn

C H A P.

XXI.

1666.

Appeals to  
the king  
and council.His appeal  
denied.Being put  
aboard the  
ship, the  
sailors re-  
fused to go  
the voyage.Is landed in  
Ireland.

CHAP. horn in Scotland, whither they had been carried  
 XXI. in an open fishing boat, after long confinement  
 on board the vessel, which brought them back  
 1666. out of Lancashire, as before related.

## C H A P. XXII.

*Persecution relaxed in England.—A Design to tolerate Dissenters.—Opposed by the Bishops.—The Parliament address the King for a Proclamation against Dissenters.—Conventicle Act.—Remarks thereupon.—Ecclesiastics promote the severe Execution thereof.—The People called Quakers the greatest Sufferers.—Many of them greatly spoiled.—Informers profligate and infamous.—Many of them perjure themselves by false Information.—Exorbitant in their Distraints.—Justices and Informers frequently exercise their Power beyond the Law.—Yet Appeals are generally ineffectual.—Arbitrary Misconstruction of the Word Conventicle.—Unfair Method of fining for a Preacher.—Some Justices discourage the Informers.—George Fox writes against the Act, and encourages his Friends to faithfulness.*

CHAP.  
 XXII.

1670.  
 Persecution  
 relaxed in  
 England.

**P**ERSECUTION in England seems to have been some time considerably relaxed, although not totally put a stop to, particularly in the city  
 of

of London, to which various causes appear to have conspired, the Dutch war, the depopulating pestilence, the destruction of a great part of the city by the fire, more immediately demanding the care and vigilance of the government and magistracy, drew off their attention from the dissenters for a season. And the Duke of Buckingham succeeding Clarendon in the station of prime minister, whether in order to confirm the opinion that his predecessor had been the author of all their hardships, or that he really held more liberal sentiments in respect to religious liberty, shewed more lenity to the non-conformists than his predecessor had done,<sup>a</sup> and by connivance suffered them to hold their meetings without molestation; the discourse of a toleration began to revive, and the question concerning the reasonableness thereof to be more freely agitated in sundry publications. The king also in his speech at the opening of the parliament in 1668, expressed his desire that they would take into their serious deliberation the means of effecting an union amongst all his protestant subjects, whereby they might be induced not only to submit quietly to the government, but cheerfully give their assistance to its support. But the majority of the House of Commons, under the influence of the same party spirit which had stimulated them to enact the severe laws of this reign, appeared much disturbed, and in return petitioned the king to issue out a proclamation for enforcing the laws against conventicles, and for preserving the peace of the kingdom against unlawful assemblies of papists

CHAP.  
XXII.  
1670.

<sup>a</sup> Neale. Rapin.

C H A P. and non-conformists. The king issued the pro-  
 xxii. clamations accordingly, yet it appears not to have  
 been attended with very heavy consequences to  
 1670. the dissenters. For in the course of the suc-  
 ceeding year their hopes were again revived,  
 those sects who to avoid persecution had usually  
 met clandestinely, now appeared more openly,  
 and ventured to assemble publicly for religious  
 worship. A more generous way of thinking  
 seemed to be adopted by some leading men a-  
 mong the episcopalians. A scheme was set on  
 foot for comprehending the presbyterians in the  
 body of the established church, and granting a  
 toleration to other dissenters.<sup>b</sup> The Lord Chief  
 Justice Hale undertook to draw up a bill for this  
 purpose. and Sir Orlando Bridgeman to support  
 it with his whole interest. But the design com-  
 ing to the cognizance of some of the bishops,  
 they quickly took the alarm and spread it to the  
 rest. Archbishop Sheldon wrote a circular let-  
 ter to his suffragans, enjoining them to make a  
 minute enquiry touching the conventicles in their  
 respective dioceses. Having received all the in-  
 formation he could procure, he exaggerated every  
 circumstance to the king, and obtained from  
 his easy temper a fresh proclamation to put the  
 laws in force against the non-conformists, and  
 particularly against the preachers, according to  
 the Statute of 17 Car. II. which prohibits their  
 residing in corporations.

A design to  
 comprehend the  
 Presbyterians in the  
 established  
 church, and  
 tolerate  
 other dis-  
 senters.

Opposed by  
 the bishops.

The par-  
 liament ad-  
 dresses the  
 king for a  
 proclama-  
 tion against  
 non-con-  
 formists.

The parliament, upon their meeting after the  
 prorogation, seconded the efforts of the bishops,  
 by an address of thanks to the king for his pro-  
 clamations; by a vote prohibiting any member

<sup>b</sup> Smollet. Rapin.

from bringing in the proposed bill in favour of non-conformists, and by appointing a committee to make exact enquiry into their conduct; who in result of their enquiry reported, that divers conventicles and seditious assemblies were held in the neighbourhood of the parliament, so as to insult the government, and endanger the public tranquillity; the house immediately declared, that they would adhere to the king for the support of government in church and state, against all adversaries whatsoever. These measures might be justly looked upon as a prelude to fresh persecution under additional penal laws; for although the behaviour of the different classes of non-conformists had administered no foundation for raising any rumour of a plot in agitation, as had been generally done, this vote seems intended to create an alarm of danger notwithstanding, requiring the joint exertion of the different branches of the legislature to guard and provide against, and to point out all dissenters as persons seditious and dangerous to the state.

And the former act against conventicles, upon which so many were condemned to banishment, being expired, in the next session, in 1670, they proceeded to make a third act against them; but having found repeated and long imprisonments, and even banishment, ineffectual to deter those called Quakers in particular from keeping up their religious meetings for the worship of God, they seemed resolved now to try the force of depredation and impoverishing them in their estates, like the persecutor of Job, essaying various modes of distress to accomplish their purposes, and force them to defile their consciences

CHAP.


XXII.

1670.

C H A P. ences in declining their duty of divine worship  
 XXII. according to their persuasion of the divine re-  
 quirings.

1670.  
 Conventicle  
 act.

The title of this third act, was, “ An act to  
 “ prevent and suppress seditious conventicles,”  
 22 Car. II. which received the royal assent the  
 11th of the month called April, 1670, and was  
 to the following effect, “ That if any persons  
 “ upwards of sixteen years of age shall be pre-  
 “ sent at any assembly, conventicle or meeting,  
 “ under colour or pretence of any exercise of  
 “ religion, in any other manner than according  
 “ to the liturgy and practice of the church of  
 “ England, where there are five persons or more  
 “ present besides those of the said household,  
 “ in such cases the offender shall pay 5s. for the  
 “ first offence; and 10s. for the second. And  
 “ the preacher or teachers in any such meetings  
 “ shall forfeit 20l. for the first, and 40l. for  
 “ the second offence. And those who knowingly  
 “ suffer such conventicles in their houses, barns,  
 “ yards, &c. shall forfeit 20l. Any justice of  
 “ peace on the oath of two witnesses, or any  
 “ other sufficient proof, may record the offence  
 “ under his hand and seal, which record shall  
 “ be taken in law for a full and perfect con-  
 “ viction, and shall be certified at the next  
 “ quarter sessions. The fines may be levied by  
 “ distress and sale of the offender’s goods and  
 “ chattels, and in case of the poverty of such  
 “ offender, upon the goods and chattels of any  
 “ other person or persons that shall be convict-  
 “ ed of having been present at the said con-  
 “ venticle, at the discretion of the justice of  
 “ peace, so that the sum to be levied on any  
 “ one person, in case of the poverty of others,  
 “ do

“ do not amount to more than 10l. for any one CHAP.  
 “ meeting: The constables, headboroughs, &c. XXII.  
 “ are to levy the same by warrant from the justice,   
 “ and to be divided, one third for the use 1670.  
 “ of the king, and another third to the poor,  
 “ and the other third to the informer or his as-  
 “ sistants, regard being had to their diligence  
 “ and industry in discovering, dispersing and  
 “ punishing the said conventicles. The fines  
 “ upon ministers for preaching are to be levied  
 “ also by distress; and in case of poverty, upon  
 “ the goods and chattels of any other present;  
 “ and the like upon the house where the con-  
 “ venticle is held, and the money to be divided  
 “ as above.

“ And it is further enacted, that the justice  
 “ or justices of the peace, constable, headbor-  
 “ roughs, &c. may by warrant, with what aid  
 “ and assistance they shall think necessary, break  
 “ open and enter into any house or place where  
 “ they shall be informed of a conventicle, and  
 “ take the persons assembled into custody. And  
 “ the lieutenants or other commissioned officers  
 “ of the militia may get together such force  
 “ or assistance as they think necessary, to dissolve,  
 “ dissipate and disperse such unlawful meetings,  
 “ and take the persons into custody.” Then  
 follow two extraordinary clauses, “ that if any  
 “ justice of peace refuse to do his duty he  
 “ shall forfeit 100l. and every constable, &c.  
 “ 5l. And be it further enacted, that all clau-  
 “ ses in this act *shall be construed most largely*  
 “ *and beneficially for the suppressing of conventi-*  
 “ *cles, and for the justification and encouragement*  
 “ *of all persons to be employed in the execution*  
 “ *thereof.* No warrant or mittimus shall be  
 “ made

C H A P. “ made void or reversed for any default in the  
 XXII. “ form; and if a person fly from one county  
 “ or corporation to another, his goods and  
 1670. “ chattels shall be seized wherever they are  
 “ found. If the party offending be a wife co-  
 “ habiting with her husband, the fine shall be  
 “ levied on the goods and chattels of the hus-  
 “ band, provided the prosecution be within  
 “ three months. Parties aggrieved may appeal  
 “ to the quarter sessions if the fine amount to  
 “ 10l. and to no other court, and if cast to pay  
 “ treble damages.”

Remarks  
 upon this  
 act.

The palpable injustice of this iniquitous law did not escape the notice of those who were exposed to the danger of suffering thereby; they in their own behalf remarked with freedom upon this flagrant violation of the established privileges of the people of England.

1. That it destroyed the bulwark of the Englishman's liberty, property and life, viz. *Trial by Jury*; authorizing a single justice out of sessions to convict, fine, and by warrant levy it upon the offender contrary to *Magna Charta*.

2. By this act the innocent might be punished for the offence of the guilty, contrary to natural justice. If the wife or child was convicted of being present at an assembly termed unlawful, the fine was to be levied on the goods of the husband or father, whether he was of the same persuasion or no. It was left to the arbitrary discretion 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 of the meeters, as they should account poor, upon any other who was present at the meeting (not exceeding



exceeding the limited sum) which vested the justices with power to harass and oppress with dreadful severity those to whom they might owe no good will, and was in itself an infringement of the immutable laws of equity and reason.

CHAP.  
XXII.  
1670.

The clandestine mode of conviction (which frequently took place) by the oath of two informers, (who had an interest therein, and sought their gains from a multitude of convictions) before a justice; so that men might be, and often were, convicted and fined without any notice or knowledge thereof, until the officers came and took away their goods, and even then they were ignorant by whose evidence they were convicted; than which, what could be more opposite to the privileges of the subject; to the spirit of the *great charter*; to the jurisprudence of England or common justice? which require that every man should be openly charged, and have his accuser face to face, that he might have a fair opportunity, both to answer for himself, and object to the validity of the evidence against him.

3.

The fines imposed on justices and other officers, and the clause directing in effect, to construe every part of the act in favour of the prosecutors, appears to corrupt justice in its very source: To instruct and influence the magistrates to partiality in their judgments, to apply power only to oppress, and reverse the scriptural qualification for magistracy, to the encouragement of evil-doers, and the punishment of those that do well; and that many of them actually did so abundantly appeared in divers prosecutions by this act.

4.

As

C H A P.

XXII.

1670.

As an act of such flagrant injustice and pernicious tendency to so great a body of the people must bring discredit to the framers, promoters and partisans thereof, the greater part of the historians, who are most attached to the church of England, endeavour to excuse its severity, by alledging that politics and the care of government were the occasion of it more than religion. Echard (according to Neale) says, "that this and all the penal laws made against the dissenters were the acts of the parliament and not of the church, and were made more on a civil and political than upon a moral and religious account; and always upon some fresh provocation in reality or appearance." Persecution ever endeavours thus to hide its deformities under the garb of political caution; but I think in the present case the covering is too transparent; for at this season it doth not appear that any class of dissenters by their conduct had given the least disturbance to the peace of the nation, or could be charged with any design against the state. The committee of parliament appointed to enquire into their conduct discovered no misconduct amongst them, nor had they given any fresh provocation, but that of attending their meetings openly, to which they had been encouraged by the connivance of government. The preamble to the act doth not charge them with disloyalty, only says, "That for providing speedy remedies against the practices of seditious sectaries and others, who under pretence of tender conscience have or may at their meetings contrive insurrections,"

<sup>c</sup> Rapin.

which

which by the way there was little danger of their doing in their public assemblies, in a miscellaneous company of women, servants, strangers, and probably spies. The act points them out a likelier method of contriving plots, as it would appear more feasible to combine with success between three or four, if they had any such design in view; so that if the guarding against insurrections was the only object proposed, this parliament seems to have wanted wisdom in concerting the measures to prevent them: But it appears too evident that the reasons assigned in this weak preamble are only a pretence, and that the only object in view was upon a religious account to inflict new punishments upon the dissenters for their dissent from the national church, and nothing else.

And although the penal laws were the acts of the parliament, as no other body had the power of making laws, yet it will be a difficult undertaking to exculpate the *church*, that is the clergy, from a considerable share therein: The weight of their influence and interest was not wanting to procure penal laws and proclamations in favour of their own emoluments and power (as appears by the exertions of Sheldon and others against the comprehension) nor to the rigorous execution of them when made: And that many of them looked upon this act as a considerable acquisition in their favour, appears from the following extract from Archbishop Sheldon's circular letter \* upon the occasion, in which he directs

CHAP.  
XXII.  
1670.

Archbishop  
Sheldon and  
others  
of the bi-  
shops and  
clergy pro-  
mote the  
severe exe-  
cution of  
this act.

\* Copies of this letter were sent by the archdeacons to the officers of the several parishes within their jurisdictions, earnestly exhorting them to take special care to perform what  
is

CHAP. rects all ecclesiastical judges and officers, <sup>d</sup> “ to  
 XXII. “ take notice of all non-conformists, holders,  
 “ frequenters, maintainers and abettors of con-  
 1670. “ venticles, especially of the preachers or teach-  
 “ ers in them, and of the places wherein they  
 “ are held; ever keeping a more watchful eye  
 “ over the cities and great towns, from whence  
 “ the mischief is for the most part derived, unto  
 “ the lesser villages and hamlets. And where-  
 “ soever they find such wilful offenders, that  
 “ then with a hearty affection to the worship of  
 “ God, the honour of the king and his laws,

is therein required, and to give an account at the next visi-  
 tation.

John Chapple, priest of Brant-Broughton in Lincolnshire, perceiving the constable not forward in making distresses and breaking up meetings, sent him the following letter :

“ Thomas Kelsey,

“ I cannot but wonder that any king’s officer should be so  
 “ backward in executing the king’s laws, as I find you to  
 “ be: Methinks you should have gone to Sir Christopher  
 “ Nevile, had you no other inducement thereto save only  
 “ civility to Sir Francis Fane, who desired you so to do:  
 “ You cannot now as you did then pretend the want of an  
 “ horse. I have sent my man on purpose to join with you in  
 “ giving information to the justices concerning the late con-  
 “ venticle at Broughton, and if you refuse to act I have  
 “ ordered my man to make his complaint to the bench. If  
 “ your landlord Mr. Pierpoint, be informed how you and  
 “ others have behaved yourselves in this business, I know  
 “ that he will not thank you for your remissness; for what-  
 “ ever his tenants at Broughton may be, sure I am he is a  
 “ person more zealous for the church. No more at pre-  
 “ sent from

“ Your friend,

“ JOHN CHAPPLE.”

<sup>d</sup> Neale.

“ and

“ and the peace of the church and kingdom, CHAP.  
 “ they do address themselves to the civil magi- XXII.  
 “ strate, justices and others concerned, im-  
 “ ploring their help and assistance for prevent- 1670.  
 “ ing and suppressing the same, according to  
 “ the late act in that behalf made and set  
 “ forth.

“ What the success will be we must leave to  
 “ God Almighty; yet I have this confidence  
 “ under God, that if we do our parts now at  
 “ first seriously, *by God's help, and the assistance*  
 “ *of the civil power, considering the abundant*  
 “ *care and provision the act contains for our*  
 “ ADVANTAGE, we shall in a few months see  
 “ a great alteration in the distractions of these  
 “ times.”

“ The bishop of Peterborough declared publicly in the steeple-house at Rowel, after he had commanded the officers to put this act in execution, “ Against all fanaticks it hath done  
 “ its business, except the Quakers; but when  
 “ the parliament sits again, a stronger law will  
 “ be made, not only to take away their lands  
 “ and goods, but also to sell them for bond-  
 “ slaves.” Who can acquit the church, so  
 called, of their share in the persecution, when  
 the rulers thereof were so intemperately warm  
 and active in it, and still insatiate with all these  
 severities, inhumanly planning more and greater?  
 Ward of Salisbury and Gunning of Ely, are  
 also said to have been very zealous abettors of  
 severity, though many of the bishops had the  
 prudence to lie by, and resign the odium of  
 enforcing the law to the civil magistrate.

<sup>c</sup> Sewel, p. 506.


C H A P.  
XXII.

1670.

There is no doubt but the clergy in general paid strict attention to the mandates of the archbishop before recited, as they were generally encouragers of, (and many of them were not ashamed themselves to turn) informers. Thomas Elwood, a cotemporary writer, informs us, “ That some of the clergy of most ranks, and others, who were excessively bigotted to that party, used their utmost efforts to find out and encourage the most profligate wretches to turn informers; and get such persons into parochial offices as would be most obsequious to their directions, and prompt, at their beck, to put this law into most rigorous execution.”

“ In some parts care had been timely taken, by some not of the lowest rank, to chuse out some persons properly qualified \*, men of  
“ acute

\* The same author gives this account of one of these emissaries. He whose post was assigned him in the county of Bucks, thrust himself upon a friend under the counterfeit appearance of a Quaker; but being by the friend suspected, and dismissed unentertained, he was obliged to betake himself to an alehouse for accommodation, where not being able to bear the curb of his feigned sobriety, he indulged himself in drinking too freely with the company he found there; in his cups, he was thrown so far off his guard, that to magnify himself among his companions, he let them know the quality of their new associate, that he was sent out by Doctor Mew, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, on the design before related, and under the protection of justice Morton, a warrant under whose hand and seal he produced, by which discovery he got the name of the *Trepan*, and as such being known and generally avoided, he went to another part of the country, and insinuated himself among the baptists, having wrought himself into their good opinion, and wilyly drawn one of them into an incautious openness and freedom of conversation upon the severity of the times, he villainously impeached him, who was  
a man

“ acute parts, close countenances, pliant tem- C H A P.  
 “ pers and deep dissimulation) and send them XXII.  
 “ forth as spies among the sectariés, so called,   
 “ with instructions to thrust themselves into all 1670.  
 “ societies; conform to any religious profession;  
 “ and transform themselves from one religious  
 “ appearance to another, as occasion should re-  
 “ quire. In a word, to be all things to all men;  
 “ not that they might gain some, but that they  
 “ might ruin as many as they could. The  
 “ drift of this design was, that their employers  
 “ might by these 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 among them  
 “ were persons of estate, and where they lived;  
 “ that when afterwards they should have troubled  
 “ the waters, they might the better know where  
 “ with most advantage to cast their nets.”  
 Doth not this proceeding seem to be in conse-  
 quence of the archbishop’s instructions?

The execution of this act exposed every body  
 of dissenters to great damage and hardship; but  
 this as well as the former fell with the greatest  
 weight upon the people called Quakers, for the  
 same cause. Other dissenters could take the li-

The people  
 called Qua-  
 kers still the  
 greatest suf-  
 ferers.

a man of reputation, of having spoken *treasonable words*,  
 and brought him into danger of losing both his estate and  
 life, had not a seasonable detection of his vicious practices  
 elsewhere, caused him to fly out of the court and country at  
 the very time when the honest man stood at the bar, ready  
 to be arraigned on his false accusation. This discovery of his  
 villainy leaving no further room to play the hypocrite, he  
 threw off the mask, and openly appeared in his proper cha-  
 racter, that of an *informer*.

C H A P. berty of acting by the maxims of human pru-  
 XXII. dence; and use various means to keep them-  
 selves beyond the reach of the law, or to pre-  
 1670. vent their being detected in the violation of  
 it\*. Yet they could not by any contrivance en-  
 tirely escape the vigilance of the informers, or  
 the vigorous pursuit of the justices and their of-  
 ficers. But the Quakers, who had no freedom,  
 to desert their public meetings for fear of hu-  
 man penalties, continued to frequent them at the  
 accustomed places and hours, whereby they  
 were open to the detection of the persecutors of  
 all ranks, who were highly provoked against  
 them, particularly on this account; as their stead-  
 fastness in duty very much broke their mea-  
 sures.

Many of  
 them great-  
 ly spoiled.

Exasperated at their open violation of these  
 laws, in obedience to the divine law of God in  
 their consciences, many of the executors of this  
 severe law acted up fully to its spirit in their se-  
 verity and injustice in the execution thereof,  
 whereby many an honest and industrious fa-  
 mily was stripped of the fruits of their industry.  
 At London, and in several other places, many were  
 cruelly spoiled of their property; people of con-  
 siderable substance reduced to extreme poverty,  
 shop goods and household goods so thoroughly  
 swept away by the hard-hearted spoilers, that  
 the sick have had their beds taken from under  
 them, and they themselves laid upon the floor.

\* The ministers would preach in large families with only  
 four strangers, and as many under the age of sixteen as would  
 come, and at other times, where people might hear in several  
 adjoining houses; but after all infinite mischiefs ensued; fa-  
 milies were impoverished and divided; friendship between  
 neighbours interrupted, and general distrust and jealousy suc-  
 ceeded. Neale, v. ii. p. 675.

For



For upon the passing of this law, many justices, who were too honest to be instruments of such severities, quitted the bench, and many of those that remained seem to have been of that kind, who go under the denomination of *trading justices*, mercenary enough to look for their share of the booty. And the informers in general were men of the vilest characters, and of the meanest class, idle, profligate and infamous; extravagant, needy and rapacious. Such justices and such assistants were not only prompt to plunder, but dextrous in the dividing of the spoil; so that it is said, the king and the poor frequently got but little for their share. These unprincipled informers, taking up the infamous office to make out a living, (being too idle to earn it by honest means) were not very scrupulous in the evidence they gave; the prospect of booty being the object in view, they, too often, encouraged by the clandestine manner of conviction, were tempted to swear home at a venture \*; being prosecuted by other dissenters,

C H A P.  
XXII.

1670.

Informers  
profligate  
and infamous,often per-  
jured them-  
selves.

U 2

ters,

\* In Buckinghamshire two noted informers Lacy, and Aris, swore before justice Clayton that Thomas Zachary and his wife were at a meeting at Jordan's the 21<sup>st</sup> of August 1670, whereupon the justice, as forward to convict as they to inform, fined him 30l. for himself and his wife and a pretended preacher, and issued a warrant for distress. Thomas and his wife were then both at London, wherefore he appealed to the quarter sessions. The justice, to screen the informers, telling Thomas he suffered justly, and he in his own defence answering that *the righteous were oppressed, and the wicked went unpunished*, pretended to interpret these words, as a reflection on the government, and for refusing surties for his appearance at the next sessions, committed him to Aylsbury jail. This was done to prevent him from prosecuting his

CHAPTERS, divers of whom upon trial were found  
 XXII. guilty of perjury, and suffered for it; others by  
 the partiality and protection of the magistrates,  
 1570. though proved guilty, escaped the punishment  
 due to their crime.\*

† Nor were they more scrupulous in proportioning the distrainments to the value of the fines imposed :

his appeal; but some of his friends, especially Thomas Ellwood, prosecuted it, and at the next sessions produced incontestible evidence that Thomas Zachary and his wife were in London all that day; so that, notwithstanding all endeavours to the contrary, the jury found for the appellants; the conviction was set aside, and the money deposited at entering the appeal ought to have been returned, but they could never get more than 10*l.* of it, the rest being detained by the clerk of the peace. But so angry was the convicting justice, that he persuaded the rest to tender Thomas Zachary the oath of allegiance, for refusal whereof he was kept in prison a long time after.

In Somersetshire the informers swore against six persons for being at a meeting at Ycovil, where they had not been at all. Others swore Thomas Gully was at a meeting at Gregory-stoke in said county, when he was sick in bed, and died soon after. They swore against William Lea, the younger, as being at a meeting five weeks after his death. In Westmoreland Richard Holme and several others were fined, as for being at a meeting, which they were not at, the informers having sworn at random.

\* George Whitehead.

† In Wiltshire the fines of sundry friends amounted to 99*l.* 10*s.* from whom were levied by distress goods to the value of 213*l.* 9*s.* Robert Stevens was fined 10*l.* for an unknown preacher, and 5*s.* for himself, though there was no preacher there; he was a very poor man, and all his goods were valued at 40*s.* which being reported to the justice, he ordered the officers to take away the little *all*. Three others were in like manner unjustly fined the like sum for the unknown preacher, who was not there. In Bedfordshire the officers were incited to rapacity by justice Charnock, telling them *they might take 100*l.* for 20*l.* and bring him the money, for his clerk should have some of it for his pains; and that they*  
*must*

imposed: Rapine being their trade, they did not hesitate in the least to take much more in value

CHAP.

XXII.

1670.

*must take the more, because few would buy the goods.* Richard Milner, for a fine of 20*l.* for a meeting at his house, had goods taken from him worth 37*l.* Richard Smith of Chester had his goods seized several times for meetings at his house far exceeding the fines imposed, which were usually 20*l.* by the encouragement of the mayor, bidding the officers take enough; several were distrained to five or six times the value of the fines.

Thomas Green being on his knees in prayer at a meeting in Sabridgeworth, Hertfordshire, was dragged out and fined by two justices 10*l.* for which his goods were taken by distress to the value of 50*l.*

Charles Barnett, a baker of Leominster, was fined 20*l.* for preaching, and afterwards 40*l.* for a second offence; for which all the goods in his house, and all the wood in his yard, were taken away. After which warrants being again issued against him, the officer reported to the justice Booth *he had nothing left but bread, which would spoil before it could be sold*; the justice answered, *if you cannot sell it, you may bring it me to give to my horses.*

Theophilus Green, preaching at a meeting at Uxbridge, was fined 20*l.* and under pretence that he had uttered seditious expressions, because he exhorted his friends *to keep their meetings in the name of Jesus, notwithstanding the laws of man to the contrary*, he was sent to newgate. For this and other fines for meeting, warrants of distress were issued against him for 100*l.* for which they took away all his household goods.

In Nottinghamshire in 1669, Peniston Whaley, chairman, in his charge to the grand jury, endeavouring to incense them against the Quakers so called, manifested his absurdity, ignorance and malevolence together, by telling them in effect the act of 35 Eliz. was not made against the Papists but the Quakers; for, said he, the church of Rome is a true church, as well as any other; for a man though he be a lame or ill-favoured man, yet he is a man as well as a lord or an earl. And though the church of Rome have some corruptions, yet it is a true church as well as any other, and so it could not be made against them; therefore it must needs be against these people.

C H A P. value than the amount of the fines, while they  
 XXII. could find any thing to take, encouraged by the  
 1670. instructions

people. You ought to put it in force and not pity them. Extraordinary reasoning indeed!

On the 6th, 8th and 9th of the month called August this year, one Bumstead, a bailiff's follower, with others, came to the house of William Albright of Wooburn in Bedfordshire, at whose house a meeting was kept, and by a warrant from justice Charnock broke open his doors, and took away timber, malt, oats and other things to the value of 70*l*. Howbeit the said Albright continued steadfast in permitting meetings at his house, until by repeated seizures he was so impoverished, that having nothing left to satisfy the fines, he was finally cast into prison about the month of October.

Sarah Baker, a poor widow, for 15*s*. fine, suffered distress of what household goods she had, amongst which having boiled milk in a skillet for two sick children, the informers threw away the poor children's sustenance, and took the skillet away. George Thorowgood, of Ely, had all his household goods, beds and bed-clothes taken, and was forced to lodge on straw; after which, when sick, his prosecutors took away his sheets and shirt. Edward Crooke had the bedding for himself and family taken away, with the children's cradle, so that one of them died with sickness contracted by lying on straw. Samuel Bates of Cranbrook, having had all his goods seized for a fine for suffering meetings at his house, a while after, when he had gotten a few more household goods, some of which were lent him in his distress, one Culpeper, a justice of peace, got in at a window, and with an axe broke open the door, and let in the constable, whom he charged *to clear the house of all that was in it*; but the constable pitying the poor man's case, did not execute the order, for which the justice fined the said constable 5*l*. who had two oxen taken from him worth 15*l*. For a meeting at Long-Claxton in Leicestershire four persons were sent to prison, and so many goods at divers times taken from some of that meeting, that they had not a cow left to give their children milk; their bed-clothes, working-tools and wearing apparel escaped not the violence and avarice of the persecutors; the sum total amounted to above 236*l*. besides which the informers gave them much personal abuse, and robbed one of the prisoners of his purse and money.

instructions and assistance of justices, who frequently gave them directions *to be sure to take enough*, they often sold the distresses for less than half value, and would then come for more. To recite all the instances of cruel plunderings on one hand, and distressing sufferings on the other, even in this year, recorded in Bessie's Account of the Sufferings of this People, would even make a volume; wherefore I shall content myself with a few notes exhibiting some cases in confirmation of these remarks.

C H A P.  
XXII.  
1670.  
Exorbitant  
in their  
distraints.

Severe as this act against conventicles was, yet the villainy and perjury of the informers, and prejudice of sundry justices against this people frequently urged them to acts of severity and injustice beyond the letter of the law; which excited some of the sufferers to appeal, according the privilege allowed them by the act; but in a general way they got little by the appeal but additional loss\*, for as the dernier or only

Justices and  
informers  
exercise  
their power  
beyond the  
law.

\* Ten persons having taken from them for fines, for a meeting at West-Alvington in Devonshire, goods amounting to 81l. 11s. 8d. amongst which was comprized 20l. for a preacher, though the meeting was held in silence, and fines upon others for two persons, one of which was absent, and the other had been dead some time, some of them brought their appeal to the quarter sessions, where the informers in concert swore for their gain, that they saw a man standing up with a bible before him (a practice not in use with this people) which was clearly disproved by the witnesses for the appellants, and amongst them the constable. The chairman summing up the evidence declared it was an equal balance, the jury brought in their verdict for the king, and the appellants thus wrongfully were cast in treble costs.

At the same sessions Mary Randal brought her appeal for being distrained for fines for the absent and deceased persons abovementioned,

C H A P. only resort was to the quarter sessions, the in-  
 XXII fluence of the convicting justice, the partiality  
 of

1670.

Yet appeals  
 are gene-  
 rally inef-  
 fectual.

abovementioned, which being clearly proved, the warrant was judged illegal, and the court ordered the money to be returned, which the convicting justice promised to do, but never did: Instead of restitution he shortly after granted another warrant against her for a pretended offence of the like nature.

Nathaniel Smith, by advice of council, brought his appeal before the quarter sessions of Herefordshire; the case being heard, the jury went out, and returned with a verdict for the appellant; the court refused to accept it, and sent them out again; they repeated the same verdict six times successively, and were as often repulsed by the court; but the jurors continuing stedfast in their opinion, the verdict was at length recorded; but the court at the same time directed the officers to empanel another jury for the next trial. They also sent an officer to prison for procuring the jury a copy of the king's proclamation at their request. But though the verdict had been recorded, yet afterward the justices knowing one of the jury to be of a timorous disposition, prevailed on him to say, *he had not consented to it*, and on that pretence sent out the jury again, with such threats as produced a contrary verdict, the men being overawed by the court to act against their consciences. Thus the verdict six times given for the appellant was annulled, and he obliged to acquiesce under the charges of the appeal, added to the injustice of his first suffering. In like manner at the same sessions the appeal of William Owen was also frustrated, the justices telling the jury that the case was like Smith's, peremptorily directed them to find for the king, which was done accordingly, one of the jury being heard to say, *the court is lord of our consciences*.

Francis Plumstead of London was sworn against by two informers for preaching at a meeting in Devonshire buildings on the 25th of November, 1683, and for being at another meeting there on the 15th of the same month, whereupon one Dudley North, justice, had issued warrants of distress for 30l. He deposited that sum in the hands of the constable, and appealed. His appeal was prosecuted from sessions to sessions; at length affidavit was made that the said two informers within a month after the warrant was granted, came to a neighbour's  
 house,

of the bench, corrupt juries, or the neglect of the justices in putting their decrees into due execution, when in favour of the appellant, mostly left them unredressed, or suffering under additional grievances in many very clear causes of just complaint, whereby others who had just cause were discouraged from trying this ineffectual mode of relief; apprehending it more eligible to acquiesce under the first illegal wrong.

This people were often informed against and illegally fined by a misconstruction of the word *Conventicles*, which though limited in the act to meetings for worship contrary to the liturgy of the

C H A P.  
XXII.

167c.

Arbitrary  
miscon-  
struction  
of the word  
conventicle.

house, and sent for the said Francis Plumstead, and before witnesses confessed they had been drawn in to that wicked act, asked forgiveness, and offered to kneel down and beg his pardon, owning then and several times after, that *they had done him wrong, and sworn falsely against him*. He also proved by two witnesses, present at the meeting, that *he did not preach there*. Nevertheless, and though no evidence appeared against him, the Recorder endeavoured to invalidate the testimony of his witnesses, and so wrought upon the jury that they brought him in guilty of being at the other meeting, for which he was fined 10*l*. By which fine and the charges of his appeal, he computed the damage by him sustained to be at least 40*l*.

Henry Kendon of London, had distress made on his goods for 50*l*. being the contents of five several warrants granted against him in one and the same day; he appealed, and was cast on three of these indictments, by the evidence of a woman, who was afterwards proved to be perjured, for he had three substantial witnesses to testify the contrary of what she swore. The other two appeals he gained; but the whole of his loss and charges amounted to 72*l*.

William Collard of Southwark, had his goods seized by a warrant with a wrong name, whereupon he appealed; but the jury upon trial, though inclined to acquit him, being sent out three times by the bench with threatening words, at last said, *they thought it must be for the king*; so that he lost his cause with the additional charges to the value of about 17*l*.

CHAP. the church of England; yet by mercenary in-  
 XXII. formers, and mercenary and partial justices was  
 extended to comprize all assemblies of any of  
 1670. those people \*; if they met merely to provide  
 for

\* A meeting was held for church affairs, and to relieve the necessities of the poor, at the house of John Penford at Kirby-Mucklow in Leicestershire. Thither came the informers, and found them in consultation about works of charity. John Penford bid them look into the books of accounts then lying open, that so they might not misrepresent the cause of their meeting. Four of them were summoned to appear before the justices at Market-Bosworth, who, appearing accordingly, were charged with being at a seditious conventicle; they desired that the informers might give in their depositions in their hearing, but the justices would not grant it; for they were so partially disposed, that one of them told John Penford, who had a considerable estate, that *he would reduce him to poverty*. They fined John Penford 30l. 20l. for the house, and 10l. for a preacher, though no preacher was there; they also fined several others 3l. 6s. 8d. each, so that the whole amounted to 50l. Penford and another appealed to the quarter sessions, and retained council to plead their cause. But so arbitrary were the justices, that they refused to try the appeal unless the appellants would take the oath of allegiance; upon their refusal the court awarded treble damages against them, as if they had been cast on the trial, though it is apparent they had law and equity on their side.

It was usual with the people called Quakers, once a quarter, to have a meeting at Ilchester for their church-affairs, and making provision for their poor, which meeting they sometimes held at the Friary, where many of their friends were prisoners. In September 1680, they came from several parts of the county, in order to hold such a meeting; but Henry Walrond, a justice of the peace and captain of a troop of horse, prevented them, by causing the doors of the Friary to be locked, so that neither the prisoners could go out, nor their friends come in, for which reason they were obliged to go to the George Inn, the house of one Robert Abbott, where many of their horses were: there they held their meeting, the men in one room and the women in another. But though there was neither preaching nor praying at that time, yet  
 the



for their poor, the number of whom daily increased by the severity of this act, and the feverer execution thereof; whose accumulated distress necessarily engaged their sympathetic tenderness and friendly assistance †; or if they paid

C H A P.  
XXII.  
1670.

the said justice Walrond fined the said Robert Abbott 40l. for two meetings held in his house, and issued a warrant to distrain his goods, which was done; but Abbott, to prevent their being carried away, paid down the money and appealed to the quarter sessions, the charge of which appeal came to 20l. more. He was there cast, so that the whole charge amounted to 60l. Abbott was not a Quaker, but a civil, friendly man, and those who met at his house would not let him be a sufferer for entertaining them, but repaid him his fine and costs.

† On the 26th of the month called August, Samuel Clothier in Somersetshire died a prisoner, after suffering upwards of ten years imprisonment for not paying tithes. He finished his life in peace, and left a good reputation behind him. Several persons were fined for attending his funeral at Alford; Robert Hunt, a justice of peace, calling this office of respect to the deceased a conventicle, though nothing was spoken at the grave: the widow was fined 40s. for herself, her son and four relations. His brother for himself and others 11. 7s. Several neighbours who were not Quakers were fined for going to the funeral, and paid their fines to prevent the seizure of their goods.

There dwelt at Buckenham in Norfolk, one Robert Tillet, an ancient man, very weak and consumptive, whom some of his friends came to visit in his sickness: two informers observing this, crept into their company, and while they were sitting together, the sick man spoke a few words to his friends concerning his own experience of the work of religion. This the informer swore to be a conventicle, and the sick man was fined 20l. for which they took away six of his cows.

In Somersetshire, the widow of Philip Tyler was fined for being at his funeral, and suffered distress of two cows worth 9l. from sundry others, for being at said funeral, goods were taken to the amount of 82l. and upwards.

An

C H A P. paid a visit to a friend in his sickness; or if they  
 XXII. gathered to pay the last office of respect, in at-  
 tending the funerals of their deceased friends,  
 1670. there were not wanting informers hardy enough  
 to swear such meetings conventicles, nor justices  
 prejudiced against them to issue their warrants to  
 levy fines accordingly. And it is to be observed  
 that where the fines imposed did not exceed 10s.  
 there lay no appeal, although judgment were ever  
 so partial, or the distress ever so exorbitant.

Unfair meth-  
 od of  
 fining for a  
 preacher.

‡ The penalty for the preacher being 20l. for  
 the first offence, and 40l. for the second, was,  
 in

An honest woman at Keel in Staffordshire, being dead, her husband intended to bury her in friends burying ground; but the priest of the parish sent him a threatening message, that if he did not pay his fees, he would arrest the corpse, and cause it to be buried in a ditch, saying *he had rather see all the hereticks hanged than lose one sixpence by them.* In short, the priest and some others sat up all night in an house drinking, in order to watch the corpse: so that the poor man, to keep his dear wife out of their hands, determined to bury her in his own garden, and did so accordingly: and he himself died six days after and was buried beside her. Several of the neighbours came to his funeral, and amongst the rest the church-wardens; the corpse being interred, a friend kneeled down to prayer: upon this the church-wardens grounded an information, upon which the said friend was fined 20l. and several others in other sums; which upon appeal being returned to some of them, so irritated the priest, that he endeavoured to prevail upon the magistrates of the town, where the friend who prayed at the funeral dwelt, to tender him the oath of allegiance, but without effect; whereupon he applied to some country justices, who sent for him, tendered him the oath, and upon his refusing to take it sent him to prison.

‡ Two informers came to the house of Abraham Hayworth of Rosendale in Lancashire, when the meeting there was breaking up; they went and made information that James Radcliff preached there, who was not at that meeting; however the justices upon this evidence fined him 20l.  
 for

in the view of these unconscientious informers too valuable an acquisition to the fines of 5s. and 10s. not to be brought in, in addition thereto; for this purpose they often swore against a preacher when there was none there, nor a word spoken in the meeting; at other times they would by impertinent questions extort an answer from some one or other present, and if a word was spoken, though on subjects foreign to religion, they termed it preaching, and swore accordingly; and the informations being generally made before magistrates as ready to fine as these informers

C H A P.  
XXII.  
1670.

for which the officers broke open five doors, and took away twelve kine, and an horse worth 39l.

William Claytor of Elton in Nottinghamshire, and John Barker of Bingham, were together at a friend's house, where were no others but the family; an informer came in, and asked William some usual familiar questions, to which he gave him proper answers: upon which he gave information to a justice, *that there was a meeting, and that William Clayton spoke*, whereupon the justice fined William 20l. and John Barker 12l. *Besse, v. i. p. 555.*

Another time William Claytor and some others being assembled, and sitting together in silence, two informers came in, and with them some of the town officers: one of the informers said, *take their names.* William Claytor asked, *What will you take our names for?* The informer said, *for a silent meeting;* Nay, said the other informer, *put him down for a speaker;* which they did accordingly, and he was fined by justice Whaley for speaking or preaching 40l. for a second offence, having been formerly convicted on a like stratagem as before mentioned.

A parallel case to this was that of Joseph Wallis, who sitting silent in a meeting, one Walker, an informer, came in, and asked him, *When will you give over this?* Joseph answered, *When wilt thou give over thy trade?* Walker returned, *Not till you give over yours.* Joseph replied, *thine will not bring thee peace in thy latter end.* For this Joseph Wallis was fined 20l. as a preacher.

C H A P. informers were to swear, by this iniquitous com-  
 XXII. bination were many of this people plainly robbed by [the misapplication of] an act of parliament.  
 1670.

Some justices discourage the informers.

But some well disposed justices, apprized of the villainy and infamous characters of these informers, and their readiness to swear at all adventures, to plunder without mercy, to enhance their ill-got gains, had too much honour to encourage such a vicious disposition; with such it hath frequently happened that those informed against have been cleared, when the informer missed in his evidence either in the day of the month or the like in the complaint. In London, the lord mayor sitting in a court of aldermen, an impudent informer made his appearance, with such a number of informations as would have wronged the parties informed against of 1500l. but the mayor, in abhorrence, adjourned the court. Yet this hardy informer, not satisfied to let the matter fall, appeared before the court again and again, and was as often put off, 'till at last he was arrested for debt, and ended his days in prison.

Geo. Fox writes against the law, and for the encouragement of friends.

George Fox being at this time in London, published remarks upon the injustice of this law, in order, if possible, to move the government to moderation: but at the same time being apprehensive of an impending storm, he wrote an epistle to his friends, to exhort them to faithfulness and steadfastness in their testimony to the truth, and to christian patience, in bearing the sufferings which might be permitted to try their faith.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*Meeting-houses in London shut up.—George Fox taken before the Mayor and dismissed.—An episcopalian Priest brought to preach at Gracious-street.—George Whitehead preaches after him.—Proceedings at Peck-meeting.—Trial of William Penn and William Mead for a Riot.—Acquitted by the Jury.—The Jury fined and imprisoned.—Trial of Thomas Rudyard and others.—Sentence passed on the Prisoners clandestinely.—Imprisonment in an infected Jail.—Accounts of these Trials published.—The Recorder rewarded for his Service.*

UPON the commencement of this act's taking place, in London and several other places, the meeting-houses were shut up, and a guard placed at the door, to keep the people out, and amongst the rest at the meeting-house at Gracechurch-street, whereupon the meeting was held in the court. On the next first day, being kept not only out of the meeting-house, but also out of the court, they assembled in the open street, where George Fox began to preach, but was presently pulled down; after him another was served in like manner, and both of them were carried before the Lord Mayor by a constable and an informer, attended by a guard of soldiers. As they were passing along the informer discovered

C H A P.  
XXIII.  
1670.  
Meeting-  
house in  
London  
shut up.

CHAP. discovered himself by the following expression,  
 XXIII. *It will never be a good world, until all the people*  
 1670. *come to the good old religion, that was two hun-*  
 George Fox *dred years ago: Upon hearing which George*  
 taken before *said, What! a papist informer. When they came*  
 the mayor *to the court before the mayor's house, some of*  
 and dismissed. *the people asked George Fox why he was brought*  
*thither? He replied, ask that informer, and ask*  
*him his name. Upon this one of the mayor's*  
*officers said, he should tell his name before he*  
*went away; for the Lord Mayor will know by*  
*what authority you intrude yourself with soldiers*  
*into the execution of those laws which belong to*  
*the civil magistrate to execute. The informer un-*  
*willing to abide the examination, slipped out of*  
*the court, and was received by the populace in*  
*the street with a loud cry of, a papist informer!*  
*a papist informer!* who were like to have hand-  
 led him roughly, had not George Fox persuaded  
 the constable and soldiers to rescue him out of  
 their hands. By which means he got into an  
 house, changed his periwig, and made his es-  
 cape. The informer being fled, and no body  
 appearing in that quality, the Lord Mayor, after  
 some discourse with George Fox and his friend,  
 set them both at liberty. In like manner on  
 the same day, at Devonshire house, many friends  
 were by compulsion kept out of their meeting-  
 house. But John Burnyeat and others having  
 assembled in the meeting, he began to speak,  
 but was quickly pulled down, and carried be-  
 fore the Lord Mayor, who fined him 20*l.* At  
 Westminster several were grievously abused, some  
 having their clothes taken from them, as cloaks,  
 coats, hoods, scarves, &c. some kept prisoners  
 several

John Burn-  
 yeat fined  
 20*l.*

several hours, and afterward taken before two CHAP. justices, who fined them, both men and women. XXIII.

Various were the measures adopted by the magistrates to perplex the Quakers, and deter them from keeping up their religious meetings; but standing upon a solid foundation, a conscience void of offence, and a dependence on divine protection, they were preserved through all their severe trials, steadfast and undismayed, whereby their adversaries were frustrated through all their efforts to distress them to dispersion. The mayor first set guards upon their meeting-houses; and they resorting thereto in point of duty, and being by force kept out, held their meetings in the street, as near thereto as they were permitted to come. Next, viz. on the 26th of the month called June, he suffered them to assemble in the meeting-house in Whitehart court; but when assembled, he contrived to procure an episcopalian priest to go thither and officiate according to their liturgy, and sent a band of soldiers to guard him in the performance of his office, who accordingly read the common prayer, and preached a sermon in the gallery, exhorting to love and forbearance, from Eph. c. iv. v. 2, 15; but at the same time by his conduct did not confirm his doctrine; for the soldiers who guarded him were rude and abusive to some of his auditors by compulsion, for making some observations on the inconsistency of the measures of the church party with his doctrine, and he neither repressed nor rebuked their rudeness and violence, which they dealt freely to women as well as men.

1670.

An episcopalian priest brought to preach at Grace-church-street.

CHAP.  
XXIII.

1670.  
George  
Whitehead  
preaches af-  
ter him, for  
which he is  
taken be-  
fore the  
mayor.

As the novelty of the tranſaction drew many people together, after the prieſt had ended his ſermon, George Whitehead ſtood up, and preached on the ſame ſubject, taking occaſion therefrom to demonſtrate the inconfiſtency of perfection therewith, and with the goſpel of peace. The mixed auditory liſtened with attention, and the meeting continued in an agreeable ſtate of quietude, until two rude fellows with ſoldiers at their heels, laid violent hands on him and pulled him down, by their violence pushing down ſome women preſent, and carried him to the mayor's, keeping him ſome time in his yard. His name and the information againſt him being given to the mayor, he preſently ſent out a warrant to commit him to the compter at the gatehouſe in Biſhopsgate-ſtreet, for making a diſturbance, &c. until he ſhould find ſureties or be delivered by due courſe of law, without examining the caſe, or admitting George Whitehead to be heard in his own defence.

George Whitehead ſeeing the warrant, requeſted an audience of the mayor, which being obtained, he informed him, that he apprehended there was a miſtake in the warrant, in charging him with making diſturbance, for that there was no ſuch thing, until the informers and ſoldiers came in; that he made none, but on the contrary quieted the people by reaſonable advice and counſel. He was ſent to the compter until the evening, and then ſent for to appear before the mayor again; and after ſome diſcourſe \* the mayor in concluſion ſignified he muſt fine

\* The ſubſtance of the diſcourſe between George Whitehead and the Mayor was as followeth: Information being given  
given



fine him 40l. for a second offence, as having been, he said, convicted before Sir Joseph Sheldon  
C H A P.  
XIII.  
1670.

given that George Whitehead stood up and preached after the minister had ended, but what he preached the witnesses could not tell,

The Mayor said, if the minister had done it was a conventicle.

*G. Whitehead.* If I had preached sedition or discord against either the government or peace of the nation, I might justly suffer by this law; being an act to prevent and suppress *seditionous conventicles*. But it was no other but the gospel of peace and salvation by Jesus Christ that I preached, to exalt the power of godliness, directing the people thereto, that they may not remain under empty and dead forms of profession.

*Mayor.* I believe both you and others have done good— Well, I must fine you 40l. this being for the second offence; you were convicted before Sir Joseph Sheldon once before.

*G. Whitehead.* Must I suffer for preaching the gospel, as if I had been preaching sedition? Doth the law make no difference? Besides I was not convicted according to this law before justice Sheldon, for it was there made appear that the witness forswore himself; for he swore that he took me preaching, when many could testify (as some did) that I was praying, and not preaching at that time.

*Mayor.* But were you on your knees with your hat off when they took you?

*G. Whitehead.* Yea, I was, and the meeting was in a solemn posture of prayer, the men with their hats off: And the soldiers pulled me down when I was praying.

*Mayor.* However, you were in a religious exercise.

*G. Whitehead.* If preaching must be accounted a religious exercise, not allowed by the liturgy, yet I do not understand that prayer is included in the clause. "Every person who shall take upon him to preach or teach in any such meeting, and shall be thereof convicted, shall forfeit 20l." Now here is no praying mentioned. Now I desire thy judgment, whether preaching or teaching can be meant praying?

*Mayor.* No, praying is not here mentioned; however your conviction is recorded, you may make your appeal.

C H A P. don before; but it seems the fine was never  
 XIII. levied.

1670.

They pursued the like plan at the same meeting-house for three or four first days successively; but whatever their view might be in this intrusion of their liturgy within unconsecrated walls, they soon grew tired, and returned to the practice of placing guards at the meeting-houses, and keeping the assemblies of this people out in the streets.

Upon the 17th day of the 5th month, O. S. called July, friends were kept out of their meeting-house at Peele in the street, by a band of soldiers and a constable, and two women friends being concerned to speak a few words of exhortation, the soldiers came and violently pulled them away, pushed down both men and women with their muskets, bruised several, and tore Mary Wicks's scarf and apron, whereupon one of the friends called to the constable to keep the peace. Toward the conclusion of the meeting George Whitehead felt his heart animated with fervency to call upon the Lord by prayer, in which as he was exercised, the soldiers with violence pulled him away into the entry; George

*G. Whitehead.* To whom shall I make my appeal but to those that wrong me.

*Mayor.* I must do according to law; I must fine you  
 40l.

*G. Whitehead.* That law which makes no distinction between preaching sedition and preaching the gospel of peace I must deny, as being both against reason and against God, and God, who judgeth righteously, will judge between thee and us in this thing.

then

then reasoned with them concerning their rudeness and incivility towards the women; remarking how much below the manly spirit of foldiers they acted in abusing peaceable men, and women of repute, as they had done. Presently after they pulled John Scot and Samuel Richardson into their guard-room, and detained those three in their custody near three hours; and then a great company of foldiers conducted them to an ale-house near Clerkenwell, where two justices, Foster and Bowles, were, with a body of the king's horse-guards before the door. Upon their appearing before the justices, George Whitehead, addressing himself to the justices said, "I am glad we are come before the civil magistrates: We desire justice of you against the foldiers, who have kept us out of our meeting in the street, and taken us contrary to law, even contrary to the present act of parliament, which requires not them to meddle with meetings, but where resistance is made, and upon certificate thereof as the act mentions: Besides, some of these foldiers behaved rudely, and abused several of our friends, and hurt some of the women by punching them with their muskets. In the next place, we except against these foldiers as witnesses, looking upon them as improper witnesses against us, who have broken the law themselves."

Nevertheless they were put to their oaths to give testimony against the prisoners, whom they had abused and illegally apprehended, the justices not cautioning them to take heed what they swore, although the major (who was present)

C H A P.  
XXIII.

1670.

CHAP. sent) did. Their information against George  
 XXIII. Whitehead, imported, That there were about  
 300 in the street, that they took him preaching,  
 1670. standing on a bulk or stall.

*George Whitehead* answered, That is not true, I was praying, standing on the ground, but leaning on a stall.

*Soldiers.* We took him praying, but leaning on a bulk.

*George Whitehead.* See how confuted and contradictory they are in their evidence, for preaching and praying are two things; neither is praying mentioned in the clause of that act which is made against such as take upon them to preach or teach.

*Justice Foster.* You conjured them together to the meeting.


*George Whitehead.* That's not true, for they were gathered before I came to the meeting.

The major reprovng the foldiers for going beyond his order, which was to keep friends in the street, and to keep sentry at the door, but not to take them prisoners,

*Justice Bowles,* in excuse of the soldiers, said, Sir, after you were gone I ordered them to take those that preached, and I thank them.

*Justice Foster.* What a devil did you come there to pray for?

*George Whitehead.* Do these words become a magistrate? We did not meet to hear or sing ballads in the street, nor do we meet at play-houses, nor at bawdy-houses, nor at drinking-houses to be drunk, where the devil is served; but singly to serve and worship the living God. The major and some more with him seemed highly

highly offended at these expressions, calling out, CHAP.  
Whom do you accuse? whom do you accuse for XXIII.  
going to bawdy-houses? Whereupon some of   
the company present smiled one upon another. 1670.

*George Whitehead.* I accuse none, but tell you what meetings we do not come at, nor own; and for what end we do meet.

The information against John Scot was, that they took him preaching, which was, that when they were behaving with rudeness and violence he desired them to *be moderate*. Against Samuel Richardson, that he laid violent hands on one of their muskets; but this was utterly false, and denied by Samuel Richardson, for he was standing peaceably (as he said) with his hands in his pockets. They were all committed to New-prison, guarded by a constable, and a guard of soldiers. And the next evening they fined Geo. Whitehead 20l. (but it was not levied) and Samuel Richardson five shillings, and discharged them. But imprisoned John Scot six months on the Oxford act against nonconformist preachers, although he was no preacher, nor in any respect justly liable to be punished by the said act.

The magistrates of London next conceived a new plan, to imprison them, in order to bring them to trial for a riot, and exert their utmost endeavours to get them convicted thereupon. They began with two very eminent members of this society, William Penn and William Mead, who were taken as William Penn was preaching in Grace-church-street on the 14th of the month called August, and both committed to Newgate, from whence they were brought to their trial at the sessions at the Old-Baily the 1st, 3d, 4th and 5th of September, wherein is exhibited

CHAP bited a remarkable specimen of the violent ex-  
 XXIII. ertions of arbitrary power in the magistrates;  
 ~~~~~ and of intrepid fortitude in defence of the an-  
 1670. cient and fundamental privileges of the people  
 in the prisoners and the jury.

The indictment set forth, that William Penn and William Mead, with divers other persons to the number of 300, at Grace-church-street in the city of London, on the 15th of August, with force and arms tumultuously assembled together, and that William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead, had preached there in the publick street, whereby was caused a great concourse of people. To this indictment they severally pleaded *not guilty*. After which they were detained there five hours, waiting upon the trial of felons, and then returned to Newgate; and two days after were brought before the court again, when the court more openly manifested a preconcerted design to treat them with the utmost severity, and take every unfair advantage against them; for coming into court after their accustomed manner with their hats on, and the officers having taken them off, the lord mayor, Samuel Starling, reprov'd them sharply, and order'd them to put them on their heads again. Whereupon the recorder, Howel, who appeared through the whole trial implacably determin'd against them, fin'd them forty marks each, for not taking off their hats. Which occasioned William Penn to remark, That they were in the court with their hats off, (i. e. taken off) and if they have been put on since, it is by order of the bench; and therefore, (if any) the bench, not the prisoners, ought to be fin'd.

The

The jury being sworn, and the witnesses being called, deposed that they saw William Penn speaking to the people assembled in a great number in Grace-church-street, but they could not hear what he said. C H A P. XXIII. ~~~~~ 1670.

The recorder then asked William Mead if he was there? Who replied, It is a maxim in your own law that no man is bound to accuse himself, why then dost thou go about to ensnare me? The recorder, in resentment, returned, Sir, hold your tongue, I did not go about to ensnare you. Then William Penn freely declared, we confess ourselves so far from recanting or declining to vindicate our assembling ourselves to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that we believe it to be our indispensable duty to meet upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring God, who made us. Richard Brown alledged, you are not here for worshipping God, but for breaking the law, you do yourselves a great deal of wrong in going on in that discourse \*. To this William Penn answered, I affirm I have broken no law; nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge: And to the end the bench, the jury and myself, with these that hear us, may have a more direct understanding of this procedure,

\* This appears to me a nice distinction in terms, without a difference in effect. The law alluded to by Brown was made against all worship not according to the liturgy, &c. The Quakers worship was, from conscientious conviction, not according thereto, but such as they believed most acceptable to God: Their worship being then a breach of the law, is not then their worshipping God and breaking the law one and the same thing?

C H A P. procedure, I desire to know by what law you  
 XXIII. prosecute, and upon which you ground my in-  
 dictment? The recorder answered, Upon the  
 1670. common law. William Penn desired that com-  
 mon law might be produced, as it would be im-  
 possible for the jury to determine, or agree in  
 their verdict, under ignorance of the law, by  
 which they should measure the truth of the in-  
 dictment, and the guilt or contrary of the fact.  
 The recorder, provoked at his persistence in de-  
 manding a specification of the law, which he  
 could not tell where to find, suffered his passion  
 to transport him beyond the bounds of decency,  
 and treat a man on every account as respectable  
 as himself with ill language, in this laconic re-  
 ply to his just requisition, You are a saucy fel-  
 low, speak to the indictment: But William  
 Penn insisting on his right to have the law pro-  
 duced on which the indictment was founded,  
 and the court evading it, and insisting on his  
 pleading to the indictment as it stood: At last  
 the recorder, losing all patience, to abusive lan-  
 guage added a plain confession that he did not  
 know where the law was to be found, You are,  
 said he, an impertinent fellow, will you teach  
 the court what law is? Its *Lex non scripta*,  
 that which many have studied thirty or forty  
 years to know, and would you have me tell  
 you in a moment? *William Penn.* If the com-  
 mon law be so hard to be understood, it is far  
 from being common; but if Lord Coke in his  
 institutes be of any authority, he tells us, that  
 common law is common right, and that com-  
 mon right is the great charter privileges. *Re-  
 corder.* You are a troublesome fellow, and it is  
 not for the honour of the court to suffer you to



go on. *William Penn.* I design no affront to the court, but to be heard in my just plea; and I must plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you suggest I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your sinister and arbitrary designs. This exasperated the recorder to that degree that he called to the officers to take him away. And addressing himself to the mayor, said, my lord, if you do not take some course with this pestilent fellow to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to-night. Upon which the lord mayor ordered him to be haled from the bar into the bail-dock. As he was going away, he made the following address to the jury. This I leave upon your consciences, who are my jury, and my sole judges, that if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensably maintained and observed, who can say he hath a right to the coat on his back? Certainly then our liberties are to be openly invaded; our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, our families ruined, and our estates led away in triumph by every sturdy beggar and malicious informer, as their trophies, by our pretended forfeitures for conscience-sake.

William Mead, being left alone at the bar, also addressed the jury in the following speech:  
 “ Ye men of the jury, I now stand here to answer to an indictment against me, which is a bundle of stuff, full of lies and falsehoods;  
 “ for therein I am accused that I met with force  
 “ and

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1670.

C H A P.

XXIII.

1670.

“ and arms unlawfully and tumultuously. Time  
 “ was when I had freedom to use a carnal wea-  
 “ pon, and then I thought I feared no man :  
 “ But now I fear the living God, and dare not  
 “ make use thereof, nor hurt any man ; nor do  
 “ I know that I demeaned myself as a tumultu-  
 “ ous person : Therefore it is a very proper  
 “ question that William Penn demanded, an  
 “ oyer of the law on which our indictment is  
 “ grounded. If the recorder will not tell you  
 “ what makes a riot, &c. Coke tells us, a riot  
 “ is, when three or more are met together to  
 “ beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another  
 “ man’s land, to cut his grafs, his wood, or  
 “ break down his pales.” The recorder, pull-  
 ing off his hat in a contemptuous manner, said, I  
 thank you, Sir, for telling me what the law is.  
 William Mead replied, thou mayst put on thy  
 hat, I have never a fee for thee now. The lord  
 mayor saying, you deserve to have your  
 tongue cut out ; and the recorder threatening  
 to take occasion against him, he pleading his pri-  
 vilege as an Englishman, the recorder rejoined,  
 I look upon you to be an enemy to the laws of  
 England, nor are you worthy of such privileges  
 as others have. Then he was likewise ordered  
 into the bail-dock.

When the prisoners were gone, the recorder  
 proceeded to give the jury their charge ; which  
 William Penn observing, remonstrated against as  
 an irregular proceeding, raising himself up by  
 the rails of the bail-dock, that he might be heard,  
 with a loud voice spoke thus : “ I appeal to the  
 “ jury, and this great assembly, whether it be  
 “ not contrary to the undoubted right of every  
 “ Englishman to give the jury their charge in  
 “ the

“ the absence of the prisoners.” The recorder answered sneeringly, ye are present, ye do hear, do you not? *William Penn.* No thanks to the court that ordered me into the bail-dock: And you of the jury, take notice that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the court before I have been fully heard, having at least ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate the indictment. This speech being very unpalatable to the court, the recorder cried out, pull that fellow down, pull him down. William Mead thereupon exclaimed against their proceedings as barbarous and unjust; upon which, by order of the recorder, they were thrust into a stinking hole and detained there, while the jury went up to agree upon their verdict; after staying about an hour and an half, eight came down agreed; but four being dissatisfied remained above. The bench, highly provoked at these jurymen, who obstructed their designs, threatened them with the like domineering incivility as they had the prisoners before, particularly Edward Bushel, whom they charged with being the cause of this disagreement, and an abettor of faction, with more imperious and menacing language, unbecoming persons in the seat of justice, or those of a liberal education. After much abusive treatment they sent them to consider of bringing in their verdict, which after some time they agreed to bring William Penn guilty of speaking in Gracious-street. This the court refused to accept as a verdict: And strove unfairly to extort expressions from some of them, to procure a verdict more to their purpose, as that he was speaking to an unlawful assembly; but Bushel, Hammond, and some others

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1670.

The jury  
menaced.

C H A P. others bravely maintained their right, and re-  
 XXIII. fused to admit any alteration in their verdict; at  
 1670. which the recorder, mayor, and others took oc-  
 casion to abuse them with most opprobrious lan-  
 guage, and forced them up again to bring in a  
 verdict they would accept. Upon their return  
 they produced their verdict in writing, signed by  
 them all, as follows, viz.

Verdict in  
 writing.

“ We the jurors hereafter named do find  
 “ William Penn guilty of speaking or preaching  
 “ to an assembly met together in Gracious-street  
 “ the 14th August 1670, and that Wm. Mead  
 “ is not guilty of the said indictment.”

|                       |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Thomas Veer, foreman. | Charles Meilfon.  |
| Edward Bushel.        | Gregory Walklet.  |
| John Hammond.         | John Bailey.      |
| Henry Henley.         | William Lever.    |
| Henry Mitchel.        | James Damask.     |
| John Brightman.       | William Plumsted. |

This both the mayor and recorder resented so  
 highly that they exceeded the bounds of modera-  
 tion, reason and civility, which drew the follow-  
 remonstrance from William Penn.

“ My jury, who are my judges, ought not to  
 “ be thus menaced; their verdict should be  
 “ free, and not compelled: The bench  
 “ ought to wait upon them, but not forestal  
 “ them: I do desire that justice may be done  
 “ me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the  
 “ bench may not be made the measure of my  
 “ jury’s verdict.” This poignant vindication of  
 his right exasperated the recorder to the follow-  
 ing illiberal exclamation: “ Stop that prating  
 “ fellow’s mouth, or put him out of the court.”

And

And the mayor telling the jury, "That he had gathered a company of tumultuous people." William Penn, in explanation, replied, It is a mistake, we did not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us; the jury cannot be so ignorant as to think we met with any design to disturb the civil peace: We were with force of arms kept out of our lawful house, and met as near it in the street as the soldiers would give us leave: It is no new thing, nor with the circumstances expressed in the indictment, but what was usual with us: 'Tis very well known that we are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man." He insisted that the agreement of twelve men is a verdict; required the clerk of the peace to record it; and addressing himself to the jury, said, "You are Englishmen, mind your privileges; give not away your right." To which some of them replied, "Nor will we ever do it."

C H A P.

XXIII.

1670.

The prisoners were now sent back to jail, and the jury to their chamber, where they were shut up all night without victuals, fire, or any accommodation, not even a chamber-pot, the recorder having declared he would have a verdict or they should starve for it.

The next morning they brought in the same verdict; and neither the passionate resentments, the opprobrious reflections, nor the repeated menaces of the bench, could prevail upon them to alter it in the least. Their steadfastness, and the manly defence of William Penn, made the recorder's passion get the better of his prudence so far as to extort sentiments, which policy would conceal. *'Till now, I never under-*

*stood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniard's* Recorder approves the Spaniard's inquisition.

CHAP. Spaniards in suffering the inquisition among them ;  
 XXIII. and certainly it will never be well with us, 'till  
 something like the Spanish inquisition be in England.

1670. You will find next sessions of parliament there will be a law made, that those who will not conform shall not have the protection of the law. The jury after repeated menaces, were forced up again, and spent a second night without accommodations as before ; no regard being paid to their remonstrances, that they had all agreed, and in confirmation thereof had set their hands to the verdict. Next morning the prisoners being brought to the bar, and the jury called upon to bring in their verdict, returned both the prisoners *not guilty* ; for which they were fined forty marks a man, and ordered to be imprisoned 'till the fines were paid ; but some time after were discharged by *habeas corpus* returnable in the Common-pleas, where their commitment was judged illegal. The prisoners, upon being cleared by the jury, demanded their liberty ; but they were remanded to prison for their fines for not taking off their hats, to which they excepted, as being arbitrarily imposed, in violation of the great Charter of England, which saith, " No man ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage." Thus ended this memorable trial, wherein a noble stand was made against the illegal proceedings of despotic magistrates in dangerous times, when reason, law and equity were equally disregarded<sup>a</sup>. The conventicle act was made to encourage prosecutions ; whereby honest people in various parts were greatly oppressed by the informers and justices ; but

Jury shut  
up a second  
night.

Bring in the  
prisoners  
not guilty.  
Jury fined  
and impris-  
oned.

<sup>a</sup> Neale.



C H A P. just in the same manner, and fined for not taking  
 XXIII. off their hats, which had been taken off by the offi-  
 cers, and put on their heads again by order of  
 1670. the court: a second jury was packed to try them,  
 against which they protested, desiring to be in-  
 formed by what law or precedent two juries  
 could be sworn to try one and the same fact? re-  
 ceived for answer, "The court over-rules you."  
 They yet urging that the law ought to be the  
 rule and guide of all courts of justice, and that  
 arbitrary answers were not sufficient to satisfy  
 their reasonable demands; the recorder, greatly  
 enraged, told one of the prisoners he should be  
 gagged, and deserved to have his tongue bored  
 through with a red hot iron. They objected to  
 several of this second jury; but their lawful  
 challenges were rejected by the bench, for no bet-  
 ter reason than that *the court over-ruled them.*

The substance of the evidence against them  
 was, that they were seen in Grace-church-street  
 among an assembly of people, and that they  
 staid there after proclamation was made for  
 all persons to depart. They freely confessed they  
 were met at Gracious-street to worship God;  
 but denied that they were met for the purposes  
 alledged in the indictment, and desiring to know  
 upon what law the indictment was grounded,  
 received similar answers to those before given to  
 Penn and Mead. The indictment having set  
 forth, that three several proclamations were  
 made, the prisoners alledged this to be a mistake,  
 for there was but one made that day. Upon  
 which the mayor demanded of one of the wit-  
 nesses, whether *yez* was not repeated three  
 times? The witness answered in the affirmative.  
 Then said the mayor, that was three proclama-  
 tions. Thus by forced constructions, as by other  
 parts.



parts of their conduct, the members of this court discovered their partiality and inclination to convict the prisoners. The prisoners urged farther their peaceable principles and demeanour; and that the law against riots was never designed against them, but against popish and other disturbers of the public peace. To which the recorder answered, according to the court maxims of that time, That the papists were better subjects to the King than they, and that they were a stubborn and dangerous people, and must either be brought under, or there would be no safe living by them. As this speech of the recorder's was a mere effusion of malice and undeserved dislike to this people, a charge against the prisoners, supported by no fact, but disproved by the whole tenour of their conduct, they offered to vindicate themselves from his aspersions, for which they were treated just as their friends had been before them, ordered into the bail-dock; in their absence the jury received their charge from the recorder, not so much a summing up of the evidence, as a virulent accusation against them, concluding with a direction that they *must bring them in guilty*; which this jury, packed for the purpose, readily did.

The next that were brought to their trial were Ezekiel Archer and Margery Fann, who having been indicted as rioters the sessions before, and the evidence being insufficient to convict them, were detained in prison on an indictment for felony; but this attempt against them was so manifestly unjust and malicious, that even this jury brought them in *not guilty*; and yet Ezekiel Archer was fined and imprisoned with the rest.

Ezekiel Archer and Margery Fann tried for felony.

C H A P. ° The conclusion of their trial was of a piece  
 XXIII. with the conducting thereof: At the close of the  
 sessions these prisoners were called down to the  
 sessions-house, as they expected, to receive judgment, and had accordingly prepared exceptions in arrest of judgment to be delivered to the recorder in writing; but they were precluded from the opportunity of making their defence; the bench passing sentence without any of them hearing it: So determined were they to effect their purpose of punishing them, that they went over all forms of legal proceedings in favour of the prisoners.

1670.  
 Sentence  
 passed on  
 the prisoners  
 clandestinely.

It appeared by the newgate book that this clandestine sentence condemned them in sundry fines, some forty marks, some twenty; and as a special mark of their *vindictive disposition* towards Thomas Rudyard, he was fined 100*l.* and all to be committed to prison, until they should pay their respective fines.

Imprisoned  
 in an infected  
 jail.

But it appearing that newgate was so full of prisoners that there could not be convenient room for this additional number; the court entered into a consultation where to imprison them, and being informed that during the sessions the master of the house and one of the prisoners had died of the spotted fever, out of the *dog* by newgate, they ordered these friends to be imprisoned there; and a keeper was appointed to prevent their going out on any occasion. Yet through the goodness of divine providence they were preserved in health, beyond the expectation of their friends or hope of their enemies, who by the series of their carriage,

° Besse.

through

through the whole of their proceedings against them, gave occasion to suspect they shut them up in that infected house with no friendly design.

C II A P.

XXIII.

1670.

Accounts  
of these tri-  
als publish-  
ed.

<sup>f</sup> An account of both these trials was published soon after, the first by William Penn, under the title of *The People's ancient and just Liberties asserted*. To which is added, an appendix, exhibiting at large the invalidity of the evidence; the falsity and absurdity of the indictment; the arbitrary measures of the court; their repeated violations of the great charter, in particular the absolute illegality of their treatment of the jury; in confirmation whereof he cites Judge Keeling's case, who about three years before had fallen under the censure of the House of Commons upon this very account. Whereupon they passed the following resolutions:

That the proceedings of the lord chief justice, in putting restraints upon juries, are innovations in the trial of men for their lives and liberties; and that he hath used an arbitrary and illegal power, of dangerous consequence to the lives and liberties of the people of England, and tending to the introducing of an arbitrary government.

Secondly, that in the place of judicature, the lord chief justice hath undervalued, vilified and condemned *Magna Charta*, the great preserver of our lives, freedom and property.

Thirdly, that he be brought to trial in order to condign punishment, in such manner as the house shall judge most fit and requisite. And two days after, "Die Veneris, 13th December, 1667, re-

<sup>f</sup> Penn's Works.

“ solved,

C H A P. “ solved, that the precedent or practice of fining  
 XXIII. “ or imprisoning jurors for verdicts is illegal.”

1670. § The account of the succeeding trials of these people at that session was published by Thomas Rudyard, under the title of, *The second Part of the People's ancient and just Liberties asserted*, who as a lawyer was well qualified with precision to point out the right of juries, and the unlawfulness of the proceedings then in vogue. These pieces were well accepted by the public, particularly the former, which passed fundry impressions; for the people began now to be suspicious of ill designs carrying on underhand, and that the established church was let loose to worry and persecute the dissenters, in order that popery and arbitrary power hand in hand might seize the favourable opportunity to establish themselves on the ruins of both.

When or by what means they were released I find no particular account; but William Penn's imprisonment at this time was of no long continuance; for it appears he was at liberty at the time of his father's decease, which happened the 16th of the same month, viz. September 1670. His father was at this time perfectly reconciled to his son, and left him both his paternal blessing and a plentiful estate: And seems to have conceived a favourable opinion of his friends, as appears by his death-bed expressions, recorded by his son in that excellent treatise, *No Cross no Crown*.

The Recorder rewarded for his service.

But the intemperate and extrajudicial proceedings of the recorder were looked upon in a dis-

§ Sewel.

ferent

ferent light by his colleagues of the bench. Alderman John Robinson made a motion in the succeeding court of aldermen, "that the recorder deserved 100*l.* for his service done at the Old Baily the last sessions;" which motion was agreed to, and an order issued to the chamberlain to pay it. Thomas Rudyard, coming to the knowledge thereof, as also of 200*l.* more he had received in like manner, within eight months last past, thought these transactions worthy of publication to his fellow citizens, to apprize them of the disposal of the public stock, with this ironical reflection upon it, "an excellent way to ease the treasury of being overburdened with orphan's money, by which sinister means of disposing of its cash, the chamber was so deeply in debt as was almost incredible."

C H A P.

XXIII.

1670.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*Illegal Proceedings at Horshly-down.—Order of Council for demolishing the Meeting-house there.—Cruel Abuse of Soldiers.—The civil Officers endeavour to prevent their Abuses ineffectually.—Remark thereupon.—Proceedings at Ratcliff.—At Wheeler-street.—William Penn taken from thence, and after an Examination before Sir John Robinson and others committed to Newgate on the Oxford Five-mile Act.—George Fox takes a Journey into the Country and is taken ill.—Exerts himself to procure his Wife's Liberty with success.—Sails for America.*

C H A P. XXIV. **H**AVING traced the arbitrary proceedings of this session, and the consequent transactions thus far, we are to view measures still more violent, tyrannical and illegal, adopted against this people in other parts of the city or suburbs in these strange times.

They had a meeting-house at an extremity of the city, viz. at Horshly-down, in the borough of Southwark: Here, from the very beginning of the persecution under this last act, the members of this meeting were not only prosecuted thereby in heavy fines and distrainments, but personally abused by soldiers, who were appointed to keep them out of their meeting-house, in a very

Illegal proceedings at Horshly-down.

very barbarous manner : And the repeated abuses they received not answering the end intended, of deterring them from keeping up their religious meetings, in performance of their religious duty, in the month called July, the following order was issued by the king and council for demolishing the said meeting-house.

C H A P.

XXIV.

1670.

“ An order of the king and council for demolishing the meeting-house at Horfly down in Southwark. At the court at Whitehall, 29th July, 1670.

Order of council for demolishing the meeting-house there.

“ P R E S E N T.

“ The King's most excellent Majesty.

“ His Highness Prince Rupert.

“ Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

“ Lord Keeper.

“ Duke of Monmouth.

“ Duke of Ormond.

“ Earl of Ossory.

“ Earl of Oxford.

“ Earl of Anglesea.

“ Earl of Bath.

“ Earl of Craven.

“ Lord Ashley.

“ Mr. Treasurer.

“ Mr. Vice Chamberlain.

“ Mr. Secretary Trevor.

“ His Majesty being informed that there have been of late frequent conventicles and seditious meetings, under pretence of religious worship, contrary to and in contempt

“ of

C H A P.

XXIV.

1670.

“ of the laws established, at an house or build-  
 “ ing at Horsly-down, adjoining to the Artillery  
 “ garden, and that the persons who there as-  
 “ semble behave themselves in such a riotous and  
 “ tumultuous manner, that if their meetings  
 “ be any longer endured, his Majesty’s peace  
 “ and the quiet of his government will thereby  
 “ be manifestly endangered: For prevention  
 “ whereof, it was this day ordered, his Majesty  
 “ present in council, and by his express com-  
 “ mand, that Christopher Wren, Esq; surveyor  
 “ general of his Majesty’s works, do cause the  
 “ said house or building to be pulled down and  
 “ demolished, in case from henceforth any per-  
 “ sons whatsoever shall presume to meet or hold  
 “ any conventicle or unlawful assembly therein  
 “ under colour of religious worship: And it  
 “ was farther ordered by his Majesty, that this  
 “ signification of his royal pleasure be affixed  
 “ on the said building, to the end that the  
 “ owners and occupiers of the same may take  
 “ notice thereof, to prevent and hinder said  
 “ meetings at their peril.

“ JOHN NICHOLAS.”

Cruel abuse  
 of soldiers

The execution of this order, which was grounded upon no legal process or judicial trial, was not committed to the civil power, but the whole of the despotick treatment of this assembly was put into the hands of the military, who behaved themselves with such savage barbarity, as if they had been let loose to execute martial law upon them. The troopers came twice to the meeting there, after the affixing up of the order to disperse the assembly: A serjeant pluck-  
 ed



ed them out of the meeting-house, and when forced out, the troopers rode amongst them to disperse them, and wounded several of them. The third time, on the 20th of August so called, being the seventh day of the week, a party of soldiers with carpenters and others came and pulled down the meeting-house, carried away the boards, windows, benches and forms, and sold them. On the next day the friends came as usual, and met upon the rubbish of the demolished house, but the soldiers came and dragged them into the street: On the 28th a captain ordered his soldiers to knock their brains out; they pulled and haled them from the place, and having kept them until near sunset, carried them to the marshalsea prison, and lodged them there without any warrant from a civil magistrate.

This dragooning of this meeting was continued weekly for the greatest part of three months, with encreasing aggravation; the foot soldiers beat and abused both men and women in an outrageous manner with their musquets and pikes until they broke several of them; a serjeant with his halbert laid about him like a madman, striking and wounding several. After the foot had perpetrated their abuse, a party of horse came on furiously and endeavoured to ride over them; but the horses, less savage than their riders, being unwilling to go forward, they turned them about, and by curbing and reining them endeavoured to force them backward, and in that manner do the people what mischief they could.

CHAP.  
XXIV.

1670.

Finding this people, though thus grievously abused, not yet deterred from keeping up their religious assemblies, being supported through all by the conscioufness of the sincerity of their hearts towards God, and placing their confidence in his divine protection, for the sake of performing their duty to whom, they were exposed to this unmerciful treatment, these military executors of illegal punishment changed their method of attack; one of them having provided himself with a shovel, threw the dirt out of the channels upon men and women promiscuously, in a shameful manner; after him advanced horse and foot in a furious onset upon an harmless unresisting body of people, and dealt about their blows with remarkable outrage, where they knew they would meet with no repulse, striking and knocking down all before them without regard to age or sex, to the shedding of the blood of many. And when some of the inhabitants, in compassion took them into their houses to save their lives, the soldiers forced open the doors, haled them out into the streets, and plucked off their hats, to strike on their bare heads, whereby many went away with heads grievously broken; they tore both men and women's clothes off their backs, dragged women through the mire by the horses sides; used modest and religious women with brutish indecency of action and expression. One woman with child was struck on the belly and breast, in consequence whereof she miscarried, and her life was in great danger. A man friend was dragged, after being severely beaten, into the ruins of the meeting-house by one of those cruel men, who demanded his money, and endeavoured

deavoured to rifle his pockets, threatening with C H A P. execrations he would stab and pistol him if he XXIV. would not deliver it.

1670.

At one of these assaults above twenty persons were wounded and sorely bruised; at the succeeding one upwards of thirty; and at this last the number of wounded and bruised exceeded fifty. At length these military violations of the peace of the city roused the civil officers to interpose their authority; but it was too weak to protect this unarmed body against the number of armed men let loose upon them: The succeeding first day, the 16th of October, being again met, and kept out of their meeting-place, there came again a party of horse and foot prepared to fall upon them; but a party of constables being there before them to preserve the peace, kept them at bay for a short time, it being conceived, it is like, a more serious affair to trample upon the legal authority of the civil power than upon the immunities and persons of private people; but their thirst of mischief soon got the better of any slight scruples they might entertain on this account; they quickly broke over the barriers of civil restraint, and fell upon the poor defenceless people with their accustomed rage and inhumanity: Many of them had their blood spilled plentifully about their ears and faces, and one of the constables interposing in endeavours to prevent the shedding of blood, and to keep the peace, was a sharer with them in this indiscriminate abuse, receiving a broken head for his pains. Being reprehended for their cruelty, some of them answered, *If you know what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you*; others being asked, how can you

The civil officers endeavour to prevent these disorders ineffectually.

C H A P. you deal thus with a people that have love and  
 XXIV. good will to all men, and make no resistance or  
 ~~~~~ opposition? returned for answer, *We had rather,*  
 1670. *and it would be better for us, if they did resist*  
*and oppose.* This was looked upon by the suf-  
 ferers, as if they sought occasion to embroil their  
 hands more deeply in blood, and take the lives  
 and estates of honest people for their prey.

The substance of this narrative of the gross  
 proceedings of the soldiers towards this people  
 was presented to the king and council, which  
 produced the cessation of these cruelties for a  
 season, though they were not altogether discon-  
 tinued.

Remark.

Hitherto while the persecuting measures a-  
 gainst the dissenters in general, and the people  
 called Quakers in particular, had been ostensibly  
 carried on by the parliament and the inferior  
 magistrates, the king appeared inclined to lenity,  
 and used repeated endeavours to procure a re-  
 laxation of the severe laws enacted against them,  
 to which it is pretended the liberality of the  
 commons in supplying aids to his extravagance,  
 purchased his assent against his judgment, his  
 inclination and his honour. But this last severe  
 blow appears plainly to have been inflicted di-  
 rectly from the court, and by direction or assent  
 of the king himself, upon pretences so ground-  
 less and frivolous as shew an occasion was  
 sought and not given. But what should incite  
 him, contrary to his usual lenity and easiness of  
 temper, to authorize actions of such glaring in-  
 justice and severe inhumanity against an harmless  
 body of his own subjects, who had never com-  
 bined against, or molested his government in  
 the least, we may now be at a loss to deter-  
 mine.

mine. It was just about this time that through the advice and suggestions of evil counsellors, and roused by the more active spirit of his brother, he is reported to have entered into a design to change the measures of his government; to free himself from his dependance upon parliaments, and the fetters of their restraint; and with the assistance of those ministers, advisers and abettors of his design, who are well known in English history by the denomination of the *Cabal*, to make himself absolute, and reinstate the Roman Catholic religion in these kingdoms. Now, how far it might be judged conducive to such designs, to turn the army loose upon a defenceless and unresisting part of the people, in order to inure them to acts of rapine and hostility against their fellow-citizens: or, secondly, to aggravate the sufferings of the subjected party, to sharpen their desire of ease by any means, or from any quarter, in order, by relaxing the persecution solely by the prerogative, to gain the dissenters to the court interest, and at the same time open a door for the gradual introducing of popery, under the plausible pretext of a general indulgence to liberty of conscience: Whichever of these designs (or whether both together) was the moving cause to these arbitrary orders and unwarrantable proceedings, they were the effects of a barbarous and unjust policy, wherein the bounds of all laws, human and divine, were wantonly transgressed, and religion, morality and humanity forced to give way to the sinister views and deceitful measures of a vicious court, who seemed at this time to have thrown off all the restraints of honour, conscience, and regard to reputation.

C H A P.  
XXIV.  
1670.

Yet

C H A P.

XXIV.

1670.

Yet I am apprehensive the agents in these extravagant abuses might, through party resentments or evil instigation, carry these oppressive and injurious measures much further than the king's intention, for when a narrative of these violences of the soldiers was presented to him, a stop was put thereto for the present.

Proceedings  
at Ratcliff.

There was another meeting-house belonging to this society at Ratcliff, (also at an extremity of the city) which soon after was subjected to the like violence with that of Horsly-down, and by Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the tower, without any legal process or lawful cause, ordered to be demolished. On the 2d of September, he came thither attended by one Captain Taylor, and a party of soldiers belonging to the king's regiment, and caused the said meeting-house to be pulled down. That day and the night following twelve cartloads of doors, windows and floors, with other materials, were carried away. Some of the materials were sold on the spot for money and strong drink. Thus were an inoffensive and peaceable class of subjects, not only exposed to grievous sufferings under severe laws, but to exorbitant spoil and depredation without, or even contrary to law, by officers under the government, whose duty it was to protect the subjects in possession of their rights and property, to execute justice, and exercise legal rule, all of which we see in these instances grossly violated by them.

When their meeting-house was pulled down, friends of Ratcliff met on the ruins, or as near them as they would be permitted, being generally kept off by constables or other officers, who mostly either took some of them prisoners ;

or

or by information procured them to be fined and distrained on the conventicle-act.

CHAP.  
XXIV.

Robinson intended to have proceeded next to pull down the meeting-house at Wheeler-street; but Gilbert Latey, in whom the title was vested, and who was then in the West of England, upon intelligence thereof returned to London, ordered a poor friend to be put into the meeting-house; made a lease to him, and soon after waited on the governor of the tower, Sir John Robinson, who looking sternly upon him, asked him, "if he owned the meeting-house in Wheeler-street?" to which Gilbert replied, "he did, and several more too."

1670.

*Robinson.* And how dare you own any meeting-house contrary to the king's laws?

*G. Latey* answered, he owned that meeting-house before the king had any such law.

*Robinson.* I find you are a pretty fellow; pray who lives in that house?

*G. Latey.* My tenant.

*Robinson.* Your tenant! pray what is your tenant?

*G. Latey.* One that I have thought fit to grant a lease to.

*Robinson.* Then you have a tenant, that has taken a lease from you?

*G. Latey.* Yes.

Upon this the governor looked displeased, and addressing a friend who accompanied him by name, said, I think you have now fitted me, and brought a fellow to the purpose; had your friends been as wise as this fellow you might have had your other meeting-houses, and so dismissed them.

C H A P. After this, friends taking the same care, have  
 XXIV. generally preserved their meeting-houses.

William Penn, during the short interval of liberty and leisure he enjoyed this winter, published a book, he entitled, "A reasonable Caveat against Popery," wherein he both exposes and confutes many erroneous doctrines of the church of Rome, and establisheth the opposite truths by sound arguments: a work alone sufficient on one hand to wipe off the calumny cast upon him of being a favourer of the Romish religion; and on the other to manifest that his principle for liberty of conscience was universal, as he wished it to be extended even to the papists, under the security of their not persecuting others.

1670.

But he was not suffered to enjoy his liberty long, Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the tower, who early distinguished his disposition to persecute (having succeeded Brown in the office of lord mayor of the city, and endeavoured to rival this intemperate magistrate in all his boisterous and rigorous conduct) had all along shewn an equal aversion to dissenters, and Quakers particularly; was one of the bench of justices on the trial of Penn, Mead and the rest at the Old-Bailey, an active promoter of all the arbitrary proceedings of that court, and the mover for a reward to the recorder for trampling upon the rights of the subject. This man, actuated by personal pique against William Penn, had been some time watching the meetings to take him, and at last, on the 5th of the 12th month (February) having information of his being to be at Wheeler-street, sent a serjeant and soldiers, who planted themselves at the door, and waited there until he stood up and preached; and then the serjeant



serjeant pulled him down and led him into the street, where a constable and his assistants standing ready to join, they carried him away to the Tower by order from the lieutenant; a guard was there clapt upon him, and a messenger dispatched to the lieutenant then at Whitehall, to inform him of the success. After keeping him upon guard near three hours, he came home, and sent for William Penn from the guard, by an officer with a file of musqueteers.<sup>a</sup> There were several other magistrates of the same cast present, namely, Sir Samuel Starling, Sir John Sheldon, Lieutenant Colonel Rycraft and others. Orders being given that no person unconcerned in the business should be admitted up, they proceeded to the examination, of which we find the following account.

C H A P.  
XXIV.

1670.  
William Penn taken from the meeting at Wheelers-street.

Although Robinson had the mittimus already made, and his name put in, he pretended not to know him, but applying himself to the constable, asked, what is this person's name?

His examination.

*Constable.* Mr. Penn, Sir.

*J. Robinson.* Is your name Penn?

*W. Penn.* Dost thou not know me? Hast thou forgot me\*?

*J. Robinson.* I do not know you, I do not desire to know such as you are. Is that your name, Sir?

*W. Penn.* Yes, my name is Penn, I am not ashamed of my name. Next he proceeded to

<sup>a</sup> Bessé.

\* He might well ask this question, since it was but a few months since his remarkable trial at the Old Bailey, when he gave them just occasion to remember him; and it is probable the remembrance stirred up this fresh persecution of malice prepense.

C H A P. examine the constables and others who gave evi-  
 XXIV. dence, that they found him at a meeting at  
 ~~~~~ Wheeler-street, speaking to the people.

1670. Upon which Robinson said, Mr. Penn, you know the law better than I can tell you, and you know these things are contrary to the law.

*W. Penn.* If thou believest me to be better versed in the law than thyself, I know no law I have transgressed. Now, whereas I am probably to be tried by the last act against conventicles, I conceive it doth not reach me.

*J. Robinson.* No, Sir, I shall not proceed upon that law.

*W. Penn.* What law then? I am sure that was intended for the standard on these occasions.

*J. Robinson.* The Oxford act of six months.

*W. Penn.* That of all acts cannot concern me; for I was never in *orders*, neither episcopally nor classically, and one of them is intended by the preamble of the act.

*J. Robinson.* No, no, - any that speak to an unlawful assembly; and you spoke to an unlawful assembly.

*W. Penn.* An unlawful assembly is too general a word; the act doth not define what is meant by an unlawful assembly.

*J. Robinson.* But other acts do.

*W. Penn.* That is not to the purpose. It is hard that you will not stick to some one act, but to accomplish your ends borrow a piece out of one act to supply the defects of another, and of a different nature from it.

*J. Robinson* next proceeded to require him to take the oath prescribed by the act; and upon his refusing, said, I am sorry you should put me  
 upon

upon this severity, it is no pleasant work to me. CHAP.  
XXIV.

To this William Penn replied, not without reason, these are but words, it is manifest this is a prepenſe malice; thou haſt ſeveral times ſet the meetings for me, and this day particularly. 1670.

*J. Robinſon.* No, I profeſs, I could not tell you would be there.

*W. Penn.* Thy own corporal told me that you had intelligence at the tower, that I would be at Wheeler-ſtreet: It is diſingenuous and partial: I never gave thee occaſion for ſuch unkindneſs.

*J. Robinſon.* I vow, Mr. Penn, I am ſorry for you; you are an ingenious gentleman all the world allows, and you have a plentiful eſtate; why ſhould you render yourſelf unhappy by aſſociating with ſuch a ſimple people?

*W. Penn.* I confeſs I have made it my choice to relinquish the company of thoſe that are ingeniouſly wicked, to converſe with ſuch as are more honeſtly ſimple.


*J. Robertſon.* Well, Mr. Penn, I have no ill will towards you; your father was my friend, and I have a great deal of kindneſs for you.

*W. Penn.* But thou haſt an ill way of expreſſing it. Which was really the caſe, for notwithstanding this profeſſion of kindneſs, after ſome further diſcourſe he committed him, as was before determined, to Newgate for fix months, upon an act which had no relation to him, but fixed on as inflicting the ſevereſt puniſhment; Committed to Newgate for fix months on the Oxford act.  
the

C H A P. the remembrance of the trial at the Old Bailey,  
 XXIV. and the publication of their arbitrary exertion  
 of power against law, operating more power-  
 1670. fully on his passions to avenge himself of him,  
 than the remembrance of his father's friendship  
 to requite it with acts of kindness to the son.  
 Upon Robinson's signifying he must send him to  
 Newgate for six months, and when they are expir-  
 ed that then he might come out, William Penn,  
 like a man and a christian, replied, "Is that all?"  
 "thou well knowest a larger imprisonment hath  
 "not daunted me: I accept it at the hand of  
 "the Lord, and am contented to suffer his will.  
 "Thy religion *persecutes* and mine *forgives*: I  
 "desire God to forgive you all that are con-  
 "cerned in my commitment, and I leave you  
 "all in perfect charity, wishing your everlasting  
 "salvation."

1671. Being thus committed to prison, he employed  
 the time of his confinement in writing. "The  
 "great cause of liberty of conscience briefly de-  
 "bated and defended," with several other occa-  
 sional pieces, were the production of his pen at  
 this time.

After some time the heat of this persecution  
 abated in the city; but in some other parts it  
 was carried on with unrelaxed violence, which  
 occasioned George Fox to leave the city to visit  
 his persecuted friends in the country, to sympa-  
 thize with and comfort them in their grievous  
 sufferings, and encourage them to steadfastness in  
 their religious duties, relying on divine protec-  
 tion under all the afflictions permitted to befall  
 them, for the trial of their faith and patience;  
 reminding them, that their severe trials were but  
 for

for an assigned time; the period whereof was C H A P. determined in the divine counsel; that the truth XXIV. is without limitation of time; and advising them  to live in that which doth not think the time 1671. long.

In this journey he fell ill of a distemper which George Fox taken ill in his journey. deprived him of his sight and hearing; and to several that came to visit him seemed to threaten his dissolution; but after some time he recovered gradually; and although persecution was so hot in divers places, and in some places there was much threatening, and some attempts to break up the meetings, yet he escaped unmolested, and having finished his service returned to London, and although still weak in body he was diligently exercised in his ministerial labours amongst his friends.

Having soon after his marriage received information of his wife's being imprisoned (as before- Exerts himself to procure his wife's liberty with success. noticed) he thereupon incited her daughters, who were in London, to apply to the king, who were so successful, as to procure his order to the sheriff of Lancashire for her discharge, which he hoped would be obeyed. But upon this fresh storm of persecution breaking out, her enemies, he understood, had found means to detain her still in prison: Wherefore he now renewed his endeavours for her release, and by the assistance of others, obtained from the king a discharge under the great seal, to clear both herself and her estate, after she had been ten years a prisoner, under an unjust sentence of premunire. This mandate he sent down immediately, whereby her liberty was obtained.

And

CHAP. XXIV. And now the heat of the persecution beginning to cool, he felt a draught of duty inclining him to pay a religious visit to his friends in America; and apprizing his wife by letter of his intention, desired her to come up to London, which she did accordingly: And having taken leave of her he set sail the latter part of the summer for America, in company with several other friends, and after a passage of something more than seven weeks landed at Barbadoes.

1671.  
Sails for  
America.

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H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

---

B O O K I V.

From the Declaration of Indulgence to the  
Death of King Charles II.

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C H A P. I.

*The King publishes his Declaration of Indulgence to Dissenters.—Heads thereof.—Measures adopted by the People called Quakers to procure the release of their Friends.—Thomas Hicks calumniates the Quakers, so called.—Answered by William Penn.—Partial Proceedings of the Baptists.—Public Affairs.—Declaration of Indulgence revoked.—Change in the Disposition of the Parliament.*

THE people called Quakers enjoyed little ease CHAP. I.  
to their persons or security of their property  
from their first appearance to this time; and par-  
ticularly during the twelve years of this reign,  
1672.  
WC

C H A P. we have seen perfecution succeeding perfecution,  
 I. and one penal law added to another, whereby  
 they were expofed to imprifonment, premunire,  
 1672. exile and woful depredation ; but now the Dutch  
 war being refolved upon and ready to break  
 out, the King, by the advice of his counfellors,  
 feizes the opportunity, under colour of promoting  
 domeftic peace, while engaged in a foreign war,  
 by virtue of his prerogative, as fupreme in eccle-  
 fiaftical affairs, to iffue his proclamation for fuf-  
 pending the execution of the penal laws againft  
 nonconformifts, in fubftance as follows :

The King  
 publifhes  
 his indul-  
 gence to  
 diffenters.

1. The King publifhes it, *in virtue of his fu-  
 preme power in ecclefiastical matters*, which is a  
 right inherent in his perfon, and acknowledged  
 by feveral acts of parliament.

2. He declares his exprefs refolution to be,  
 that the church of England be preferved and re-  
 main entire in her doctrine, difcipline and go-  
 vernment, as now it ftands eftablifhed by law.

3. That no perfon fhall be capable of holding  
 any fort of ecclefiastical benefice, or preferment  
 of any kind, who is not entirely conformable.

4. That the execution of all penal laws in  
 matters ecclefiastical againft whatfoever clafs of  
 nonconformifts or recufants; be immediately fuf-  
 pending.

5. He declares that he will from time to time al-  
 low fuch a fufficient number of places, as fhall be  
 defired in all parts of his kingdom, for fuch as did  
 not conform to the church of England, to meet  
 and affemble in, in order to their public worfhip  
 and devotion.

6. That none of his fubjects do prefume to  
 meet in any place, until fuch place be allowed,  
 and the teacher of that congregation be approved  
 by him.

7. That



7. That this indulgence, as to the allowance of public places of worship and approbation of teachers, shall extend to all sorts of nonconformists and recusants, except the recusants of the Roman Catholic religion, to whom he will no ways allow public places of worship; but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in private houses only.

This declaration of indulgence, apparently humane and laudable in itself, is stripped of all its merit by the unanimous suffrage of all our historians, from the consideration of the motives thereto, which they consider as an open assertion of arbitrary power, in disannulling the laws of the whole legislature, by the exertion of an illegal prerogative assumed by one branch; <sup>a</sup> and not so much designed in favour of the dissenters, to whom he bore no hearty good will, as of the papists, to whose religion he was supposed to be privately reconciled. It is alledged, <sup>a</sup> “ the dissenters did not approve of this dispensing power, nor were forward to accept their liberty this way, being sensible the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer than it would serve the interest of popery. Many pamphlets were written for and against the Dissenters accepting it, because it was grafted on the *dispensing power*. Some maintained they should accept of nothing but a *comprehension*. Others endeavoured to prove that it was the duty of the Presbyterians to make use of the liberty granted them by the King, because it was their natural right, which no legislative power  
“ upon

C H A P.  
I.  
1672.

<sup>a</sup> Neale, v. ii. p. 684.

CHAP. I.  
1672. "upon earth had a right to deprive them of as long as they remained dutiful subjects." The latter reason seemed to prevail, and most of their ministers took out licenses, as prescribed in the declaration.

After a view of the grievances which had so long afflicted the people called Quakers, who affected not the reputation of politicians, nor ranked with any political party, and only wished to lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty; it is not to be wondered at, if they readily accepted the ease and liberty granted by the King's declaration, to which as peaceable subjects they had an undoubted right. But for this temporary exemption from persecution they were principally thankful to that providential hand, which over-rules the kingdoms of this world; superintends and directs the actions of men, to bring about his own wise and good purposes.

<sup>b</sup> And in this transaction we have a fresh instance of the affectionate sympathy and tender brotherly concern, which the members of this society at this period entertained for each other. Those who were at liberty, and set free from the oppression of the penal laws, could not help feeling for their brethren under restraint, many of whom had been kept immured in uncomfortable prisons for several years. And as the present disposition of government in favour of non-conformists presented an inviting opportunity to interceed in their behalf, some of the principal members in London, viz. George Whitehead, Thomas Moor and Thomas Green, attended the King and council to solicit the discharge of their suffering

Measures adopted by the Quakers to procure the release of those in prison.

<sup>b</sup> George Whitehead's journal.

suffering friends in prison, and were so successful as to obtain the King's letters patent under the great seal, containing a pardon and discharge for all such to whom he might legally grant the same, whereby all that were convicted for transportation, upon premunire, or in prison for fines, confiscations, or fees, were discharged and restored to their families and their employments, from which many of them had been cruelly and unjustly separated for six or seven years or upwards.

When the warrant to the Attorney-general to make out the letters patent was obtained, the friends concerned in the solicitation thereof found themselves in a difficult dilemma in respect to the fees to be paid in the sundry offices they were to pass through, understanding they would amount to a very great sum by reason of the great number (upwards of 400) to be included in them. The Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, generously and voluntarily remitting his fees, they thought themselves under a necessity to make further application to the King to moderate the rest, who accordingly issued his order, "That the pardon, though comprehending a great number of persons, do yet pass as one pardon, and pay but as one."

Their success in this application furnished these friends with an opportunity of giving a remarkable specimen of the universality of their charity, and disposition to perform good offices to all, as far as in their power: There were some other dissenters besides Quakers confined in prison, and their solicitors observing the success of this application, applied to Geo. Whitehead for his advice and assistance to get their imprisoned

CHAP.  
I.  
1672.

C H A P. imprisoned friends discharged with his, by pro-  
 I. curing their names to be inserted in the same  
 instrument; he advised them to apply to the  
 King for his warrant for that purpose, which  
 was accordingly obtained, and these were by the  
 same instrument restored to liberty. George  
 Whitehead adds, "this I was glad of, that they  
 " partook of the benefit through our industry.  
 " And indeed I was never backward to give any  
 " of them my advice for their help, when any of  
 " them in straits have applied for it; our being of  
 " different judgments and societies did not abate  
 " my sympathy or charity, even towards them,  
 " who in some cases had been our opposers."

1672.

The King's pardon being thus procured, those  
 Quakers, who were shut up in the different pri-  
 sons in London, were almost immediately set at  
 liberty: But how to extend the benefit there-  
 of to those imprisoned in the country, and  
 particularly the remoter counties, occasioned  
 the friends concerned considerable thought and  
 trouble; for the patent containing no less than  
 eleven skins of vellum, was too long to take  
 many copies, and too cumbersome to be easily  
 carried far; yet being heartily engaged for the  
 speedy release of all their friends, who had been  
 long confined, their care and industry surmount-  
 ed all difficulties, and procured the liberation of  
 their friends in a general way, even to the re-  
 motest part of the kingdom.

° The people called Quakers being by these  
 means freed from the severities of persecution,  
 and left to the enjoyment of the liberty of their  
 consciences without molestation from the go-  
 vernment, were not long left to enjoy that ease  
 resulting

resulting from the King's declaration, before they were attacked from another quarter. During the heat of persecution, we have had repeated occasion to remark that other dissenters, by a temporizing conduct, endeavoured to secure themselves from the storm. And the Quakers only bore their testimony publickly to that religion which they received as truth, and that worship they conceived to be most acceptable to God, as being the effect of conscientious conviction; and against the unreasonableness of human laws, prescribing or prohibiting a mode of worship in violation of the freedom or the persuasions of tender consciences; by keeping up their meetings duly and fully at the accustomed times and places, as long as they were suffered to enjoy the use of their meeting houses: And when they were kept out of them by force, they assembled in the streets, as near to the meeting houses as they could.

While this manly and open testimony of this society in their conduct gave great offence and vexation to the persecutors, as baffling their scheme of establishing uniformity, and warding off the blow from the other sects of dissenters, who as most feared and hated for the severities they had suffered under their hands, were principally aimed at; it procured them the esteem and grateful regard of the more ingenuous part of other dissenters, who were sensible of the ease they enjoyed by the intrepidity and firmness of this people, which abated the heat of persecution, and blunted the edge of the sword, before it reached them; owning those as the bulwark that kept off the force of the stroke from them, and praying that they [the Quakers] might

C H A P.  
I.  
1672.

CHAPTER might be preserved steadfast, and enabled to  
 I. break the strength of the enemy. And some,  
 especially among the Baptists, expressed an high  
 opinion both of the people and their principles,  
 which sustained them in undergoing sufferings,  
 which were a terror to others to think of.

1672.

These favourable sentiments in the hearers raised the jealousy of some of their teachers; who in the time of persecution had lain by in cautious privacy, and taken the advantage of a secure retreat behind them, while the Quakers, so called, weathered out the storm: But under the sun-shine of the King's indulgence they began to quit their covert, and appear openly when they had nothing to fear; and either from envy, or the fear of losing some of their hearers, who had discovered these favourable sentiments of this body of people, they soon made their publick appearance in an hostile attack upon this inoffensive society, in vilifying that virtue, which they had not the courage to imitate<sup>d</sup>.

Tho. Hicks  
 calumni-  
 ates the  
 Quakers.

One Thomas Hicks, a preacher among the Baptists in London, employed his pen in writing several pamphlets successively, under the invidious title of *A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker*; which (as usual in that unfair method of handling polemical subjects) makes the fictitious Quaker speak in character, or out of character, as best answered the author's design; which appears not to have been to investigate truth, so much as to represent his Quaker a deformed, ridiculous and erroneous being, and for that purpose make him (says Thomas Elwood) utter "some things abominably false; others so  
 "ridiculously

<sup>d</sup> Thomas Elwood.

“ridiculously foolish, as could not reasonably  
 “be supposed to come into the conceit, much  
 “less have dropped from the lip or pen of any  
 “that went under the name of a Quaker.”

C H A P.

I.

1672.

The unfair dealing and perverse misrepresentations of this antagonist making a defence necessary, this business was undertaken by William Penn, in two books, the first entitled *Reason against Railing*; the other, *The counterfeit Christian detected*. In which Hicks is not only convicted of publishing many palpable forgeries, unfair perversions, and groundless calumnies against the people called Quakers at large, but having indulged his invidious disposition so far as to vilify sundry particular members by name, as William Penn, George Whitehead and others, an appeal was made to the society of Baptists in and about London for justice against Thomas Hicks.

Answered  
 by William  
 Penn.

The principal Baptists, being partisans of Hicks, did not discover that regard to truth and justice which might reasonably be expected from a society professing reformed religion, but seemed chiefly inclined to screen a brother from detection, more than to do justice to the injured parties for his undeserved defamation: They very disingenuously appointed a meeting in one of their meeting houses, under pretence of hearing the charges against Thomas Hicks, and calling him to account, at a time when the complainants William Penn and George Whitehead were both absent from the city in places too remote to be timely apprized of the intended meeting; wherefore some of their friends desired it might be deferred 'till they could be

Partial  
 Proceedings  
 of the  
 Baptists.

VOL. II.

A a

informed

CHAP. informed thereof, and have time to return : But  
 I. the Baptists, seemingly of opinion that the meet-  
 1672. ing might be held more to their satisfaction, and  
 more accommodate to their views in the absence  
 than the presence of the complainants, could not  
 be prevailed upon to defer it ; but making a  
 shew of examining Hicks, and hearing his  
 defence, acquitted him ; like the judge, who  
 having heard one side of the question, declined  
 hearing the other, for fear of puzzling the  
 cause.

This partial decision furnished just occasion  
 for a new complaint and demand of justice.  
 For as soon as William Penn returned to Lon-  
 don, he in print exhibited his complaint of their  
 unfair proceedings, and demanded a rehearing  
 in a public meeting by joint agreement, which  
 the Baptists, quite averse to, with much impor-  
 tunity, and after many evasions, were hardly  
 prevailed upon at last to comply with, and even  
 when constrained thereto, Hicks would not ap-  
 pear, but sent Ives with some others of the par-  
 ty, by clamours and rudeness to divert the com-  
 plainants from prosecuting the charge against  
 him, and carried their point, so far as to prevent  
 the charge being heard, though frequent at-  
 tempts were made to read it.

The people called Quakers, despairing of ob-  
 taining satisfaction in this line, Thomas Elwood,  
 on the behalf of his friends, appealed to the  
 public in a single sheet, in which he restated  
 the controversy, and reinforced the charge of  
 forgery against Thomas Hicks and his abettors :  
 And one of the Baptists, Thomas Plant, a teach-  
 er, and one of Hicks's compurgators, publishing  
 an apology for their conduct, under the title of

*A Contest*



*A Contest for Christianity*, was also answered by Thomas Elwood, in a piece entitled *Forgery no Christianity*, who in conclusion of both these productions offered a challenge to make good the charge against Hicks as principal, and his compurgators as accessaries, before a public and free auditory; but they were too wary to appear further either in person or print.

Thus ended this controversy, which was attended with this consequence, that the aim of this unprovoked assault upon the principles and reputation of this society was remarkably frustrated, and these dialogues, with their ungenerous and unequitable method of defending them and their author, promoted what they were designed to prevent; for not a few of their members, offended at their proceedings, deserted their meetings and society, went over to the injured party, and joined them in religious fellowship.

About this time, as well as formerly, they were much engaged in controversy, being exposed to the invidious attacks and calumniating misrepresentations of adversaries of different denominations, who readily took up, and published as truth, every reproach that publick rumour or private prejudice loaded them with; which obliged them in self-defence to vindicate themselves from such groundless calumnies, to detect the falsehoods and perversions of these adversaries, and they generally cleared themselves and their principles from the absurdities charged upon them; and yet we have occasion to complain of these refuted misrepresentations, picked out of the works of their bitterest adversaries, being revived, and delivered to the world

CHAPTER as authentic history by fundry modern writers of some note.

I.  
1672.  
Public  
affairs.

The measures of the court, in entering into hostilities with the Dutch, and the confederacy with the French monarch, were both highly disgusting, and reprobated by the most considerable part of the nation, who looked upon them as a desertion of the interest of England, and of all Europe, and a plain indication of the King's aversion to public liberty, and predilection in favour of arbitrary rule. So that fearing their own privileges were in danger of being wrested from them, they were not backward in their discourses to express their fears, and narrowly to canvass, and criticise upon, the proceedings of the court, as replete with danger and bad designs. This temper in the people was reciprocally offensive to the court, and produced a proclamation prohibiting all unlawful and undutiful conversation, spreading false news, intermeddling in affairs of state, or promoting scandal against the King's counsellors.

The Exchequer shut up.

Discontents having more or less affected all ranks of the people, the consideration thereof, and the unconstitutional, fraudulent and unjust measure the king had lately adopted by the advice of his treacherous counsellors, of raising money without parliamentary aids, by shutting up the exchequer to the distress and ruin of many of the subjects, made him and his ministers, by successive prorogations, evade the meeting of the parliament, which they dreaded, for near two years; and during this recess of parliament the declaration of indulgence continued in force, and the Dissenters held their meetings without molestation.

But

But at length, when the parliament met, the King in his speech informed them, that in order to have peace at home while he had war abroad he had issued his declaration of indulgence to Dissenters, and had found many good effects to result from this measure. That he was resolved to stick to his *declaration*; and would be much offended at any contradiction. Notwithstanding which menace, a remonstrance was drawn up by the commons against the said declaration, insisting that the penal laws could not be suspended but by act of parliament; that this *indulgence* was illegal, as tending to subvert the constitution, by rendering the other two branches of the legislature useless, while the acts of the three conjointly could be superseded by any prerogative claimed by one of them.

When they presented this remonstrance to the King, he defended his right to issue the declaration, by virtue of his acknowledged prerogative of supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, which he did not claim in matters of property or civil rights. But the commons, having in their hands a stronger argument than words, viz. the power of granting money, the want of which only obliged the King to convene them, knew where their strength lay, and used it accordingly, resolving that the money bill should not precede the redress of grievances, of which they seemed to consider this declaration as the principal. The commons appearing determined, the King gave up the contest, revoking the declaration, and breaking the seal with his own hands.

The conduct of the commons in this case hath procured the general voice of our historians in their favour, and it must be acknowledged that

C H A P.  
I.  
1673.

Declaration  
of indul-  
gence re-  
voked.

Remark  
upon it.

CHAP. that they acted consistently with their duty in  
 I. opposing the infringement of the constitution.

1673. That in the present contest they acted a more  
 manly and honourable part than in these pre-  
 ceding on the like subject in 1662, and as late  
 as 1668, as proceeding upon sounder and more  
 universal principles. Yet as the King's appa-  
 rent inclination to have the Dissenters exempted  
 from penal laws would have merited praise, if  
 it had been sincere, and attempted in a legal  
 way, so the opposition of the parliament would  
 have been entitled to the claim of greater merit,  
 if it had not originated with many of them in  
 an aversion to the principles of the declaration \*,  
 (impunity to the nonconformists) as much as  
 the grounds upon which it was published; and  
 if they had not laid the foundation for this con-  
 test in the various penal laws, which, under the  
 influence of party pique, they had undeservedly  
 enacted and revived; and on all occasions mani-  
 fested a determined enmity to all dissenters from  
 the established religion; for if they had not an  
 aversion to the principles of the declaration,  
 they had now a fair opportunity of legalizing it,  
 by converting it into an act of parliament.

*Change in  
 the disposi-  
 tion of the  
 parliament  
 owing to a  
 succession  
 of new  
 members.*

Yet this parliament having kept their seats  
 from the restoration, many of the most intem-  
 perate spirits and most rigid in their enmity to  
 the Dissenters had during the length of time  
 been

\* It is remarkable that the parliament, even yet, seem to  
 consider impunity to Dissenters as the greatest grievance;  
 for although there were far greater to complain of,  
 particularly the violation of public credit, in shutting up  
 the exchequer, to the irreparable injury of numbers, yet after  
 the point was carried for rescinding the declaration, we hear  
 nothing further of grievances.

been removed by death, and men of more moderation and better temper chosen in their room, whereby the house of commons had undergone a change for the better, and were now roused, by a detection of the insidious designs of the court, in favour of popery and arbitrary power, to make a distinction between Protestant Dissenters and Popish Recusants, and to endeavour to give ease to the former, without including the latter.<sup>a</sup> It is supposed the court had relied upon gaining the interest of the Presbyterians to support their measures by the declaration of indulgence; but that perceiving the drift thereof was, under shelter of them, principally to favour the Roman Catholicks, to whom they had the strongest aversion, they appeared far from sanguine to accept of liberty by the dispensing power.<sup>b</sup> Alderman Love, one of the chief of that party, and member of parliament for the city of London, was amongst the foremost to condemn the declaration, signifying that he had rather go without his own desired liberty, than receive it in a way so destructive to the liberty of his country, and the protestant interest, and that this was the sense of the main body of Dissenters. Which, it is said, made an impression on the commons in their favour, even upon those who for ten years together had been oppressing them with one penal law after another: Inasmuch that they now resolved unanimously that a bill be brought in for the relief of Protestant Dissenters. But this conduct of the Presbyterians, while it reconciled the parliament, exposed them to the resentment of the court, who had

CHAP.  
I.  
1673.

<sup>a</sup> George Whitehead's journal, p. 490. <sup>b</sup> Neale Smollet.

CHAP. had reckoned upon their hearty support in a  
 I. measure apparently so favourable to them, and  
 were greatly chagrined at their disappointment;  
 1673. and the parliament having this session passed the  
 Test Act, whereby the Romanists were disqualified  
 from holding any office, the court too evidently  
 manifested, that their generous attempts, in  
 favour of nonconformists, were centered chiefly  
 in procuring indulgences in favour of this class.  
 For from this time the court interest was not only  
 withdrawn from yielding protection to other dissenters,  
 but turned against them; whereby the endeavours  
 of the commons for their ease was frustrated, and  
 encouragement given to the whole train of informers,  
 and others (who were only waiting for the signal)  
 to put the penal laws in rigorous execution; and  
 although the Quakers had no concern in any of  
 these political contests, yet being subjects of these  
 penal laws, and continuing to maintain their  
 testimony publicly, they still suffered most, as  
 most open to the iron claws of persecution, and  
 standing in the way of coming at the others, of  
 whom they wanted most to get satisfaction.

## C H A P. II.

*Persecution recommenced.—George Fox imprisoned at Worcester, together with Thomas Lower.—Brought to trial at the Sessions.—Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy required of George Fox.—For refusing he is remanded to Prison.—Thomas Lower discharged.—And solicits his Father's Discharge in vain.—George Fox removed by Habeas Corpus.—By Parker's Contrivance remanded to Worcester.—Brought again before the Sessions.—George Fox's Vindication.—Clandestinely condemned in a Premunire.—Falls sick in Prison.—The King offers him a Pardon, which he is not free to accept.—Removed again by Habeas Corpus and released.—After his Release goes down to Swarthmore to reside.*

**F**OR the indulgence was hardly sooner revoked, than the informers, priests and magistrates busied themselves in stirring up fresh persecution. A remarkable unjust prosecution of George Fox, almost immediately succeeded, who having returned from his visit to America, and landed near Bristol about the middle of this summer, was met there by his wife, accompanied by her son-in-law, Thomas Lower, and two of her daughters: Her son-in-law, John Rous, William Penn and other friends from London also met him there, and it being the time of the fair, many friends came to it from different parts of the nation.

By

C H A P.  
II.

1673.  
Persecution  
re-commenced.

George Fox  
unjustly im-  
prisoned at  
Worcester.

CHAP. II. By the general resort of traders of all denominations, the meetings were much crowded at that time (as they continue to be during the time of the fair) which occasioned his stay in that city some time; <sup>a</sup> from whence he went through Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire to London, and after staying there a while, visiting his friends in their meetings, and their children in their schools, he set forward with his wife and Thomas Lower, with intention to accompany her on her way home, and to visit his mother on her death bed; but when they came into Worcestershire, he signified to his wife his apprehension that a prison would be his lot there, which filled her with sorrow. And soon after, having had a meeting at John Halford's, at Armicot, in the parish of Tredington, Henry Parker, a justice of the peace, getting intelligence thereof, by means of a woman friend, who being employed as nurse to a child of his, asked leave to go to the meeting; having at that time in company with him a priest, named Rowland Hains, upon hearing of the meeting they plotted together to break it up; but it being the festival of sprinkling the infant, they could not prevail upon themselves to leave the feast until after the meeting was over. When they came they found him and Thomas Lower in conversation with some friends in a parlour, and under pretence of their having had great meetings, which might be prejudicial to the public peace, Parker, without any just cause or legal information, took them both prisoners, and sent them to Worcester jail. Being thus by com-

<sup>a</sup> George Fox's Journal.



pulsion restrained from their purpose of conducting George's wife and daughters on their way, they were under a necessity to procure a friend to accompany them, with whom they returned to her habitation at Swarthmore.

Being imprisoned very wrongfully, and causelessly interrupted in their journey upon their lawful occasions, they applied by letter to the lord lieutenant and deputy lieutenants of the county for the interposition of their authority for their release, laying before them the state of their case, and illegal manner of their imprisonment, not from any meeting, but from an house where they had business; that George Fox was on his way to visit his mother, who was desirous to see him, not being likely to live long, and by his imprisonment was restrained from paying this debt of duty and affection to his aged and sick parent. But this application was ineffectual, the power being too generally vested in those, who were most destitute of compassion and tenderness to any who were guilty of non-conformity: Yet Thomas Lower might have obtained his liberty by means of his brother's intercession, who was one of the king's physicians, and had procured a letter from Henry Savil, gentleman of the bed-chamber to lord Windsor, for his release, if he had been willing to accept it singly; but bearing too great a respect to his father-in-law to leave him in prison alone, he suppressed the letter, and voluntarily continued his companion there.

On the 21st of the month called January 1673, being the last day of the quarter sessions, they were brought to the court. At their entrance, the justices, as if convicted in themselves

C H A P.  
II.  
1673.

Brought to  
their trial  
at the  
sessions.

CHAPTER

II.

1673.

selves of their unjust and injurious treatment, appeared confused and pale, and were for some time silent, insomuch that a person in the hall asked, What! are they afraid? Dare not the justices speak to them? At length justice Parker made a long but very weak apology for his conduct, purporting that *he thought it a milder course to send those two to jail, than to put his neighbours to 200l. charge, by putting the law against conventicles in force*; as if he was under an obligation to do the one or the other, although he could do neither legally; for there was no conventicle in the house when he came, nor had he any evidence to convict them by. The chairman, one Simpson, proceeding to examine them concerning the occasion of their coming thither; they gave so clear an account of themselves, and the reasons of their journey, as obliged him to own, *their account or relation was very innocent*; which as they had no evidence to contradict it, nor cause to doubt the truth thereof, was a plain acknowledgement, that they had been causelessly imprisoned, and had a right to their immediate release from their false imprisonment. But as this act of justice would have been a censure upon Parker's irregular exertion of his power, they resorted to the usual sure mode of finding occasion of crimination against George Fox from the tenderness of his conscience, which they could not from the tenour of his conduct; for Simpson, after whispering to Parker, addressed himself to George Fox after this manner. *Mr. Fox, you are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have said; but that we may be better satisfied; will you take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy?* To which

Oaths of  
 allegiance  
 and supremacy  
 required of  
 G. Fox.

which George replied, *I never took an oath in my* CHAP. *life ; but I have always been true to the govern-* II. *ment ;* asserted his allegiance in full terms ; shewed he had been twice imprisoned, first at Derby for not taking up arms against the king ; and the second time sent up prisoner to Oliver Cromwell under pretence of plotting to bring him in ; that they knew in their consciences the people called Quakers could not take an oath, because Christ had forbidden it. And as to the oath of supremacy, he said, *I deny the Pope and his power, and deny it with my heart.* While he was speaking, they cried, give him the book. He answered, “ the book saith, swear not at “ all.” He was then ordered to be taken away ; but the jailer not being hasty, they were very urgent with him, crying, *take him away, we shall have a meeting here, the fellow loves to hear him preach.* The jailer then drawing him away, he said, “ the Lord forgive you, who cast me into “ prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ.” After George Fox was taken away, the justices, afraid to proceed with equal rigour against Thomas Lower, on account of his more powerful connections, told him, he was at liberty. Upon which he queried of them, “ Why his father “ in-law might not be set at liberty, as well as “ he, since they were taken together for the “ same pretended offence.” But as a proof that lawless power and not reason or equity was the rule of their conduct, they told him *they would not bear him,* “ You may go about your business, for we have nothing more to do with “ you, seeing you are discharged.”

1673.

For refusing which he is remanded to prison.

Thomas Lower discharged.

But

CHAP. II. But Thomas not being easy to leave his father in prison, without further solicitation for his release, went to the justices at their chamber, desiring to know, " what cause they had to detain his father, that they had not against him; and why one should be discharged and the other not?" wishing them to consider, whether this distinction in their treatment of persons in the very same circumstances might not be looked upon as an indefensible partiality. The justices not relishing such close reasoning, Simpson, thinking to deter him from further remonstrances, told him, " if he was not content, they would tender him the oath, and send him to his father." A plain evidence that it was not for a security to government that they tendered the oath; but in the caprice of power, at their meer will and pleasure, to gratify private ill will in the execution of partial laws, or laws never originally intended against a people not in being. Lower replied, " Ye may do that if ye will, but whether ye send me or no, I intend to go and wait upon my father in prison, for that is now my business in this country." Justice Parker then made an apology for his conduct in the following terms, " Do you think, Mr. Lower, that I had no cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had so great a meeting; insomuch that the parson of the parish complained to me, that he had lost the greatest part of his parishioners; so that when he comes amongst them, he hath scarcely any auditors left." To this Thomas Lower returned, " I have heard that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock, but once, it may be, or  
" twice

1673-  
Thomas  
Lower sol-  
icits his  
father's dis-  
charge inef-  
fectually.

“ twice in a year to gather in his tithes \*, that C H A P.  
 “ it was but charity in my father to visit so for- II.  
 “ lorn and so forsaken a flock. And therefore ~~~~~  
 “ thou hadst no cause to send him to prison for 1673.  
 “ visiting and instructing them, who had so lit-  
 “ tle comfort from their pastor, who comes a-  
 “ mong them only to seek for his gain from his  
 “ quarter.” At this the justices broke into a  
 laughter ; for Doctor Crowther, the priest spoken  
 of, was then sitting with them in the room, un-  
 known to Thomas Lower, and he had the sense  
 to let it pass without any reply, either of resent-  
 ment or vindication. But when Thomas Lower  
 was gone, the justices, highly diverting them-  
 selves at Crowther’s expence, he was so nettled,  
 that he threatened to sue Thomas Lower in the  
 Bishop’s court on an action of defamation; which  
 coming to Thomas’s ears, he sent him word, and

\* This priest, called Doctor Crowther, though thus re-  
 gardless of his flock, appears to have been a rigid exactor of  
 their tithes ; of which we meet with the following instances  
 in Bessé’s Sufferings. In 1676 he prosecuted John Halford  
 aforesaid, on the statute for treble damages, for a claim of  
 seven years tithes, worth about 5*l.* per annum, who by ex-  
 ecution at several times had taken from him goods and chat-  
 tels to the value of 15*l.* In 1678 William Banbury was ar-  
 rested for tithes at his suit, and committed to Worcester jail,  
 afterward removed to London, and committed to the Fleet pri-  
 son; and the same year his mother, Mary Banbury, was cast into  
 the same prison at his suit, on the same account. He prosecuted  
 William Parr of Shipston several times. Upon one of these pro-  
 secutions he was imprisoned above a year at Worcester, and  
 a judgment being obtained against him for 8*l.* he lost by dis-  
 traint four cows worth 14*l.* At another time for the like  
 demand of 8*l.* he suffered by distrain of four cows and two  
 horses 30*l.* Crowther had the power of holding an ecclesi-  
 astical court once in three years, to which the said William  
 Parr was cited for not coming to hear common prayer, was  
 committed to prison by writ de excommunicato capiendo,  
 and detained in prison upwards of two years and an half.

afterwards

CHAP. afterwards told him to his face, “ that he might  
 II. “ commence his suit as soon as he pleased ; that  
 “ he would answer it, and bring his whole pa-  
 “ rish in evidence against him.” So the priest  
 in conclusion thought it the wisest course to let  
 it drop.

1674.  
 G. Fox re-  
 moved by  
*babeas cor-*  
*pus.*

Some days after an *babeas corpus* came down  
 for removing George Fox to the King’s Bench  
 bar at Westminster. On receipt whereof the  
 under sheriff made Thomas Lower his deputy to  
 convey him to London, where they arrived on  
 the 2d of the month called February, and ap-  
 pearing in court, his case was argued, but no  
 determination come to at that time ; he was or-  
 dered into the custody of the marshal of the  
 King’s Bench, and another day appointed for  
 hearing it.

But by Par-  
 ker’s con-  
 trivance  
 re-manded  
 to Worces-  
 ter.

In the mean time Parker, who had grossly in-  
 jured him in his causeless imprisonment, with  
 persevering enmity, to prolong his imprisonment,  
 and cloak his own illegal conduct, had, in con-  
 cert with other adversaries, dispersed a malicious  
 report, “ that there were many substantial men  
 “ with George Fox, out of many parts of the  
 “ nation, when he was taken, and that they had  
 “ a design or plot in hand ; and that Thomas  
 “ Lower staid with him in prison, long after he  
 “ was set at liberty, to carry on the design.” By  
 which, and other false reports, the judges, who  
 seemed inclinable to set George Fox at liberty,  
 were prevailed upon to remand him to Worcester,  
 only this favour was granted him, that he might  
 go down his own way, and at his leisure, pro-  
 vided he would not fail to be there by the assizes,  
 which were to begin on the 2d day of the month  
 called April following. He appeared accord-  
 ingly

ingly at the said assizes before judge Turner, CHAP. II.  
 who formerly passed sentence of premunire against him at Lancaster. That judge was now more favourable, and seemed inclined to release him; but Parker endeavoured to prevent it, by insinuating "that he was a ringleader, that many of the nation followed him, and that nobody knew what it might come to." The judge, though he knew better, being willing to ease himself, referred the matter back to the sessions again, bidding the justices terminate it there, and not trouble the assizes any more. So he was continued a prisoner, but by the favour of some of the justices had the liberty of the town granted him, and leave to lodge at a friend's house until the sessions. The justices of this county appear to have been of different sentiments and dispositions at this time, and on this occasion; one party entering into all Parker's arbitrary views, and joining him in going any length to screen his palpable abuse of power, and manifest injustice, from meeting with deserved censure; the other party, actuated by principles of more honour and moderation, and convinced that George Fox was very unjustly treated with this severity, endeavoured to moderate the malicious temper of his adversaries, and to prevent them from proceeding to extremities with him, but were not able to dissuade them therefrom.

1674

The time of the sessions being come, George Fox was called before the justices. One *Street* being chairman of the sessions, opened his trial with a speech of the like tenour with Parker's vain pretences for committing him to prison, and it is probable suggested by him, wherein

G. Fox brought before the session.

CHAP. by magnifying and misrepresenting the circumstances of their religious meeting, in order to infuse into the people a notion of danger to be feared therefrom, and to give a colourable pretext for their proceedings, he said "That George Fox had a meeting at Tredington from all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's subjects, for which he had been committed to prison, and that for the trial of his fidelity the oath had been tendered to him." Then turning to George Fox, he asked him, "since he had time to consider of it, whether he would now take the oaths?" George Fox first vindicated himself from the misrepresentations of the chairman, repeated the relation of his journey, and the cause of it, as he had done at the former sessions, when they could not help acknowledging his account to be clear: That as to some being there from different parts of the nation, they were principally of one family, and in one company, except a friend from Bristol, who came accidentally or providentially, as it was to him they were obliged for attending his wife and daughters on their way home, when Thomas Lower and he were intercepted by Parker. That it was not true that there were persons from all parts of the nation, nor that their meeting was to the terrifying of the king's subjects, desiring them to produce one evidence, who could say, they were terrified thereby: That as to the oaths they knew he could not take them, and they knew it was from a conscientious scruple of violating Christ's command he could not. That he could honestly declare his allegiance to the king in clear and plain terms in any assertion short of an oath. But the most reasonable

1674.

Not true.

G. Fox's  
vindication  
of himself.



reasonable pleas find little entrance through the veil of prejudice, to avert pre-determined resolutions. For upon his refusal of the oaths they proceeded in their preconcerted plan of trial to condemnation: An indictment, ready drawn up, was read to him, and the chairman asking him, if he was guilty? He replied, "No, for the indictment is *a bundle of lies.*" The indictment was delivered to the jury, who under the instructions of the chairman found the bill against him, which he determined to traverse, and then was required to put in bail until the next sessions, but he refused to be bound any otherwise than by his promise to appear, if the Lord gave him health and strength, and he were at liberty.

C H A P.  
II.  
1674.

So he was sent back to prison; but by the interposition of the more moderate justices (who had manifested a favourable disposition in the court, endeavouring to prevent the tender of the oath and the indictment) in about two hours after he had liberty given him to go at large until the next quarter sessions.

The yearly meeting in London falling out in the intermediate time, he attended it. And at the instance of some of his friends he appeared before some of the justices of the King's Bench, and delivered to them a declaration of his fidelity to the king, and denial of the Pope's supremacy and power, as what he could promise in lieu of the oaths; but as his case was under cognizance of the quarter sessions at Worcester, the judges were unwilling to meddle with it, not being regularly before them.

CHAP. Wherefore when the yearly meeting was over

II. he returned to Worcester, and appeared at the succeeding quarter sessions to traverse the indictment; but when he proceeded to shew the errors, which were sufficient to quash it, he was stopped, the oath required of him again, and upon his refusal to take it, the jury found him guilty. And an admonition of the consequence of a premunire being given him in court, this was clandestinely recorded for the sentence thereof, in his absence, after he was sent out of court, to evade the reproach and censure due to their illegal proceedings, as several of the justices, and the generality of the people condemned them: Nay, his persecutors themselves seemed at last affected with uneasy sensations of compunction for the wrong they had done him, and wished he had never come thither to trouble them, upon which George Fox observed they had brought the trouble upon themselves: But they had gone too far to make a handsome retreat, and therefore thought it less dishonourable to persevere in the wrong, than to right the injured, by owning and reversing the wrong.

Clandestinely condemned in a premunire.

Falls sick in prison.

Under the hard sentence of premunire he was remanded to prison, where he was soon after seized with a dangerous fit of sickness, which reduced him to great weakness of body, so that his recovery seemed doubtful. Upon this account application was made to justice Parker, for liberty for him to be removed out of the jail into the city, who after much importunity wrote the following note to the jailer,

“ Mr.

“ Mr. Harris,

CHAP.  
II.

“ I have been much importuned by some  
 “ friends of George Fox to write to you: I  
 “ am informed by them that he is in a very  
 “ weak condition, and very much indisposed.  
 “ What lawful favour you can do, for the be-  
 “ nefit of air for his health, pray shew him. I  
 “ suppose next term they will make application  
 “ to the king.

1674.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your loving friend,

“ HENRY PARKER.”

George Fox's wife finding him fixed in prison under the sentence of premunire, came up from the north to attend him, and also to solicit his discharge, and after staying with him three or four months, and seeing no discharge like to be obtained for him, she took her journey to London to solicit the king in person, was kindly received by him, and referred to the Lord Keeper, who told her, *the king could not release her husband any otherwise than by a pardon*, which the king would readily have granted; but George Fox was not easy to obtain his liberty in that method; for knowing his own innocence, he thought the acceptance of a pardon would be a tacit acknowledgement of guilt; wherefore he declared, *he had rather lie in prison all his days, than come out in any way dishonourable to the truth he made profession of.* He rather chose to have the validity of his indictment tried before the

M. Fox so-  
 licits the  
 king in his  
 behalf, who  
 is willing to  
 grant him  
 a pardon,  
 which he  
 is not easy  
 to receive.

CHAP. the judges ; and accordingly procured an *habeas corpus* \* to remove him once more to the King's Bench bar, where appearing before the four judges, Counsellor Thomas Corbet was employed to plead for him, who acquitted himself with great honour. <sup>2</sup> He advanced a new plea, " that " by law they could not imprison any man " upon a premunire," upon the hearing this unexpected plea, the judges required time to consult their books and the statutes, and postponed the hearing until next day. When finding Corbet's opinion was well founded, they, it is probable for fear of ill consequences, chose to omit further notice of the plea, and proceeded to examine the indictment, in which the errors appeared so many and so gross, that the judges were unanimous in opinion, *that the indictment was quashed and void, and that George Fox ought to be set at liberty.* And as the oaths were tendered to sundry great men that day in court, there were not wanting some adversaries to George Fox, who moved the judges that the oaths might be tendered to him again, insinuating *he was a dangerous man to be at liberty.* But that upright and conscientious judge Sir Matthew Hale at this time presided at the King's Bench, who was too honest to lend an ear to

1674.  
Again re-  
moved by  
*habeas corpus*  
and releas-  
ed.

\* The *Habeas Corpus* being readily procured and sent down to Worcester, his adversaries, as conscious of having exerted a power which would not stand the test of examination, were reluctant to comply therewith, and endeavoured to evade it, pretending he was premunired, and of consequence deprived of the benefit of the law ; whereupon a second order was procured and sent down, and then he was brought up by the sheriff.

<sup>2</sup> Sewel, p. 504.

such

such suggestions, saying *he had indeed heard* CHAP. II.  
*some such reports of George Fox, but he had also*  
*heard more good reports of him.* So after a full  
 hearing before the four judges he was dis- 1674.  
 charged by proclamation, after he had suffered  
 an unjust imprisonment of a year and almost  
 two months, and thus obtained his liberty in an  
 honourable way, without impeachment (by im-  
 plication) of his innocence. And Corbet his  
 advocate obtained great credit by his manner of  
 pleading his cause; the lawyers alledging *he had*  
*brought that to light which had not been remark-*  
*ed before.* And after the trial one of the judges  
 complimented him upon it, saying, *you have ob-*  
*tained a great deal of honour, by your way of*  
*pleading George Fox's cause in court.*

After his release he went to London, and  
 thence to Kingston for the recovery of his health, After his  
 release goes  
 down to  
 Swarth-  
 more to  
 reside.  
 and staid in and about the city until the yearly  
 meeting, where he had the opportunity of see-  
 ing friends from most parts of the nation, and  
 of edifying and being edified amongst them.  
 When the meeting was over, having taken leave  
 of his friends, he went down with his wife to  
 her habitation at Swarthmore, by coach, not be-  
 ing able to ride on horseback, where he continued  
 for a considerable time, without going much  
 abroad, in order to recruit his strength; the in-  
 disposition he contracted in his late imprison-  
 ment having reduced him to a state of great  
 weakness, from which he was some time in  
 recovering.

## C H A P. III.

*Persecution renewed.—Ineffectual Application to the Judges for relief.—The Parliament jealous of the Court.—Bishops promote persecution.—William Penn publishes England's present Interest.—Robert Barclay's Apology published.—Animadversions on Mosheim's Reflections upon it.—Sufferings of William Hall.—Of Friends of Namptwich.—Sufferings and Death of William Bailey.*

C H A P.  
III.

1674.  
Persecution  
renewed.

THE revocation of the indulgence and the displeasure of the court against the dissenters, let loose the whole tribe of informers, and gave fresh spirit to the persecuting magistrates. Persecutions now began to be renewed against the people called Quakers in all the various modes of distress; and by all the variety of penal laws at the capricious will of every justice; they continued to be prosecuted upon the statute of premunire of Jac. I. for refusing to swear\*; upon the obsolete statute of 20l. a month for absence from the parish church (so called) † and the said penalty,

\* On the 21st of the month called July, 1675, John Anderson, of Somersetshire, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance had sentence of premunire passed upon him by judge Rainsford, &c. &c.

1678.

† Thomas Bennet and Thomas Tyler and others were imprisoned for absence from the national worship, where they lay

penalty, or two-thirds of a person's estate seized by Exchequer process; but the prosecutions by the priests for their tithes were enormous and unceasing, taking from them frequently far more than their pretended due, prosecuting them in the ecclesiastical courts to excommunication, and procuring writs *de excommunicato capiendo* to be issued, to throw them into prison. For keep-

C H A P.

III.

1674.

lay eight months. The said Thomas Bennet had also two-thirds of his estate seized by exchequer process by the statute of 23 Eliz. against popish recusants.

Several of the people called Quakers in Herefordshire being prosecuted in the Exchequer on old statutes against popish recusants, suffered much by distresses made for pretended forfeitures, of the two-thirds of the yearly value of their estates.

1677.

Edmund Peckover of Fakenham, Norfolk, was prosecuted on the statute for 20l. a month, of which his son gave the following account. "Our adversaries are wholly bent to ruin us; they have distrained for 120l. for the king's use, as they say, upon the statute of 20l. a month, and have taken above forty pieces of serges and stuff, some whole and some cut; also seventeen pieces of linen, callicoes and Scotch cloth; but would not let us measure any, so that we know not what they amount to: We have shut up shop to secure our creditors, and if there be no likelihood of a stop to their proceedings, we intend to keep open shop no more; but to pay where it is owing."

George Gates of Buntingford, Hertfordshire, was arrested on the statute of 20l. a month for absence from the national worship, and committed to prison, where he continued until he died on the 5th of the 3d month O. S. called May, 1680.

1677.

John Taylor of York, a man well beloved of his neighbours, was committed to prison, being prosecuted on the aforesaid statute of 20l. a month, on the information of John Hemmingway, by one Jonas Rigdon, attorney, who got much discredit by it. The informer publicly declared his repentance, and said he could not rest day or night for trouble at what he had done.

ing

CHAP. III. ing up their religious meetings they were still a prey to idle and profligate informers; men divested of every principle of humanity or common honesty, delighting in cruelty and living by plunder; made no conscience, were restrained within no bounds of reason or moderation in the spoil they made of their goods; and what rendered their sufferings the more severe, they had no grounds to hope for redress whilst these plunderers were encouraged and urged on by their superiors, whose duty it was to protect the subjects in the unmolested possession of that property, which their honest industry had earned.


Ineffectual application to the judges for relief.

Under the heavy pressure of their grievous sufferings, application was made to the judges (before they went their several circuits) for their compassionate attention to the hard cases of several of the sufferers, and to interpose their authority for their relief, in the following address.

“ To the King’s justices appointed for the several  
“ circuits throughout England.

“ Many of our friends called Quakers being  
“ continued prisoners, many prosecuted to great  
“ spoil by informers, and on qui-tam writs, and  
“ by presentments and indictments for 20l. per  
“ mensem, in divers counties through Eng-  
“ land, only on the account of religion and  
“ tender conscience towards Almighty God, we  
“ esteem it our duty to remind you of their  
“ suffering condition, as we have done from  
“ time to time; humbly entreating you in the  
“ circuits to enquire into the several causes of  
“ their



“ their commitments, and other sufferings, C H A P.  
 “ which they lie under, and to extend what III.  
 “ favour you can for their ease and relief.   
 “ Praying the Almighty to preserve and direct 1674.  
 “ you.”

But little redress could be obtained from the judges at this time, nor is it surprizing it could not, if the assertion of one of our historians be true, <sup>a</sup> that “ the papists being excluded from  
 “ places of trust, the court had no tenderness  
 “ for non-conformists ; the judges therefore had  
 “ orders to quicken the execution of the laws  
 “ against them. The high-churchmen in their  
 “ pulpits were encouraged to open their mouths  
 “ as loudly as possible against them. One in  
 “ his sermon before the house of commons told  
 “ them, that the non-conformists ought not to  
 “ be tolerated, but to be *cured by vengeance* ;  
 “ the king issued out a proclamation for putting  
 “ the penal laws in full execution, which had  
 “ its effect.”

The parliament, from the Restoration to their last sessions, had manifested the warmest zeal for the king and church of England, and from time to time had gratified the former by complying with all his demands for money, and the latter by passing one severe law after another against non-conformists ; whereby there appeared a great cordiality to subsist between the king, the parliament, and the bishops ; but now from their discovery of the bad measures, and their apprehensions of worse designs of the court, had conceived an incurable jealousy of the

The parliament became jealous of the court.

<sup>a</sup> Neale, v. ii. p. 697.

king,

CHAP. III. king, his brother and his ministers; who in re-  
 turn entertained a reciprocal aversion to the  
 meeting of the parliament,<sup>b</sup> as they now began  
 1674. to turn the tide of their zeal against the papists  
 singly; and were desirous to protect the other  
 dissenters, as confederates in the support of the  
 protestant cause: Upon this account the king  
 was very unwilling to meet the parliament, but  
 his necessities obliged him to convene them;  
 and presently after their meeting they presented  
 an address desiring the king to banish all papists,  
 who were not housekeepers, or menial servants  
 to peers, ten miles from London, and to appoint  
 a fast for the calamities of the nation. Mis-  
 understandings and jealousies on both sides by  
 these means gathering strength, divided the peo-  
 ple of all ranks more than ever, and added fuel  
 to the intemperate warmth of party rage, which  
 had so long distracted the nation. No sooner  
 had the parliament undertaken the protection of  
 the dissenters, and the persecution of the papists,  
 than the court to thwart their measures promot-  
 ed the persecution of the former: The king  
 commanded an order to be made public, “ that  
 “ effectual care be taken for the suppressing con-  
 “ venticles; and whereas divers pretend old  
 “ licenses for preaching, and would support  
 “ themselves by that pretence, the king declares  
 “ that long since all his licenses were recalled,  
 “ and that no conventicle hath any authority,  
 “ allowance or commission from him.”

1675. The bishops also continued their exertions to  
 promote the execution of the penal laws against  
 them in common with the papists. Sheldon

Bishops pro-  
 mote per-  
 secution.

<sup>b</sup> Neale,

wrote circular letters to the bishops of his province to cause enquiry to be made, 1st, What number of persons by common estimation reside within the respective parishes under their care? 2dly, What number of popish recusants, or persons suspected of recusancy? 3dly, What number of other dissenters of what sect soever, which either obstinately refuse, or wholly absent themselves from the communion of the church, at such times as by law they are required?

CHAP.  
III.  
1675.

So that no change in the temper of the times brought as yet any durable or effectual relief to the sufferings of *this society*; they rather grew heavier and more aggravated during the remainder of this reign, to the end thereof.

Many of them continuing to be imprisoned for refusing the oath of allegiance, William Penn this year wrote his Treatise of Oaths, wherein he shews their reasons for *not swearing at all*, and confirms them by numerous authorities.

The sufferings of friends continued.

And in consideration of the unhappy divisions and animosities prevailing in the nation, he also wrote this year, an excellent treatise, under the title of “England’s present Interest considered,” wherein, to allay the heats of contending parties, he shews the consistency of a general liberty of conscience with the peace of the kingdom: A work wherein the liberal charity of real christianity and the candid spirit of genuine patriotism are eminently conspicuous. The introduction to which treatise is addressed to the consideration of our superiors, and proceeds, “There is no law of nature or of grace that forbids men to deal honestly and plainly with the greatest in matters of importance to their present

William Penn writes a treatise, entitled *England’s present interest*.

CHAP. " present and future good ; nor do worthy minds  
 III. " think less favourably of honest and humble  
 monitors. Oftentimes princes are deceived,  
 1675. " and kingdoms prejudiced for want of them.  
 " Certain it is that there are few kingdoms in  
 " the world more divided within themselves,  
 " and whose religious interests lie more seem-  
 " ingly cross to accommodation, than that we  
 " live in ; which renders the magistrate's task  
 " hard, and occasions him a difficulty almost  
 " invincible.

" Your endeavours for an uniformity have  
 " been numerous ; your acts to enforce it mul-  
 " tiplied ; but the consequence, whether you  
 " intended it or no, hath been the spoiling of  
 " several thousands of the freeborn people of this  
 " kingdom of their unforfeited rights. Per-  
 " sons have been flung into jails ; gates and  
 " trunks broken open ; goods distrained, until  
 " a stool hath not been left to sit down on ;  
 " flocks of cattle drawn off ; whole barns of  
 " corn seized, thrashed and carried away ; pa-  
 " rents left without their children ; children  
 " without their parents, and both without sub-  
 " sistence.

" But that which aggravates the cruelty, is,  
 " *the widow's mite* hath not escaped their hands ;  
 " they have made her cow the forfeiture of her  
 " conscience ; not leaving her a bed to lie on ;  
 " nor a blanket to cover her. And what is yet  
 " more barbarous, and helps to make up this  
 " tragedy, the poor orphan's *milk*, boiling over  
 " the fire, hath been flung to the dogs, and the  
 " skillet made part of the prize : So that had  
 " not nature in neighbours been stronger than  
 " cruelty in such informers, to open her bowels  
 " for

“ for their relief and subsistence, they must have  
 “ utterly perished. C H A P.  
III.

“ Nor can these inhuman instruments plead  
 “ conscience, or duty to those laws, who have  
 “ abundantly transcended the severest clause in  
 “ them; for to see the imprisoned hath been  
 “ crime enough for a jail; and to visit the sick,  
 “ to make a conventicle; fining and distrain-  
 “ ing for preaching and being at a meeting,  
 “ where there hath been neither, and 40l.  
 “ for 20l. hath been a moderate advance with  
 “ some of them.

1675.

“ Others thinking this way too tedious and  
 “ inadequate to the purpose of a speedy strip-  
 “ ping them of their substance, alter the ques-  
 “ tion from, have you met? to will you swear?  
 “ So that it hath been, in some places, esteem-  
 “ ed a sufficient reason for a premunire, that  
 “ men have estates to lose; although they bear  
 “ as true allegiance to government as their ad-  
 “ versaries; and only through tenderness of con-  
 “ science refuse the oath.

“ Finding then by sad experience, and a long  
 “ tract of time, that the very remedies applied  
 “ to cure dissension encrease it; and that the  
 “ more vigorously an uniformity is coercively  
 “ prosecuted, the wider breaches grow, and par-  
 “ ties become more inflamed; that the compul-  
 “ sory measures have always procured to the ac-  
 “ tors the judgments of God and the hatred of  
 “ men; to the sufferers misery; to their coun-  
 “ try, decay of people and trade; and to their  
 “ own consciences, extreme guilt; I hope to  
 “ be excused in offering my mite for the en-  
 “ crease of your true honour, and the felicity  
 “ of

CHAP. " of my dear country, by proposing the follow-  
 III. " ing question, and the solution thereof.

1675.

" Q U E S T I O N .

" What is most fit, easy and safe, in this  
 " present juncture of affairs, for composing, at  
 " least quieting, differences; for allaying the  
 " heat of contrary interests, and making them  
 " subservient to the interests of government,  
 " and consistent with the prosperity of the king-  
 " dom?"

" The A N S W E R .

" 1st, An inviolable and impartial mainte-  
 " nance of English rights."

" 2d, Our superiors governing themselves  
 " upon a balance, as near as may be, towards  
 " the several religious interests."

" 3d, A sincere promotion of general and  
 " practical religion."

These propositions are the groundwork of this treatise, which the author proceeds to establish by sound reasoning, and a multitude of authorities; but reasons of state, however unfound and unjust, were more forcible at this time than the soundest reasoning which thwarted the pre-concerted and pre-determined measures of government, persecution continued, and civil dissensions daily acquired new force.

Robert Barclay's apology published.

While William Penn was thus employed in pointing out the true interests of the nation, Robert Barclay was appropriating his labours to the service of truth, and of the society of which he

he was a member; it was in this year he published his *Apology for the true Christian Divinity, being an explanation and vindication of the principles and doctrines of the people called Quakers*; to which he prefixed an epistle to King Charles II. remarkable for the plain dealing and honest simplicity of address, conscientiously in use among this people at that time; free from the servile *adulation* too generally used towards princes from those they converse with, this epistle presents him with plain truth and pertinent reflections, worthy of his observation, to which however, he seems to have paid less regard, than to the pernicious plans and counsels of the court parasites.

The people in whose behalf this apology was written had been from the beginning grossly abused, and their principles misconstrued and misrepresented by the priests and teachers of most denominations, both from the pulpit and the press; the consideration whereof excited him to undertake and publish this discourse as an essay to prevent future controversy; to strip Quakerism of the disguise in which enmity or ignorance had dressed it up; and represent it to the world in its genuine shape and complexion. A work, which with unprejudiced readers answered the end of its publication, and gained the author the approbation of the ingenuous in general, for presenting the world with a rational and consistent system of the christian religion according to the scriptures, and doctrines of the primitive church therein recorded; and although objections may have been advanced against some particular parts, yet as a system it remains unrefuted to this day.

## C H A P.

## III.

Yet Mosheim, who in his whole account of the Quakers, treats them without mercy or charity, as if his business as an historian was only to revive every obsolete and invidious calumny, but not one testimony in their favour; as if he was mortified to find that any one amongst them could defend their cause so well, very disingenuously endeavours to depreciate this work, and to asperse the author unjustly, by ascribing to him a duplicity, which (by the testimony of those who knew him well) was most foreign to his real character; and to insinuate that he had given a fallacious account of the Quakers principles, as if they were in reality not those which he had delivered to the world as such. For he insinuates that we are not to “learn  
 “ the true doctrine and sentiments of Quaker-  
 “ ism from his apology for the true christian  
 “ divinity \*; this ingenious man appeared as  
 “ a patron and defender of Quakerism, and not  
 “ a professed † teacher and expounder of its va-  
 “ rious

1675.  
 An im-  
 version on  
 Mosheim's  
 reflections  
 upon it.

\* His history would have been more instructive, if he had informed us from what other source we might draw a more satisfactory knowledge of their doctrines and sentiments; I am certain it is not from Doctor Mosheim's account of them.

† This extraordinary paragraph wants explanation, to me at least; for I can investigate no meaning in it, which I can reconcile to truth or reality of fact: That Robert Barclay did really appear as an expounder, and an honest expounder of this people's doctrines, I believe very few who have read his Apology can entertain a doubt; that he modified the opinions of his sect after a manner inconsistent with truth, is implied; but not admitted or proved; but admitting he was an advocate of his own cause, and that of his fellow members of a society (not *odious*, unless innocence and rigid virtue deserve that epithet) he is still as defensible in standing forth



" rious doctrines ; and he interpreted and mo- C H A P.  
 " dified the opinions of his sect after the man- III.  
 " ner of a champion or advocate, who under-  
 " takes the defence of an *odious* cause. He ob- 1675.  
 " serves an entire \* silence in relation to the  
 " fundamental principles of christianity, con-  
 " cerning which it is of great consequence to  
 " know the real opinions of the Quakers, and  
 " thus he exhibits a system of Theology that is  
 " evidently lame and imperfect. It is observa-  
 " ble that Barclay touches in a slight, superfi-  
 " cial and hasty manner, some tenets, which  
 " when amply explained, exposed the Quakers  
 " to severe censures ; and in this he discovers  
 " plainly the weakness of his cause. Lastly, to  
 " omit many other observations that might be  
 " made here, this writer employs the greatest  
 " dexterity and art in softening and modifying  
 " those invidious doctrines which he cannot  
 " conceal, and dare not disavow ; for which  
 " purpose he carefully avoids all those phrases  
 " and terms that are made use of by the Qua-  
 " kers, and are peculiar to their sect, and ex-  
 " presses their tenets in ordinary language, in

forth a champion in the defence of the injured, as those who unprovoked appear as champions against them, to render them on groundless accusations odious to the world.

\* If this Doctor also had not observed an entire silence, what in particular these fundamental principles of christianity are which he hints at, which those tenets Robert Barclay touches in a slight and superficial manner, &c. his meaning might have been better understood, and the truth or error more certainly owned or refuted, but as he hath thought proper to veil his subject in mystery, I own myself unequal to the task of unriddling his ænigmatical assertions.

CHAP. " terms of a \* vague and indefinite nature, and  
 III. " in a style that casts a sort of mask over their  
 " natural aspect. At this rate the most enor-  
 1675. " mous errors may be held with impunity; for  
 " there is no doctrine, however absurd, to which  
 " a plausible air may not be given by following  
 " the insidious method of Barclay; and it is  
 " well known that even the doctrine of Spinoza  
 " was, with a like artifice, dressed out and dis-  
 " guised by some of his disciples."

Here again we have a specimen of Mosheim's dogmatical talent, wherein the want of candour, of charity or decency, is too apparent. What could more plainly discover the *arugomera*, the malice and prejudice, he had imbibed against a people concerning whom he was ignorant, or knew only by the pictures or caricatures drawn by their adversaries, than to indulge his spleen so far, as to compare Robert Barclay to the disciples of Spinoza. The comparison is odious; and it is to be feared, if he could have thought of one more odious, he would have adopted it. For it must be manifest to every person, who hath considered the wide difference of their sentiments, that there is no more affinity between them, than the site of the arctic and antarctic poles.

After all, what do we find in these remarks but mere declamation without argument; opinion without foundation, and assertion without proof? And as a balance against this doctor's

\* I dare appeal to every dispassionate reader of Robert Barclay, whether in any part of his Apology he hath made use of terms of a more vague and indefinite nature, than these very strictures upon him are couched in.

opinion,

opinion, we can produce the opinions of other writers, not a whit inferior in soundness of judgment, in mental abilities, or in literary fame; and much superior, in my opinion, in justice and liberality of sentiment. C H A P.  
III.  
1675.

“ I cannot think Quakerism inconsiderable, as the principles of it are laid down and managed by Mr. Barclay. That great and general contempt they lie under does not hinder me from thinking the sect of Quakers to be far the most considerable of any that divide from the church, in case the Quakerism that is generally held be the same with that which Mr. Barclay has delivered to the world as such; whom I take to be so great a man, that I profess freely I had rather engage against an hundred Bellarmins, Hardings and Stapletons, than with one Barclay.” *Norris's Treatise of divine Light. Tract 2, page 32.*

“ Je n'ai point de honte d'avouer que j'ai lu avec un plaisir singulier, L'Apologie du Quakerisme par Robert Barclay: il m'a convaincu que c'est tout calcule, le system le plus raisonnable, et le plus parfait qu'on ait encore imaginé.

“ I am not ashamed to own that I have read Robert Barclay's Apology for Quakerism over and over again with singular satisfaction: And I am convinced that, taken all together, it is the most reasonable and most perfect system, which hath ever been conceived.” *French Encyclopedie, word Quaker.*

“ I am not ashamed to own that I have with great pleasure read over Mr. Barclay's Apology for Quakerism, and do really think it the most masterly, charitable and reasonable system

C H A P. III. “ system that I have ever seen : It solves the numerous difficulties raised by other sects, and by turns thrown at one another, and shews all parts of scripture to be uniform and consistent.” *Cato’s Letters*, v. iv. p. 226.

Sufferings  
of William  
Hall.

In the course of this year William Hall, of Congleton in Cheshire, being fined 20l. for a meeting at his house, had his dwelling house broken open and two cart loads of goods carried away worth 40l. Besides which they took away a mare of his, which mare after some time came home again : Upon which he went with two of his neighbours to the chief magistrate of the place, and gave him information of her return, and what field she was in. Notwithstanding this they caused him to be arraigned for felony, on an indictment for stealing the mare : But he was acquitted upon his trial, this malicious attempt to commit murder by law, being too barefaced to prevail upon any judge or jury to bring him in guilty.

Of friends  
at Namp-  
wich.

About the same time cattle and goods to the value of 100l. were taken from fundry persons in and about Nampwich : From Randal Elliot they took the bed he lay on, and even the dung-hill in his yard. When some of the sufferers on an appeal were acquitted by the jury, the justices would not accept their verdict, but at the next sessions gave treble costs against the appellants. The chief informer was one called John Widdobury of Hanklow, Esq; who being indebted 40l. upon bond to Thomas Bradsley, a member of that meeting, upon his demand of payment, was incensed against him, and thus vented his wrath upon his friends. He also got an old excommunication revived against Thomas  
Bradsley,

Brasley, and sent him to prison, threatening to send his wife after him, for asking for his own. C H A P.  
III.

This year William Bailey died at sea, in his voyage from the West Indies. He had been a teacher among the baptists at Fool in Dorsetshire, where he was convinced by the ministry of George Fox in 1655, and entered into society with the people called Quakers, amongst whom he became a zealous preacher, and travelled abroad in the exercise of his ministerial gift, to bring others to the truth he had been convinced and experienced the advantage of. In which religious exercise of love to his fellow citizens it was his lot to participate in the sufferings of his brethren, in frequent imprisonments, both during the time of the commonwealth and after the restoration. First, he was one of the number of those, who, by an order of the justices in Devonshire in 1656 (before taken notice of in its place) were taken up, in the progress of their religious visits, for vagrants, and committed to Exeter jail, at the assizes fined forty marks a-piece for not putting off their hats, and remanded to prison until payment. Again in 1657 he was imprisoned in Hampshire, by a mittimus founded in falsehood, alledging he and others were charged with several misdemeanours; whereas nobody had accused them of any: At the next assizes they were sent to the house of correction, and detained there fourteen weeks, until they were discharged by an order of a committee of parliament.

1675.  
Sufferings  
and death  
of William  
Bailey.

In 1662 he and five others standing quietly in the street near the Bull and Mouth meeting-house in London, were taken by soldiers and carried before Richard Brown, who with his accustomed

C H A P.

III.

1675.

accustomed rudeness ordered their hats to be pulled off with violence, struck William Bailey several blows with his fist, and when William's wife reproved him for abusing her husband, he struck her also, and threw her down on the ground; whereupon William cautioned him to beware of abusing her, she being with child; he nevertheless repeated his abuse to her in like manner, and then ordered his man and other rude fellows to take William to Newgate, in mere wantonness of office, committing him to prison without the least shadow of legal cause or accusation against him. In the beginning of the year 1663 he was again taken at a meeting at King's Langley, and sent to Hertford jail, and at the quarter sessions, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, was recommitted, and continued prisoner some years after. In 1670 he was again committed to Newgate on the following occasion. In the time of the meeting at Grace Church-street, a second attempt was made to bring a priest to officiate there; who coming from an adjacent alehouse, guarded by soldiers, as they came toward the meeting-house, slipped away into the street; the serjeant pursued him, and prevailed with him to return, which he did, with a double guard, to the door; but his heart failing him, he turned away a second time, with the derision of the people. William Bailey was then preaching, whom the soldiers took and carried before the Lord Mayor, who committed him to Newgate for abusing the priest and disturbing him in his office, though he had not spoken a word to the priest, nor had the priest attempted to officiate at all, but made his retreat as aforesaid. He was brought to trial at

Hicks's-

Hicks's-hall at the same session with Penn and Mead; and with the other prisoners was fined 3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for a pretended charge of divers evil carriages and contempts in words and deeds, by them severally committed in and towards the court; and the court gave farther judgment, that he should pay a second fine of twenty marks, as being convicted of several trespasses and contempts, and to be committed to prison until he should pay his fines. And besides his frequent imprisonments he suffered much corporal abuse by blows, by being thrown down and dragged along the ground by the hair of his head; his mouth and jaws attempted to be rent asunder, and otherwise abused until the ground where he lay was stained with his blood; trampled upon by an heavy corpulent persecutor, who after he had partly satiated his spite by his endeavours to deprive him of breath, committed him to a filthy jail, a poor place for his cure. John Crook gives him this character, "that he was bold and zealous in his preaching, being willing to improve his time, as if he had known he had no long time to live, and he was as valiant in suffering for his testimony, when called thereunto."

He had for some time followed a seafaring life for the maintenance of his family; and was instrumental by his ministerial labours to convince and confirm in the truth many inhabitants of distant countries, being concerned to propagate righteousness, wherever an opportunity presented itself. In this his last voyage, on his way from Barbadoes, he was visited with a disease, which terminated his existence in this life.

C H A P.

III.

1675.

Piety promoted.

When

C H A P.

III.

1675.

When he perceived the approach of his dissolution, addressing himself to the master of the vessel, he said, "shall I lay down my head in peace upon the waters? Well, God is the God of the whole universe; and though my body sink, I shall swim a top of the waters." Afterwards, under the comfortable sense of divine support bearing him up in this trying scene, he said, "the creating word of the Lord endures for ever." He took several that were about him by the hand, exhorting them, "to fear the Lord, and then they need not fear death: Death, said he, is nothing in itself, for the sting of death is sin. Tell the friends in London, who would have been glad to see my face, I go to my father and their father, to my God and their God. Remember my love to my dear wife \*; she will be a sorrowful widow; but let her not mourn too much, for it is well with me." Then having given the master some instructions about his outward affairs, he expressed "that as to his wife and children, he had left them no portions; but had endeavoured to make God their father." Then taking his leave of the company, he said, "I cannot see one of you, but

\* He married Mary Fisher, of whom an account hath been given in this work, of her being the first of this people who in company with Anne Austin, visited Boston; and afterwards travelled to Adrianople to visit the Turkish emperor, by whom she was well received. She seems to have been a woman of good sense; and being much affected with the melancholy event of her husband's removal, she expressed her affection to his memory, in an excellent testimony to his worth. Sewel.

" with



“with you all well.” And after more sensible observations, expressive of the serenity of his mind, he quietly departed this life on board the Samuel of London, in the latitude of 46°. C H A P. III. 1675.

## C H A P. IV.

*Public Affairs.—Duke of Buckingham's Speech in favour of Dissenters.—Prosecutions on the Conventicle Act subside; but not for ecclesiastical Demands.—Case of Robert Cooper.—Informers generally poor.—Violent Proceedings in Herefordshire.*

THE Parliament, upon their being convened this year, continued to discover that their jealousy of the king, his counsellors and partisans, was in no wise cured or decreased; they drew up a new bill against the growth of popery, and the persons of popish priests: they presented addresses against Lauderdale; moved an accusation against Danby; and by all their proceedings manifested they were quite out of humour with the court. <sup>IV.</sup> 1675. Public affairs. <sup>1675.</sup> The courtiers, to make reprisals, brought a test act into the house of peers, which if it had passed into a law would have been a new source of more general sufferings to the Quakers, extending the oath prescribed by the

\* Smollet.

CHAP. the *five-mile act*, to be taken by dissenting ministers, not only to the members of both houses, and all public officers, but to the electors of parliament men. It was no wonder that a bill so universally affecting the privileges of the people and the parliament should meet with great opposition: It is said to have been warmly debated for seventeen days, and that the heats occasioned thereby, and by other matters, were so violent, that the king suddenly prorogued the parliament, and so the bill was dropped.

The parliament upon re-assembling, being jealous of the encrease of the number and power of the papists, began now more clearly to see the necessity of a coalition with the dissenting protestants, though it is said the high church bishops were inflexibly determined against it. The Duke of Buckingham, who was now detached from the court, introduced a bill for granting an indulgence to protestant dissenters, with a speech in favour thereof, <sup>b</sup> wherein with strength of reasoning and sound argument, he evinces the reasonableness of this proposed indulgence, “ My lords, says he, there is a thing called *liberty*, which (whatsoever some men may think) is *that* the people of England are fondest of; it is *that* they will never part with, and it is *that* his majesty in his speech hath promised to take particular care of. This in my opinion can never be done without giving an *indulgence to all protestant dissenters*. It is certainly an uneasy kind of life to any man, that hath either christian charity, humanity or good nature, to see his fellow subjects daily

Duke of Buckingham's speech in favour of dissenters.

<sup>b</sup> Neale.

“ abused,

“ abused, divested of their liberty and birth-  
 “ rights, and miserably thrown out of their  
 “ possessions and freeholds, only because they  
 “ cannot agree with others in some opinions and  
 “ niceties of religion, which their consciences  
 “ will not give them leave to consent to, and  
 “ which, even by the confession of those, who  
 “ would impose them are no ways necessary to  
 “ salvation.

CHAP.

IV.

1675.

“ But besides this, and all that may be said  
 “ upon it, in order to the improvement of our  
 “ trade, and the wealth and greatness of the  
 “ nation, there is methinks in the notion of per-  
 “ secution a very gross mistake, both as to point  
 “ of government, and the point of religion;  
 “ there is so as to point of government, because  
 “ it makes a man’s safety depend upon the  
 “ wrong place, not upon the governors, or a  
 “ man’s living well towards the civil govern-  
 “ ment established by law, but upon his being  
 “ transported with zeal for every opinion, that  
 “ is held by those, that have power in the  
 “ church that is in fashion. And I conceive it  
 “ is a mistake in *religion*, because it is against the  
 “ express doctrine and example of Jesus Christ.  
 “ Nay, as to our protestant religion, there is  
 “ something in it yet worse, for we protestants  
 “ maintain that none of those opinions about  
 “ which christians differ are infallible, and there-  
 “ fore in us it is somewhat an inexcusable con-  
 “ ception, that men ought to be deprived of  
 “ their inheritance, and all certain conveniences  
 “ and advantages of life, because they will not  
 “ agree with us in our uncertain opinions of  
 “ religion.”

CHAP. Moving then for leave to bring in the bill, it  
 IV. was granted; but a quarrel reviving between  
 the two houses, occasioned an hasty proro-  
 1675. gation, whereby this bill with some others was  
 lost.

In the latter part of this year one Matthew Hyde, a person who had been very troublesome in the meetings of the people called Quakers, by opposing their ministers in their testimonies, and disturbing them in their worship, was taken sick; and apprehending his death approaching, was seized with great remorse of conscience for what he had done; so that he could not be easy, until he had sent for some of that people, particularly George Whitehead, to whom he expressed great sorrow for the wrong he had done them, acknowledged them to be the children of God, earnestly begged mercy of the Lord for his wilful opposition to known truth, in gain-saying them; and died very penitent.

1676. In the city of London prosecutions on the  
 Prosecu- conventicle act seem to have subsided during this  
 tions on the year; but the distresses and prosecutions for ec-  
 conventicle clestiafical demands were numerous, and many  
 act subside, of them exorbitant; for although the prosecu-  
 but not tions upon other accounts seem at times to have  
 those for been relaxed through the lassitude of the magi-  
 ecclesiasti- strates in imprisoning and punishing, and other  
 cal de- causes; yet the rigorous enforcing of the eccle-  
 mands. siastical laws was rarely or never suspended; self-  
 interest and antipathy to a people whose prin-  
 ciples and doctrine struck at the root of priest-  
 craft, and at mercenary ministers, excited the  
 priesthood incessantly to the execution of the se-  
 verest laws in their favour. The number plun-  
 dered, excommunicated, imprisoned, and of  
 those

those who laid down their lives in prison, in consequence of these prosecutions, is too large to recite particularly; every year from the time of the Quakers being known as a people to this period, and long after, furnish abundant instances of disastrous sufferings on one hand, and prosecutions disgraceful to christianity, and the church, so called, on the other.

Robert Cooper of Cheshunt Hertfordshire, was this year imprisoned at the suit of Robert Winchestly, priest, a prosecutor so rigid, that he gave special orders to the jailer to keep him close, and not let him go into the town for any refreshment: To some friends pleading for him, that he was a poor man, had a wife and many children, this priest returned this answer, "if his children starve it is none of my concern: He shall lie there and rot: I will have no more mercy on him than on a thief; if the law would hang him, I would: Tithe is my due, and I will have it."

Case of  
Robert  
Cooper.

IV.  
1676.

Priests of this insensible cast were a reproach to the order; and yet it seems as if at this time much the greater number were of this cast: The clergy began now to be distinguished into two classes, which afterwards gave rise to the denominations of high church and low church: These of the former class were rigid sticklers for uniformity, for reverence to the church, that is to themselves; for the dignity of their own indelible character; for unlimited submission to kingly power; and for the divine right of tithes: In the pulpit nonconformity was more the subject of their invectives than vice; and a churchman

The priests distinguished by the denomination of high-church and low-church.

CHAP. of loose morals, in their view, seemed a better  
 IV. man than the most virtuous dissenter. They  
 promoted the enacting penal laws, and the se-  
 vere execution of them, to the utmost of their  
 power; to the church of Rome, through which  
 they derived their pretended uninterrupted suc-  
 cession from the apostles, and to the relicks of  
 which they were obliged for the possession of  
 their power and emoluments, they bore much  
 more good will than to those dissenters whose  
 principles were adverse to both. The priests of  
 this class were now the more numerous by far;  
 church preferments lying on their side, and their  
 doctrines being most fashionable at this time.

1676.

But there were others of this order, although  
 the fewer in number, of a different spirit; these  
 went under the denomination of low church-  
 men, being more disposed to moderate measures  
 toward the dissenters; more rational in their  
 principles, and less assuming in their claims.

Although the penal laws were suffered at pre-  
 sent to lie dormant in London, yet in several  
 parts of the nation they were enforced with ri-  
 gorous severity, by the arbitrary proceedings of  
 some inveterate magistrates. In Norwich, Tho-  
 mas Wilson, a very poor man, who by hard la-  
 bour supported his wife and five small children,  
 was fined for being at a meeting. The officers,  
 pitying his circumstances, reported to the jus-  
 tice that the man had little in the house except  
 the bed he and his family lay on. The obdurate  
 magistrate ordered them to take his bed, which  
 they did the next day, and left him and his fa-  
 mily to lie upon the straw. His wife after this,  
 endeavouring to maintain her children by baking  
 a little bread, and selling it in the market, the  
 officers

officers made a seizure even of that, at one time to the value of nineteen-pence, at another to the value of fourteen-pence. So destructive to humanity is an ignorant and furious zeal!

When the officers came to Anthony Alexander's house to make distress, one of them, Erasmus Cooper, told his wife, who was big with child, *he was come to seize all they had, and that he would not leave her a bed to lie on.* They broke the doors with a pick-axe; their behaviour was so brutal, that the observation thereof drew tears from the compassionate neighbours. And in the insolence of office, commanding Alexander's man to help them, and being told how unreasonable it was to require a servant to take away his master's goods, one of them churlishly answered, *they are our goods.* For a fine of 7*l.* they took away goods to near the value of 18*l.* The same officers came to the house of Samuel Duncan, bringing with them Tennison the informer, and the hangman; here they stayed several days and nights, keeping Samuel's wife, who was big with child, a prisoner in her own house, not suffering her to speak to any person even at the door, nor admitting any access to her. They broke open all the doors which were locked, and carried away goods to the value of 42*l.* <sup>d</sup>These pestilent informers, being now encouraged and incited by the court, and by the bishops, to prosecute their infamous occupation to the utmost prejudice of the non-conformists, were so elevated with insolence, in their own imagined importance, that one of

<sup>d</sup> Sewel.

C H A P. them vauntingly said, *I'll make the mayor wait upon me as often as I will, at my pleasure.*

IV.

1676.

For both the magistrates and peace officers, well knowing the penalties they were subjected to, and the advantage given to these informers by the last act against conventicles, in case of any backwardness or omission on their part in executing it to the full, were often for fear of them urged to severities to which their natural feelings were reluctant, and were frequently fined upon complaints of these informers, especially now, when they were favoured by the court. Of this we meet with an instance at this time and place. William Poole, a constable of Norwich, coming unwillingly with an informer, who compelled him to accompany him to the Quaker's meeting, and being affected with the doctrine he heard preached there, cried with tears in his eyes, *What shall I do? I know the power of God is among you.* And turning to the informer said, "if there was a curse hanging over any people upon earth it was upon the informers."

Informers  
generally  
poor.

Which remark seems verified by the event; for their ill-gotten plunder did them little service; being mostly profligates, it was generally as ill spent, as it was attained, in bad houses, taverns, gaming and debauchery. An informer was withal but a degree above a beggar\*, a remarkable  
blast

\* John Jackson, who had busied himself as an informer in Westmoreland on every act against the Quakers, notwithstanding his ill-gotten gains this way, was reduced to such extreme poverty as to beg his bread. Bessé.

William Watt of Norwich had several years followed the trade of informing, but what he got by it turned to no account;



blast attended them and their property: many of them, as they lived in infamy, died in misery and extreme poverty†; some came to untimely

CHAP.  
IV.  
1676.

count; he was often seized with such fits of weakness that he could not stand on his legs; at last he was very suddenly removed out of this life; he was apparently quite well, and on a sudden sunk down to the ground, his daughter shrieking out, he just looked at her, and immediately expired. But what was most remarkable, his corps was so very offensive by its smell, that none being willing to come near it, the overseers of the poor were necessitated to hire four men to bear it to the grave.

† John Smith, a very busy informer in Yorkshire, was lost in a great snow in Eastby Pastures, and after about five weeks was found, having his eyes and tongue picked out by vermin, and he stunk so, that the men who brought him home, complained of the nauseous scent for many days after.

John Cullington, fisherman, of Harwich, and a noted informer against meetings there, was found drowned, whether by accident or through despair is uncertain, but the latter is not improbable; for he had expressed himself to be under grievous trouble and concern of mind for what he had done. His dead body was cast on shore at a common landing-place near the sea-side.

Randal Pool, a taylor, of the same town, a man who had been in good credit, took up the business of an informer, to follow which he neglected the care of his lawful vocation. After which he habituated himself also to gaming and drinking, striving by those means to stifle the checks of conscience, which nevertheless grew so strong, that he was constrained to acknowledge that he was so troubled in mind that he was afraid he should be distracted. This trouble produced repentance, so that he afterwards desisted, and lived quietly.

John Hunwick, an informer, of Braintree, had been a shopkeeper of good reputation there, but seeking to enrich himself by the spoil of his neighbours, he proceeded with much uneasiness. At length, when on his death bed, he sent for Solomon Skinner and others, whom he had prosecuted, intreating them to forgive him, and to pray to God for him, telling them he was so troubled in conscience he could not die in peace.

CHAP. ends, and many of them were thrown into jails,  
 IV. and ended their lives there. Tennison before-  
 mentioned was of the number of those who  
 1676. were cast into jail, where he confessed, *he had  
 never prospered since he undertook that work, and  
 that, if he obtained his liberty, he would never be  
 concerned in it again.*

The distresses made this year in Nottinghamshire, upon the members of this society, for their religious assemblies only, amounted to 712l. and upwards, many of which were exorbitant, and the fines frequently imposed and levied upon flight, and sometimes false, informations: And although the law admitted of an appeal to the quarter sessions, we are here presented with a fresh instance of the ineffectual relief to be attained by an appeal to justices, more tender of one another's honour than the grievances of the sufferers.

One John Sayton was informed against and fined by justice Thoroton 20l. for being at a meeting in the parish of Blythe, at a time when he was sixty miles from thence: He appealed to the quarter sessions, and with much difficulty obtained a hearing of his case: 'The jury finding the matter clear, brought in a verdict for the appellant; whereupon Penniston Whaley, one of the justices, who had before manifested his virulence, and ignorance of the Quakers and their principles, in his endeavours to enforce the act 35 Eliz. ordered them out again, whereunto one of them replied, *we are agreed, and have well considered the matter.* Unable to restrain his wrath within any bounds of decency, he flung off the bench in a rage, expressing his indignation at this bulwark of the subjects' privileges in  
 such

Such terms as these, “ *You deserve to be hanged,* CHAP. IV.  
 “ *you are as bad as highwaymen; I hope the*  
 “ *king will take away juries, for this will not*  
 “ *do.*” Thus Sayton was acquitted, and this 1676.  
 jury dismissed to make way for another more  
 pliant to the instructions and temper of the  
 court. Next morning another jury was impan-  
 nelled, and another appeal of the like nature  
 came on. The case was that of William Hud-  
 son, whom the evidence could not prove to have  
 been at the meeting he was charged with, and  
 though eight of the jury were picked men,  
 known to be adverse to the appellant, yet the  
 other four stood out, and no verdict was agreed  
 upon until eight at night, when one of the  
 four being taken ill and wanting refreshment,  
 justice Whaley told them, if they did not agree,  
 they should stay there until they died, and as  
 one of them died the court would chuse ano-  
 ther. They were over-awed into a compliance,  
 and after the court was adjourned, privately gave  
 in a verdict against the appellant; when one of  
 the jurymen said, *he would gladly do equity,*  
 Thoroton, another persecuting justice, replied,  
*You have nothing to do with equity.*

Jury hardly  
treated.

In the city of Hereford, the severe prosecution of the late law against sundry members of this society, the partiality of the justices in frustrating appeals to the sessions for redress, by refusing to accept the juries verdicts for the appellants, being found insufficient to deter this people from keeping up their meetings, the magistrates and priests, seeing they could not suppress them by the rigorous enforcing of rigorous laws, seem to have combined to attempt it by lawless  
 violence, Violent proceedings in Herefordshire.

C H A P. violence, by stimulating the populace, prone to  
 IV. mischief, to the gross abuse of them.

1676. On the 20th of the month called August, Henry Caldicott, mayor of this city, with his officers, came to the meeting there, and warned the assembly not to meet any more, telling them, *if they did, let it be at their peril.* The sequel fully explained the meaning of this menace, being followed for several months with outrageous insults and abuses from the populace. They first beset the meeting-house with confused noise and shouting to terrify the people assembled within it; next, some broke the windows; others with staves struck the men's hats off their heads, threw stones among them, and one of them, said to be the mayor's son, broke John Rea's head with a stone. At another time they fired squibs, and threw them into the meeting, cast stones through the broken windows, and struck a woman on the head. When complaints of these abuses were made to the mayor, the complainants were dismissed with threats. The next time the outrageous mob, part of which were choristers or singing boys of the cathedral, encouraged, as reported, by their superiors the college priests, broke in pieces the remainder of the glass windows, with the window-frames and some of the walls of the house. After the meeting broke up, they pursued the country friends, pelting them with stones near a quarter of a mile.

The next day a meeting was held in their shattered house for church affairs, such as relieving the poor, the widows and the fatherless, and other acts of pure and undefiled religion: Then also assembled the rabble by sound of horn, throwing dirt, stones and filthy excrements amongst

mongst them and upon them, whereby several were much hurt, and all grievously annoyed. Some mounted on the roof of the house and untiled part of it, tumbling down stones on one going in. In the midst of these disorders Edward King and Robert Simonds, justices, and Abraham Seward, mayor elect, came, not to quell the fury of the rabble, but to send the abused to prison, to effect which, after threatening the women and children, they tendered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to eight of the men, and for refusing to swear sent them to jail. A day or two after this Walter Rogers, a prebendary, passing by the meeting-house, and observing the ruins, said, *they that did it were very good boys, and had done their work better than he expected.* Thus evidencing plainly under what kind of influence the mob committed these acts of violence and outrage.

They continued the like abuses through the remainder of this year and a part of the next. The sufferers having got the house repaired and habitable again; it was again beset by the rude multitude, who threw stones as before, being reported to be instigated by the mayor's officers, who are said to have bade them, *knock out the Quakers brains, if they did not depart.* They also threatened the inhabitant to *pull the house down over his head.* At another time one of these officers threatened, *they would fire the meeting-house, and broil them in it.*

These were certainly times in which justice was perverted, and equity could not enter, when peaceable dissenters were tried and punished as rioters for worshipping God, without injury to any man; and real riots not only passed by with impunity,

C H A P.  
IV.  
1676.

CHAP. IV. impunity, but were promoted and abetted by those, the duty of whose office and their oaths should have obliged them to preserve the peace.

1676.

## CHAP. V.

*George Fox leaves Swarthmore, and travels by easy Journeys to London.—Goes over to Holland.—Instances of abuse of the Conventicle Act.—In Cheshire, by Peter Leicester.—In Gloucestershire, by John Meredith.—At Plymouth, by Anthony Horseman and William Tomes, Mayors.—Death of William Dobson.—Of Richard Ashfield.—Marriage of the Princess Mary to the Prince of Orange.—Violent Party Dissensions.—Persecution continued.—Fresh Solicitation for Relief.*

CHAP. V. **I**N the beginning of the year 1677, while the roads were yet covered with snow, George Fox left Swarthmore, where he had mostly resided ever since his release from his imprisonment at Worcester, and passing over into Westmoreland, several friends met him at Thomas Camm's at Camsgill, to take their leave of him before he left the country, where the next day he had a very

1677.  
George Fox  
leaves  
Swarth-  
more.

very large meeting, and was largely opened in C H A P. doctrine therein. V.

From thence he proceeded on his journey, visiting the meetings of his friends, and edifying them with his ministry, through the counties of York, Derby, Nottingham, &c. passing through the counties to London; he had not yet recovered his strength, since his indisposition at Worcester, so far as to bear continual travelling, even by short journies, without inconvenience and fatigue, being also much deprived of rest at nights by reason of cold contracted by riding in frequent rains; but being engaged in a good cause, and depending upon divine support, he was not discouraged from steadily pursuing the line of his duty, and was safely carried through all attendant difficulties. As he had spent near two years at Swarthmore for the recovery of his health, and been little abroad amongst his friends, he was received with much gladness by friends at London, where he stayed the yearly meeting, which was then approaching.

As in those early times most of the business of the yearly meeting was to receive account of friends sufferings, and take measures for their relief; so at this time accounts were received of the heavy sufferings which friends in many parts were exposed to (as well as by other laws enforced against them) by prosecutions on the act of 23 Eliz. as popish recusants, by which they suffered the confiscation of the two-thirds of their estates, whilst real recusants were little molested: The parliament then sitting, a specification of this grievance was drawn up, and laid before them, with a petition for relief; but they obtained no redress thereby. The meetings how-

ever

C H A P. ever were comfortably conducted in brotherly  
 V. unity, to the mutual edification of the body as-  
 sembled on that occasion.

1677.  
 George Fox  
 and others  
 go to Hol-  
 land.

Soon after the yearly meeting, George Fox, accompanied by William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and some others, went over to Holland to visit their friends in that republick, of whose service there, an account may be found in the process of this work, when we come to treat of the state of the society in these parts.

Instances of  
 abuse of the  
 conventiclie  
 act.

Cheshire, by  
 Peter Leic-  
 ester.

In Cheshire we meet with a fresh evidence this year of the unreasonable use made of the last act against conventicles, and the invidious propensity of some magistrates to plunder the members of this society. Peter Leicester, a justice of peace, acting the part of an informer, came to a meeting at the house of William Gandy, shut the doors, and placed a guard of soldiers at them, while he took a list of about two hundred names; fined Margaret Fox and Thomas Docwra each 20l. for preaching, and 20l. to be levied on several of the assembly for the house they met at, besides their own particular fines; for which he issued his warrants of distress, threatening the constables, *that if they did not execute them to the utmost he would bind them to their good behaviour; bidding them sell a cow for 5s. and to take enough for themselves.* The officers, thus encouraged, took away for that one meeting, goods and cattle to the value of 200l. from six friends.

Gloucester-  
 shire, by J.  
 Meredith.

In Gloucestershire, John Meredith, a justice of the peace, signalized himself by fiercely prosecuting friends: He caused twenty-seven of them to be indicted at Gloucester sessions, for absence from the national worship, though he knew that



that most of them had deeply suffered before by the act against conventicles: He arbitrarily required of Henry Pontin and Nathaniel Heskings sureties for their good behaviour, when no complaint was made against them, and kept them in prison three months; after which he indicted them at the sessions for meetings, and had them fined 40*l.* each, and continued in prison: He beat William Bennet and William Wade unmercifully with his own hands: He took John Selcock by the hair of the head, and plucked him out of the meeting-house at French-hay, into the yard; then drew his knife, and said he would mark him, but was prevented by the interposition of his clerk and others: He drew his knife at George Peace, and probably had done him mischief had not one of his own servants restrained him: He plucked John Bawn out of a meeting by the hair of his head, and after that finding him in the highway, he fell upon him, and beat him barbarously: He also beat John Fryar and Joseph Glover, two officers, because they would not abuse people as much as he would have them. When Samuel Simmons, being wrongfully fined, appealed to him for justice, he fell furiously upon him and beat him inhumanly: He also caused the forms and benches of the meeting-house to be cut in pieces; and with his staff broke five glass windows to pieces, not leaving one whole quarry.

At Plymouth, on the 5th of the 2d month called April, Andrew Horseman, mayor, with three other justices, and constables attending them, forcibly dispersed the meeting, and fined Richard Samble 20*l.* for preaching. On the 7th of the same month, the first of the week, the mayor

At Ply-  
mouth, by  
Andrew  
Horseman,  
mayor,

C H A P.  
V.  
1677-

CHAP. V. mayor and two other justices took the names of those who were met, haled them into the street, set a guard at the meeting-house door to keep them out, detained Richard Samble until evening, and then fined him 40*l.* for preaching. From that day forward they were kept out of their meeting-house, and obliged to meet in the street, until the 29th of September following, when another mayor, William Tomes, entered upon office. The next day they met peaceably in the house; but afterwards this mayor followed the example of his predecessor, and kept them out, and they assembled in the open street three times in a week, enduring the extremity of cold, and inclemency of the weather all the winter; abused by the rabble of the people, and sometimes by the officers and foldiers of the garrison, who threw squibs of fire and hot burning coals upon them, pushing them up and down the street, and bedaubing them with filthy excrements; all which and much more they endured with unwearied patience for the space of more than twelve months. Several warrants also were granted for distraining their goods, by one of which the constables forcibly entered the shop of Robert Cary, and took away from him sugars and strong waters to the value of 24*l.* all which they sold for 4*l.* 13*s.* In many other parts the members of this society were treated with no less severity: but it would be disagreeably tedious to give a detail of every particular.

Death of  
William  
Dobson.

\* This year William Dobson of Brightwell in Berkshire died a prisoner for his conscientious testimony against the payment of tithes, upon

\* Befe. Sewel

which

which account he had been a remarkable sufferer, having been spoiled of his goods from time to time, during the space of thirteen years, and most of the time a prisoner. For tithes of the value of about 4l. 10s. He had goods taken from him worth 40l. he was imprisoned the succeeding year at Reading, and removed thence to the fleet in London, where he lay a considerable time; and lastly he was prosecuted in the Exchequer, and committed to prison in September, 1675, and kept there until he died in the third month called May this year. He had also taken from him by Ralph Whistler, his prosecutor, goods worth 156l. for five or six years tithes of a farm, the yearly value of which tithe had been formerly estimated at no more than 4l.

C H A P.

V.

1677.

<sup>d</sup>This year died also in Newgate, Richard Ashfield of Stanes in Middlesex, of whom his widow gave the following account:

Death of  
Richard  
Ashfield.

“ After my dear husband Richard Ashfield  
 “ was convinced of the blessed truth, as it is  
 “ in Jesus, he was often prosecuted, by excom-  
 “ munications and sessions process, for non-con-  
 “ formity; and in obedience to the command  
 “ of Christ, refusing to take the oaths, was se-  
 “ veral times imprisoned, on which account he  
 “ also suffered a year’s imprisonment in 1665.  
 “ In the year 1676 he was again excommuni-  
 “ cated for non-conformity, and refusing to pay  
 “ church rates (so called.) By the vehement  
 “ instigation of Edward Kempshall, a writ of  
 “ capias was served on him, and he carried to  
 “ Newgate in the 11th month, 1676, to the

<sup>a</sup> Basse.

“ great

CHAP. " great grief of many honest people, who wept  
 V. " when they took their leaves of him, it being  
 ~~~~~ " then a very cold season, and he aged about  
 1677. " sixty-five years, and much troubled with a  
 " cough and pthific; this, to use his own  
 " words on his dying bed, *was the occasion of*  
 " *shortening his days.* On the 11th of the 10th  
 " month, 1677, he laid down his head, and re-  
 " signed his soul and spirit in perfect peace and  
 " joy of the Lord, into the hands of his faith-  
 " ful Creator."

The nation in general appeared entirely dissatisfied with the government. The parliament was divided into two parties, the court and the country; some were enlisted into the court-party by offices; some by pensions, and some by inclination. These who were for supporting the measures of the court, were now sanguine for enforcing penal laws against non-conformists. The most active justices were of this party, and in the execution of the laws seem to have considered the disposition and mandates of the court as the principal rule of action, without giving much attention to the superior rule of right and equity. The country party, backed by popular favour, had got the ascendancy in the house of commons, and carried an address to the king, disapproving of his attachment to France, and requesting him to enter into an alliance with Holland, which he resented as an invasion of his prerogative, and ordered them to adjourn.

Marriage of  
 the Princess  
 Mary to the  
 Prince of  
 Orange.

However being sensible that violent discontents prevailed in the nation, and seemed daily increasing, he resolved by a popular act to attempt allaying the ill humour, which his mistaken politics had produced, by marrying the

Princess

Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, (whom he had caused to be educated in the protestant religion) to the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William III. whereby a foundation was laid for the preservation of the protestant Religion, and an exemption of the dissenters from the penalties to which they were now subject.

CHAP.  
v.  
1677.

This year also died Archbishop Sheldon, a determined enemy to non-conformity, and a principal promoter of the penal laws of this reign, and of their rigorous execution. He was succeeded by Sancroft, who seemed on some occasions too much to copy after the spirit of his predecessor. George Whitehead gives account of a conference which he and William Crouch had with this last named prelate, in relation to the great sufferings of their friends by informers; that describing the infamy of their characters and conduct; how numbers of them had *forsovern themselves, and deserved to be indicted for perjury*; adding, what a dishonour it was to their church to employ such agents; to force conformity by plunder; and how opposite to the nature and design of religion to give encouragement to villainy. Instead of condemning and giving expectation of discouraging their vile practices; he seemed rather to apologize by his reply, which was that, *there must be some crooked timber used in building a ship*. Upon which George Whitehead aptly remarked, that the parallel was by no means just: Crooked timber is most useful in building a ship; but vicious characters are so far from being of use in building the church of Christ, that they have no place therein. What church is it (saith he) which is in danger

C H A P. danger (as the cry is) when it wants such  
 v. crooked timber as rapacious informers to sup-  
 port it?

1678.

Plenipotentiaries from the different states at war being convened at Nimeguen this year to treat of a peace, which after some time took place, Robert Barclay wrote an epistle to them in Latin, containing an exhortation to promote the desirable end of their meeting, and therewith sent his apology in Latin, to be delivered one to each of the said plenipotentiaries, and one for each of their principals.

From this time to the end of the king's reign, party heats grew more and more violent; plots real or fictitious prosecuted with acrimony by the opposite parties; a spirit of intrigue and hostility influencing both court and country; continual diffensions between the king and parliament, both struggling for power, which both carried too far; furious sallies of rage and revenge, to the almost entire extirpation of temper, sound judgment, wisdom and justice; private animosities and public confusion deform the history of the latter years of this reign. In the mean time the dissenters in general and friends in particular felt the hand of persecution heavier than ever; the penal laws being in full force, and the execution of them in the hands of their inveterate enemies, whose hatred was new edged by this temper of the times; for although the society attached themselves to no particular party, yet the parliament's taking their severe sufferings under deliberation, especially those inflicted on them as popish recusants, and intending their relief, was a sufficient reason to magistrates

Violent  
 party dif-  
 fensions.

Persecution  
 continued.

strates subservient to the court; as well as to the court, bishops and clergy to consider them of the opposite side, and treat them accordingly.

C H A P.  
V.  
1678.

## C H A P. VI.

*Fresh Solicitation for relief of Friends.—Discovery of the Popish Plot.—Roger Longworth committed to Prison under pretext of being a concealed Papist.—Privately discharged.—Successive Disappointments in the Sale of distrained Cattle.—Account of Isaac Pennington.—Parliament dissolved.—New Parliament summoned.*

GEORGE Fox, after his return from Holland, and visiting the meetings of his friends in various parts of England, came to London during the sitting of the parliament last year, and found his friends there engaged in fresh solicitations to them for relief from prosecutions by the laws made only against popish recusants; which although they were well known not to be, yet several malicious magistrates took the advantage thereof, to prosecute friends with severity upon these statutes. George Fox, upon his arrival, joined these friends in their application, but a sudden prorogation put a stop to their proceed-

C H A P.  
VI.  
1678.  
Fresh solicitation for relief.

C H A P. ings at that time. When the parliament met a-  
 VI. gain, George Fox, William Penn, George  
 { Whitehead and others, renewed their applica-  
 1678. tion for exempting their friends from the severe  
 penalties of these obsolete laws, which were never  
 intended against them; and they conceived  
 some hopes of relief, many of the members man-  
 ifesting a tender and compassionate regard toward  
 them, and a disposition to relieve them, as be-  
 ing convinced they suffered grievously and very  
 unjustly, and that they were much misrepresent-  
 ed by their adversaries.

Discovery  
 of the po-  
 pish plot.

But the attention of the parliament was soon  
 called off to a subject of greater emergency, or  
 such as they looked upon in that light: It was  
 about this time a discovery was made of that  
 called the popish plot. When the parliament  
 met, they made inquiry into the matter, and vot-  
 ed their sense, “ that there was a damnable  
 “ hellish plot contrived and carried on by po-  
 “ pish recusants against the life of the king and  
 “ the protestant religion.” Whatever objec-  
 tions may be advanced to the characters and  
 credibility of the witnesses, as to many circum-  
 stances of this plot, yet it soon appeared that  
 whilst the peaceable society of the Quakers, in  
 common with other dissenters, were persecuted  
 under pretence of being seditious, riotous, con-  
 trivers of plots in their religious assemblies,  
 without the least cause, and subjected to the pe-  
 nalties of laws made against popish recusants,  
 from whom their principles were most remote;  
 and while the church (so called) was raising a  
 cry of its danger from the increase of sectaries;  
 that its real danger arose from this party, who,  
 under the favour and protection of the court,  
 were



were meditating, and sanguine in their hopes, to re-establish themselves and their religion in England in its full power and splendor. To the sense of their danger the established church at length began to be awakened; and after a series of oppression and persecution in the exercise of the power in their hands, which they fondly thought they were establishing, in the humbling of their antagonists, they had the mortification to find they had been only tools to advance the views and hopes of this party, in dividing and weakening the protestant interest; and upon the discovery, the moderate part were inclined to coalesce with the dissenters, in opposition to the establishment of popery, when it had like to have been too late.

But the magistrates, who were of the high-church party, retained their malignity to dissenters, until their hands were manacled by law. Informers were encouraged to hunt after their prey, and the justices as ready to convict, as they to inform. Prosecutions by the acts of Eliz. for 20l. a month, and the seizure of two-thirds of the annual rents, were multiplied against the people called Quakers, as the most expeditious mode of impoverishing men of estates. Advantage was taken of the alarm occasioned by the rumour of the popish plot, to encrease the rigorous persecution of a people of opposite principles and conduct; under the specious pretext of the necessity, in this season of danger, to exert additional vigilance in guarding against seditious assemblies. And in order to turn the tide of the public temper against them, and expose them to the resentment and abuse of the undiscerning populace, some members, whose

C H A P. VI. residence, occupations and manner of life were well known, were imprisoned, under a pretended suspicion of being papists or concealed jeffuits, a character which, at this season, was in a peculiar manner the object of popular odium and averfion.

1678.

Thus, while the nation in general was in confternation at the discoveries of the plot,<sup>2</sup> the informers were purfuing their infamous occupation, to the great detriment and oppreffion of honeft men, which gave occafion to a writer of that time, who publifhed many particular instances of their management, to remark, that, *truly the papifts may laugh because of their victory, now they have a law, whereby one protestant fights againft another.*

Roger Longworth, of Bolton in Lancashire, occasionally travelling into Cheshire, was by two officious justices sent to prison by the following mittimus.

### COM. CHESTER SS.

Roger Longworth committed to prison as a suspected papist.

“ Forasmuch as by reason of several expressions, which we have, in Holme in the county of Chester, heard from a strange person, who calls himself Roger Longworth, of Bolton in the county of Lancaster, we do suspect the said Roger Longworth is a papist, and thereupon we have tendered unto him the said Roger Longworth the oath of obedience and the oath of supremacy, both which oaths the said Roger Longworth, being above the age of eighteen years, hath

<sup>2</sup> Sewel.

“ this

“ this day refused to take. These are there-  
 “ fore in his Majesty’s name to command and  
 “ require you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to  
 “ receive into your custody the body of the  
 “ said Roger Longworth, whom we have here-  
 “ with sent you, and him therein safely keep  
 “ until the next general quarter sessions of the  
 “ peace to be held in and for this county of  
 “ Chester, without bail or mainprize. For so  
 “ doing this shall be your warrant. Given un-  
 “ der our hads and seals at Holme this 20th  
 “ day of February, Anno rni Caroli secundi,  
 “ &c. tricesimo, Annoq. Dom. 1678-9.

CHAP.

VI.

1678.

“ THOMAS MANWARING, Bart.

“ JEFFRY SHACKERLY, Knt.”

“ To the Keeper of Chester Castle.”

After he had been left in prison about two months he was set at liberty by a private order from the said justice Manwaring.

Privately discharged.

In Lincolnshire we meet with a remarkable instance this year, of the light in which the spoil made under the conventicle act was looked upon by many people, in the case of Thomas Robinson of Brant-Broughton, who was fined by Sir Christopher Nevill 40l. for being at a meeting at Beckingham, by whose warrant he had taken from him eighteen of his best young sheep, one pair of steers, four draught bullocks, and four fat bullocks; worth 44l. 11s. The four fat bullocks were sold to a butcher, who, hearing on what account they were taken, declined the bargain. Next all the steers and bullocks were driven to Grantham

Successive disappointment in the sale of dis-trained cattle.

C H A P. them market, but no body would buy them ;  
 VI. again the bullocks were sold for 27l. to one  
 1678. Parker, but when he understood, how they  
 were come by, he would not be concerned with  
 them. Then they drove the beasts to Lincoln,  
 but could find no chapman, for the people, es-  
 teeming them the spoil of conscience, would  
 not buy them. At length the constable drove  
 them all to Sir Christopher Nevill, by whose  
 warrant they were taken, who, finding no pur-  
 chaser, and being unwilling to take them him-  
 self, restored them to the owner ; for although  
 he might think himself obliged by the duty of  
 his office, and to avoid the penalty, to execute  
 the law, he appears different from many other  
 justices of this age, to have been a man of too  
 much honour, to seek his own advantage by the  
 loss of his neighbours. The chief promoter of  
 this prosecution was John Chapple, priest of  
 Brant-Broughton, who perceiving the constable  
 not forward in making distresses, and breaking  
 up meetings, *sent him the before recited menacing  
 letter\**.

Remark  
 upon the  
 interference  
 of priests.

By such means the parish officers were some-  
 times impelled to act against their inclination,  
 the priests exciting the justices to punish by fines  
 and imprisonment for neglect of duty, such of  
 them whose moderation and humanity rendered  
 them reluctant to prosecute or plunder their con-  
 scientious neighbours. The repeated instances  
 of such busy interference of priests, in promot-  
 ing the execution of these penal laws, leave no  
 room to doubt, that, notwithstanding the en-  
 deavours used to exculpate the church, by

\* See note, page 302.

throwing

throwing the odium of those persecuting laws on the parliament, who enacted them, the clergy were deeply concerned, both in the promotion of these laws, and the severe execution thereof.

C H A P.  
VI.

In this year Isaac Pennington, of Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, an honorable, useful and virtuous member of this society, departed this life. He was the eldest son of Alderman Pennington of London, a noted member of the long parliament, who! was nominated (but never sat) amongst the King's judges. And being heir to a fair inheritance, his education was suited to his quality and expectations in life, having all the advantages which the schools and universities of his own country afforded him; and by his station in life at that time had the additional advantage of improving himself in the conversation of some of the most knowing and most considerable men of the age: His natural abilities enabled him to avail himself of these advantages; being a man of quick apprehension, an acute genius, sound judgment and good understanding. His disposition was mild and affable, free from pride and affectation; his common conversation cheerful but guarded; equally divested of moroseness and levity; tempering easy affability with serious gravity, he was no less pleasing in the manner, than instructive in the matter, of his discourse.

1679.  
Account of  
Isaac Pennington.

His father's station in public employments, and his rank in life, opened him a fair prospect of worldly greatness, if his views had been turned that way; but actuated by higher and nobler considerations, he was induced to relinquish the short-lived glories of this world, as unworthy to engage

CHAP. engage the principal attention of man born to  
 VI. immortality : He steadfastly believed in a future  
 state ; was early impressed with a lively concep-  
 1679. tion of the value of everlasting happiness there-  
 in, and early engaged in the arduous pursuit  
 thereof. With Moses he chose rather to suffer  
 affliction with the Lord's people, than enjoy the  
 pleasures of sin for a season.

Isaac Pen-  
 nington's  
 own ac-  
 count from  
 T. E's  
 testimony.

For from his childhood he was religiously in-  
 clined, and incited in heart to a diligent search  
 after the way to salvation. He prayed for what  
 he felt he wanted : He was frequent in reading  
 the scriptures, and faithful in practising, what  
 thereby was manifested to his understanding, as  
 the way he was seeking after, notwithstanding  
 he met with much reproach, opposition and  
 other trials ; for he became the wonder of his  
 kindred and familiars for his awful frame of  
 mind, and his retired life ; he much declining  
 company that might interrupt his meditations  
 and serious attention to the great concern of his  
 soul's well-being : Yet he found peace and ac-  
 ceptance in a life and practice of sincerity, ac-  
 cording to that degree of knowledge of the  
 divine will, which he had attained unto.

But in reading the scriptures he perceived in  
 himself, and the generality of professed chris-  
 tians, a great falling short of the power, ex-  
 perience and spiritual attainments, the scriptures  
 testified to have been acquired in former times ;  
 so that the religion of that age, although high in  
 profession, appeared to him (for the most part)  
 but a talk, in comparison of what was enjoyed,  
 possessed and lived in by the primitive be-  
 lievers.

Under

Under this view he was led to separate himself from the public worship he had usually frequented, and join a select society, amongst whom he found a good degree of sincerity, and divine help near them in many cases; but, he writes, there was something wanting, and that they fell into a mistake; for that whilst they should have pressed forward into the spirit and power of godliness, they ran too much outward into the letter and form; in consequence whereof they became darkened in their minds, and confusion and a dissolution succeeded.

Being now left alone, and connected with no visible society, in a state of darkness and uncertainty, he fell under great trouble of mind for a long season, secretly mourning and praying to the Lord night and day. At last he met with some of the writings of the people called Quakers, which he cast a slight eye over, and threw aside with disdain, as falling very short of that wisdom with which, he apprehended, the living faith, he was searching after would be attended.

At some distance of time he had the opportunity of conversing with some of them; and although (to use his own expressions) they reached the life of God in him, which life answered their discourse, and engaged his affectionate regard toward them, yet he seemed to have that advantage over them in the power of reasoning, and superiority of understanding, that he could not but view them in a contemptuous light, as a poor, weak and despicable generation, that had some smatterings of truth in them, and some honest desires towards God, but very far off from the full understanding of his way and will.

Isaac Pennington's manuscript, published in T. E.'s testimony.

After

C H A P.

VI.



1679.  
Alexander  
Parker's  
testimony.

After a considerable time of solitude, being invited to a meeting of this people at John Crook's in Bedfordshire, he went with a fixed disposition and desire of heart to receive nothing as truth, which was not of God, nor withstand any thing which was. George Fox was at that meeting, who spoke so clearly to his state, in expounding the mystery of iniquity, and the gospel of peace and salvation, and with such energy, as gained his full assent; and from that time forward he joined the people called Quakers in society, wherein for a season he underwent great spiritual conflict, and much outward opposition and reproach from his father, his relations, the people and powers of the world; yet through the virtue of that religion which he possessed, he was strengthened to retain his love and affection to them under all that he suffered from them.

It was in the year 1658 that he joined in community with this society, and being well prepared by the religious exercises he had passed through, previous to his conviction, as well as after, he soon became a very eminent and serviceable member therein. His piety was manifested in his humble and reverent adoration of God, and circumspect conversation, as in his presence; his benevolence and christian charity, in his diligence in visiting and administering to the distressed and afflicted in body or mind; his hospitality in opening his heart and house for the reception of the messengers of peace and for the religious meetings of his friends. Through his ministry many were converted to the truth he had received, and many confirmed in it, his preaching being with divine authority, in the demonstration



monstration of the spirit and of power. He was manifestly endowed with the apostolic qualification of a bishop, *given to hospitality, apt to teach.* CHAP. VI.

1679.

His conduct and conversation were a seal to his ministry, being an excellent pattern of piety, virtue and the strictest morality, in every relation and circumstance of life. In his own family he ruled well, and maintained his authority, not by austerity, to which his mild temper was averse, but by an example of gravity, steadiness and circumspection of life, joined to reasonable instructions and affecting exhortations to godliness in the meekness of wisdom. He was a most affectionate husband; a careful and tender father; a mild and gentle master; a sincere and faithful friend; compassionate and liberal to the poor; and affable and kindly disposed to all he conversed with; ready to do good to all men, and careful to injure none.

In this age, when virtue without conformity was treated as a crime, neither his rank in life, the benevolence of his disposition, the integrity of his heart, the inculpable innocence of his demeanour, nor the universal esteem of his character, had sufficient merit with those in whose hands the power was lodged, to exempt him from the sufferings attendant upon the profession he made. His imprisonments were many, and some of them long and severe, which he bore with great firmness and serenity, being supported by the testimony of an approving heart, and the consciousness of suffering in a good cause.

His

C H A P. VI. His first imprisonment was in Aylesbury jail, in the year 1661 and 1662, being committed from a meeting in his own house, where he was confined seventeen weeks, mostly in winter, in a cold and very incommodious room, without a chimney; from which hard usage his tender body contracted a distemper, so violent, that for several weeks after he was not able to turn in his bed.

1679.

His second imprisonment was in the same jail, for the like cause, viz. meeting with his friends for divine worship, where he was again detained a prisoner about the same space of time.

He was next imprisoned with fundry other friends upon an occasion, which gives us a renewed instance of the arbitrary temper, and illegal exertion of power of many of the justices of this age. A friend of Amersham being to be buried, several friends and others of the neighbourhood assembled, as usual, to attend the funeral. It happened that one Ambrose Bennet, a justice of peace, accidentally riding through the town, and hearing of this funeral, alighted and staid until the corpse was carrying to the grave with the company attending it in a peaceable and solid manner, becoming the occasion. Upon which he rushed out of the inn, attended by some constables and rude people, whom he had gathered about him, and having his sword drawn in his hand, struck one of the foremost of the bearers with it, commanding them to set down the coffin; but they not being forward to comply with an order, for which he had no legal authority, as they were in no unlawful act; he violently pushed it off their shoulders into the

the street, and there left it to the annoyance of all passengers until the evening, when it was forcibly taken from the widow, and buried in the unconsecrated part of the churchyard, as it is termed.


CHAP.  
VI.  
1679.

Immediately after he had thrown down the coffin he ordered the constables and rabble to apprehend the company, whereupon they dragged or drove several of them to the inn: Then sending for another justice to join him, they picked out ten of them, of which number Isaac Pennington was one, and committed them to Aylesbury jail, though the justices or prisoners could hardly tell for what.

Here they were detained until the assizes, during which they were brought before judge Morton, who being a morose passionate man, treated them with rude and reviling language; but would neither hear them nor their cause, referring their case to the justices who committed them, who after the assizes sent for them to their inn, and committed them again to prison for one month, on the act of banishment.

Thomas  
Elwood's  
life.

He had scarce enjoyed his liberty more than a month when he was taken out of his own house in a manner even more arbitrary and groundless than before, by military force. A rude soldier, without any other warrant than what he carried in his scabbard, took him before Sir Philip Palmer, one of the deputy lieutenants of the county, who sent him with a guard of soldiers to Aylesbury jail, with a very unusual kind of mittimus, importing that *the jailer should receive and keep him in safe custody during the PLEASURE OF THE EARL OF BRIDGEWATER*. This Earl of Bridgewater had very causelessly imbibed

CHAP. VI.  1679. bided a particular antipathy to this inoffensive man, to that degree, that although it was the year of the plague, which had reached that town, and the jail was supposed to be infected, he could not be prevailed upon, by the intercession of a person of considerable rank and authority in the county, to permit him to remove to another house in the town, until the jail was free from infection: Afterwards a prisoner dying in the jail of the plague, the jailer's wife, in the absence of her husband, gave him liberty to remove into another house. At last, by the interposition of the Earl of Ancram, he was discharged, after suffering an imprisonment of three quarters of a year, at the apparent hazard of his life.

But before the end of a month another party of soldiers from the said Philip Palmer, as reported, by order of the Earl of Bridgewater, came to his house, seized him in bed, and carried him to the same jail again, where without any apparent cause, or any offence objected to him, he was imprisoned in rooms so damp and unhealthy as greatly endangered his life, throwing him into a distemper in which he lay weak several months. During his long confinement he was never called for at the sessions or assize, but by some illegal means returned on the calendar to remain in prison. At length being removed by *Habeas Corpus* to the King's Bench Bar, when he appeared there, and no cause of his imprisonment appearing, the court released him in 1668, with plain indications of surprize, that a man should be imprisoned, and so long kept in prison, for nothing.

Last of all he was imprisoned at Reading in 1670. In the exercise of christian charity and fraternal sympathy, he had come thither to visit his friends in prison there; and report of his visit being made to that rigid and implacable magistrate Sir William Armourer, he caused him to be brought before him, and committed him to prison, in company with his friends, whom he came to visit.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1679.

Here he continued a prisoner a year and three quarters, being condemned in a sentence of premunire, under which he lay, it is probable, until released by the king's letters patent in the year 1672.

Being through divine assistance preserved steadfast in the faith, through all his trials, inward and outward, in a life and conversation blameless among men, and in the faithful discharge of a good conscience in the sight of God, by a long life of virtue and piety, he was well prepared for his dissolution, which happened on the 8th of the 8th month, 1679, in the sixty-third year of his age, at Goodnestone Court in Kent, being a farm belonging to his wife, where he was taken ill of a sharp and painful distemper, which terminated his existence in the body: But the anguish of his bodily pain gave no shock to his internal peace, so well established before; he died, as he lived, in the faith that overcomes the world. His body was conveyed to London, and from thence to his house in Buckinghamshire; from whence his funeral was attended by a great number of his friends and neighbours, whose affectionate esteem, on account of his innocent and virtuous demeanour, he had generally engaged.

The

CHAP. VI. } The jealousies and mistrusts which the parliament, with the rest of the nation, had imbibed, of the measures and designs of the court, from the time of the confederacy with France, which had been encreasing ever since, were well-nigh blown into a flame, by their enquiry into, and the evidence they received, of the popish plot. They passed a new test act this year, disabling all persons of that religion from sitting in either house of parliament. The Duke of York with difficulty got himself exempted; but their fears of popery had made such impressions on the minds of the parliament, that they conceived a design to exclude the Duke from succession to the crown, as being a papist; upon this account and their succeeding steps in the prosecution of Danby, the king finding the opposition in the two houses was grown too strong for controul, prorogued the parliament, and afterwards dissolved it, near eighteen years after it was chosen.

Parliament dissolved after sitting eighteen years.

New parliament.

A new parliament was summoned to meet early this year. The king exerted his endeavours to influence the elections, but the temper of the times defeated his utmost efforts. The fears of popery so thoroughly possessed the people, and the jealousy of the king and duke's having a design to introduce it, that they thought the safety of the nation depended upon the election of a parliament that would have spirit and abilities to counteract such pernicious projects. <sup>a</sup> The presbyterians were still numerous in the corporations, and are represented to have been very active in conjunction with the anti-

<sup>a</sup> Rapin.

courtiers,

courtiers, in turning the elections against the court interest. This conduct seems to have increased the king's disgust against them and the dissenters in general, and to have sharpened the execution of the penal laws. The new parliament proceeded in the design of excluding the Duke of York from the crown; the king proposed expedients to moderate their warmth, by offering to agree to almost any restrictions but altering the succession. The commons, not to be satisfied with any expedients short of a total exclusion, passed a bill for that purpose, which the lords rejected by a considerable majority; the bench of bishops, less afraid of popery, which dignified their order, than of the presbytery, which rejected it entirely, were most of them on the side of the court.

CHAP.

VI.

1679.

## C H A P. VII.

## S C O T L A N D.

*Priests of Aberdeen endeavour to stir up Persecution in vain.—Alexander Skein and John Messer convinced.—New Efforts of the Priests to stir up Persecution.—The King's Declaration of Indulgence stops their Proceedings.—Account of Alexander Jaffray.—Public Dispute at Aberdeen.—Advantage taken of an Order of Council to imprison Friends.—The Prisoners called before the Commissioners.—Their Defence.—Several fined one quarter of their valued Estates.—Others in different Sums of Money.*

C H A P.  
VII.

1671.  
Priests of  
Aberdeen  
endeavour  
to stir up  
persecution  
in vain.

THE priests of Aberdeen, whose repeated attempts to stir up the magistrates to persecute the Quakers, had been, by the moderation of the latter, mostly frustrated, continued their virulent endeavours to excite the civil power to proceed against them with rigour; but had still the mortification to meet with a disappointment of their aim and wishes. For upon the coming of the judges to Aberdeen in their circuit, the priest Meldrum, of whose inimical disposition to this

this



this people several instances are already related, in his sermon before the judges, at the opening of the court, represented them, in his usual manner, *as a most dangerous and pernicious sect*, endeavouring to prepossess the judges, and excite them to exercise the utmost severity against them. Not satisfied with this, he, in company with his colleague, John Menzies, waited upon the judges at their chambers, where they met with the bishop, to them they complained that the magistrates of Aberdeen had several times broke up the Quakers meetings, had imprisoned, fined and even banished some of them; and yet were not able to suppress them. Upon which the judges asking, "What they would have them do farther?" Menzies made a proposal so cruel, that the bishop was ashamed, and the judges would return no answer. And when some of the said people, who were cited, did appear before them, they declined passing any sentence concerning them, or to give any countenance to the purposes or designs of the priests, which they clearly saw to be malicious.

When Alexander Skein, together with John Messer, who was convinced about the same time, left the communion of their church, the four priests of Aberdeen were greatly alarmed, insomuch that upon their joint solicitations the bishop convened a sub-synod, who met shortly after, and drew up an address to the king's council at Edinburgh, and sent two of their number to present it, petitioning the council *to take some effectual course to curb and rid the land of the Quakers, who were encreasing among them.* The deputies from the synod spared not their utmost

Alexander Skein and John Messer convinced, which occasioned new efforts of the priests to stir up persecution.

\* Bessie.

C H A P. endeavours to obtain some fresh order from the  
 VII. council against the Quakers, but met with fresh  
 1671. disappointment, the council only referring them  
 to a precedent act of parliament which ordained  
 that "all, who withdrew from their parish  
 church, be admonished by the preachers before  
 two sufficient witnesses, and then after three  
 first days absence they be fined one eighth  
 of their valued rents." Returning to Aber-  
 deen, these deputies reported the issue of their  
 application to the town-council, upon hearing of  
 which the provost made this remark, "What  
 signifies all this? we had this before: Take  
 you care to do your own work, and we shall  
 do ours." Two of them, George Meldrum  
 and David Lyall, therefore immediately set about  
 their part of bringing this act into force against  
 this people, and were busily engaged in per-  
 forming their monitory office from house to  
 house, when the *king's declaration of indulgence*  
*to all non-conformists* in 1672 reached Aber-  
 deen, and put a stop to their proceedings at that  
 time.

The king's  
 declaration  
 of indul-  
 gence stops  
 their pro-  
 ceedings.

The said declaration of indulgence came very  
 seasonably to prevent the execution of an act  
 of council, which the priests had prevailed upon  
 the magistrates of Aberdeen to pass, by which  
 they had resolved "that no Quaker should be  
 made a burghers or freeman of that city," and  
 that "whosoever received a Quaker into his  
 house without leave of the magistrate should  
 be fined 5s. And that if any person should  
 let an house for Quakers, either to meet or  
 dwell in, he should be fined five hundred  
 Scottish marks."

About the same time the Quakers in this C H A P. kingdom received relief from suffering, in a VII. case wherein their brethren in other parts were 1671. greatly exposed thereto, it having been the settled custom and legal practice in that nation, in suing for a debt, where proof failed, to put the defendant to clear himself upon oath: This custom exposed the Quakers, who could not swear in any case, to be made a prey by ill designing persons prosecuting them frequently for unjust claims. The judges, perceiving the advantage this conscientious scruple gave their antagonists in such suits, regarding their case with the equity becoming their station, humanely determined that a simple declaration of the truth should be accepted from that people in such causes.

The priests of Aberdeen, disappointed in their vindictive endeavours against the living, vented their senseless indignation against the dead. By their influence on the magistrates, they procured the demolishing the walls of a burying ground, which the people called Quakers had purchased with their own money, and wherein a child had been buried a few days before. The body of this child, after three days interment, by order of the provost and bailiffs, was taken out of the ground, carried to a village called Futtie, and interred there. But an idle rumour being raised among silly people, as if the Quakers had imposed upon the magistrates, by taking out the child's body, and filling the coffin with something else, they ordered the coffin to be broken open, and the child's body, though so long dead, was observed to bleed. A wonderful business truly to engage  
the

1672.

C H A P. VII. the attention of magistracy! as it little im-  
 ported to the preservation of peace or the pub-  
 lic where the remains of an innocent child was  
 laid. They nevertheless continued this unmean-  
 ing and offensive practice of removing every  
 body that was interred, until a representation  
 being made to the king's council, a private  
 check was given thereto, by which a stop was  
 put to this uncommon inhumanity, and the  
 dead bodies suffered to lie undisturbed.

1672.  
 1673. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the  
 priests to suppress the growth of this rising so-  
 ciety, and to excite the civil power to rigorous  
 measures against them, to the repeated disap-  
 pointments of their desires, they had the addi-  
 tional mortification to see several more of their  
 hearers falling off from them, and encreasing  
 the number of this hated society. For about  
 the beginning of this year Andrew Jaffray and  
 several others of Aberdeen and parts adjacent,  
 being convinced of this people's principles, join-  
 ed themselves to their society. This fresh provo-  
 cation incited the priests to renew their attempts  
 to subject them to persecution; by their instiga-  
 tions the provost and other magistrates came to  
 the meeting on the 6th of the 3d month, and  
 took the names of all present, both men and  
 women, sending a list thereof by William Gor-  
 don, their agent, to the king's council. He ex-  
 ecuted his commission with the utmost assidu-  
 ity. But shortly after he went from Aberdeen  
 to Leith to hear a sermon, in the time where-  
 of he was necessitated to go out, and at the end  
 thereof was found dead.

Upon

Upon the solicitations of the said William Gordon, the council sent a summons by a messenger to nineteen of the said people to appear before them, and fined them; the several fines being assigned to one Hugh Nelson, an apothecary in Edinburgh, while he was busy in a process at law for the recovery thereof, a proclamation was issued by the king's commissioners and council, remitting all penalties or fines for non-conformity, except such as were already paid or secured. This cleared the Quakers, for their principle prevented them from paying their fines, or in any manner compounding for them. Thus the malicious attempts of their adversaries were still frustrated.

CHAP.  
VII.  
1673.

The magistrates notwithstanding continued their application to the council; and the priests strenuously solicited Archbishop Sharp's patronage; alledging that "the Quaker's schism was prejudicial to the interest of the church, and that by using a separate burying place they prevented the payment of the fees customary on these occasions." But this complaint, when laid before the council, was effectually obviated by the representation of the said people, concerning the inhuman practice of their adversaries in taking the dead bodies out of their graves, as before related. The council, upon hearing both sides, did not think proper to interpose their authority in this case; so the priests were dismissed, and returned home again, without attaining their purpose.

This year died Alexander Jaffray of Kingwell, who was born in the city of Aberdeen, where he became in process of time a citizen of the first rank; served the office of chief magistrate

C H A P. strate and was one of the commissioners deputed  
 VII. to treat with Charles II. at Breda in Holland in  
 1650. Being religiously inclined from his youth,  
 he early in life departed from the religion of  
 his education, and joined in fellowship with the  
 presbyterians from conscientious motives; but  
 observing the difference of their conduct, when  
 they had wrested the government into their own  
 hands, from what it appeared to him when he  
 first joined with them, that instead of that ap-  
 parent humility and detestation of persecution,  
 which they seemed to discover while suffering  
 under it from the former powers, they in their  
 turn also betrayed a spirit of arrogance, rigid-  
 ness and intolerance towards others, in the ex-  
 ercise of the power they had got into their  
 hands; from the like conscientious motive he  
 left them, and went over to the independents;  
 but their ambition, their eager grasping at pow-  
 er, and abusing it, betraying the insincerity of  
 their specious profession of purity in religion,  
 gave him such disgust that he left them also.  
 And thus discovering, in the various professions,  
 more of the plausible appearance, than the rea-  
 lity of pure religion, he detached himself for  
 some years from joining in any religious society,  
 walking alone in solitary anxiety, until he heard  
 of a people newly raised up in England, who  
 preached up the light, grace and good spirit of  
 Christ in their own hearts, as the most certain  
 teacher and leader into all truth, the tidings  
 whereof gave him great joy. And after delibe-  
 rate enquiry concerning the tenets and manner  
 of life of this people, he felt his heart much  
 possessed with sentiments in their favour.

1673.  
 Piety pro-  
 moted.

In this disposition of mind he heard William Dewsbury, by means of whose ministry and conversation, being more fully satisfied that the practice of this people corresponded with their profession, as their principles did with truth, he joined them in society, which nothing short of real conviction of the rectitude of their principles and practice, and a persuasion of duty could have prevailed with him to do, in a time and place where he was held in high repute and esteem, and this people in as great contempt and (through misrepresentation) in disrepute. So that in joining them his sincerity was put to a severe trial, it being a cross even as bitter as death: Yet for the preserving inviolate the testimony of a good conscience, he was indued with fortitude to relinquish his power, honour and repute, possessions of high estimation amongst men, for sufferings, contempt and persecution, in order to embrace truth, and procure lasting peace to his mind.

His defection from them alarmed and exasperated the priests, who were almost incessant in their endeavours to excite the magistrates to exert their authority to repress this rising sect; the rank he had before held in their city, and in their estimation, did not exempt him from his share in the sufferings to which this people was exposed at that time; but he stood faithful to his testimony to the last, and valiantly contended for the truth he professed, in sundry conferences with the bishop of Aberdeen, and the preachers of that city.

He was taken sick the latter end of the 4th month, 1673, and during his sickness expressed  
 “ his joy and comfort in that trying season,  
 “ that

CHAP.  
 VII.  
 1673.

C H A P.

VII.

1673.

“ that he had been counted worthy to bear testimony to, and suffer for the precious testimony of Christ’s inward appearance, by his light, grace and good spirit, which convinceth of sin, and that it was and would be the condemnation of many, particularly of the professors, that they had slighted, despised and hated the light, and the witnesses thereunto.”

He also left this prediction among his friends, that a winnowing and trying time was coming among them, whereby hypocrites should be discovered and made manifest, but that a faithful remnant should be preserved, and brought through the fiery trial. This was judged to be plainly verified in the sufferings, which within three years happened to the said people at Aberdeen. He signified that the sting of death was taken away; being, through his mercy who loved him, made easy to him, as a desirable passage to a better state: A little before his departure, his expressions and the comfortable frame of his mind, expressive of his lively hope, under the feeling of divine goodness, owning and supporting him in his last moments, greatly affected those who were present, and soon, by a very easy passage, he was removed out of this life, and laid down his head in full assurance of a glorious immortality.

1675.  
Public dispute at  
Aberdeen.

On the 14th of the 2d month, 1675, a public dispute was held at Aberdeen between Robert Barclay and George Keith on one part, and some students of divinity, so called, on the other: The occasion whereof was this, Robert Barclay, in order to rescue the society, of which he was become a member, from the odium under which they lay, through misrepresentations  
of



of their principles from the pulpits, as erroneous and heretical, published his Theses, which were the groundwork of his apology, giving a brief and plain account of the principles of the said people, that the public might have a fair opportunity of considering those principles candidly in themselves, and not under the veil of misrepresentation, in which they were dressed by adversaries; at the end of which he made a proposal, offering to defend these principles in those places, where they had been so misrepresented, and against those persons who had so often traduced them. But none of these, viz. the public preachers, choosing to accept the proposal, as beneath them to concern themselves therein, that is, by a sober and fair discussion of these principles to inform themselves what they really were, although it was not beneath them to misrepresent them unknown, and vilify those who professed them behind their backs, where they could have no proper opportunity to vindicate themselves. Therefore this method seems to have been pitched upon, to select some from among the students, to take up the cause, as of themselves, that if the Quakers should have the advantage, the consequence would be immaterial; in a contest with young men. The Quakers were under no obligation to join issue with these youths, as it was not to them, but to the public preachers, who propagated the misrepresentations, the proposal was made. But as they were not afraid of meeting the greatest and ablest of their preachers, so the truth, they thought, led them not to despise any, who might be inclined to treat with them on the reason of their hope, with the sobriety becoming the seriousness of the subject.

C H A P. subject. The dispute was accordingly held; but  
 VII. terminated, as such disputes generally do, in  
 tumult and disorder, the students handling se-  
 1675. rious subjects with unbecoming levity, and vainly  
 triumphing in a victory they had not obtained;  
 but having numbers on their side, used clamour  
 and personal abuse, by wounding them with clods  
 and stones, arguments too hard for them to with-  
 stand, finished the debate for that time. But  
 the result proved on which side the advantage  
 lay, for four of the students present, but not  
 disputants, were at that time so fully convinced  
 of the reasonableness of the Quakers principles,  
 that they joined them in society.

1676. \* The council at Edinburgh having issued a  
 declaration, reinforcing former acts of parliament

\* The Duke of Lauderdale, one of Charles's ministers distinguished by the name of *The Cabal*, a man represented as tyrannical, vindictive and implacable, was at this time vested with the character and the power of king's commissioner, in which capacity he conducted himself with arbitrary sway, and influenced the parliament to pass two acts, which were of the utmost consequence to the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom. By the one, it was declared, that the settling all things with regard to the external government in the church was in the crown. That whatever related to ecclesiastical meetings, matters and persons, were to be ordered according to such directions, as the king should send to his privy council: And that these being published by them should have the force of laws. The other act related to the militia. Lauderdale by degrees became absolute minister in Scotland, and in 1670 had a severe law enacted against conventicles. Ruinous fines were imposed both on the preachers and hearers in meetings held in houses; but field conventicles were subjected to the penalty of death and confiscation of goods. It is to be observed by these conventicles were principally meant the covenanters, and that the Quakers (who were an inconsiderable number) did not esteem themselves included. Hume.

against

against conventicles, and recommended the execution to the sheriffs and magistrates of corporations, although the proclamation was expressly relative to such as were outlawed by the council; yet the priests and rulers of Aberdeen made an handle thereof to oppress the Quakers, whom they well knew to be none of the persons intended therein. So rash and precipitate was their malice, that as soon as they had information of the council's declaration they had not patience to wait for the regular notification thereof; but before it came into their hands, or was proclaimed at Aberdeen, they took from the meeting there, on the 12th of the month called March, twelve of the members, and committed them to prison in the new Tolbooth; and continued the like practice from time to time afterwards for the space of two months, by which time they had encreased the number of prisoners to thirty-four.

After some time the prisoners received a summons to appear before the Earl of Arrol, the Earl Marshal, and Sir John Keith, three of the privy council appointed commissioners to put in execution the acts of parliament made against the keeping conventicles, before whom being called accordingly, a long libel was exhibited against them, reciting the heads of the acts of the parliament convened the 18th of June 1670 against conventicles and withdrawing from the public worship. The libel being read, was to be enforced by Patrick Hay (the only lawyer who could be procured to plead against them) but his oratory failing him, his plea was confined to this brief query, *who gave you leave to preach?*

C H A P.  
VII.1676.  
The magistrates of Aberdeen take advantage of an order of council to imprison the Quakers.

The prisoners called before the commissioners.

C H A P. *preach?* which, for want of pertinent matter, he repeated several times over.

VII.

1676.

The witnesses produced against the prisoners were partly divinity students of Aberdeen, who came to their meetings on purpose to inform against them, and partly the magistrates who took them into custody. Against both these David Barclay objected, as insufficient evidence; the former as parties in the crime, and as having manifested themselves to be prejudiced persons by a late publication, wherein they had maliciously and unjustly accused them of blasphemy and treason; and the latter as being those who put the law in execution, and therefore ought not to be accusers in the same cause. The commissioners however over-ruled these objections, and accepted the evidence of those witnesses.

Prisoners,  
defence.

The prisoners in consequence exhibited their defence in writing to the court; signifying that they apprehended themselves not to be comprehended in the acts recited in the libel, as not falling under the description of those intended by the act; the reason assigned for which being to prevent sedition and rebellion, and for that part which prohibits field conventicles, because they are termed a rendezvous of rebellion, tending in an high measure to the disturbance of the public peace, did not comprehend them, who are a peaceable people in principle and practice; that they were well informed that when the act was framing, enquiry was made *whether the Quakers were to be comprehended in the act?* And that the \* Duke of Lauderdale said, *it was only*  
to

\* While this appears as an instance of that absolute sway which the Duke of Lauderdale had established to himself in Scotland,

*to curb the presbyterians in the west.* That the king's council did never execute any of the said acts against any of their friends in that city; nor in any place in the south and west of Scotland, where there were frequent meetings of their friends in several places, which had been held unmolested ever since the acts were made. That although several of their friends were apprehended and imprisoned upon the issuing of the late proclamation, yet they were set at liberty a few days after, upon surety to appear when called for, and have ever since kept their meetings, in Edinburgh particularly, without being called in question by the council; that they presumed therefore they would meet with no other measure from the king's council there. That the magistrates of Aberdeen had kept them near three months in prison, without proper authority from any act of parliament cited or proclaimed since, of which illegal restraint they hope the king's counsellors will take notice, and prevent the like for the future. That their meetings have no tendency to sedition,

C H A P.

VII.

1676.

Scotland, over a parliament which was so abject as to frame and model their acts at his nod, and adapt them rather to his will and pleasure than the public good, it may appear perhaps also, as if the Quakers, to save themselves, were pointing out these presbyterians as proper objects of persecution: But it is certain they were enemies to persecution in every shape, against others as well as themselves; and although they thought it hard, and not without reason, that they were not only punished by laws made against them, but also by laws never meant against them; yet they frequently declared that they envied none the liberty they enjoyed, nor wanted the penal laws to be turned against any; but wished to all the full enjoyment of liberty of conscience.

rebellion

C H A P. VII. rebellion or violence ; but are held merely out of duty to God, who had forbidden them *to forsake the assembling themselves together* ; had commanded them to stand steadfast in the liberty wherewith Christ had set them free, *and to pray everywhere*. It was from conscientious persuasion alone that they durst not forsake their meetings, and not out of any contempt of authority.

1676.

Several fined one-fourth of their valued rents, &c.

Others fined in different sums of money.

After an hour or two spent by the court in deliberation on this defence, the prisoners, who had been ordered to withdraw, being called one by one, were severally asked, *whether they would oblige themselves not to go any more to meetings*, which every one of them refusing to do, they were again ordered to withdraw, and after some time being called again, the sentence of the court was read to them, whereby David Barclay, Alexander Gellie, Robert Burnet, Alexander Harper, Alexander Skein, Andrew Jaffray and Alexander Forbes were fined each in one-fourth of their respective valued rents for their own keeping conventicles, and an eighth part of their said valued rents each for withdrawing from the public worship. Also the said Andrew Jaffray, Alexander Skein, and Alexander Harper to pay an eighth part for their wives' transgressions, conformable to the tenour of the act of parliament. And the following, not being landed persons, were fined in the following sums, Andrew Galloway, Thomas Mills and George Keith 30l. each ; William Sparke 40l. ; James Forbes 25l. and the rest twenty marks a-piece. And over and above, John Skein and George Keith, because they were found to have preached

preached and prayed at these meetings, were to find caution, under pain of five thousand marks, not to do the like hereafter, or enact themselves to move out of the kingdom, conform to the tenour of the act. And all to remain in prison, until they make payment of their respective fines.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1676.

The sentence being read, the prisoners were remanded into prison, where their number was encreased by the repeated imprisonment of others of their friends, from their religious meetings. While they were kept here under close confinement, some of them were concerned at times to preach to the people, who would come up to the windows of the prison to hear them; but the magistrates of Aberdeen, to prevent this, and to incommode the prisoners, caused the windows to be nailed up for a whole week together, and also removed several of them into the higher prison.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Robert Barclay applies to the King for relief.— Earl of Arrol requires Bonds, which the Prisoners refuse.— Ordered to pay their Fines to George Melvil.— Who makes excessive Distraints.— Distrains David Barclay's labouring Oxen, for which he can find no Purchasers.— George Skein, Provost, unreasonably severe.— Alexander Burnet, Bailiff, an active Accomplice in persecution.— Receives Orders to remove sundry Prisoners to a more commodious Prison, but declines Compliance.— Strait and hard Imprisonment.— Some ordered to be removed, and some released.— Their Treatment at Bamf more liberal and humane.*

C H A P.  
VIII.

1676.

Robert Barclay applies to the king for relief.

**DURING** this time Robert Barclay being in London, and gaining admittance to the king, delivered him a narrative of these proceedings, and of the severity of the magistrates of this city to his imprisoned friends, interceding with him to recommend their case to the favourable notice of the council of Scotland, which narrative the king ordered the Earl of Lauderdale to recommend to their consideration. The council at Edinburgh referred it to their former commissioners, in conjunction with three others; but



but the Earl of Arrol, who was president, resolved their deliberations into this single enquiry of the prisoners, "Whether they were yet better advised than when they were last before them, and would give bonds not to hold any more meetings?" In reply thereto, after pointing out the hardship of their imprisonment for seven months, when no seditious act could be proved against them, nor any other cause assigned than meeting in a peaceable manner to worship God, they intimated, that *they durst not be so unfaithful to God, as to give any bond, whereby they should bind themselves not to worship him.* In the conclusion the Earl of Arrol repeating, "it seems then you will not give bond," John Skein, answered, "let never that day dawn in which we shall be so unfaithful to the Lord: But if any should prove so, let neither the king nor his council trust that man, for he that is not faithful to the Lord, will never be faithful to his king or country."

CHAP.  
VIII.

1676.  
Earl of Arrol again requires bonds, which they refuse to give.

The Commissioners decreed that they should pay their respective fines to one Captain George Melvil, and that upon paying they should be set at liberty; and that in default of payment in the limited time, the said Melvil was empowered to distrain them for the same, and that when the fines were levied the prisoners should be released. The Earl of Arrol, departing out of town the next morning, all those who had been imprisoned since the rest were fined, were released by the remaining commissioners.

Ordered to pay their fines to George Melvil,

CHAP. VIII. Melvil soon after applied himself to the execution of his commission, and from some took goods or cattle to double, and from others to treble the value of their respective fines. Coming to John Skein's shop, under pretence that there were not goods sufficient, though three times the value of his fine, he went to his dwelling house, where entrance being refused him, he applied to the provost for a warrant to break open his doors, and next day came with smiths and hammers to break them open; but James Skein went to the magistrates, and made a legal protest against this proceeding, and that, if the doors were broken open, they must expect to be accountable for the damage. Whereupon they desired Melvil to desist, and seize on the shop goods, which he did to the amount of 130*l.* by their own valuation; all which were carried away to his house. But his career was now stopped for a season, being obliged to secrete himself from the messenger and serjeants, who were in quest of him for a just debt; so that he durst not appear till that demand was compromised.

When he had got this effected, he returned to the prosecution of his commission in the like unreasonable manner, he returned to John Skein's shop, on pretence of the former seizure being defective, and took away more goods, taking in the whole 230*l.* for a fine of 100*l.*

In distraining David Barclay he exceeded his commission, the said David living in the shire of Merns, which was out of the precinct of the commissioners authority, under whose warrant he acted, of which David was not wanting timely to apprize him. But it looks as if officers  
of

1676.  
who makes  
excessive  
distrains  
upon them.

of the lowest rank, as well as the highest, in this age, thought it beneath them to regard the punctilios of law; for he proceeded notwithstanding to execute his purpose by adding one illegal act to another. He took away ten labouring oxen, in the plowing season (which was by act of parliament prohibited, even in case of a just debt) with other cattle and corn. But these cattle proved a troublesome acquisition, for he could find no man that would buy them, and the expence of keeping them was a continual burden to him; so that he seems to have been tired of them, before he could get them disposed of at any rate: At last a remarkable opportunity presented itself to clear his hands of them.

C H A P.

VIII.

1676.

Distrains  
David Bar-  
clay's la-  
bouring  
oxen,

which he  
can find no  
purchasers  
for.

The friends engaged, looking upon themselves to have been unhandsomely treated in the dispute they held with the students of Aberdeen, and also in the reports thereof, published an account of it. The students thought it necessary for their reputation to publish an answer, which when they had compleated, they could find no printer who would undertake the publication at his own risque, whereby they were obliged to let their performance lie dormant, or print it at their own expence. Having with some difficulty raised the money, in hopes of being reimbursed by the sale of the book, they had the mortification to find almost the whole impression left on their hands for want of purchasers. In this dilemma they presented a petition to the commissioners, representing their loss, and requesting some relief out of the Exchequer, which request, through the archbishop's influence, they so far obtained, as that the commissioners

CHAP. VIII. missioners issued an order upon Captain Melvil to pay them a part of the Quakers' fines in his hand, upon which he gave them David Barclay's oxen, which were at length sold to raise the money they wanted.

1676.

George Skein, provost, unreasonably severe.

The magistrates of Aberdeen seem now for some time to have been effectually brought over by the priests, to exert their power in oppressing and persecuting this society. But George Skein, the provost of the present year, even exceeded his predecessors in malice, and cruelty to this people; almost immediately upon his entering into office he caused the prisoners to be more strictly kept, debarring them the liberty of going into the lower council house, a privilege which they had at times been permitted to enjoy before, and threatened some of the officers with the loss of their places for not acting up to the rigour of his orders. And now observing that the loss of their substance did not deter the members of this society from returning to their meetings, he not only continued to send them again to prison, but to render their imprisonment as severe and incommodious as he possibly could; for which purpose he would frequently remove them from one room to another, just to perplex them with the trouble of removing their bedding and utensils: His evil disposition prompting him to be still more vexatious to them, he made a proposition for petitioning the commissioners to give orders for the close shutting up of all the prisoners in the higher part of the jail, but he could not obtain the concurrence of the other magistrates in that piece of cruelty.

During

During these transactions Patrick Livingstone and James Halliday, from England, in the course of a religious visit to their brethren in this nation, coming to Aberdeen, were there apprehended, and imprisoned in the upper prison, where they had frequent opportunities, especially on market days, to publish their doctrine out of the prison windows, and had more hearers, than probably they would have had in their own meeting places, so that even their confinement, designed to prevent it, tended to promote the testimony they had to bear. At this the provost and others of their adversaries were greatly exasperated, and held several consultations upon the means to prevent it; but were at a loss to devise any feasible expedient, fearing to give umbrage to the people, who seemed desirous to hear them, if they should proceed in any unusual method of severity against them.

Alexander Burnet, one of the bailiffs of Aberdeen, a man of like disposition with the provost, and an accomplice in his persecuting measures, being deputed to attend at a meeting of the commissioners, seized the opportunity to apply his utmost efforts to incense them against the Quakers, and to prevail with them to take some measures to prevent their preaching to the people out of the windows of the prison. The commissioners, willing to prevent the supposed danger of their preaching, gave the said bailiff an order to remove Patrick Livingstone, George Keith, Robert Barclay, John Skein and Andrew Jaffray out of the prison they were in, to another out of the town, called the chapel; where the commissary courts used to sit, and where

C H A P.  
VIII.

1676.

Patrick Livingstone and James Halliday, from England, being imprisoned, preach out of the windows of the prison.

Alexander Burnet, bailiff, an active accomplice in persecution.

Receiving orders to remove several of the prisoners to a more commodious prison, declines complying.

the

C H A P. the prisoners might have better accommodation.

VIII. This order was in nowise agreeable to the views  
 of the provost and bailiff, whose aim was not to  
 alleviate, but aggravate their punishment; in-  
 stead of procuring them ease, to incommode  
 them in a greater degree; therefore, although  
 the order was issued in consequence of their so-  
 licitation, they were not very forward to execute  
 it: Instead thereof, they set workmen to nail  
 up the windows of the upper prison, and stop  
 up the very chinks that were made to let in  
 light to the stairs. Afterwards when in com-  
 pliance with the commissioners order, some of  
 the prisoners were removed to the chapel, which  
 was intended for their better accommodation,  
 these ill-disposed magistrates contrived to make  
 it as distressing as in their power, by putting  
 them into a cold, narrow, dark room, where  
 there was little more than space for their  
 beds; they applied for room to lay up a little  
 firing, and although it might have been  
 well spared them, the provost refused their  
 request: A proposal was made for a window to  
 give them light, which he rejected with indig-  
 nation.

Straitned  
 and hard  
 imprison-  
 ment.

The case of those confined in the higher pri-  
 son at the Tolbooth was yet more grievous:  
 They were so straitned for room, that they were  
 obliged to lay their beds one above another on  
 boards. The unwholesome closeness of the pri-  
 son, its darkness, the length of their hard im-  
 prisonment, greatly endangered their health and  
 their lives, in the opinion of the physicians.  
 Their relations, acquaintances and many of the  
 sober inhabitants of the town, commiserating  
 their inhuman usage, applied to the magistrates

to prevent the danger, by removing them to the great room in the chapel; but this, these two men of power for a year would by no means admit of.

CHAP.  
VIII.  
1676.

\* These magistrates, perceiving that their undeserved cruelty in the treatment of these Quakers, drew upon them the censure and disapprobation of the sober and humane part of the inhabitants, endeavoured to palliate the persecution, under pretence that they were represented by the ministers as seducers; that they were popishly affected, and advancers of the interests of the church of Rome. A pretence altogether false and groundless; and had they been so in reality, in all probability they would have remained unnoticed and unmolested by these magistrates, who at the same time were flattering and caressing the most eminent papists in the nation.

But that favour, which could not be obtained by any solicitation from these subordinate magistrates, was more easily obtained from their superiors. The commissioners of the council, meeting again at Ellan, Burnet was again deputed to attend them, who strenuously endeavoured to justify their proceedings under the false pretence that they had not room for their better accommodation. But several persons appearing on behalf of the prisoners, and representing the cruelty of their confinement, the commissioners issued an order for the removal of part of the prisoners to Bamff, and for the release of part of them from prison, confining them to their own houses and parishes: These

Some of the prisoners ordered to be removed, and some released.

\* Bessé.

CHAP last said, “ they did accept of their liberty;  
VIII. “ but as to the restrictions enjoined, they should

“ not esteem themselves under an obligation to  
1676. “ submit thereto.” And those who were ordered to be removed to Bamf, being delivered over to the sheriff, he also gave them their liberty, on condition of their being forth-coming when he should appoint, in order to be conveyed thither.

1677. This deputy sheriff, John Forbes, was of a different temper from these magistrates, whose severities have justly merited censure, for he was humane, and utterly averse to persecution: Being obliged, in pursuance of the order of the commissioners to take several of those who had been discharged, and remove them to the Tolbooth at Bamf, he treated them with the utmost civility, ordering a guard to attend them thither, with directions to let them have all suitable accommodations on their way, and to take their own time, whereby they had the opportunity of several religious meetings, where they had such remarkable service, that some of their conductors were thereby effectually converted to the truth they promulgated.

Their treatment at Bamf more liberal and humane.

At Bamf also they found the magistrates of a very different spirit from those of Aberdeen, humane, liberal and courteous; they not only gave them the best accommodation in their power, in the Tolbooth, but also free permission to make use of an inn in the town at their pleasure, for their better accommodation. The said magistrates moreover used all their interest and influence with the commissioners and sheriff, to procure the release of the prisoners, and ceased



ed not, until they obtained liberty for them to return again to their several habitations. C H A P.  
VIII.

But the magistrates of Aberdeen had suffered their spirits to be embittered against this people, who had done them no wrong, to that degree, that neither the examples of others, the plain dislike of the sober and moderate inhabitants, the shame they had incurred by their cruelty, nor a regard to justice and equity, had any power to move them to the sentiments of humanity. They proceeded to imprison these people from their meetings again and again, and to render their imprisonment grievous, even to the extreme danger of their health and lives. They continued to be vexatious to them more or less for the space of three years, until near the end of 1679, by which time some of the bitterest of their adversaries were removed out of life, or out of office; the priests, George Meldrum, John Menzies and William Mitchel, one of them by death, and the other two by law, were deprived of their influence, and silenced from preaching: The lord of Hudda, who had threatened by his own authority to pull down their meeting-house, was turned out of his office.

The dismal catastrophe of Archbishop Sharpe, of whom the priests and magistrates of Aberdeen made use, as their principal instrument, by his power in the council, to crush the people called Quakers, is too well known to be repeated here. And it is probable their successors were men of more moderation and better tempers; for from the time above mentioned the religious assemblies of this society were held at Aberdeen (as they generally appear to have been

CHAP. in other parts of Scotland) without molestation.

VIII.

1677.

It may not be improper to add, that by the accounts they have left, these prisoners at Aberdeen, in their deepest sufferings, felt divine favour attending them, and the good hand of providence supporting them, so that not only their spirits were kept chearful, but also their bodies preserved in health and strength, under the most *unhealthy* confinement, beyond all human probability or expectation. And even the malice of their adversaries became, against their wills, subservient to the spreading of their doctrines, by means of the opportunities they found of preaching from those prisons, into which they were thrust on purpose to prevent them from preaching. And that during the persecution the appointed meetings were not only constantly held at the usual times, but greatly encreased in the numbers attending them.

## C H A P. IX.

## I R E L A N D.

*Persecution in Cork, by Matthew Deane, Mayor.—William Penn interposes in favour of Friends.—John Banks visits Wicklow.—The Priest endeavours to prevent his holding a Meeting there.—He is brought before the Governor, and virulently accused by the Priest.—Is committed to Prison, where he preaches to the People and discourses on religious Subjects.—A Meeting established there.—Friends present to Government their suffering Case in respect to Suits in Chancery.—Oliver Sansom's Account of the half Year's Meeting.—Account of Katharine Norton.*

THIS society still continued exposed to suffer- C H A P. IX.  
ings in the city of Cork; Matthew Deane, who  
succeeded Christopher Rye in the mayoralty of  
that city, being of the like persecuting spirit. }  
1670.  
\* Samuel Thornton lodged at Elizabeth Erber-  
ry's, on his travels in religious service, some  
friends came to visit him, where, as they were  
Persecution in Cork by M. Deane, mayor.

\* Besse.

CHAPTER IX. sitting together after supper, the said Samuel, being concerned to pray, was overheard by some evil-minded persons, who caused him to be taken by a constable, and carried before the mayor, who committed him to prison, where he was confined eight weeks.

1670.

The same mayor caused *George Webber, Stephen Harris* and several others to be sent from their meeting to prison, with an order *that they should have neither meat, drink nor bedding brought them*, and caused a maid servant of the said Stephen Harris, who was carrying a bed to her master in prison, to be set in the stocks, and the bed to be taken from her: And the said George Webber's servant carrying food to her master, the mayor commanded his serjeants to take away the food, and set her in the stocks, but she prevented them by hastening to the prison, before they could overtake her.

While Samuel Thornton was prisoner there, many of his friends came on a first day of the week, and held a meeting of worship: The jailer locked them all in, being about eighty persons; they were kept about twenty-four hours, having no food but what they drew up by a cord: Under the room they were in the soldiers kept guard, and having made a fire, the smoke thereof was like to suffocate them; upon which, when application was made to the mayor, he scoffingly replied, "they are brothers and sisters, let them lie one upon another, and if they are choaked, it is their own faults."

On another first day, some friends going to visit the prisoners, were by the said mayor's orders detained in prison, where they lay several

veral weeks, until released by the lord lieutenant and council. C H A P. IX.

This people were exposed to sufferings by imprisonment and fines at this time on divers other accounts, in common with their brethren in England, for their testimony against tithes, for refusing to swear, for not observing the days called holidays. William Edmundson, who had frequently and successfully interested himself in behalf of his suffering friends, was at this time travelling in America. But

William Penn coming over to Ireland this year, frequently visited his friends in prison, and omitted no opportunity he had with those in authority, to solicit their favour in behalf of the sufferers. And the half year's meeting, in the ninth month, being held in his lodgings, an account of the sufferings of the members of the society was drawn up, in an address to the lord lieutenant, presented to him, and an order of council obtained for the release of those who were imprisoned.

This year John Banks of Pardshaw in Cumberland came over on a religious visit to his friends in Ireland. He landed in Dublin at the beginning of the half year's meeting in the 3d month, and after it was over, went from a particular concern to Wicklow, to get a meeting appointed there the succeeding first day, being a place where no meeting of friends had been kept before. Notice of the meeting to be held that day being circulated over night, the report that an English Quaker was come to preach there raised a general curiosity in the people, and great indignation in the priest of the parish; who, as usual, applied himself to the secular power,

1670.  
Friends being liable to fines and imprisonments here as well as in England, W Penn interposes in their favour.

1671.  
John Banks visits Wicklow from a particular concern.

The priest of the parish endeavours to prevent a meeting there.

CHAP. power, one Hammond, governor of the castle, IX. and commander of the garrison kept there, to prevent the appointed meeting. John and the friends along with him took up their lodging at an inn, from which, as they were about going out to the meeting, the landlady with some concern intreated them *not to go along the street, for that there was a guard of musketeers waiting at the cross to take him, and proposed to shew them a back way:* But John replied, *I accept of thy love, but I must not go any private way, for I have a testimony to bear for the Lord in love to the people.* However, they passed along to the meeting unmolested; but were hardly well settled, when a serjeant with a file of musketeers made his entrance, and demanded him to go with them before the governor; John enquired of him for his authority and his warrant; he held out his halbert, and said *this is my warrant.* He took him before the governor, with whom was the priest and others. The priest was so disturbed with passion and bitterness, that immediately upon his coming in, unable to repress his wrath, he addressed himself to the governor in these reviling expressions, *Sir, this is the deceiver, this is the deluder, that is come from England to delude the people, I hope you will do justice and execute the law.* To this the governor, being a moderate man, made no immediate reply; and John Banks, thinking it most prudent to give time for his passion to vent itself, forbore awhile making any remarks; but at length spoke to him in reply, thus, “Thou sayest I am a “deceiver and deluder.” The priest interrupt-

J. Banks brought before the governor, is virulently accused by the priest.

† Rutty. John Banks's journal.

ing

ing him with great violence, cried, "so thou art! so thou art!" John proceeded, "Have patience, and let thy moderation appear, and hear what I have to say in my own vindication, for I shall not admit thy assertion as proof: I have had patience to hear thee: Art thou a minister of Christ?" "Yes, said he, I am." John replied, but if I prove thee a liar, as by the witness of this people thou art, in charging me with what thou canst bring no proof for, thou art out of the doctrine of Christ, and of consequence no minister of his, but of antichrist, and therefore thou art the deceiver and deluder of the people." To which the priest made no reply.

Several people having prest in at the door, out of curiosity, as is usual, to hear the examination, furnished John with an opportunity of opening to them the doctrine of this people, and exhorting them to sobriety. Yet the governor committed him and two more to prison; the jailer was very civil, and allowed them the use of a room, and the people liberty of access to them, to whom John preached the way of life and salvation, and several were convinced by his ministry. He was kept in prison three days, during which time he was visited by many people, who came to discourse with him about the principles of religion. After visiting his friends in the north, on his return to Dublin, he visited Wicklow again, upon understanding by a letter from thence, that the people were desirous of another meeting, which, notwithstanding the opposition of the priest, was held peaceably, and a meeting was established in the town.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1671.

Is committed to prison, where he preaches to the people,

and discourses on religious subjects.

A meeting established there.

C H A P.

IX.

1671.

Friends present to government their suffering case in Chancery suits, by reason of their conscientious scruple against swearing.

The government having on many occasions manifested a regard to the application of this people, by granting them redress in many cases of sufferings, encouraged them about this time to present to their consideration a case whereby they were liable to be greatly wronged in their property, through the dishonesty of some people, with whom they had dealing. The case was this: That as they had a conscientious scruple against taking an oath, as being forbidden by Christ, such people caused them, in case of claiming their just demands, to be subpoenaed into Chancery, where their answers would not be admitted but on oath, and by those means evaded the payment of their just debts; for instance, in the county of Wexford, Thomas Holme having about 200*l.* due to him from one Captain Thornhill, for which judgment was obtained at common law, was subpoenaed into Chancery by the said Thornhill, where he well knew Thomas could not answer upon oath, by which proceeding the Friend was defrauded of his debt. And James Fade of Dublin, having about 40*l.* due to him from one Ezekiel Webb, was by said Webb subpoenaed into Chancery, and because he could not answer upon oath, he not only lost his debt, but 70*l.* more to get clear of the debtor. But, it is like, the government thought the subject of too much consequence to comply with their request of redress, not being as yet sufficiently freed from inveterate prejudice, to make such a concession; neither was it in their power, I apprehend, without an act of parliament, to alter the settled course of proceeding in this court. The members of this society continued exposed to such injuries,



injuries; until the reign of George I. when they were redressed by an act of parliament in their favour.

C H A P.

IX.

1676:

Oliver Sansom from Berkshire came over from England on a religious visit to his friends in Ireland, and in his journal gives an account of the half year's meeting there, whereby we may conceive an idea of the devotion of our ancestors in those days, and the prevalence of divine power, which through the dedication of their hearts to the divine will, and their religious exercise therein, covered their religious assemblies. He relates that after the previous meeting of worship, they met as usual in the meeting of discipline, to deliberate on the affairs of the church; but the power of the Lord was felt so mightily amongst them, and their minds so raised thereby, into acts of solemn worship, in testimonies, prayer and praises to the divine being, that no time remained to enter upon the business of the day. When they met the next day for the same purpose, their meeting of business was again converted into a meeting of worship, from the same cause. That the third day of the meeting they proceeded to the business thereof, which took up that day and part of the next, when it was concluded, having been transacted in much unity and harmony.

In the year 1678 the meetings of this people were visited by Katharine Norton, whose maiden name was Mc. Loughlin; she was born of Irish parents, near Colerain, from whence she was sent to Londonderry for education: While she lived there, a ship coming to that city, to take in passengers for Barbadoes, she embarked in

1678.

CHAP. IX. it, and arriving at that island, was some time after married there. When that island was visited by George Fox and others, she was convinced by their ministry, and afterwards became herself an able minister in this society. She visited the meetings of her friends in the north; preached in Lurgan market in Irish, and had several meetings near Colerain, where her relations lived. <sup>a</sup> From thence travelling southward, as far as Dublin, she took shipping there for England. The character given of her is, that she was a woman well qualified for the service in which she was engaged, being of a sound judgment, copious in matter, fluent in expression, and agreeable in her utterance; had of her own to distribute, and did not make the gospel chargeable.

<sup>a</sup> Ruddy.

## C H A P. X.

## HOLLAND AND GERMANY.

*Sundry Friends pass over to Holland.—Meetings of Discipline established there.—Robert Barclay and William Penn visit Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, and the Countess of Hornes.—William Penn travels further into Germany.—Writes to the Prince Palatine in favour of his Friends.—The Vaught having heard William Penn preach, refuseth the Priest to suppress the Quakers.—Epistle from the Princess to William Penn.—William Penn visits Labadie's Disciples.—Goes to Embden, and solicits the Burgomaster in favour of his Friends.—Returns to Herford.—These Friends return to England.*

SOON after the conclusion of the yearly meeting at London in the year 1677, George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and some others, went over to Holland to visit their friends in the United States and some parts of Germany. From Harwich they had a prosperous and easy passage to the Briel, where they landed; from whence they went directly to Rotterdam, where they were received by their friends with gladness, and had two meetings with them and many of the town's-people; and after spending another day in visiting their friends, George Fox and William Penn proceeded to Amsterdam, taking a meeting in their way at Haerlem, which

C H A P.

X

1677.

Sundry friends go over to Holland on a religious visit.

C H A P.

X.

1677.

which proved very large and satisfactory; after which meeting they went to Amsterdam, to be present at the quarterly meeting to be held there the next day, for the meetings of that city, Haerlem and Rotterdam, to which Robert Barclay and the other friends they left there, came directly from the last-mentioned place.

Meetings  
for disci-  
pline settled  
in Holland.

As the friends in Holland had only had a general advice in writing respecting the establishing meetings of discipline, George Fox and William Penn found occasion to explain the subject more fully, and to shew them the nature, end and use of yearly, quarterly and monthly meetings of men and women. Next day they had a large public meeting, in which the people were attentive and sober; and the day after, a select meeting, wherein by joint agreement were settled monthly and quarterly meetings, and a yearly meeting to be held at Amsterdam for the United Provinces \*,  
Embden,

\* About the year 1662 some persons in East Friesland were convinced of the truth as professed by the people called Quakers. The papists, alarmed at the intelligence thereof, convened a synod of ecclesiasticks, which drew up a petition to the court, in which were the following expressions: "Where-  
" as the wicked sect of the Quakers are found in these United  
" Provinces, and also sprung up here in East Friesland, you  
" are desired to watch against it in time, that *that devilish*  
" *error* might not creep in farther." This petition procured a proclamation from the civil magistrate, forbidding Quakers to come into the country, under penalty of being confined to hard labour in the rasp-house for five years, &c.; but the law being found inconvenient, was not long after repealed.

About twelve years after the senate and council of the city of Embden were influenced by the popular prejudices, which, through the subtle and false insinuations of the priests, were spread and promoted, to put in practice much severity against this people, some of whom were cruelly beaten, some banished, imprisoned in a dungeon, fed only on bread and  
water,

Embsen †, the Palatinate ‡, Hamburgh, § Dant- CH A P.  
zick, and other places in or bordering upon X.  
Germany.

The 1677.

water, fined in greater sums of money than they were thought able to pay. William Penn, ever ready to advocate the innocent cause of his afflicted brethren, wrote a very pathetic letter to the senate and council of that city in Latin, in behalf of his persecuted friends. But the persecution there continued several years after, until the year 1686, when the magistrates perceiving their error, put a stop to persecution, finding by the decay of their trade the pernicious consequence of compulsory measures in religion; they opened their eyes to their true interest, and instead of banishing useful citizens, published an invitation to Quakers as well as others to reside in their city, signifying they had resolved to give them free liberty to live, trade and traffic there, which grant they offered to confirm under the seal of their city.

† In the year 1657 several persons were convinced of the doctrine of the people called Quakers about Crisheim, in the Palatinate, through the ministry of William Ames and George Rolfe; they also, through the instigation of priests, were abused by the rabble, and punished by fines and imprisonment by the magistrates; till at the intercession of William Ames, the prince superseded the orders of the inferior magistrates, and gave liberty to Quakers to travel in his country or reside there.

‡ At Hamburgh some of the inhabitants made public profession of the principles of the people called Quakers, upon which account they were banished the city, and retired to Altena, where the magistrates would not admit them, but drove them out of their town; whereupon returning to Hamburgh, they were punished with a very severe imprisonment, clapt in irons, debarred from company, and otherwise hardly treated, to force them to leave the city; during their imprisonment the wives of some had been persuaded to remove into other dominions; others continued in the city, and it doth not appear that they met with any further molestation.

§ At Dantzick were a few who were convinced in 1677, which became no sooner known to the magistrates than they imprisoned them, and afterwards procured an order of senate to banish them, and they were accordingly sent away.

C H A P.

X.

1677.

The quarterly meeting at Amsterdam being concluded, the friends from England separated on their respective services. George Fox spent some days at Amsterdam in visiting his friends there, and assisting them in some business relating to their meetings; and afterwards travelled through N. Holland, into the northern parts of Germany, to Embden and Hamburgh, holding meetings with friends and others as opportunity offered. William Penn, Robert Barclay and George Keith set forwards towards other parts of Germany, with a particular view to pay a visit to the Princess Elizabeth, daughter to Frederick, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, sister to Sophia, Dutchess of Hanover, and aunt to King George I. who being, beyond most of her rank, under a solicitous concern of heart to seek after and acquire an acquaintance with that pure and undefiled religion, whereby future happiness is attained to, a correspondence by letter had commenced between her and William Penn; George Fox also wrote her an encouraging epistle by his step-daughter, Isabella Yeomans, who in company with George Keith's wife paid her a visit about this time, to which she returned the following answer:

R. Barclay proceeds on a visit to Eliz. Princess Palatine.

“ Dear Friend,

“ I cannot but have a tender love to those  
 “ who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and to whom  
 “ it is given not only to believe in him, but  
 “ also to suffer for him; therefore your letter  
 “ and your friends visit have been both very  
 “ welcome to me. I shall follow their and your  
 “ counsel,

“ counsel, as far as God shall give light and  
 “ uncti<sup>o</sup>n, remaining still

“ Your loving friend,  
 “ ELIZABETH.”

C H A P.  
 X.  
 1677.

“ Herford, the 30th  
 “ of August, 1677.”

William Penn and Robert Barclay proceeded to Herford, the residence of the Princess, by whom they were kindly received. She had with her as a companion a woman of quality, who also was influenced with an earnest desire after the attainment of pure religion; her name was Anna Maria de Hornes, Countess of Hornes, an adherent of John Labadie. The first meeting they had with them was in one of the Princess's apartments, to their great satisfaction. After which the Countess expressed a wish that a meeting might be held, where the inferior servants of the Princess's household might have free access, to partake of the benefit of their doctrine. With this proposal they were ready to comply, and the Princess willingly consenting, the meeting was held accordingly. The Princess did not appear in that meeting, in order that her servants might not be discouraged by her presence from giving their attendance in a general way; but after the meeting expressed much satisfaction in their being favoured with that good opportunity. She detained William Penn and Robert Barclay to supper, although they modestly endeavoured to excuse themselves, proposing to return to their inn; but as they could not handsomely resist her pressing solicitations, they consented to stay. The next day, being the first of the week, and another meeting being agreed upon between them

Account of  
 W. Penn  
 and R. Bar-  
 clay's visit  
 to the Prin-  
 cess Elizabeth  
 and  
 Countess of  
 Hornes.

C H A P.

X.

1677.

them and the Princess, William Penn desired that not only as many of her own family, but as many of the town as were desirous, might be admitted. To this she readily consented, which afforded William Penn and Robert Barclay an open opportunity to propagate the doctrines of the gospel, and discharge the service they were engaged in. Through divine favour and assistance, the opportunity proved remarkably relieving to them, and edifying to the auditory. At the conclusion the Princess taking William Penn by the hand, in an affecting manner expressed her sense of the divine power and presence evidently felt amongst them; but her feelings were too affecting for utterance, for attempting to proceed, she cried, "I cannot speak to you, my heart is full." William Penn, in sympathy with the sensible impressions upon her spirit, imparted tender counsel, from his feeling sense of the state of her mind, and then taking leave of her, she expressed her desire of further opportunities of the like kind, saying, "Will you not come hither again? Pray call hither as you return out of Germany." To which he returned answer, "We are in the hand of the Lord, and moving under his requirings, cannot so fully dispose of ourselves." There was also a French woman of quality with the Princess, who had imbibed the prevailing sentiments concerning the Quakers, looking upon them in a contemptible light; but being powerfully reached, and deeply affected under the heart-tendering ministry of these experienced preachers, she became very affectionately kind and respectful to them. Upon their departure from Herford they separated; Robert Barclay returning to



to Amsterdam, and William Penn travelling further into Germany to Cassel and Frankfort. Here he had several meetings with persons of note, amongst the rest one at the house of a young woman of noble birth, Johanna Eleanora Merlane, who was so reached by his doctrine, that she said, "Our quarters are free for you; let all come that will, and lift up your voices without fear."

C H A P.  
X.

1677.  
W. Penn  
travels fur-  
ther into  
Germany.  
Frankfort.

From Frankfort he went to Chrisheim, where a body of his friends dwelt, who afterwards removed among the first emigrants to Pennsylvania, and settled there; and finding them subject to sufferings both on account of their tithes, which were claimed from them, both by the protestant and popish priests, and also on account of the religious meetings, which the vaught or chief magistrate endeavoured to prevent their holding, William Penn went to Heidelberg to intercede with the Prince Palatine in their favour; but as his absence at that time deprived William of an opportunity of making his personal application, he addressed an epistle to him in their behalf, which, with other applications, had a good effect upon this prince, who seems to have been no friend to persecution. William Penn returned to Chrisheim, and being at a meeting there with his friends, the vaught indulged his curiosity to go to hear him, taking his stand at the back door, that he might not be seen; and William's doctrine gaining his assent and approbation, he afterwards told the parson, who had endeavoured to persuade him that it was his duty to suppress heresy, *That it was his business, if the Quakers were Hereticks, to discover them to be such; but for my part,* continued he, *I heard nothing but good and*

Chrisheim.

W. Penn  
writes to the  
Prince Pa-  
latine in fa-  
vour of the  
Quakers in  
his domi-  
nions.

The vaught  
having  
heard W.  
Penn, re-  
fuses to sup-  
press the  
Quakers at  
the instance  
of the priest.

*found*

CHAPTER X. *found doctrine, and therefore I will not meddle with them.* William Penn having discharged his duty here, returned by Frankfort, Cologne, Cleves, &c. to Amsterdā. At Cologne he received the following letter from the Princess Elizabeth, in answer to one he had written to her from the Palatinate :

Epistle from  
the Princess  
to W. Penn.

“ The  $\frac{4}{14}$  of September, 1677.

“ Dear Friend,

“ I have received your greetings, good wishes  
 “ and exhortations, with much joy, and shall  
 “ follow the latter as far as it will please our  
 “ great God to give me light and strength. I  
 “ can say little for myself, and can do nothing of  
 “ myself; but I hope the Lord will conduct me  
 “ in his time, by his way, to his end, and that  
 “ I shall not shrink for his fire. I do long for  
 “ it; and when he assures my ways, I hope he  
 “ will give me power to bear the crosses I meet  
 “ therein; I am also glad to hear the journey  
 “ hath been prosperous both in the constitutions  
 “ of your bodies, to withstand the badness of  
 “ the weather, and in the reception you had in  
 “ Cassel, Frankfort and Chrisheim. Nothing  
 “ surpris'd me there but the good old Dury, in  
 “ whom I did not expect so much ingenuity,  
 “ having lately writ a book, intitl'd *Le véritable*  
 “ *Chretien*, that doth speak in another way. I  
 “ wish to know what reception you have had at  
 “ Fredericksburg, and if this find you at Cleves,  
 “ I wish you might take an occasion to see the  
 “ two Pastors of Mulheim, which do really seek  
 “ the Lord, but have some prejudice against  
 “ your doctrine, as also the Countess there. It  
 “ would

“ would be of much use for my family to have CHAP.  
 “ them disabused; yet God’s will be done in  
 “ that, and all things else concerning

1677.

“ Your loving friend in the Lord Jesus,

“ ELIZABETH.”

From Amsterdam William Penn went into Friesland, and met George Fox at Leewarden in his return to Holland. From whence he proceeded to Wiewert, where a society of the disciples of Labadie resided. Here he had an interview with Anna Maria Schurman, the Somerdykes, the French Pastor, Peter Yvon and others. In their conference Yvon gave the following account of Labadie: that he received his education among the Jesuits, deserted them, and embraced the Protestant religion; that being dissatisfied with the formal Protestants, he with some adherents formed themselves into a separate society. Afterwards Anna Maria Schurman, the Somerdykes and others, related something of their religious experience, and the means whereby they were induced to join that family, retired from the world. When they had done William Penn, who with his fellow-labourers had undertaken this journey solely with the view of discharging their duty in propagating pure religion, and to encourage an advancement therein, condescended, in compliance with their practice, to give an account of his conviction, and thence took occasion to persuade and instruct them to pursue after superior attainments, and additional growth in the experience of the true knowledge of God, and more perfect obedience

W. Penn  
 visits Laba-  
 die's disci-  
 ples, and  
 hath a con-  
 ference with  
 them.

to

CHAPTER. to the law written in the heart. At parting one  
 X. of their pastors enquired of him, if the truth  
 1677. rose not first among a poor and illiterate sort?  
 "Yes," replied William Penn, "and it is our  
 "comfort that we owe it not to the learning of  
 "this world." The pastor rejoined, "Then  
 "let not the learning of this world be used, to  
 "defend that which the spirit of God brought  
 "forth, for the mixture thereof will be apt to  
 "obscure the brightness of your testimony."

W. Penn  
 goes to  
 Embden,  
 and applies  
 to the bur-  
 gomaster on  
 behalf of his  
 friends  
 there.

William Penn having taken leave of them, travelled by Groningen to Embden, where his friends laboured under severe oppression by imprisonments and banishments: He had before interested himself on their behalf in a spirited letter to the magistrates, shewing the unreasonableness of Protestants, who protested against impositions and persecutions, themselves imposing their religion upon others by persecution. And now he waited upon the burgomaster at his house, and enquired of him, if he and the senate had not received a letter in Latin from an Englishman concerning their severity towards the people called Quakers? the burgomaster owning the receipt thereof, William Penn said, "I am that man, and I am constrained in conscience to visit thee on their behalf." The burgomaster was more complaisant than was expected, and gave some faint hope of changing their measures; but the sequel discovered the aversion of the senate to moderate their proceedings, for the persecution was continued there a considerable time after.

Returns to  
 Herford,  
 where he is  
 kindly re-  
 ceived by  
 the Priu-  
 ces.

From Embden William Penn returned back to Herford, and met with a very kind reception from the Princess and the Countess of Hornes, with

with whom he had a meeting in the Princess's apartment more than once; when the deep impressions made on her mind, through the affecting power attending his ministry drew from her this acknowledgment, "*I am fully convinced; but oh, my sins are great!*" Hereupon William Penn took an opportunity to impart to the Princess and Countess, separately, such counsel as appeared to him suitable to their respective conditions, which had a reaching effect upon their minds, especially the Countess's. At the Princess's pressing invitation he stayed to supper. When the Countess, from the present religious impressions on her mind, perceiving the hurt accruing from those compliances with the world, to which her rank in life accustomed her, said, "*Il faut que je rompe, I must break off: Oh the cumber and entanglements of this vain world! they obstruct all good.*" The Princess also made this sensible reflection, "It is an hard matter to be faithful to what one knows; I fear I am not weighty enough in my spirit." The favourable opinion she had conceived of William Penn's ministerial labours, in consequence of the impressions she had felt under them, is plainly expressed in the following remark which she made to him: "Among my books I have records that the gospel was first brought from England into Germany, and now it is come again."

Having finished his service here, and taken a solemn leave of these eminent persons, he departed for Wesel: On his way he endeavoured, at Mulheim, to procure an interview with the Countess of Falkenstein, who had the reputation of a very religious person, on which account the

C H A P.

X.

1677.

Countess of  
Falkenstein.

Count

CHAP. Count her father kept her in confinement, calling  
 her Quaker, though she had no correspondence  
 with any of that society. He had before used  
 William Penn very roughly, when passing by  
 his castle on his way, he enquired of him and  
 his friends from whence they came, and whither  
 they were going; to which they answered, they  
 were Englishmen come from Holland, and going  
 no further in those parts than his town of Mul-  
 heim: But as they did not take off their hats, he  
 thereby perceiving they were Quakers, said,  
 " We have no need of Quakers here; get you  
 " out of my dominion, you shall not go to my  
 " town." He immediately commanded some of  
 his soldiers to see them out of his territory;  
 whereby William Penn and his companions  
 were obliged to lie that night in the open air.  
 But the next day he writ to the said Count, and  
 therein told him, " For thy saying, *we want no*  
 " *Quakers here*, I say, under favour, you do;  
 " for a true Quaker is one that trembleth at the  
 " word of the Lord, that worketh out his fal-  
 " vation with fear and trembling." William  
 Penn being now come again to Mulheim could  
 get no opportunity to accomplish his purpose of  
 a conference with the Countess, and therefore  
 prosecuted his journey to Duisburgh, Wesel and  
 Cleves, holding conferences with religious peo-  
 ple as he passed along, and returned by Utrecht  
 to Amsterdam, where George Fox had arrived  
 before him.

Return to  
 England.

Not long after they returned for England, and  
 after a dangerous and tempestuous passage they  
 arrived at Harwich; and going from thence to  
 London, William Penn received there the fol-  
 lowing

lowing letter from the Princess Elizabeth, in CHAP. X.  
answer to one of his.

“ Herford, Oct. 29, 1677.

1677.

“ Dear Friend,

“ Your tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counsel to follow it as much as lies in me, but God’s grace must be assistant, as you say yourself, ‘he accepts nothing that does not come from him.’ If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires most, I mean, to do all in and by his son, I shall be in no better condition than at this present. Let me feel him first governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me; but I am not able to teach others, being not taught of God myself. Remember my love to G. F. B. F. G. K. and dear Gertrude\*. If you write no worse than your postscript, I can make a shift to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last evening; I only stay to do it in a way that is answerable before God and man: I can say no more now, but recommend to your prayers,

“ Your true friend,

“ ELIZABETH.”

\* This was Gertrude Dericks, who had visited the Princess, and afterwards came to live in England, and was married to Stephen Crisp.

C H A P.

X.

1677.

“ P. S. I almost forgot to tell you, that my  
 “ sister writes me word she had been glad you  
 “ had taken your journey by Osenburgh to re-  
 “ turn to Amsterdam. There is also a Drossard  
 “ of Limbourg near this place, (to whom I gave  
 “ an exemplar of R. B’s Apology) very desirous  
 “ to speak with some of the Friends.”

## C H A P. XI.

*Account received of the continued Persecution in  
 New England.—Public Affairs.—Party Ani-  
 mosities encrease.—New Parliament not suddenly  
 convened.—Party Distinctions.—Petitioners and  
 Abhorrrers.—Whig and Tory.—George Whitehead  
 and Thomas Burr imprisoned and prosecuted at  
 Norwich by Francis Bacon, Recorder.—Informur  
 disappointed.—Major Part of the Magistrates  
 moderate.—The Recorder displaced.—Whereby  
 they obtain their Release.—Sufferings continued.—  
 George Fox’s Declaration.—Fresh Application for  
 Relief from Acts against Popish Recusants.*

C H A P.

XI.

1677.

G. Fox re-  
 ceives letters  
 from New  
 England,  
 informing  
 of the con-  
 tinued seve-  
 rities to his  
 friends.

GEORGE FOX also, on his return to London,  
 received letters from New England, with an ac-  
 count of the renewed cruel proceedings of the  
 magistrates against his friends there. It is pro-  
 bable the preient severe persecution in England,  
 discovering them to have no patrons in the  
 English government at home, but that the king  
 and



and court, by connivance at least, if not by open encouragement, left them exposed to the arbitrary abuse of every inferior magistrate, might give new vigour to the malignant enmity of their adversaries in New England, as removing their apprehensions of being called to account by the government here in their present disposition, for any severities they might inflict upon this people within the limits of the king's prohibition. So they proceeded not only to whip the Quakers, so called, but also some masters of ships that were not of that society, only for bringing some of them thither. But the Indians about this time making an inroad upon them, and slaying several of their people, diverted their attention, to remove from them a more formidable enemy than the people called Quakers.

There was yet no relaxation of the persecution of dissenters in England; but the rigour wherewith they were treated received new force every succeeding year of this reign. Such was the fierceness of parties against each other, and so generally was the nation divided, that there was no class, but what either was, or was reckoned of one party or the other. And although the general history of England be out of my line, yet a view of the state of the nation appears occasionally requisite to elucidate the history of that part of it in which I am engaged.

Although a new parliament was elected early in the last year, yet, as the elections had, in very many places, been carried against the court interest, the king, fearing the like opposition from this as he had experienced from the latter sessions of the last parliament, was not hasty in convening them, but had prevented their sitting

C H A P.

III.

~

1677.

1680.

Party animosities gather strength.

New parliament not suddenly convened,

CHAP. by sundry prorogations. The interval betwixt  
 XI. the dissolution of the late parliament and the  
 1680. convening of this for business, increased the jea-  
 lousy of that part of the nation, which had en-  
 tertained suspicions and fears of the designs of  
 the court; these distrusts excited many corpora-  
 tions to present petitions to the king to assemble  
 the parliament; and notwithstanding the king's  
 displeasure thereat, and his publication of a pro-  
 clamations prohibiting them, petitions were sent  
 up from all parts, earnestly soliciting for a session  
 of parliament.

which oc-  
 casions peti-  
 tions to the  
 king to as-  
 semble  
 them.

Counter pe-  
 titions pro-  
 cured by the  
 court.

Petitioners  
 and abhor-  
 rers original  
 of the fol-  
 lowing par-  
 ty distinc-  
 tions of  
 whig and  
 tory.

The king and his partisans, finding his displea-  
 sure and his proclamations ineffectual to put a  
 stop to the petitions, had recourse to the like po-  
 pular arts by which many of them were pro-  
 cured, to procure petitions of a contrary ten-  
 dency from divers parts of the nation, expressing  
 their *detestation* and *abhorrence* of the seditious  
 practice of the late *petitioners*, referring the sitting  
 of the parliament absolutely to the king's plea-  
 sure. This sharpened the edge of party ran-  
 cour, and ranged the people into two hostile  
 parties, distinguished by the names of *petitioners*  
 and *abhorrrers*. These names were soon lost,  
 through the virulence of party, in the more re-  
 proachful distinctions of whig and tory, appel-  
 lations affixed to each party by the hatred of their  
 adversaries, the former being the name of con-  
 tempt applied to the *Scotch Covenanters* of the  
 last reign, and the latter a denomination of in-  
 famy applied to the bands of *Irish Robbers*.

The former party distinctions were absorbed  
 in these, the low-churchmen and the country  
 party were included among the *whigs*, and as  
 they were more moderate in their sentiments to-  
 wards

wards Dissenters, and averse to persecution, the  
 Dissenters inclined to them, and were generally  
 comprehended in this party. On the other hand,  
 the High-churchmen, the Court-party and the  
 Papists composed the body of the *Tories*: these  
 in the event had the ascendancy during this  
 reign, having the court preferments on their  
 side, and the king at their head; to their supe-  
 rior influence the great severities, to which the  
 Nonconformists were exposed in the latter end  
 of this reign, seem principally owing.

C H A P.  
 XI.  
 1680.

As the people called Quakers were by princi-  
 ple disengaged from all political parties, one  
 might have expected they might have been less  
 obnoxious to the resentment of every party;  
 but they continued to be harrassed still amongst  
 the most hated classes of Nonconformists with  
 prosecutions by all the variety of penal laws.  
 The first we meet with in this year is the prose-  
 cution of George Whitehead and Thomas Burr  
 at Norwich, principally carried on by Francis  
 Bacon, the Recorder.

These two men being on their travels met ac-  
 cidentally or providentially near the city of Nor-  
 wich, being both on their way from different  
 quarters to pay a religious visit to their friends in  
 that city on the succeeding first day of the week;  
 where being arrived, they held the morning  
 meeting without interruption, and that in the af-  
 ternoon, for about half the usual time, when  
 George Whitehead being preaching, a rude com-  
 pany, chiefly informers, rushing into the meet-  
 ing with tumult and violence, pulled him down,  
 who requiring them to shew some legal authority  
 for their proceedings, received only abusive lan-  
 guage from them, with an insinuation to the  
 people

G. White-  
 head and T.  
 Burr prose-  
 cuted at  
 Norwich by  
 F. Bacon, re-  
 corder.

C H A P  
 XI  
 1680.

people, *that he might be a Jesuit.* The sheriff coming afterward took them prisoners; they were brought before the Recorder, who was a justice of peace, who examined them, of their names, habitations and trades; *If they were in orders, or had orders from Rome.* Then questioning them about their preaching, demanded of them 20l. a-piece, with which refusing to comply, he next asked them, whether they would take the oath of allegiance? They replied they could take no oath for conscience sake. While this examination was going on, the informer, whose interest lay more in the convicting of them for their fines, than upon refusing the oath, whispered the justice, who thereupon asked them, where they lodged, and where they set up their horses? In reply to which, giving the intelligence they wanted, the informer went off to the inn; but was disappointed of his prey, the horses being, unknown to the prisoners, removed from the inn where they left them. The Recorder was very liberal of his invectives, terming them seducers and seditious. And discovered the bitterness of his enmity by telling them there was a statute, made in Queen Elizabeth's time, yet in force, to hang such persons as they were; and, being interrogated, "If he could prosecute them upon that law," he answered, "Yes, if the \* king should"

Informer  
 disappointed.

The recorder  
 abusive.

\* The *whigs* (so called) were for confining the prerogative within the limits of the law, and therefore were suspected by their antagonists of adopting *republican principles*: the other party, on the contrary, were for placing the king above the law, or making the law subservient to his will, of which this declaration of the recorder is an evident instance; for, according to him, the laws were to operate, not on account

“ should give orders to have it put in execu-  
 “ tion I would do it, and have you hanged, if  
 “ you would not abjure the realm.” He then  
 committed them to jail ’till the ensuing sessions,  
 which were held about a month afterwards, when  
 they were summoned to their trial; and being  
 brought to the bar, George Whitehead address-  
 ing himself to the court said, “ We have been  
 “ five weeks in prison, it is proper the court  
 “ should know for what; pray let our mittimus  
 “ be read.” The Recorder replied, “ There is  
 “ no need of your mittimus being read here;  
 “ I’ll give an account of the cause. They had  
 “ gathered together a company of about two  
 “ hundred, and officers went from me to dissi-  
 “ pate them but could not, and thereupon I  
 “ sent the sheriff, who took them away; and  
 “ they being brought before me, I proffered  
 “ them, if they would pay their fines, I would  
 “ not commit them; and upon their refusal, I  
 “ tendered them the oath of allegiance, which,  
 “ as they were not willing to take, I sent them  
 “ to jail.” George Whitehead remarked, that  
 they being Englishmen had a right to travel in  
 any part of the nation: And Thomas Burr added  
 that he being a person that was concerned in  
 dealing in corn, by the law of England he might  
 travel from place to place about his concerns.  
 Upon which the Recorder made this taunting re-  
 flection, expressive of his immoderate aversion  
 to this people. “ Had you not better have been

count of their fitness or unfitness, but the king’s pleasure; to  
 lie dormant or to be put in force, not as being unjust or just,  
 but as the king should issue his orders, which is making them  
 laws or no laws at the sole will of the king.

“ turning

CHAP.

XI.

1680.

CH A P. XI. <sup>1680.</sup> “ turning your malt at home, than come hither  
 “ to preach. The scripture saith, *God added to*  
 “ *the church such as should be saved* ; but ye  
 “ draw from the church ; and the church of  
 “ England will never be quiet ’till some of you  
 “ be hanged.” George Whitehead then ob-  
 serving, how unbecoming it was, and derogatory  
 to his office as a judge, to discover himself so  
 plainly to be a party against the prisoners, and  
 to prejudice their cause before it was regularly  
 before him as a judge ; and as a precedent, re-  
 lating the circumspection of chief justice Huf-  
 fey, who being applied to by the king for his  
 opinion in the case of a traitor, declined deli-  
 vering it ’till it came judicially before him, he  
 defended his cause so well, and represented the  
 unequal proceeding of the Recorder in so clear  
 a light, that upon his appeal to the mayor and  
 justices, the mayor replied, “ You have appealed  
 “ to me ; truly we are tradesmen and no  
 “ lawyers : We leave matters of law to the  
 “ Recorder : He knows the law and we must  
 “ acquiesce in his judgment.” The major part  
 of the justices did not seem to approve of the  
 recorder’s conduct, but inclined to set them at  
 liberty. <sup>a</sup> The recorder, piqued thereat, as a tacit  
 censure on his conduct, insisted upon adminis-  
 tering the oath, and prevailed so far, that both  
 the prisoners being discharged by the court from  
 the matter contained in the two mittimus, had  
 the oath tendered to them, and for refusal there-  
 of they were committed again ’till the next quar-  
 ter sessions. As the recorder and his agents had  
 endeavoured to insinuate suspicions of their being

Major part  
 of the jus-  
 tices in-  
 clined to set  
 them at li-  
 berty ; but  
 by the re-  
 corder’s  
 means re-  
 committed  
 to prison.

<sup>a</sup> Bessé.

probably

probably Papists, they procured certificates, signed by the parish officers and several responsible neighbours of their respective parishes to the contrary, which they would gladly have had read in the court, but the recorder would not permit it.

C H A P.

XI.

1680.

Soon after the termination of the past sessions, this recorder was deprived of his office by a vote of the common council, and a person of more equity and moderation was elected in his place; in consequence of which change, and the interposition of their friends, at the next sessions they were cleared by proclamation, and discharged from their imprisonment, after a confinement of sixteen weeks.

This recorder being deprived of his office,

they regain their liberty.

To recite the various cases of sufferings would appear a needless repetition of similar occurrences; in this year, as in the former, they were prosecuted for not taking oaths; as Popish recusants; on the statute for the forfeiture of 20l. a month, or two-thirds of estates for absence from the public worship; hunted and spoiled by informers; subjected to excessive distrainments for ecclesiastical demands; run to excommunication in the bishop's court; and imprisoned for contumacy (as it was termed) or on writs *de excommunicato capiendo*; and notwithstanding their sufferings were severe enough this year, yet the struggle between the contending parties, into which we have observed the nation was divided, being yet undecided, the sufferings of this year fell short of the succeeding years, after victory declared for the court party.

Sufferings continued.

The parliament, after a long interval, were suffered to meet, and when met, they went with the spirit of their predecessors, into an enquiry concerning

CHAPTER XI.  
 1680.

concerning the Popish plot; and because some malicious episcopalianians were very forward to rank the Quakers amongst the plotters, George Fox, who was then in London, thought it necessary to publish the following declaration on behalf of himself and friends, to remove such groundless suspicions from the parliament.

G. Fox publishes a declaration on behalf of friends.

“ It is our principle and testimony to deny  
 “ and renounce all plots and plotters against the  
 “ king, or any of his subjects; for we have the  
 “ spirit of Christ, by which we have the mind  
 “ of Christ, who came to save men’s lives, and  
 “ not to destroy them: And we would have the  
 “ king and all his subjects to be safe. Where-  
 “ fore we do declare, that we will endeavour,  
 “ to our power, to save and defend him and  
 “ them, by discovering all plots and plotters  
 “ (which shall come to our knowledge) that  
 “ would destroy the king or his subjects: This  
 “ we do sincerely offer unto you. But as to  
 “ swearing and fighting, which in tenderness of  
 “ conscience we cannot do, ye know, that we  
 “ have suffered these many years for our con-  
 “ scientious refusal thereof. And now that the  
 “ Lord hath brought you together, we desire  
 “ you to relieve us, and free us from those suf-  
 “ ferings; and that ye will not put upon us to do  
 “ those things, which we have suffered so much  
 “ and so long already for not doing; for if you  
 “ do, ye will make our sufferings and bonds  
 “ stronger, instead of relieving us.

“ GEORGE FOX.”

Notwith-



Notwithstanding the former applications on behalf of this society to the late parliament, in regard to their sufferings as popish recusants, and the favourable disposition of many of the members to yield them relief, they were still exposed to ruinous prosecutions on the obsolete statutes of Eliz. and Jac. 1. and sundry of their members being indicted this year as popish recusants, the present disposition of the parliament to make a distinction between these and protestant dissenters, encouraged the people called Quakers to present their case to the king and parliament. Representing their complaint against the late prosecutions in the Exchequer for two-thirds of their estates, which for two years last past had been seized into the king's hands upon old statutes made against popish recusants; and levies daily made thereupon by the sheriffs throughout many counties in England; the unreasonableness whereof they proceed to demonstrate, by a particular examination of the preambles of these acts, and the occasion thereof; whereby they hoped it would evidently appear that these statutes were enacted against <sup>b</sup> popish recusants only, and not against protestant dissenters, or any other than popish; and that the prosecution of protestant dissenters (as they have been carried on of late) is a stretching of these statutes beyond the bounds of reason and the intent of the law makers; and the parliament having appointed a committee to make enquiry into the prosecutions of protestant dissenters upon these statutes; Copies of the aforesaid case were not only presented to the members of the said

CHAP.

XL.

1680.

Fresh application to the king and parliament for relief from acts made against popish recusants.

Sundry friends attend a committee of parliament, and lay their case before them.

<sup>b</sup> Besse.

committee,

C H A P.

XI.

1680.

committee, but also supported by the personal attendance of sundry friends of London or its neighbourhood upon the fittings of said committee, particularly William Penn, George Whitehead and William Mead<sup>c</sup>, of whom the committee enquired,

1. If they owned themselves protestant dissenters?

2. How they suffered by laws made against popish recusants?

To both which questions answering to the satisfaction of the committee, their treatment was generally resented as unjust and illegal, in being prosecuted as popish recusants, when they were manifestly real protestants, while the papists themselves were indulged and exempted from the penalties of these laws. "Though," (saith G. Whitehead) "we envied not their liberty, nor any people's else, notwithstanding we suffered deeply in their stead."

In the course of the committee's conference upon this subject, Sir Christopher Musgrave, though a zealous churchman, expressed his utter dislike of the severe usage of this people, alledging, *The prisons were filled with them, that many of them had been excommunicated and imprisoned for small matters, and that it was a shame and scandal for their church to use the Quakers so hardly on very trivial occasions.*

Sir Christopher Musgrave's remark in their favour.

<sup>c</sup> George Whitehead's Journal.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XII.

*Bill for exempting Dissenters from Penal Laws.—Friends attend the Committee of Parliament to solicit on behalf of their Society.—Terms offered which would not relieve the People called Quakers.—The Bill confined to exempting Dissenters from 35 Eliz.—It passeth both Houses, but is clandestinely suppressed.—Resolves in favour of Dissenters.—Persecution continued.—George Fox prosecuted for Tithes.—William Penn obtains a Grant of Land in America.*

IN consequence of these enquiries and the report of the committee thereupon, a bill was brought in for exempting the protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws; being designed to enlarge the borders of the church communion, so as to comprehend one part of the dissenters, and to grant a toleration and exemption from the penal statutes to the more scrupulous, the Quakers particularly, upon condition of subscribing a declaration of allegiance, and assembling with open doors.

Notwithstanding the people called Quakers were passive and patient under suffering, yet they were not so insensible to the benefits of their own ease in their persons and possessions, nor to a sympathetic feeling for their friends under persecution, as to neglect the favourable opportunity,

C H A P.  
XII.

1680.  
Bill for exempting dissenters from penal laws.

Friends attend the committee of parliament to solicit on behalf of their society.

C H A P.

XII.

1680.

nity, now apparently presented, for promoting the desirable liberty of conscience for which they had so often pleaded and applied in vain. Divers friends in London, when the bill was committed, were diligent again in attending the committee early and late, in order to solicit the insertion of such clauses as might give ease to the tender consciences of their friends, whose religious dissent was scrupulous in some matters beyond other dissenters; and were so successful in their solicitations, that beside an exemption from the penalties of the laws against popish recusants and conventicles, they obtained a clause to be inserted for accepting a declaration of fidelity instead of the oath of allegiance.

The other bodies of dissenters were solicitous to obtain the privileges they desired, the presbyterians, keeping an eye to the emoluments of the established priesthood, wanted to be comprehended within the church; others were content with a toleration of their religion. And some of the members of the house being of the presbyterian and independent societies, or favourers of them, offered terms for the ease of these societies, which would have left the Quakers, so called, still exposed to persecution, viz. the taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; wherefore George Whitehead<sup>d</sup> took an opportunity to confer with Colonel Birch and Alderman Love (the members who had proposed the said terms) representing their proposal as quite inadequate to the purpose of giving effectual relief to other conscientious dissenters, as well as to the Quakers, as he could not apprehend how

Terms offered which would not relieve the people called Quakers.

<sup>d</sup> George Whitehead's journal.

they

they could take the oath of supremacy, and thereby swear, That they solemnly declare and testify, that the king's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical matters, as in temporal, and at the same time dissent from the church of England; thereby withdrawing their obedience from him to whom they acknowledge it owing, which was an inconsistency he knew not how to reconcile.

Although this bill was committed, it was laid aside, the time being not arrived for perfecting this laudable design, yet a foundation was laid for reviving and completing it in the succeeding reign of king William III. At present the commons contented themselves with confining the proposed bill, to exempting protestant dissenters from the penalties of the persecuting statute of the 35th of Eliz. before noticed more than once, for the repeated attempts to put it in force, after lying dormant many years. The repeal of this bill passed readily through the house of commons,<sup>c</sup> but is said not to have been equally precipitated through the house of lords; the bishops yielding with reluctance to the rescinding this dreadful penal law, as apprehending the terror thereof might be of service to their church, their temper seeming more disposed to compel by terrors and penalties, than to win by piety, persuasion and good example. However it passed both houses, and when it should have been presented to the king for his assent, it was not to be found; having (as reported) been secreted by the clerk of the crown, who had been privately directed by the king not to present it

CHAPTER  
XII.

1680.

The bill  
confined to  
exempting  
dissenters  
from 35  
Eliz.

Passed both  
houses but  
suppressed.

<sup>c</sup> Neale.

C H A P. to him, whereby this society, with other dissen-  
 XII. ters, were disappointed of their hopes; and  
 1680. their endeavours to procure ease being eluded,  
 they were left exposed to prosecution by all the  
 penal laws, the effects of which they felt as se-  
 vere as ever.

Thus were the nonconformists almost conti-  
 nually harrassed during this reign, and the church  
 (so called) had the gratification of making ample  
 reprisals upon their antagonists and former op-  
 pressors, for their sufferings under their hands :  
 For in all the struggling of parties these were the  
 sufferers, and the people called Quakers, who  
 had merited no such treatment, suffered most of  
 all. The king repeatedly attempted to grant a  
 general indulgence, the benefits of which might  
 extend to the papists, but then the parliament ac-  
 tuated by an equal aversion to nonconformists  
 and papists, opposed it with the weight of their  
 influence; and when the temper of the parlia-  
 ment was changed in the favour of the dissen-  
 ters, their strenuous opposition to the court,  
 their unrelaxed perseverance in promoting the  
 bill of exclusion, and the supposed activity of the  
 presbyterians in the elections of the obnoxious  
 members, and favouring the obnoxious measures  
 of this parliament, had incensed the king, who  
 had no cordial regard to them before, still more  
 against them; he seemed resolved to keep them  
 and the other sectaries, so called, in awe, by  
 keeping in reserve, and holding over their heads,  
 this sanguinary law, which subjected them to ba-  
 nishment or death. The court bishops were more  
 uniform in their conduct, adding the weight of  
 their exertions and suffrages constantly on the side  
 of preferment and persecution, so that between  
 the

the king, the bishops and the parliament, they held their personal liberty and their just property by a very precarious tenure through the extent of this reign.

CHAP.  
XII.  
1681.

The miscarriage of their favourite bill of exclusion, which they apprehended to be the only effectual security against the encroachments of popery, as well as this repeal of 35 Eliz. increased the mistrust which the parliament and nation had entertained of the designs of the court, and engaged them to enter into various measures and resolves, equally offensive to the king, who thereupon resolved to prorogue them, of which gaining intelligence, previous to their prorogation the parliament passed fundry votes, among which the following, however represented by some writers as the result of an angry, factious spirit, must meet the approbation of all dispassionate men, as being in themselves reasonable and just, viz.

1. "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this house, that the acts of parliament made in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James against popish recusants, ought not to be extended against protestant dissenters."

Resolves in  
favour of  
dissenters.

2. "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this house, that the prosecution of protestant dissenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom."

These votes shewed the sense of the commons, but did not repeal the penal laws: <sup>h</sup> They were

<sup>h</sup> Sewel.

CHAP. still in full force, and continued to be rigorously  
 XII. enforced upon great numbers of this society  
 1681. for three or four years longer, by magistrates,  
 Persecution continued. who seemed now to meet with the countenance  
 of their superiors in proportion to their severity  
 in executing these laws. But still this persecuted  
 people continued steadfast to their duty, resignedly  
 suffering the hardships under which unreasonable  
 men might be permitted to bring them, for the  
 trial of their faith and patience: For they did  
 not so much consider these occurrences, as arising  
 from visible causes, the public temper and state  
 of the nation, as refer them to the supreme cause  
 and creator of all things, who they believed ruled  
 in the kingdoms of men, in his will they patiently  
 acquiesced, relying upon his providential arm for  
 support in all their sufferings, resting in hope that  
 he would effectuate their release in that way  
 and time which he should see best.

G. Fox pro-  
 secuted in  
 the Exche-  
 quer for  
 tithes.

George Fox being still in and about London,  
 was under a prosecution, in which we have a  
 fresh evidence of the avaricious disposition of  
 the claimants of tithes, of the exorbitance of  
 the tithe laws then in force and practice, and of  
 the disinterestedness of George Fox. He and  
 his wife were sued for small tithes in the Exche-  
 quer, and although they proved in their answer  
 to the plaintiff's bill, that no such tithe had been  
 demanded or paid off her estate during forty-  
 three years she had lived there, yet because they  
 could not answer upon oath, they were run up  
 to a writ of rebellion, and an order of court  
 was issued to take them both into custody.  
 George, understanding a warrant was out  
 against him, waited upon the barons at their  
 chambers, to lay the hardship of their case and the  
 the



the illegality of the plaintiff's demand before them. When the cause came to a trial two of the barons declared their opinions, that he was not liable to the tithes in question; but the other two joining with his antagonist's lawyers, pleaded earnestly for a sequestration, alledging he was *a public man*. Here we have a fresh instance of the prevalence of that party-spirit, which infested the nation at this time to such a degree as to pollute the streams of justice. What signified it to the merits of the cause, whether he was a public or private man? However the adverse barons bringing over one of those who had before decided in his favour, the sequestration was obtained, but with limitation to the sum proved due, which greatly disappointed the prosecutor's aim, which was to have obtained it without limitation, that so they might be their own carvers in making distraint. In the course of the trial, it being made appear that George Fox had engaged himself never to meddle with his wife's estate, the judges could hardly be persuaded any man would be so disinterested; until William Meade, who had given them the information, produced the engagement under his hand and seal, which raised their admiration, as being a specimen of self-denial rarely to be met with in these ages.

It was in the early part of this year<sup>i</sup> that the king, in consideration of the services of Sir William Penn, and sundry debts due to him from the crown at the time of his decease, by letters patent, bearing date the 4th of March, 1680-1, granted to William Penn and his heirs

C H A P.  
XII.

1681.

W. Penn obtains a grant of a tract in America, from him, denominat- ed Pennsylv- ania.

<sup>i</sup> William Penn's Life.

CHAP. XII. that province lying on the west of the river Delaware in North America, formerly belonging to the Dutch, and then called the New Netherlands. The name was now changed by the king to that of Pennsylvania, in respect to William Penn, whom and his heirs he made governors and absolute proprietors of it <sup>k</sup>. This favour of the king is supposed to be principally owing to the influence of the Duke of York, with whom, as High Admiral of England, his father, Admiral Penn, was a peculiar favourite, and who on his dying bed, considering his son exposed to the danger of suffering for his religious principles, recommended him to his protection, which the duke promised, and in general performed. William Penn, from a principle of gratitude, in consequence of these favours, was attached closely to the duke's interest, both during King Charles's life, and after himself mounted the throne, which drew upon him many severe censures and groundless jealousies, as we may more particularly observe in due course of time.

1681.

<sup>k</sup> Sewel. Penn's Life.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Parliament convened at Oxford.—Which being soon dissolved, is succeeded by a severe Persecution.—Change of the Magistrates of London.—Informers encouraged.—George Whitehead informed against and fined.—Cruel Persecution in the City of Bristol.—Chiefly carried on by Sheriff Knight, Helliar an Attorney, and their Assistants.—Meeting-house greatly damaged, and many Persons grossly abused.—Meeting-house at Temple-street damaged in like Manner.—Rude Boys incited to assault the Women.—Helliar's vile Conduct.—The Prisons filled.—The Magistrates and Citizens disapprove these Proceedings.—The Mayor protests against the State of the Jail.—Certificates of the dangerous Condition thereof.—Solicitation to the King for redress.—Order issued for their better Accommodation.—But disregarded by the Persecutors, who continue their Exertions in various Modes of Oppression.—Sufferings at Flamstead-End.—At Broughton, Leicestershire.*

THE king soon after the prorogation of the last parliament dissolved it by proclamation, and soon after convoked another to meet at Oxford, which discovering the same temper with the late parliaments, and persisting in prosecuting the bill of exclusion, notwithstanding any concessions or expedients the king proposed, he was at last so provoked, that, taking the advantage of a misunderstanding

C H A P.  
XIII.

 1681.  
Parliament  
convened at  
Oxford.

CHAP. understanding between the two houses in Fitz-  
 XIII. Harris's case, he abruptly dissolved them.

1682.  
 This parliament being dissolved, non-conformists severely persecuted.

The non-conformists, through the remainder of this reign, felt the severe effects of this dissolution, being exposed to the power of their enemies, and deprived of the protection of a parliament that was inclined to patronize their cause. They had been for some time pretty much at ease in the city of London, the magistracy and the citizens of that city, for the major part, having connected themselves with the country party; so that from the year 1672 we meet with few sufferings of our friends in that city on any other accounts than ecclesiastical demands. But, according to a late historian<sup>1</sup>, the king, finding his authority absolute, resolved to humble the presbyterians, and gratified his revenge by the most unjustifiable methods, to which he was instigated by the violent counsels of his brother. The non-conformists were rigorously prosecuted on the statutes enacted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. All the magistrates, judges, justices of peace, and lieutenants of counties, suspected of leaning to republican principles, were displaced, and their places filled with approved tories. The clergy testified their devotion to the court by their writings and sermons. The mutual animosities between the parties was now inflamed to rage and rancour, and the king placed himself at the head of a party. The city of London still maintained their independency; and the sheriffs influenced the grand jury in such a manner as skreened the dissenters of that capital from oppression. To bring the

<sup>1</sup> Smollet.

city under the influence of the court, Sir John Moore, the mayor of this year, had been gained over to the court interest, who nominated two persons for sheriffs that would be acceptable to the ministry; and although the citizens disapproved the nomination, and elected two others by a large majority, the mayor, supported by the court, forced his sheriffs upon the public; and in the like irregular manner he secured a succession in the mayoralty to Sir William Pritchard, whom he knew devoted to the king's commands; and in order to prevent all future opposition from the city, the next year the king, on very slender pretences, wrested their charter from them, and restored it only on condition of his having a negative in the choice of their magistrates.

C H A P.  
XIII.  
1682.

Change of  
the magi-  
strates of  
London.

The recital of this change of the magistracy of London accounts for the reverse of the measures adopted in relation to the dissenters. The informers, who had been for some time held in detestation by the citizens, and discountenanced by the magistrates, began now to return to their prey with fresh vigour and insolence, under the encouragement of the court and its partizans<sup>m</sup>. They were lying on the watch in most parts of the nation to make a prey of the people called Quakers (as well as others) wherever they had meetings; and vile and infamous as their characters were, they received encouragement, not only from persecuting magistrates, but from many of the clergy, who esteemed them useful servants of their church, to force conformity against conviction. Several of the priests, even

Informers  
encouraged.

<sup>m</sup> George Whitehead, Part ii.

themselves,

C H A P. themselves, turned informers, assisted in disturbing the meetings, and by their personal assistance, as well as their countenance, promoted informations ruinous to many innocent persons and families.

Xlii.

1682.

G. Whitehead informed against and fined.

George Whitehead in particular soon felt the effects of the change of temper in the magistracy of London<sup>n</sup>, being fined three or four times over in this and the succeeding year. First 20l. by Sir John Moore, for preaching in a meeting in Grace-church-street, for which he had taken from him goods in grocery ware out of his shop, by James Holfworth, constable, and others, to the value of 14l. 6s. 10d. according to the best estimate the owner and others present could make. Again, by warrant from Sir William Pritchard for the like fine, he had his goods seized by the same constable and others to the value of 26l. (as the owner estimated) for the distrainers would not suffer either an inventory to be taken or the goods to be weighed or appraised. Upon the like pretence that George Whitehead did take upon him to teach in another meeting or conventicle held the 23d July, 1682, at the Savoy in the Strand, on a conviction made and certified by Sir Clement Armiger, on the information of John Hilton and Gabriel Shad, informers, one Manby, constable, with three others, came in a violent and furious manner and broke open the back door of his shop, and several doors of the chambers of his house, seized all his beds and bedding, a considerable quantity of other household goods and shop goods, moderately valued at 33l. but neither would

<sup>n</sup> George Whitehead's Journal, part 2, page 541.

these

these officers suffer an inventory to be taken, or the goods to be weighed or appraised, pretending the seizure to be for a fine of 40*l*.

CHAP.  
XIII  
1682.

Two of his friends, John Edge and Joseph Peckover, quietly endeavouring to persuade these constables to moderation, and to suffer an inventory of the goods to be taken before they were removed, were apprehended by the said Manby, and prosecuted upon his evidence for a riot; for which they were fined and committed to Newgate, and confined there ten weeks, to the great detriment of themselves and families, being men of considerable trade, and Joseph Peckover being an inhabitant of Norfolk, and above eighty miles from home.

George Whitehead made his appeal against this last conviction, and also against another made by Sir Thomas Jenner, Recorder of London, for a fine of 20*l*. and upon trial was discharged upon both appeals; but only recovered 11*l*. 9*s*. 6*d*. on the former, Manby having sold all his goods for 15*l*. and returned the justice only the above sum. The charge of prosecuting the two appeals amounted to 17*l*. 9*s*. 8*d*. so that he computed his whole loss at 61*l*. 7*s*. besides the damage done to his house and goods.

G. Whitehead appeals.

Several others were in like manner despoiled in different parts of the city, and in most parts of the kingdom; but in the city of Bristol a persecution of the members of this society broke out, and was carried on with uncommon outrage and cruelty; principally by the persevering malice of a few intemperate spirits, who thrust themselves into office, to distinguish their loyalty by an excess of injustice, and their zeal for the church, by the enormity of abuse to their inoffensive neighbours;

Cruel persecution in the city of Bristol,

C H A P.  
XIII.

1682.

chiefly carried on by Sheriff Knight, Helliar an attorney, and their assistants.

The larger meeting-house greatly damaged, and many abused;

and afterwards that at Temple-street.

neighbours; or busily interfered in molesting, imprisoning and breaking up their meetings, when invested with no legal authority. The most distinguished names in this band of officers and informers were Sheriff Knight, Alderman Ralph Clyffe, junior, one Helliar an attorney, with their subordinate agents, Lugge, Tilley, Caffe, Patrick, Hoare, Watkins, Brand and Higgins. They began under pretence of levying 5*l.* laid on the meeting-house in James's parish, towards defraying the expence of the trained bands, under colour whereof they took the seats, forms, stools and chairs, breaking many of them, took away what they pleased, and burned the rest; then they encouraged the boys to break the windows. A few days after Knight and Helliar attacked the people in their peaceable meeting, threw away the men's hats, beat Cananiel Briton an ancient man with a cane, threw him down and bruised him very much, and afterwards sent him to Newgate. They broke the galleries, and carried away the partitions of the meeting-house. They plundered the dwelling of Elizabeth Batho, widow, threw out her goods, broke her windows, obliged her to quit her house, which she held by lease, and put another person in possession of it. Afterwards they seized the meeting-house (as they pretended) for the king, fastened up the door places with boards, and put in men to keep possession.

Having thus by violence taken possession of one meeting-house, they proceeded to make the like devastation at the other meeting-house of this people in Temple-street; here they tore the windows and galleries to pieces in so riotous a manner as to terrify the neighbourhood, and after



after they raised these riots, they accused the persons thus insulted and abused as the authors of them. The damage done to the meeting-houses was computed at 150*l.* and all this damage was done at the mere will of Knight and Helli-  
 liar, without any just cause or legal authority; the pretence of charging these houses to the trained bands being a plain fiction to palliate the illegality of their actions. They usually were attended with a rabble of rude boys, whose propensity to mischief and abusive behaviour they wantonly encouraged, in defiance to every rule of decorum, inciting them particularly to abuse the female part of the assembly, even women of repute and consideration. Helli-  
 liar, as a signal to the boys to begin the attack, would call out to the women, "Have a care of your hoods and scarfs," upon which the boys would fall upon them, and violently tear hoods and scarfs, and otherwise abuse them. One of them impudently offering a gross indecency to a young woman of delicacy and spirit, she gave him a box on the ear, for which Helli-  
 liar sent her to Bridewell. They took from seven persons in five days above 100*l.*'s worth of goods, fining some for the pretended poverty of others. They prosecuted fifty as popish recusants, in order to run them to a premunire. John Moon was committed to prison on the Oxford act, and Griffith Jones, a trader from London, being taken at a meeting, had the oath of allegiance tendered to him, at the motion of the bishop, and for refusing it was sent to jail. Helli-  
 liar continued his unmanly insults on the female part of the congregation, violating every sentiment of liberality and common decency, calling them  
 whores,

C H A P.

XIII.

1682.

Rude boys  
 incited to  
 assault the  
 women.

Various  
 modes of  
 persecution.

Helli-  
 liar's  
 vile con-  
 duct.

C H A P. XIII. whores, tearing their hoods and scarves as usual, dragging them out, and sending some of them to Bridewell. At Temple-street he confined the men and dispersed the women, driving them as if he had been driving cattle.

1682.

The prisoners  
hated.

Besides the plunder, and personal abuse to which they were subject, several of them from time to time had been committed prisoners to Newgate, where they were greatly incommoded, and their health endangered for want of room; wherefore they represented their case in a petition or complaint addressed to Sir Thomas Earle, mayor, and the rest of the justices, wherein they complain of being so straitened, as to have nine beds in one room and seven in another, of thirteen feet square; that although an order of sessions had been made for enlarging the prison, it had not been complied with, and requesting, for the preservation of their health and their lives, that they would see their order obeyed.

Magistrates  
and citizens  
disapprove  
these pro-  
ceedings.

The generality of the magistrates and citizens were more humane than to approve of the cruel proceedings of these forward persecutors, the mayor and aldermen seemed mostly disposed to comply with the request of the prisoners, and declared their dissatisfaction at the state of the jail, esteeming it an unfit and unhealthy prison, of dangerous consequence to the lives of the king's subjects, and required the late order of sessions to be put into execution; and Richard Lane, one of the sheriffs, declared his willingness to yield obedience: But it was refused and frustrated by sheriff Knight, who depending upon superior support in his rigorous measures, seemed singly invested with power to controul the

the resolutions of the whole body of the magistrates. C H A P.  
XIII.

The mayor, not without reason, being piqued at this overbearing insolence of an inferior magistrate, declared his resolution that all convictions should be public, and not made in taverns and alehouses: He entered his protest against such convictions, and against the jail, as absolutely unfit for such prisoners. He afterwards demanded an account of the convictions made to that time, which Knight refused: Wherefore the mayor caused a record to be made of such demand and refusal. The mayor further declared that he would have no more private convictions; and that the goods distrained should be deposited in a public warehouse; that he would have an account of the sale of them, that they might be sold to their full value, and justly accounted for. To be checked in the exorbitance of plunder, and tied down to any degree of justice, was so highly displeasing to Knight and his band of informers, that they threatened the mayor with the weight of their opposition to his interest at the next election.

Instead of complying with the reasonable request of the prisoners, and the order of the sessions, these insulting persecutors persisted in incommoding them still worse, by a continual crowding of the jails with fresh prisoners. The next opportunity after their dispute with the mayor, as if to shew their contempt of all authority, but that whereby they were supported, they sent forty-three more to Bridewell and forty to Newgate.

A certificate of their treatment here was drawn up and published by some of the citizens Certificate  
of the un-  
fitness of  
(not the jail, &c.

1682.

The mayor would have all convictions public.

Protests against the state of the jail.

The jail crowded still more.

CHAP. (not Quakers) who hearing of their inhuman  
 XIII. usage, accompanied sheriff Lane to view the  
 1682. prison, wherein they declare it altogether unfit  
 for the uncommon number of prisoners crowd-  
 ed therein, eighty-five whereof were of the people  
 called Quakers, who were unreasonably thronged  
 to four, five, six, seven and nine beds in a  
 room, many necessitated to lie on the ground,  
 in a filthy place, which had been a dog kennel,  
 to the hazard of their lives, which as the heat  
 should encrease might breed infectious distem-  
 pers to the endangering of the health and lives  
 of the citizens at large. But remonstrances from  
 every quarter were ineffectual with men void of  
 reason and compassion, and solely intent on  
 fully gratifying their unfeeling disposition to  
 vengeance and mischief.

Laurence  
 Steel and  
 Charles  
 Jones, ju-  
 nior, go to  
 London, to  
 solicit the  
 king.

When all rational and humane endeavours at  
 home were too feeble to give a check to their  
 cruelty, two friends, Laurence Steel and Charles  
 Jones, junior, took a journey to London to  
 seek that relief, they could not procure there,  
 from the king and council, the only body that  
 were powerful enough to check the enormities  
 of these persecutors at Bristol. They were as-  
 sisted in their solicitations to government by  
 George Whitehead. Previous application was  
 made to Prince Rupert, and the lord president,  
 who discovering a compassionate concern at the  
 unreasonable sufferings of their friends, procured  
 them at their request, an opportunity to lay their  
 complaint, the state of their hard usage and  
 petition for relief before the king and council.  
 Several of the council being averse to the non-  
 conformists, rather discouraged and opposed their  
 solicitations; yet their pleading of the cause of  
 the

the sufferers, and clear exhibition of the illegality and injustice of the proceedings against them, made that impression on the king and the generality of the council, that an order was issued to the magistrates of Bristol to allow the prisoners better accommodations, whereupon some of them were removed out of Newgate to another prison, until they were released.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1682.  
Order issued for their better accommodation.

Notwithstanding this order, their persecutors were in nowise discouraged from harassing them by all manner of abuse. Helliar and Tilley tore Mary Hooper's scarf, and pushed her about to that degree, that she was ill some time after. Mary Page, wife of Francis Page, was violently pulled out of the meeting, to the danger of her life, she being then far advanced in her pregnancy. Having driven and haled them out of the meeting, they encouraged the attendant rabble of boys to follow them in their abuse, by pelting them along with dirt; Helliar, in his accustomed vulgar oratory, saluting them with the mob-like appellations of *ugly whores, bitches, jades and the like*. Thomas Lofly, an ancient man, not going out of the meeting as soon as they bade him, Helliar delivered him to the boys to carry to Bridewell; they grievously abused him, throwing him down several times in the dirt.

Abuses continued.

The imprisonment of this people was still extremely rigorous, and all their treatment unreasonably illegal and unjust. Three of the prisoners being dangerously ill, could not obtain the favour to go home a little for the preservation of their lives or recovery of their health: When one of their wives was brought to bed, her husband requested liberty of the keeper to go  
but

C H A P. but for an hour or two to see her, but his re-  
 XIII. quest would not be granted. They could get no  
 1682. sight of the informations or convictions against  
 them, though they employed lawyers for that  
 purpose; for the records were not in court, but  
 in the custody of Knight, Helliar or their agents;  
 and it was with the utmost difficulty they could  
 procure copies of the warrants by which the  
 distresses were made.

Certificate  
 of phyfici-  
 ans of the  
 unhealthy  
 state of the  
 prison,

The repeated complaints of these prisoners to  
 the magistrates, of the straitness and noisome-  
 ness of their prison, gave occasion to several phy-  
 sicians to view and examine the state thereof,  
 who certified under their hands that the jail was  
 so full and noisome, and the prisoners so strait-  
 ened for room to rest, as had a tendency to the  
 destroying and suffocating of them, to breed in-  
 fectious distempers, and to endanger the lives  
 not only of the said prisoners, but of the nu-  
 merous inhabitants of the city.

treated  
 with dis-  
 regard.

The certificate of the physicians was treated  
 with equal disregard with the former represen-  
 tations of the citizens. It seems these men, who  
 appear to have usurped the government of the  
 city, paid as little regard to the disgust or cen-  
 sure of their fellow citizens, as they did to law,  
 equity or humanity: Depending upon the sup-  
 port of their superiors, who doubtless on the  
 whole countenanced their proceedings, they set  
 censure and contempt at defiance; for about  
 this time the sheriff, who was at the head of  
 the band, was advanced by the king to the dig-  
 nity of knighthood, a dignity which he appears  
 to have acquired solely by his violent prosecution  
 of dissenters.

The Sheriff  
 knighted.

As the constancy of this people in the great duty of assembling to worship God, while at liberty, was invincible; so as a prison could not confine the freedom of their spirits, or the impulse of their consciences, they continued the practice of this duty in their imprisonment, meeting and sitting down together in reverence and fear: Being so assembled on the 30th of the month called March, Sheriff Knight, John Helliar, Edmund Brand and the jailer fell furiously upon them, and thrust them by violence out of the room, the sheriff protesting, unless they departed, he would put them in irons. He commanded Roger Holland to be ironed, and put down into the West-house, the place where condemned felons are usually put. At another time, being assembled in the common hall, and one of them (Allen Hallmark) speaking a few words, the sheriff threw him headlong down stairs, to the great hazard of his life, after which he was put into the West-house, and continued there several days.

Friends were not only thus exposed to personal abuse and imprisonment, but this body of informers, like the rest of their order, had an eye to the emoluments of office, as well as the gratification of their malice. From ten of this people fined 79l. 3s. 4d. they took goods to the value of 155l. 14s. 6d. and again for about 79l. they took money and goods worth 153l. and upwards. Of their conduct in this respect we have the following account in a letter from some of the sufferers. "They got into Richard Marsh's \* house and made sad havock. They took

C H A P.  
XIII.

1682.  
The prisoners grossly abused for keeping up their meetings.

Grievous  
distrains.

R. Marsh's  
sufferings.

\* In a paper published under the title of The Devouring Informers  
VOL. II. L I

C H A P. “ took goods from others of our friends, of  
 XIII. “ which we have no account yet, nor is this  
 “ account full, as we may have occasion to  
 1682.

Informers of Bristol, dated 22d of April, 1682, is the following relation of the havock made at Richard Marsh's house.

“ For these two days our old informers, Mr. Helliar and  
 “ company, viz. Luggs, Tilly, Casse, Patrick, Hoare and  
 “ Watkins, and their assistants, have been levying distresses  
 “ upon several protestant dissenters, and in the management  
 “ of it behaved themselves with that fury, and unparalleled  
 “ degree of violence and arbitrary force, that it fills our  
 “ hearts with sadness. Part of them (for they divide them-  
 “ selves into two bodies) that is, Mr. Helliar, Luggs and  
 “ Watkins, with their assistant Summers the butcher,  
 “ came to the house of Mr. Richard Marsh, who is known  
 “ to be one of the most considerable merchants in this city.  
 “ These entering his house, to make a distress for 10l. broke  
 “ open his counter door, and searched for money, and then  
 “ went into an inward counter, and there seized and carried  
 “ away his journal, ledger, cash and invoice books, and several  
 “ other books of accounts to the number of thirty, a  
 “ bundle of written papers, and several sorts of household  
 “ goods: Not content with this they seized also the provision  
 “ of victuals in the house, and carried them away, except  
 “ some victuals and drink, which they consumed on the  
 “ place, spending near three hours time in commanding his  
 “ house, and ransacking several chambers, particularly the  
 “ chamber of his wife, then lying-in. During this stay in  
 “ the house their behaviour was so insolent that they greatly  
 “ affrighted not only his servants, but all the spectators,  
 “ whom business or respect called to his house. This gentleman,  
 “ Mr. Marsh, had formerly taken from him a ton  
 “ of wine worth 20l. which was sold for 4l. and to make  
 “ up the distress 10l. they forced into his man's counter and  
 “ took from him upwards of 6l. Their manner of levying  
 “ the distress is as follows. When they enter a shop, although  
 “ there be abundance of goods in view, yet they break  
 “ open chests, counters, &c. and thence take away the  
 “ money; if no money to be found, then they take either  
 “ shop or household goods, and of them generally to double  
 “ value.

“ mention



“ mention more of the kind, as they are like  
 “ to repeat their depredations, having warrants  
 “ for 400*l*. The quarter sessions are to be next  
 “ third day, the bishop \* is come, and all things  
 “ seem ready for our ruin. But our hope is in  
 “ the Lord, and we commend our cause to him  
 “ alone. These distresses are taken for a meet-  
 “ ing whereat was no preaching or praying  
 “ that they pretend to, or we can call to  
 “ mind.”

The quarter sessions being held in course, fe-  
 veral of them were indicted, found guilty and  
 fined; but the justices, who were not insensible  
 of their wrongs, nor approved the proceed-  
 ings against them, inclining to the favourable  
 side, discharged the greatest part, on promise of  
 appearing at the next sessions; and by their le-  
 nity the majority of the prisoners regained their  
 liberty; but they did not enjoy it long, for  
 Knight and Helliar immediately returning to dis-  
 turb their meetings, within two weeks after  
 their release, they committed several of them  
 again to Newgate from their morning meeting,  
 and then nailed up the doors upon the rest, be-  
 ing fourteen men and eighty-seven women, and  
 kept them there six hours without any conve-  
 nience for ease or refreshment. Thus exulting  
 in the wantonness of power, and glorying in in-  
 sensibility to the feelings of men, they set their  
 invention to work, to contrive every method  
 of vexation they could devise against a harm-  
 Several discharged,  
 but soon imprisoned again.

\* By the apprehension of this bishop's arrival it seems probable to me that he encouraged the persecution, and perhaps it might be his support which incited Knight and his associates to their illegal proceedings, and to disregard the dissatisfaction of the other magistrates.

CHAP. less body of people, merely for meeting in a  
XIII. peaceable manner, without injuring any man.

1682. They continued to procure their imprisonment,  
Friends mostly in prison, men and women, until most or all the men were in miserable confinement; and then, because the women kept up the meeting, they proceeded to imprison them also; so that at length the number of prisoners being about one hundred and sixty, there remained few but children to keep up the meeting.

and the children keep up the meeting. These children, after the example of their parents now in confinement, kept up their meetings regularly, with much gravity and composure: It was surprizing to see the manly courage and constancy, with which some of the boys behaved on this occasion, undergoing many abuses with patience: And although their age exempted them from the lash of the law, yet even the state of minority could not rescue them from the furious assaults of these callous informers; they put some of them in the stocks at one time three quarters of an hour, at another time two hours and an half; they were unmercifully beaten with twisted whalebone sticks. Helliars sent eleven boys and four girls to Bridewell; next day they were brought before the deputy mayor; they were cajoled and threatened, to make them forbear their meetings, but the children in that respect were immovable: Wherefore they were sent back to Bridewell; Helliars, to terrify them, charging the keeper to procure a new cat of nine tails against next morning. Next day he urged the justices to have them corrected, but could not prevail. So many were at length imprisoned, that there was no more room in the jails. By their cruel proceedings many families were

were also ruined in their circumstances. Their goods were continually taken away for attending meetings, and to those, who were thought to be men of good estates, the oath of allegiance was tendered, in order to bring them under the sentence of premunire, and take away all at once. And as it seems clear that such proceedings were countenanced or concerted by the court, it is supposed, that some of this people had given umbrage by giving their votes at elections in favour of men of moderation, who, they expected, would be no favourers of popery or persecution; hints being reported to be thrown out, *that if Mr. Penn or Mr. Whitehead would undertake for the Quakers, that they should not vote for parliament men, there should be no further persecution of them.*

This year John Whitehead, an eminent friend in the ministry, of the East riding of Yorkshire, was committed prisoner to Lincoln castle by justice Burrel, being accused as a jesuit, for preaching at a meeting, and tried at the ensuing assizes at Lincoln before Baron Street; but as that accusation could not be made good, the customary snare was resorted to, of tendering the oath of allegiance, for the refusal of which he was indicted, and though he pleaded ably against the unreasonableness and illegality of accusing and trying him for one crime, and then indicting him for another, he was convicted and premunired, and in consequence cast into prison, where it is *supposed* he was detained until the general release in 1686.

The persecution thus encouraged at court, and carried on by magistrates devoted to the court party, with all the rigour of a violent party

J. Whitehead committed to jail as a jesuit.

1682. Many ruined in their circumstances.

Friends persevere with constancy, whilst other dissenters meet clandestinely to escape persecution.

CHAP. XIII.



1682.

Many ruined in their circumstances.

C H A P. party spirit, had in a great measure deterred the  
 XIII. other classes of protestant dissenters from keep-  
 1682. ing up their meetings, or assembling publicly  
 for worship; and although many of their minis-  
 ters had betrayed an invidious disposition to-  
 wards the Quakers, and set them off in unjust  
 and disagreeable colours, to render them odious  
 and ridiculous, yet in their nocturnal meetings  
 they would pray God, *that it might please him to  
 keep the Quakers steadfast, that so they might be as  
 a wall about them, in order that other dissenters  
 might not be rooted out.* And their steadfastness  
 in suffering was such, that some of their perfe-  
 ctors began now to despair of subduing them  
 to their wills, being heard to say, *that the Qua-  
 kers could not be overcome, and that the devil him-  
 self could not extirpate them.* Several of their  
 teachers, and particularly George Fox, were  
 much engaged by their exhortations and epistles  
 to encourage them to steadfastness and persever-  
 ance; and what was really remarkable, many of  
 those, who travelled about at this time in the  
 work of the ministry, escaped the pursuit of the  
 informers, and accomplished their services with-  
 out molestation.

Although I have been particular in the nar-  
 ration of the persecution of friends in Bristol,  
 yet persecution was not peculiar to that city,  
 but in most parts was carried on with great ani-  
 mosity. At Flamstead-end in Hertfordshire,  
 the justices and constables broke the forms, gal-  
 leries, windows and doors of the meeting-house  
 all in pieces; and after the door was repaired,  
 they broke it again and burned it, whereby  
 they set fire to the chimney piece, to the ter-  
 ror of the neighbourhood; and one of the jus-  
 tices

Sufferings  
 at Flam-  
 stead-end,  
 Hertford-  
 shire.

tices was heard to declare, *that if he could be* CHAP.   
*sure, it would burn nothing but the meeting-house,* XIII.   
*it should not be extinguished.* At Broughton in   
 Leicestershire endeavours were used by personal   
 abuse and barbarous cruelty to dissolve the   
 meeting there. The principal promoters of   
 these abuses were William Cotton, priest of the   
 parish, and the parish officers, who encouraged   
 certain rude young fellows to insult and abuse   
 the persons assembled. Of these, two women,   
 Elizabeth Hill and Elizabeth Hilton, were so   
 grossly abused, that the former was left for   
 dead, and the latter so hurt and bruised that   
 she lay there near three weeks before she reco-   
 vered strength to go home, about two miles.   
 When they were abusing Elizabeth Hill, and   
 dragging her through the dirt, some of the   
 neighbours asking them, *if they meant to kill the*   
*woman,* they answered, *what care we, Mr.*   
*Cotton bade us.* As she seemed expiring, one of   
 them said, *let us see if her teeth be set;* ano-   
 ther, putting his finger into her mouth, and per-   
 ceiving her breathe, said, *let us at her again,*   
*the devil is in her yet, and we will squeeze him*   
*out.* One of these youths, gathering up dirt,   
 threw it in the face of Elizabeth Hilton, then   
 took a handful of dirt, and following her, caught   
 her by the hood, holding her behind the head   
 with one hand, cramming the dirt into her   
 mouth with the other. Being with some diffi-   
 culty got into a neighbour's house, and appreh-   
 ended to be near expiring, the constable was   
 sent for to keep the peace, but he came not;   
 but one of the youths coming in, upon seeing her   
 said, *I think she is dying indeed, but if she do,*   
*she is fitter for the devil.*

1682.   
 At Brough-   
 ton, Leicest-   
 ershire.

The

CHAP. XIII. The men, after being spoiled of their substance by one Smith an informer, had been almost all sent to prison by the instigation of the same priest. This is indeed a remarkable specimen of the temper of too many of these nominal pastors of the high-church party, and the morals imbibed by their instructions.

1682.

Many more extraordinary cases of their sufferings might be produced in this year; but we suppose the foregoing sufficient.

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#### C H A P. XIV.

*Seven hundred of the People called Quakers in Prison.—Persecution at Bristol continued.—Cruelty of Isaac Dennis, Jailor, who on his Death-bed is seized with Horror in reflecting on his past Conduct.—Prosecution of Richard Vickris on the Statute of 35 Elizabeth.—Removed by Habeas Corpus to the King's Bench bar, and acquitted.—Persecution in London continues.—Persecution in Somersetshire.*

CHAP. XIV.

1683.

Seven hundred prisoners.

IN the year 1683 persecution continued rather encreasing in many places, the number of prisoners of the people called Quakers in the different parts of England being computed upwards of seven hundred. But still that carried on in the

the city of Bristol seems as generally affecting C H A P. the members of this society as in any part of the XIV. nation, or more so. They were not only cast into prison in great numbers, but inhumanly treated there, not only by Knight, Helliar, and their assistants, but the jailer, whose name was Isaac Dennis, in imitation of his superiors, made their imprisonment as distressing and uneasy as possible. Some of the prisoners desiring to work at their callings for their subsistence in jail, he would not allow them the liberty. One Richard Lindy, a blind-man near ninety years of age, being carried to jail, was forced for want of a bed to sit up three nights in a chair, though others offered to pay for his lodging, if a convenient place had been allowed him. Some in prison fell sick of the spotted fever, of whom three died. Whereupon friends desired Dennis that they might go out in order for their recovery; he pretended he was willing, if the magistrates would consent; but when they wrote to the magistrates, he used his endeavours to prevent the success of their application, and was the means of frustrating them of obtaining their request. To some friends who were taken sick he behaved with great inhumanity, refusing one the use of his friend's fire, to another the liberty of removing out of the distracting noise of swearers and drunkards, although the new sheriff ordered him to do it, yet he detained him in his uncomfortable lodging 'till he died. He, his wife and underkeeper were most rudely abusive to them, though many of them were people of account, both with hands and tongue, pulling the men by the hair, throwing them down stairs, rudely haling, and kicking women, and throwing them down,

1683.  
Persecution  
in Bristol  
continued.

Crucity of  
Isaac Den-  
nis, jailor.

CHAP down, to the hurting them grievously, calling  
 XIV. them by opprobrious nick-names, *rogues, whores,*  
*cheats,* and such like.

1683.

But from the dismal catastrophe of this unfeeling jailer we may draw this inference, that although, under the impulse of our passions, and our gratification of them, we may for the season silence the reproofs of the monitor in our own breasts, lull conscience asleep, and blunt its stings, yet a time will come, when it will awake, make itself heard, new point its sting, and strike it to the heart. This poor man, about the middle of October, was taken sick, when the reflection upon his past life filled him with inconceivable anguish of mind, under which he expressed his wish, *that he had never seen the inside of the jail, for it had undone him.* He desired the Quaker prisoners, whom he had misused, to forgive him for what he had done; to which they answered, *they did forgive him, but he should ask forgiveness of God.* But still his anguish increased to torture, to such a degree as to cause a fear that he would go distracted. The physicians ordering him to be bled, he signified to this effect: *None of their prescriptions would do him any good, his distemper being beyond their reach; his day was over, and there was no hope of mercy from God for him.* Some of the friends, pitying his condition, charitably endeavoured to administer a ray of comfort, hinting, *that they hoped his day was not over, seeing he was so fully sensible of his condition.* To which he replied, "I thank you for your good hope; but I have no faith to believe." Whatever was thus spoken to relieve him gave him no ease, but languishing in all the anxiety of despair about a month,

The jailer on his death bed seized with horror, in reflecting on his past conduct.



month, he died without discovering any hope or sign of forgiveness. Now although we presume to form no judgment upon those, who are summoned to an higher tribunal than that of fallible man, yet this passage may furnish us with an estimate of the incomparable value of a conscience void of offence towards God and man. A wounded conscience who can bear?

All the abuse and loss of substance this people had already sustained <sup>a</sup> not being sufficient to satiate the vindictive spirits of their persecutors, many of them were returned into the Exchequer on the statute of 2cl. for absence from the national worship, the amount of whose fines came to the enormous sum of 16,44cl. <sup>b</sup> for which several were distrained; but how much was actually levied of these fines I find no certain account. Not satisfied with depriving them of their liberty, property and personal ease, these persecutors proceeded next to essay, how far they could succeed in an attempt against their lives. They began with Richard Vickris, who had before felt the effects of their malevolence in fines, imprisonments and personal abuse. He was the son of Robert Vickris, formerly merchant and alderman of Bristol, and afterward of Chew-magna in Somersetshire; he was convinced of the principles of this people in his youth; to divert him from joining in society with whom, and coming under the opprobrious appellation of a Quaker, his father sent him abroad to travel in France, but was disappointed of his intention; for Richard, through disgust at the superstition of the ceremonious religion

C H A P.  
XIV.  
1683.

Prosecution  
of Richard  
Vickris on  
the statute  
of 35 Eliz.  
Account of  
him.

<sup>a</sup> Bessé.

<sup>b</sup> J. Whiting.

CHAP. of that country, was more confirmed in his  
 XIV. adoption of one, which rejected ceremony and  
 1683. vain shew, in pursuit of the substantial part ;  
 and therefore upon his return openly embraced  
 the profession of that religion, of the reasonable-  
 ness whereof he had been convinced. Herein  
 his sincerity was indisputable, since with this  
 profession he embraced a variety of sufferings  
 and hardships, when he might have been other-  
 wise in ease, opulence, and a distinguished cir-  
 cumstance of life. In the year 1680 he was  
 imprisoned upon an excommunication ; he was  
 afterwards subjected to frequent fines and dis-  
 traints for attending meetings ; and now, last  
 of all, they proceeded to put the statute of  
 35 Eliz. in force against him, the penalty of  
 which hath been already recited, and that the  
 last parliament repealed it, but the royal assent  
 was eluded.

At the sessions, previous to the time called  
 Easter, Richard Vickris was indicted on that  
 statute ; but demurring to the jurisdiction of the  
 court, and refusing to plead, he was committed  
 to prison. At a following sessions he was ad-  
 mitted to bail, on security given to answer the  
 indictment ; between that and Midsummer ses-  
 sions he procured an *habeas corpus* to remove his  
 body and cause out of that court.

At an adjournment of the said sessions, on the  
 20th of 6th month called August, he presented  
 his *habeas corpus*, had his recognizance discharged,  
 and was delivered to the custody of the sheriff.  
 Yet notwithstanding, at the instigation of Sir  
 John Knight, he was hurried to his trial at the  
 close of the sessions on the 23d of the same  
 month, and though he requested not to be sur-  
 prized

prized into an unexpected trial for his life in the absence of his counsel, but to be allowed time to prepare for his defence, the court, under the influence of Knight, Helliar and others of the like cast, would grant him no favour, justice or delay. He found means however to retain counsel, who ably pleaded his cause, assigned a variety of errors in the indictment, shewed clearly that the witnesses had not proved him an offender against the statute upon which he was indicted. That the witnesses had sworn he was at a meeting on the day mentioned in the indictment; but he had been punished already by the conventicle act for the same meeting, which act enacted, That no person punished by this act shall be punished for the same offence by virtue of any other law or statute whatsoever. But the clearest arguments lose their force with men whose passions are warmly engaged on the opposite side of the question. The court over-ruled every plea, in the most arbitrary manner, and the jury\*, selected

C H A P.  
XIV.

1683.

\* Trial by jury is esteemed the bulwark of the Englishman's life and liberty; but we meet with many instances in this reign that the forms of a free constitution may be preserved, and yet under these forms real injustice and arbitrary sway be exercised. For when corruption generally prevails it saps the foundations of a free government, and under the shade of the form the substance is frequently lost: And when the spirit of party is joined to corruption of manners, small is the security the vanquished party derive from constitutional privileges. For corruption hardens the conscience, and party rage biasses the judgment, and with juries under this description, too often the popular humour, the directions of the court, and the gratification of their own prejudices, are of more consideration than the nature of the evidence or the obligation of their oaths. It is a peculiar and valuable

CHAP. lived there in reputation and honour, conspicu-  
 XIV. cious for his virtue and benevolence, an ornament to his place and station; when Helliar  
 1683. was no more, having finished his wretched life in great horror and perturbation of mind, under the torture of an accusing conscience. <sup>d</sup> Oliffe is reported also to have been so uneasy in his last moments, in his retrospection of his imprisoning and despoiling this people, that he wished restitution to be made to them, when it was out of his power; and so under the sense of the wrong he had done, without the means of rectifying it, he breathed his last. And Knight proving himself all along a determined foe to liberty of conscience, became disaffected to king James for his dispensing with the penal laws, not so much, if we may judge by his consequent conduct, upon the account of the illegality thereof, as that his hands were tied up from gratifying his pride and his malice, in domineering and distressing his fellow-citizens. Turning with the tide, he favoured the revolution, but when he found the consequence thereof to be a general toleration, he ranked with the malecontents in king William's reign; and that measure, he had meted out to others, was more justly measured out to him again, being himself, for some offence against government, imprisoned in the same jail to which he had in the zenith of his power committed so many honest people; after his release, being reduced in his circumstances, he lived in obscurity in a village in Somersetshire<sup>e</sup>.

It is not so much from any satisfaction we receive in these narratives of the catastrophe of our

<sup>d</sup> J. Whiting.      <sup>e</sup> Ibid.

persecutors, that we preserve them on record, as that by contrasting them with the peaceful exits of virtuous and religious persons, who have made it their study through life to preserve a conscience void of offence, many of which are described herein, we may form a just estimate of human life; of the value of a good conscience, and of the inconceivable advantage of a life of self-denial, even to the suffering of persecution; over that spent in the full gratification of the sensual appetites, irregular passions, ambitious lust, and abuse of power, in that hour which puts a period to our existence here, and reduces all the ranks of mankind to a level.

C H A P.  
XIV.  
1683.

This persecution in Bristol continued 'till king James issued his proclamation for a free pardon, with his special warrant for comprehending the Quakers therein: Upon which they were set at liberty, and from thenceforth the persecution in this city for their religious meetings entirely ceased.

In London in this year numbers were imprisoned from the sundry meetings, fined as rioters, and imprisoned again for their fines; distrained by Exchequer process for absence from the national worship; harrassed and plundered by informers and soldiers; particularly John Elson being fined 20*l.* for the Peel meeting-house, and 10*l.* for an unknown preacher was distrained by Yates, Headborough of Clerkenwell and \* Gabriel Shad, informers

Persecution  
in London  
continues.

\* Not long after I meet with the following account of this Shad, a notorious informer, that he was committed to newgate for stealing goods from one William Lemman to the

CHAP. lived there in reputation and honour, conspi-  
 XIV. cuous for his virtue and benevolence, an orna-  
 1683. ment to his place and station; when Helliar  
 was no more, having finished his wretched life  
 in great horror and perturbation of mind, under  
 the torture of an accusing conscience. <sup>d</sup> Oliffe is  
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 ments, in his retrospection of his imprisoning and  
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 to be made to them, when it was out of his pow-  
 er; and so under the sense of the wrong he had  
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 dispensing with the penal laws, not so much, if  
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 the account of the illegality thereof, as that his  
 hands were tied up from gratifying his pride and  
 his malice, in domineering and distressing his  
 fellow-citizens. Turning with the tide, he fa-  
 voured the revolution, but when he found the  
 consequence thereof to be a general toleration,  
 he ranked with the malecontents in king Wil-  
 liam's reign; and that measure, he had meted out  
 to others, was more justly measured out to him  
 again, being himself, for some offence against  
 government, imprisoned in the same jail to which  
 he had in the zenith of his power committed so  
 many honest people; after his release, being re-  
 duced in his circumstances, he lived in obscurity  
 in a village in Somersetshire<sup>e</sup>.

It is not so much from any satisfaction we re-  
 ceive in these narratives of the catastrophe of our

<sup>d</sup> J. Whiting.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

persecutors,

persecutors, that we preserve them on record, as C H A P. XIV. that by contrasting them with the peaceful exits of virtuous and religious persons, who have made it their study through life to preserve a conscience void of offence, many of which are described herein, we may form a just estimate of human life; of the value of a good conscience, and of the inconceivable advantage of a life of self-denial, even to the suffering of persecution; over that spent in the full gratification of the sensual appetites, irregular passions, ambitious lust, and abuse of power, in that hour which puts a period to our existence here, and reduces all the ranks of mankind to a level.

1683.

This persecution in Bristol continued 'till king James issued his proclamation for a free pardon, with his special warrant for comprehending the Quakers therein: Upon which they were set at liberty, and from thenceforth the persecution in this city for their religious meetings entirely ceased.

In London in this year numbers were imprisoned from the sundry meetings, fined as rioters, and imprisoned again for their fines; distrained by Exchequer process for absence from the national worship; harrassed and plundered by informers and soldiers; particularly John Elson being fined 20l. for the Peel meeting-house, and 10l. for an unknown preacher was distrained by Yates, Headborough of Clerkenwell and \* Gabriel Shad, informers

Persecution in London continues.

\* Not long after I meet with the following account of this Shad, a notorious informer, that he was committed to newgate for stealing goods from one William Lemman to the

CHAP. informers and assistants, upon two warrants  
 XIV. granted by Peter Sabbs, justice. They broke  
 open his doors in his absence, after seven o'clock  
 1683. at night in October, kept possession of his house  
 all night, eating, drinking and carousing to excess  
 of what they found in the house, saying, *all was the king's*.  
 The woman of the house, Mary Elson, was obliged to sit  
 up all night, nor would they suffer any neighbour to  
 bear her company, a soldier of the gang threatening to  
 stab some of them, who were desirous to go in. They  
 seized four cartloads of household goods, a chest  
 belonging to a lodger, in which were writings of  
 importance; the servants' wearing apparel, and  
 several things belonging to two widows (which  
 Mary Elson apprized them were not her husband's  
 property) and eight loads of timber and boards  
 out of the yard. The meeting house, for which  
 the seizure was made, not being the property  
 of the said John Elson, he made his appeal, and  
 got his goods again, upon payment of 30*l.* into  
 the hands of the said justice Sabbs; but before  
 the time of trying his appeal the justice  
 absconded, and the money was lost.

George Whitehead, in his Journal, page 543,  
 gives the following account of some part of  
 friends sufferings in London at this time:

value of 300*l.* and upon his trial was found guilty  
 of felony; but by the favour of his powerful  
 friends he was freed from the gallows, having  
 obtained the benefit of clergy, he was burned  
 in the hand and discharged. He then pursued  
 his former occupation; suchlike infamous  
 characters even at this time being only to be  
 procured to fill an office too odious and too  
 dishonest for conscientious and reputable  
 persons to have any concern with. Sewel, p. 587.

“ Our



“ Our being shut out of our meeting-houses C H A P.  
 “ for divers years in and about the cities of XIV.  
 “ London and Westminster, and our meetings 1683.  
 “ kept in the streets, in all sorts of weather,  
 “ was a trial and hardship upon us, even upon  
 “ old and young, men and women. But that  
 “ trial was not so great as to have our estates  
 “ and livelihoods exposed to ruin by a pack of  
 “ ravenous informers ; although it was no small  
 “ hardship to our persons to be kept out of  
 “ doors in the great, severe and long frost and  
 “ snow in the year 1683, for about three months  
 “ together, when the river Thames was so  
 “ frozen, that horses, coaches and carts could  
 “ pass to and fro upon it, and a street be erected  
 “ and stand over it.”

In Cheshire, Thomas Needham and Philip Eighty persons committed from one meeting to Chester Castle.  
 Egerton, justices, committed at one time about  
 eighty persons to Chester Castle from a meeting  
 at Newton, where they could find neither rooms  
 nor lodging for such a number, so that they  
 were obliged for two nights, some of them to  
 walk about, others to lie on tables and benches,  
 and some on flags spread on the floor. At  
 length thirty of them were put into a filthy dun-  
 geon, out of which the felons were then re-  
 moved.

But having too many instances of the arbi- Case of Eliz. Gray and her son.  
 trary or cruel proceedings of the justices in this  
 reign, I am pleased when I meet with accounts  
 of others influenced by temper and mode-  
 ration, as in the following case: Robert Blen-  
 nel, priest of Fen-Stanton in Huntingdonshire,  
 prosecuted Elizabeth Gray in the ecclesiastical  
 court for tithes. She was a poor widow of  
 about eighty years of age, and so infirm that

C H A P. she could scarce go out of her house; yet the  
 XIV. profecutor was so hard-hearted as to apply to  
 the justices to send her to prison, she being cer-  
 .1683. tified by the ecclesiastical court as contumacious.  
 But the justices refused in regard of her age,  
 remarking, *that she was an object fitter for her  
 grave than a prison.* The priest being disap-  
 pointed of his design against the ancient woman,  
 cited her son William Gray into the court for  
 the same claim of tithes, and procured a certi-  
 ficate of contumacy against him; but upon exa-  
 mination before the justices, it appearing, he was  
 only a servant to his mother, they discharged  
 him, though the priest's advocates exerted their  
 strenuous efforts with the justices to send him to  
 prison. Thus both the mother and son escaped,  
 the one an imprisonment unreasonably cruel,  
 and the other unjust and illegal; which illuf-  
 trates the advantage derived to the subject, by  
 having the proceedings of ecclesiastical power  
 subjected to the controul of the civil magi-  
 strates, when they are men of moderation and  
 humanity.

Persecution  
 in Somers-  
 setshire.

In Somerssetshire several of the magistrates and  
 informers were also very hot profecutors of the  
 members of this society upon the different penal  
 laws, and without and beyond the law. To  
 particularize the various means of vexation they  
 used towards them would be nearly a repetition  
 of the relation of the persecution in Bristol,  
 being subjected in some parts to the despotic  
 power of Helliard, who was under-sheriff of the  
 county this year, and in others to that of Henry  
 Walrond, a captain of militia and justice of  
 peace, who was well nigh equal to Helliard in his  
 severity

severity and hatred to this people. They were imprisoned in great numbers, informers were encouraged against them and protected in perjury; they were fined, distrained and excommunicated; their meeting-houses defaced, and the forms broken or burned.

C H A P.

XIV.

1683.

1680. Giles Barnardiston, of Clare, in the county of Suffolk, who finished his course in an honourable and serviceable life this year, was an eminent instance of the efficacy of pure religion in a heart divinely influenced thereby. He was born about the year 1624, of parents well descended, and of considerable account in the world. He received a liberal education, suitable to his rank in life, both in seminaries of literature, and at the university, where he followed his studies six years, being designed for the ministerial office<sup>a</sup>. But when he had acquired the age and attainments reckoned suitable for admittance thereinto, and had an offer of preferment in the church (so called) he felt a reluctance in himself to undertake the charge, from a consciousness of wanting that internal purity and spiritual wisdom, which he conceived the scriptures point out as essential qualifications of gospel ministers; and looking at the function as too weighty an undertaking for him to enter upon in the present state of his mind, he resisted the solicitations of his friends to accept of the place provided for him, whereby he incurred their displeasure. But knowing himself unfit for this important charge, he was fearful to take it upon him, being persuaded that they who do so from lucrative motives, without the qualifications

1680.

Life of Giles  
Barnardiston.

<sup>a</sup> J. Whiting.

C H A P. qualifications to discharge the arduous duties  
 XIV. thereof with diligence and propriety, both by  
 1680. example and precept, have the more to answer  
 for.

Notwithstanding these just and serious reflections respecting the priest's office, he had not yet attained to that stability in religion as to resist the allurements of pleasure; indulging for a season in sensual gratifications, in the pastimes and recreations of the age; but being followed by the convictions of the grace of God, which appeareth to all men, these fleeting pleasures conveyed a very transitory satisfaction, being certainly attended with an intermixture of painful remorse, and succeeded by the bitterness of anguish.

After the breaking out of the civil war he obtained a colonel's commission in the army; but the military life, attended with violence and bloodshed, conveyed still less satisfaction, and therefore he soon grew weary thereof, and laid down his commission.

He then retired to Wormingford Lodge in Essex, where in privacy and solitude he applied his heart to wisdom, which Solomon saith *is better than weapons of war*. Here, denying himself of his former amusements, he commenced a stricter life than before; and being incited by a religious regard to the well-being of his immortal part, he became seriously thoughtful about the way to life and salvation, and earnestly desirous of associating with some body of people who were sincerely engaged in investigating the right way. About the year 1661 he felt an inclination to acquaint himself with the principles of the people called Quakers,  
 and

and invited some of them to his house. George Fox the younger being then at Colchester, paid him a visit in company with George Wetherly, and was kindly received; when entering into religious conversation, George Fox discoursed concerning the light of Christ Jesus, *who tasted death for every man, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world*, that they might have life; this scriptural doctrine agreeing with Giles Barnardiston's own experience, he embraced it as truth, took up his cross to his fondness for sensual delights, broke off his connection with his former associates, relinquished the glory and friendship of the world, and despising the shame, joined himself in society with the people called Quakers, at the very time when they were exposed to that cruel abuse in Colchester which is before described<sup>b</sup>, when neither his rank in life, his qualifications, nor his respectable character, were of sufficient consideration to exempt him from participating in the sufferings of that time and place<sup>c</sup>. He willingly bore his part in that storm of persecution, in the hottest time of which he constantly attended the religious meetings of his friends without shrinking at the danger, and undauntedly hazarded his life for the testimony of a good conscience.

In the year 1669 he removed his residence to Clare in Suffolk, the place of his nativity; and here also, in conjunction with his brethren, was obnoxious to suffering. For in the next year, upon the last conventicle act coming in force<sup>d</sup>, Robert Dawkins, a parish officer of Haverill, and

<sup>b</sup> See vol. ii. p. 22, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Bessé.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

C H A P. and Elias Dowty, an informer, were very active  
 XIV. in coming to the meetings there, which were  
 constantly held, and taking the names of the  
 persons present, gave information to Gervas El-  
 ways, a justice of peace, who readily granted  
 his warrants for distress, which were executed  
 with the utmost rigour. Giles Barnardiston  
 with two others had the value of 32l. 5s. taken  
 from them in a few months, Dawkins aforesaid  
 urging on the other informers and officers, say-  
 ing, *Come, Sirs, let us do what we do quickly,  
 for this trade will not last long.* After suffering  
 spoil of their substance they were debarred of  
 the use of their meeting-house, and obliged to  
 meet in the street during the cold winter, where  
 they received much personal abuse.

<sup>c</sup> In the same year he made his appearance in  
 the ministry, and proved an able minister of  
 the gospel; not of the letter, but of the spirit,  
 and in the exercise of his gift he acquitted him-  
 self with faithfulness, fervency and wisdom,  
 whereby many were convinced, and converted  
 to righteousness. Notwithstanding he had but  
 a tender constitution, yet his devotedness to the  
 divine will, to the cause of truth, and to the  
 promotion of the eternal well-being of man-  
 kind, animated him to travel many journeys in  
 divers parts of England and in Holland, for  
 the purpose of propagating pure religion amongst  
 his friends and others. His motives, and the  
 ends he had in view, he himself hath declared  
 to the following purport, viz. <sup>f</sup> “ It is but a  
 “ short time and we shall have done with this  
 “ world; and I desire that I may be faithful to  
 “ the

<sup>c</sup> J. Whiting.

<sup>f</sup> Piety Promoted.

“ the end, that I may enjoy *that* of the C H A P.  
 “ hand of the Lord, which I received truth XIV.  
 “ for. If it had not been to obtain peace 1680.  
 “ of conscience while I am in this world, and  
 “ hopes of everlasting rest with God in the  
 “ world to come, I would never have left the  
 “ glory and pleasure of this world, which I  
 “ had, and might have enjoyed my share of,  
 “ with those who are delighting themselves  
 “ therein ; neither would I now leave my habi-  
 “ tation, where I have an affectionate wife,  
 “ and every domestic comfort, which a man  
 “ fearing God need desire, if it was not to  
 “ obey the Lord, and to make known his truth  
 “ unto others, that so they may come to be  
 “ saved. For this cause do I forsake father and  
 “ mother, wife and estate ; and whosoever  
 “ thinks otherwise of me, with the rest of my  
 “ faithful brethren whom God hath called into  
 “ his work, are all mistaken concerning us,  
 “ and I would they knew us better.” At last,  
 after all his labour, in which he discharged him-  
 self with fidelity, to the spiritual advantage of  
 many, after all his trials and sufferings and tra-  
 vels, he was taken ill in his return from Lon-  
 don to Chelmsford, and after a short sickness,  
 in which he expressed his resignation, *that the  
 Lord was his portion, and that he was freely  
 given up to die, which was gain to him*, he de-  
 parted this life in peace the 11<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>mo</sup> 1680. O.S.  
 about fifty-six years of age, leaving behind him  
 deep impressions of grateful respect and honour-  
 able esteem of his memory in the hearts of  
 many of his survivors.

CHAP.

XIV.

1681.

Life of  
Thomas  
Taylor.

1681. Thomas Taylor, an ancient and faithful minister in this society, died in the course of this year. He was born at or near Skipton in Yorkshire about the year 1616, and received a liberal education at the university of Oxford, in order to qualify him for the priesthood. He was first a lecturer at Richmond in Yorkshire, and afterwards obtained a living in Westmoreland, where he officiated as a national teacher, and sometimes resigned his pulpit to John Audland and Francis Howgill to preach in before they were convinced. Being, as well as many others at that time, scrupulous in respect to some ceremonies retained in the established church, he declined the use thereof; for he would neither baptize children at the font, nor sign them with the sign of the cross; and defended his practice in a dispute with the priests at Kendal with success. He was in consequence numbered amongst the puritans, and his audience was principally composed of this class of the people: But the bishops being at this time, in a good measure, deprived of their jurisdiction, he retained his benefice till the year 1652, when he relinquished it voluntarily. For George Fox being come into these parts, he, in company with some other priests, had an inclination to have an interview with him, and for that purpose went over to Swarthmore. His companions opposed George Fox's sentiments with some marks of resentment; but Thomas Taylor being convinced of the truth of his doctrine, yielded assent thereto, and joined him as a companion in travel and in ministerial labour: And being now persuaded of the unlawfulness of preaching for hire, he resigned his living, and preached Christ freely, according



according to his divine command. He travelled in many parts of England, by his doctrine to propagate pure religion and righteousness. At Oxford he maintained his principles against the exceptions of John Owen, at that time vice-chancellor of the university; and even the scholars <sup>h</sup> admitted Thomas had the advantage in argument, being sustained by a power and wisdom superior to that of schools and seminaries.

C H A P.  
XIV.  
1681.

But his travels were interrupted by a succession of imprisonments, the common lot of the members of this society, as well under the alledged tolerating government of the independents, as the succeeding intolerance of episcopacy. In the year 1657, conceiving it his duty to deliver an exhortation to the people assembled in the public place of worship at Appleby in Westmorland, and essaying to discharge himself in this apprehension of duty, he was apprehended and cast into prison there, in the sixth month, 1657, and detained till the year 1659. <sup>i</sup> In the next year, 1660, in the general imprisonment of the members of this society, upon the insurrection of Venner and his party, he was again imprisoned in York castle, in company with a very large number of his friends, five hundred and upwards, taken in like manner as hath been repeatedly remarked upon that imprisonment in other parts, many from their peaceable meetings, some on the highway, some from their lawful occupations, and some out of their beds; they continued in prison till about the 9th 2<sup>mo</sup>. O. S. called April; and after lying in prison, some two months and some three, were generally discharged. In the  
next

<sup>h</sup> J. Whiting.

<sup>i</sup> Bessé, vol. ii. p. 103.

C H A P. next year, 1661, travelling in Leicestershire on  
 XIV. the road toward Swanington he was met by a  
 1681. company of soldiers, and passing by them with-  
 out pulling off his hat, some of them cried out  
*a fanatick*, and riding after him brought him  
 back, kept him prisoner all night, and next day  
 after hurrying him from place to place, at length  
 met with two country justices, who tendered him  
 the oath of allegiance, and for his conscientious  
 refusal to take it committed him to Leicester jail ;  
 how long he was detained I find no account :  
 \* But in the succeeding year, 1662, he was again  
 imprisoned in Stafford jail, and at the ensuing  
 assizes was indicted for refusing to take the oath  
 of allegiance, and had sentence of *premunire*  
 passed upon him, under which he continued a  
 prisoner about ten years, till King Charles II.  
 issued his letters patent for the general discharge  
 of the Quakers from prison in 1672. <sup>1</sup> In the  
 year 1679, being occasionally at the house of  
 William Heawood at Keele, three or four friends  
 and some neighbours came in, to whom Thomas  
 felt something on his mind to communicate by  
 way of exhortation, which having done, he af-  
 terwards prayed. One Ralph Bostock, clerk to  
 justice Snead, informed his master thereof, who  
 sent for two of the neighbours that were present,  
 and obliged them to make oath of the same ;  
 upon which he fined Thomas Taylor for preach-  
 ing 20l. from William Heawood, Humphry  
 Morgan and John Smith, he caused distress to  
 be taken to the value of 7l. 10s.

Thus

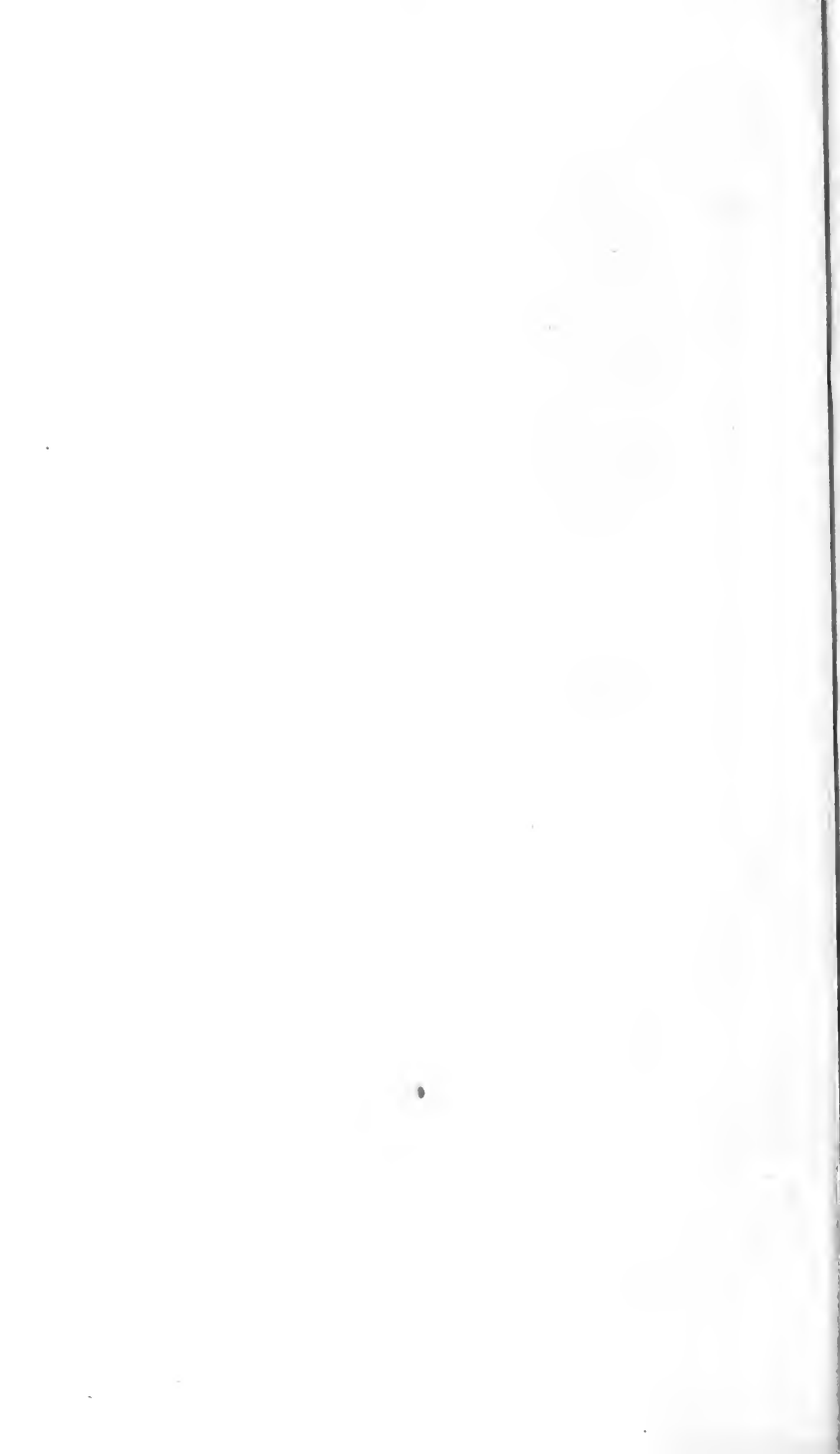
\* J. Whiting, and Bessé, vol. i. p. 651.  
 p. 653.

<sup>1</sup> Bessé, do.

Thus spending much of his time while at liberty in religious labour, to the spiritual benefit of many people; and in his successive imprisonments, for most part of twelve years, being supported by the consciousness of suffering in a good cause, and in patient acquiescence in divine disposal, he held his integrity to the last, and finished his course in a virtuous and serviceable life in Stafford the 18th 1<sup>mo</sup>. 1681, O. S. being about sixty-five years of age, leaving behind him a good report amongst the inhabitants of that town, where he had resided for several years.

CHAP. XIV.  
 1681.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



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# I N D E X

TO THE

## SECOND VOLUME.

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### A.

**A**BERDEEN, Quakers imprisoned there, called before the commissioners, p. 461.—Their defence, p. 462.—Fined, p. 464.—Ordered to pay their fines to Geo. Melvil, 467.—Who levies excessive distrains, p. 468.—Straitened and hard imprisonment, p. 472.—Some released, p. 473. See Bamff.

Abuses of the conventicle act, p. 426, 427, &c.

Act called the Oxford five mile act, p. 147. See Conventicles.

Alexander (Judge) imposes heavy fines on several of the people

called Quakers in Ireland, p. 265.

Ambrose, Alice, with Mary Tomkins and Anne Coleman, whipped through three towns in New England, p. 37.—Violently abused by two constables, *ibid.*

Ames, William, account of him, p. 12, &c.

Appeals. See conventicles, &c.

Armourer, William, a justice in Berkshire, his violent proceedings, p. 200, &c.

Ashfield, Richard, account of his death, p. 429.

Audland, John, his death and character, p. 83, &c.

Austin, John, and others, cruelly abused at Portsmouth, p. 16.

B. Bailey,

I N D E X.

B.

- Bailey, William, p. 407.
- Banks, John, in Ireland, visits Wicklow, 479.—Is opposed and accused by the priest.—Committed to prison, where he preaches to the people, and discourses on religious subjects, p. 481.—A meeting established there, *ibid*.
- Baptists, their partial proceedings in respect to a complaint against Thomas Hicks, p. 369.
- Barclay, Robert, account of his birth, education, conviction, &c. p. 217, &c.—Publisheth his Apology, p. 400.—Animadversions on Mosheim's reflections upon it, p. 402, &c.—He and G. Keith dispute with some students of Aberdeen, p. 458.—Applies to the king to relieve friends in prison at Aberdeen, p. 460.—Goes over to Holland, p. 485.—Pays a visit in company with W. Penn to Elizabeth, princess Palatine, p. 489.
- , David, convinced, p. 260.—Imprisoned at Aberdeen, p. 461.
- Barnardiston, Giles, account of him, p. 549.
- Bishop. See Sodor and Man.
- Bishops, design of toleration opposed by them, p. 294.—Promote persecution, p. 396.
- Bristol, cruel persecution there, from p. 521, to p. 533, and from p. 536 to p. 544.
- Broughton, Leicestershire, sufferings of friends there, p. 535.
- Bruth, Edward, transported to Jamaica, p. 130.
- Buckingham, Duke of, his speech against persecution, p. 412.
- Burnet, Alexander, bailiff of Aberdeen, an active persecutor, p. 471.
- Burnyeat, John, fined 20*l*. for preaching, p. 320.
- Burrough, Edward, his death and character, p. 5, &c.

C.

- Callow, William, a friend in the Isle of Man, and Evan Christen, suffer severe imprisonment for trivial demands, p. 275.—After transportation and being several times sent back is shipped for Virginia, but landed in Ireland, p. 291.
- Caton, William, his death, p. 145.
- Clapham, George, priest of Mountmelick, his extreme virulence, p. 266. See W. Edmundson.—Is summoned to appear before the privy council, and sharply rebuked, p. 268.—His vindictive proceedings, p. 269.
- Cheevers, Sarah. See Catharine Evans.
- Clergy distinguished into high-church and low-church men, p. 415.
- Coale, Joseph, dragged out of Thomas Curtis's and imprisoned till death, p. 204.
- , Josiah, his death and character, p. 235.
- Colchester, persecution there, p. 23.
- Coleman, Anne. See Alice Ambrose.—Cruelly whipped, p. 45.
- Conventicles, act against them, p. 111, 296.—Executed with severity

# I N D E X.

verity beyond the law, p. 311.  
 —Appeals generally ineffectual for procuring redress, p. 312.—  
 Arbitrary misconstruction of conventicles, p. 313.

Cooper, Robert, his hard treatment by a priest, p. 415.

Curtis, Thomas, of Reading, violently persecuted by William Armourer, 198.—Arbitrarily stopped from going to Bristol fair, p. 202.—His whole family in prison, p. 203.

—, Anne, the oath tendered to her, which she remonstrates against, p. 206.

## D.

Deane, Matthew, Mayor of Cork, a rigid persecutor, p. 478.

Declaration of indulgence, p. 19.  
 —Opposed by the parliament, p. 20, 362.—Revoked, p. 373.

Dennis, Isaac, jailer of Bristol, his cruelty, p. 537.—On his death-bed seized with horror, p. 538.

Derby, Earl of, proprietor and governor of the Isle of Man, at the instigation of the bishop very severe to the people Quakers, p. 278, 281, 284.

Discipline, dissertation thereupon, p. 161.

—, objects thereof, p. 168, &c.

1. Attendance of Meetings, p. 169.

2. Love and unity, p. 171.

3. Education, p. 173.

4. Tithes, 177.

5. Attending vain sports, &c.

p. 177.

VOL. II.

6. Justice in commerce, p. 179.

7. Marriages, &c. 184.

8. Care of the poor, 189.

9. Manner of dealing with transgressors, p. 193.

Dispute between Robert Barclay and George Keith, and some students of Aberdeen, p. 458, &c.

Dobson, William, died a prisoner for tithes, p. 428, 429.

## E.

Ecclesiastical demands rigorously enforced, p. 414.

Edmundson, William, imprisoned in the general imprisonment upon the insurrection 1660, p. 263.

—Solicits and obtains a general release for his friends, *ibid.*—

Without paying fees, p. 264.—

Excommunicated by procurement of George Clapham, priest of Mountmelick, p. 266—

Lays a narrative of Clapham's proceedings before the government, p. 267.

See Clapham, George.—

Applies again to the lord lieutenant and council, &c. p. 270.

Elson, John, cruelly plundered for illicit fines, p. 545.—

Appeals, upon paying the fines obtains his goods, p. 546.—

The justice absconds, and the money is lost, *ibid.*

Evans, Catharine, and Sarah Cheevers, travel into Italy, p. 51—

Intending for Alexandria are put into Malta, p. 52.—

Put into the inquisition, 53.—Their sufferings there, p. 55, &c.—

Released by the mediation of

N n

Lord

Lord D'Aubigny, p. 61, 62.  
—Are kindly entertained at Leghorn and Tangier, p. 62.

## F.

Farnsworth, Richard, his death and character, p. 222.

Fell, Margaret, summoned before some justices, p. 29.—Who tender her the oath, and imprison her, p. 30.—The prison very incommodious, *ibid.*—Her trial, p. 92.—Sentence of *premunire* past upon her, p. 98.

Fisher, Samuel, for refusing to swear committed to Newgate, p. 15.—His death and character, p. 141.

Flamstead-end, Hertfordshire, sufferings of friends there, 534.

Forbes, William, for publishing an excommunication against James Urquhart, contrary to conviction, falls under great trouble of mind, p. 256. Afterwards being about to publish one against his own daughter is prevented by sudden death, 257.

Fox, George, writes a paper disclaiming all plots, p. 25.—Sundry attempts to take him, p. 26.—Committed to Lancaster castle, p. 29.—His trial before judge Twifden, p. 81.—Clandestinely condemned in a *premunire*, p. 91.—Removed from Lancaster in a weak condition, p. 150.—And imprisoned in Scarborough castle, p. 152, where his imprisonment is very severe.—At last released by an order from the king, p. 155.—Travels under great weakness of body to esta-

blish monthly meetings, p. 159, 160.—His arrival in Ireland, p. 272.—Taken before the mayor and dismissed, p. 320.—Travels to visit his friends under persecution, p. 358.—Taken ill in his journey, p. 359.—Exerts himself to procure his wife's liberty with success, *ibid.*—Sails for America, p. 360.—Unjustly imprisoned at Worcester, p. 377.—Removed by *habeas corpus*, p. 384.—Remanded to Worcester, *ibid.*—Brought before the session, p. 385.—Clandestinely condemned in a *premunire*, p. 388.—Again removed by *habeas corpus* and released, p. 390.—Goes down to Swarthmore to reside, p. 391.—Leaves Swarthmore and travels to London, p. 424.—Goes over to Holland, p. 426, 485.—Proceeds in company with William Penn to Amsterdam to a quarterly meeting, where they explain the nature and use of meetings of discipline, p. 486.—Travels into North Holland and Germany, p. 488.—Returns to England, p. 496.—Receives Letters from New England relating the renewed persecution there, p. 498.—His declaration on behalf of friends, p. 506.—Prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes, 514.

Fuce, Joseph, dies in the White Lyon prison, Southwark; his life and character, p. 143.

## G.

Grange (near Charlemont) meeting settled there, p. 262.

Gray,



Gray, Elizabeth, and her son, through the candour of the justice rescued from imprisonment at the suit of a priest, p. 547.

## H.

Halhead, Miles, p. 221.  
 Hall, William, his sufferings, p. 406.  
 Harding, James, transported to Jamaica, p. 130.  
 Haydock, Robert, convinced, p. 221.  
 Hayes, Robert, put aboard a ship in order to be transported, dies there, p. 131.—His character, *ibid.*  
 Helliar, —, a notorious persecutor in Bristol, p. 522.  
 Hereford, violent abuse of friends in that city, p. 421, &c.  
 Hicks, Thomas, calumniates the Quakers, p. 368. See Baptists.  
 Holland and Germany visited by several friends, p. 485.  
 Hooton, Eliz. removes to Boston with the King's licence, p. 39.—Set in the stocks at Dover, and imprisoned at Cambridge, p. 39.—Whipped through three towns, p. 40.—Again whipped, *ibid.*—Again, p. 41.  
 Horly-down, illegal proceedings there, p. 344. See Order, &c.—The meeting-house demolished, p. 347.—Barbarous abuse of the meetings by soldiers, p. 347. &c.  
 Howgill, Francis, taken out of the market at Kendal and imprisoned, p. 31.—His trial, from p. 96 to 108.—Sentence of pre-

munire past, *ibid.*—His death and character, p. 236.—His epistle to his daughter, p. 242.  
 Hubberthorn, Richard, dies in Newgate, his life and character, p. 2, &c.

## I.

Jaffray, Alexander, convinced, p. 255.—His death and character, p. 455.  
 Jail infected, several imprisoned in it, p. 340.  
 Jenkins, Walter, and others, grievously abused. p. 251.  
 Informers profligate and infamous, p. 307.—Often perjure themselves, *ibid.*—Are exorbitant in their distraits, and encouraged thereto by the justices, p. 311. See Justices—Generally poor, p. 418.—Encouraged to renew their occupation, p. 519.  
 Ireland, account of friends in that kingdom, p. 262 to 268.—General imprisonment in 1660, p. 263.—William Edmundson solicits and obtains their release, *ibid.*  
 — governed by men of moderation, p. 267.—Exposed to sufferings, p. 479.—Present to government their suffering case in Chancery suits, p. 482.  
 Isle of Man, persecution grievous there, from p. 274 to 292. See Sodor and Man.  
 Jury, for not altering their verdict, six of them bound over to the King's Bench, p. 129.  
 — fined and imprisoned, p. 336.  
 Justices and informers stretch their power beyond the law, p. 311.  
 N n 2 —Very

—Very partial in deciding appeals, p. 312, &c. notes.  
Judges, ineffectual application to them, p. 394.

K.

Keeling, Judge, his speech against the people called Quakers, p. 123.  
King Charles II. See Declaration.  
Keith, George, joins R. Barclay in his dispute with the students, p. 458.—Goes to Holland, &c. p. 485.  
Knight, John, sheriff of Bristol, an unmerciful persecutor, p. 522, &c.—Is knighted, p. 528.

L.

Life of Richard Hubberthorn, p. 2.  
—— Edward Burrough, p. 5.  
—— John Audland, p. 83, &c.  
—— Samuel Fisher, p. 141.  
—— Joseph Fuce, p. 143.  
—— Richard Farnsworth, p. 222.  
—— Josiah Coale, p. 231.  
—— Francis Howgill, p. 236.  
—— Thomas Loe, p. 229.  
—— William Bailey, p. 407.  
—— Isaac Pennington, p. 439.  
—— Alexander Jaffray, p. 455.  
—— Giles Barnardiston, p. 549.  
—— Thomas Taylor, p. 554.  
Loe, Thomas, his death and character, p. 229.  
London, the city laid waste by fire, p. 156.  
——, yearly meeting established there, p. 163.

London, meeting of sufferings, p. 164.  
——, change of the magistracy, p. 519.  
Longworth, Roger, committed to prison as a suspected papist, p. 436.—Privately discharged, p. 437.

M.

Marsh, Richard, his sufferings, p. 530.  
Mead, William, his trial, p. 328.  
Meetings of discipline established, p. 158, &c.—The first meeting of discipline at Skipton in Yorkshire, p. 161.—In Ireland, p. 271.  
——, monthly, p. 162.  
——, quarterly, p. 163.  
——, preceded by a meeting of worship, 167.  
Meeting-house at Bull-and-mouth destroyed, p. 156.  
——, new one at Gracechurch-street built, p. 157.  
Meeting of Sufferings. See London.  
Meldrum, George, and John Menzies, priests of Aberdeen, endeavour to excite the magistrates to persecute, and the mob to abuse friends there, p. 258, &c.—Procure the imprisonment of Andrew Jaffray, p. 259.  
Messer, John, convinced, p. 451.  
Mollefon, Margaret, convinced, p. 256.  
Moore, William, with John Philly, travels into Hungary to visit the Hortefche brethren, p. 63.—They travel into Upper Hungary, p. 64.—William Moore goes to

to Comora where he is apprehended, p. 65.—John Philly also apprehended, 66.—They are brought before the inquisitor and examined, p. 67.—Put to the torture, p. 69, &c.—Sentenced to be burned, 73.—Sentence not executed, *ibid.*—Threatened with the execution of the sentence and various tortures, *ibid.*—William Moore secered in a convent, p. 79.—Released, p. 81.

## N.

New England, persecution continued there, p. 33 —Sufferings of Alice Ambrose, Mary Tomkins and Anne Coleman, p. 35, &c.—Elizabeth Hooton, p. 38, &c.—Edward Wharton, p. 42, &c.

Nottinghamshire, irregular proceedings of the justices in that county, p. 420, 421.

## O.

Order of council for demolishing the meeting-house at Horshydown, p. 345.

## P.

Parliament, change therein, p. 374.—Jealous of the court, p. 395, 411.—Dissolved, and a new one summoned, p. 448.

Penn, William, account of his birth, education and conviction, &c. p. 212, &c.—Is imprisoned in the tower, where

he writes his *No Cross No Crown*, p. 229.—His trial at the Old Bailey, p. 328, &c.—Is taken at Wheeler-street, p. 355.—Examined by Sir John Robinson, *ibid.* p. 356, 357.—Committed to Newgate for six months on the Oxford act, p. 357.—Writes his *Great Cause of Liberty of Conscience*, p. 358—Answers Hicks's *Dialogues*, p. 369.—Writes *England's present Interest*, p. 397.—He goes over to Holland in company with George Fox and others, p. 485.—Pays a visit to the Princess Elizabeth and the Countess of Hornes at Herford, p. 488, 489 —Passes on to Casfel, Frankfort and Crisheim, p. 491.—Returns to Amsterdam, p. 492. Thence to Friesland, p. 493.—Visits Labadie's disciples, *ibid.*—Goes to Embden, and applies to the burgo-master on behalf of friends there, p. 494.—Returns to Herford, *ibid.*—Returns to England, p. 496.—Obtains the grant of Pennsylvania p. 516.

Pennington, Isaac, p. 439, &c.

Persecution at Portsmouth, p. 17.

—At Colchester, p. 23, &c.—

In New England, continued

from p. 33 to 50.—At Cork, p.

477.—In Northamptonshire, p.

210.—Generally renewed, p.

393.

Philly, John. See William Moore.

Phips, Joseph, his trial, p. 209.

Plague breaks out in London, p.

135.—Encases, p. 139.—Fif-

ty two friends die in Newgate,

notwithstanding which the pris-

sons

sons are crowded with fresh prisoners, p. 140.

Popish Plot, p. 434.

Prior, Francis, with seven others, sentenced to transportation, p. 119.—The master of the ship being compelled to take them, dismisses them, p. 120.—Informing the king and council of their dismissal they are imprisoned, p. 121.

Priests of Aberdeen endeavour to stir up persecution, p. 450.

Prisoners, twenty die in Newgate, p. 2.—One hundred and twenty condemned to transportation, p. 137.—Fifty-five taken from Newgate to be transported, p. 137, 138.—Twenty-seven of whom die of the plague on ship-board, *ibid.*—The ship taken by a Dutch privateer, and the prisoners set free, p. 139.—Prisoners released by the declaration of indulgence, p. 365.

Public affairs, p. 411, 430, 431, 432, 448, 449, 499, 500, 501, 518.

## Q

Quakers (so called) the greatest sufferers by the conventicle act, p. 112.—Their patience under suffering, p. 133.—They suffer also by the five-mile act, though not made against them, p. 149.—Their general imprisonment in the Isle of Man, p. 276.—They are excommunicated without process, and delivered over to the secular power, p. 278.—Order for their transportation, *ibid.*—Several times shipped off

and sent back again, from p. 279 to 288.—Still the greatest sufferers, p. 305.—Many of them greatly spoiled, p. 306.—Generally released from imprisonment by the King's declaration of indulgence, p. 365, 366.—Apply to the king and parliament for relief from acts made against popish recusants, p. 507.

## R.

Ratcliff meeting-house pulled down, p. 352.

Remarks upon the conventicle act, p. 298, &c.—Upon the abuse of friends of Horly-down meeting, p. 350.

Resolves of parliament in favour of dissenters, p. 513.

Robinson, John, alderman, and lieutenant of the Tower, moves for a reward for the recorder, p. 343.—Causes the meeting-house at Ratcliff to be pulled down, p. 352.—Hath the same design upon that at Wheeler-street, 353.—But is prevented by Gilbert Lathey's asserting his title thereto, *ibid.*—Watcheth the meetings for William Penn, who is taken, p. 357.—And by him committed to Newgate, p. 357.

—, Thomas, of Brant-Broughton, his cattle distrained, and partly for want of a purchaser, returned, p. 437.

## S.

Sabbs, Peter, a justice of peace, grants warrants of distress against John Elson for 30l. p. 546.—which

I N D E X.

which being lodged with him in order to appeal he absconds with the money, p. 546.

Scot, John, wrongfully imprisoned on the Oxford five-mile act, p. 327.

Scotland, account of friends in that part of Great Britain, p. 255.—Sheldon (archbishop) prevents the design of a comprehension and toleration, p. 294.—Promotes the severe execution of the conventicle act, p. 301.

Shrewsbury, sufferings of friends there, p. 253.

Skein, Alexander, convinced, p. 451.

——, John, imprisoned at Aberdeen, p. 464.—Suffers by excessive distraints, p. 468.

——, George, a violent persecutor p. 470.

Smith, Humphry, dies a prisoner in Winchester jail, p. 18.

Sodor and Man, bishop of, instances of his cruelty, p. 278, 282, 283, 285, 287, 288.

Somersetshire, sufferings of friends there, p. 548.

T.

Taylor, Thomas, account of him, p. 554.

Tithes, sufferings on account thereof, p. 247, notes; and see p. 415, 429.

Tomkins, Mary. See Alice Ambrose.

Trahern, Samuel. See Fr. Prior.

Trial of George Fox, p. 89, &c.

—— Margaret Fell, p. 92,

—— Francis Howgill, p. 96.

Trial of Eight persons, on the conventicle act, for transportation, p. 116.

—— twenty-six prisoners at Newbury sessions, of whom twenty are condemned in a premunire, and two to be transported, p. 206.

—— Joseph Phipps, p. 209.

—— Henry Adamson, p. 225.

—— William Penn and William Mead, p. 328, &c.

—— Thomas Rudyard and others, p. 337.

—— Ezekiel Archer and Margery Fann, *ibid.*

Trigg, Hannah, her severe treatment, p. 127.

U.

Verdict, an unjust one against Henry Adamson, p. 225.

Vincent, Thomas, a presbyterian preacher, vilifies friends, who demand a meeting to vindicate themselves, p. 227.—The meeting is interrupted by the rudeness of some of the auditory, p. 228. See William Penn.

Vickers, Richard, prosecuted on the statute of 35 Eliz. p. 539. Brought in guilty and condemned, p. 542.—Removed by habeas corpus to the King's Bench, and acquitted, p. 543.

Urquhart, James, being convinced, is excommunicated by the presbytery, p. 256.

W.

Wales, early sufferings of friends there, p. 249, &c.

Wharton,

# I N D E X.

- Wharton, Edward, whipped thro' three towns in England, p. 44.—Again at Salem, p. 45.—Ordered to be whipped again through Boston and Lynn, p. 46.—Barbarously whipped at Boston, p. 49.
- Whitehead, George, for preaching at Grace-church-street after a priest who had read the common prayer and preached there, is taken before the mayor, &c. p. 322.—Is imprisoned at Norwich, together with Thomas Burr, 501.—Tried at the Sessions and recommitted, they regain their liberty, p. 505.—Informed against and fined, p. 520.—Appeals, p. 521.
- Whitehead, John, committed to prison as a jesuit, p. 533.
- Williams, John and Philip. See Walter Jenkin.
- Winson, Francis, a poor man, his sufferings, p. 251.

## Y.

Yearly meeting. See London.

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