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HISTORY
OF THE
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY
OF
FRIENDS,

FROM ITS RISE TO THE YEAR 1828

BY
SAMUEL M. JANNEY,

AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN.," "LIFE OF GEORGE FOX," ETC.

*While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children
of light.*—JOHN xii. 36.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

THE rise of the Society of Friends is regarded by an eminent historian as "one of the memorable events in the history of man."¹ This conclusion, founded upon the love of civil and religious liberty manifested by the Early Friends, is abundantly confirmed when we consider the excellence of their principles, the purity of their lives, and their patient endurance of severe persecution. They were the most thorough and successful reformers of their day; but the reformation they attempted was based upon Christian principle, the only foundation that can ever support the fabric of human happiness. A history of this people, adapted to the taste of readers generally, being considered a desirable addition to our literature, I have been induced to undertake the arduous and responsible task of its completion, with a sincere desire to promote the cause of truth and righteousness.

There are probably few religious bodies that possess such abundant materials for authentic history as the Society of Friends; for it has been their uniform practice to preserve with care the minutes of their meetings for discipline, the memorials of their most eminent members, and the records of their sufferings. In addition to these copious materials, a very large number of journals, and other biographical writings have been printed, and are yet extant, which furnish the historian with matter of deep interest in the delineation of character, and the exposition of religious principles.

Few persons are probably aware of the very large number of religious books written by the Early Friends, and fewer still are they who have read any considerable portion of them. In the year 1708, a catalogue of Friends' books was published by John Whiting, which contains the names of five hundred and

¹ Bancroft's United States, II 317.

twenty-eight writers, and gives the titles and dates of about two thousand eight hundred books and tracts. Some of the tracts were single sheets, others consisted of several sheets, and many of them, being subsequently collected, were reprinted in voluminous works. Some of these writings being of a controversial nature, their interest has, in a great measure, passed away with the occasions that called them forth, and others among them, being written in a style not attractive to modern readers, are seldom consulted now except by historical inquirers.

The matter contained in those old neglected volumes is often very instructive. They may be compared to a collection of ancient coins possessing much intrinsic value, but not adapted to general circulation until they shall have passed through the mint, and received the impress of modern coinage.

The circulation of religious books was considered by the Early Friends one of the most efficient means of doing good, and George Fox, on his death-bed, made it the subject of his last injunction to the brethren. "The end of books," says William Penn, "is the end of preaching; viz., informing the inquirer, stirring up the careless, stopping the gainsayer, and comforting and building up those whose faces are turned already Sionward, and that are attended with many exercises in their journey to everlasting habitations. And as the end is the same, so where the servants of Christ cannot come, books may, that are the testimony of their care and ministry for others."¹

In the prosecution of this work I have freely availed myself of the information contained in the histories of Sewel and Gough, and in Bowden's History of Friends in America; yet in most cases I have been able to find the same matter in works of a prior date, and have usually given the preference to the earliest authentic accounts within my reach.

I desire to express my acknowledgments to the Friends who have kindly furnished me with a large number of old and rare books that have been consulted in the preparation of this volume; but more especially are my grateful acknowledgments due to that Almighty Being whose providential care and preserving grace have sustained me while thus engaged, and if any good shall accrue from my labors, to Him alone be the praise.

S. M. JANNEY.

Near PURCELVILLE, LOUDOUN Co., VA.

Eleventh Month 1st., 1859.

¹ Preface to Works of I. Burnyeat.

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HISTORY

OF THE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE doctrines and testimonies of the religious Society of Friends, when faithfully maintained, constitute, in their view, a revival of primitive Christianity; it may, therefore, not be inappropriate in the opening of this history, to advert briefly to the chief characteristics which have ever distinguished the religion of Christ.

In the recorded discourses of the Saviour, and especially in that sublime compendium of Christian doctrine, the sermon on the mount, principles are enunciated, which, if carried out in practice, would revolutionize the world; subverting the thrones of superstition and despotism, relieving mankind from the thralldom of sin, and introducing them into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

It is worthy of remark that no creed or confession of faith was adopted in the primitive Christian Church. All the disciples acknowledged Jesus as the promised Messiah, the Son of God, and "messenger of the covenant," who "brought life and immortality

to light through the gospel," and "who would manifest himself as the ruler of God's kingdom by the communication of a new divine principle of life, which to those who are redeemed and governed by him, imparts the certainty of forgiveness of sins."¹ "The Life was manifested," says the Apostle John, "and we have seen it and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us." In Jesus Christ this divine principle of life was manifested in fulness, "and of his fulness," writes John the evangelist, "have all we received and grace for grace." The great purpose of Christ's ministry was to direct the attention of mankind to this divine power, whose government, as illustrated in his parables, brings forth in the humble and devoted soul, the reign of God, or kingdom of Heaven. Here then, is the *fundamental doctrine* of the Christian religion; the teaching and government of the Holy Spirit, through whose redeeming and sanctifying power man may "become a partaker of the divine nature."

It may be objected, that some have appeared "in sheep's clothing; but inwardly they were ravening wolves;" and the query may arise—how shall we distinguish the members of Christ's spiritual body from those who merely pretend to his name? He has, himself, given us the criterion: "Ye shall know them by their fruits." "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." "Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bring forth much fruit."

Now, "the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace,

¹ Neander's *Planting of the C. Church*, 27.

long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance.”

The fruits of the spirit have always been manifested by holiness of life and conversation, and the true Christian church, in the apostolic age, was distinguished by the following characteristics, viz. :

1. A pure spiritual worship. 2. A free gospel ministry. 3. Religious liberty. 4. A testimony against war and oppression. 5. A testimony against oaths. 6. A testimony against vain fashions, corrupting amusements, and flattering titles.

These testimonies being peculiar to the Christian dispensation, may be regarded as the marks by which the true church of Christ has ever been distinguished, and each will therefore receive a separate consideration.

1. A PURE SPIRITUAL WORSHIP.

As the fundamental doctrine of Christianity is the revelation of God's will through the immediate teaching of His Spirit, so the worship which this leads into is of a spiritual nature. It is observed by Robert Barclay, that the Author of Christianity has prescribed no set form of worship; enjoining only that it must be in spirit and in truth. “And it is especially to be observed, that in the whole New Testament there is no order nor command given in this thing, but to follow the revelation of the spirit, save only that general one of meeting together.”¹ This view is corroborated by Neander, one of the most approved Ecclesiastical historians. “The kingdom of God,” he says, “the temple of the Lord, were to be present,

¹ Barclay's Apology, Prop. XI. § X.

not in this or that place, but in every place where Christ himself is active in the spirit, and where, through him, the worship of God in spirit and in truth is established. Every Christian in particular, and every church in general, was to represent a spiritual temple of the Lord; the true worship of God was to be only in the inward heart; and the whole life proceeding from such inward dispositions sanctified by faith was to be a continual spiritual service: this is the great fundamental idea of the gospel, which prevails throughout the New Testament, by which the whole outward appearance of religion was to assume a different form, and all that was once carnal was to be converted into spiritual, and ennobled."
"Christianity impelled men frequently to seek the stillness of the inward sanctuary, and here to pour forth their heart to God, who dwells in such temples; but then the flames of love were also lighted in their hearts which sought communion in order to strengthen each other mutually, and to unite themselves into one holy flame which pointed towards heaven. The communion of prayer and devotion was thought a source of sanctification, inasmuch as men knew that the Lord was present by his spirit among those who were gathered together in his name; but they were far from ascribing any peculiar sacredness and sanctity to the place of assembly."¹

2. A FREE GOSPEL MINISTRY.

Divine worship under the Christian dispensation being purely spiritual, needs not the intervention of

¹ Hist. of the Church, N. York, 1848, p. 180.

a priesthood or clerical order to mediate between God and man. The primitive Christians acknowledged Christ Jesus as the head of their church, and the "High Priest of their profession."¹ In him they were united as one body through which the stream of divine life flowed, imparting health and nourishment to every member; and hence the apostle John says: "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him."² But although the teaching of the spirit is the highest privilege accorded to man, it has pleased the great Head of the church to bestow upon its members various spiritual gifts of teaching and government, "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."

It is abundantly evident from the records of the New Testament, that all who were recognised as ministers of the gospel had received a divine call to that service, and were endowed with spiritual gifts to qualify them for its performance. To preach the gospel effectually, is to bring the hearers under the baptizing power of divine Truth, which cannot be effected by mere human effort, however aided by abilities and learning. No stream can rise higher than its source, no human soul can impart healing virtue to another, unless it be itself baptized in the pure fountain of eternal love.

This spiritual ministry in the primitive Church was not confined to men; for as Peter said on the day of

¹ Heb. iii. 3.

² 1 John. ii. 27.

Pentecost, the prophecy of Joel was then fulfilled: "It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." Accordingly, we find that women, as well as men, were called to publish the glad tidings of salvation. Ministers were sometimes called prophets; for to prophesy is "to speak to edification, exhortation, or comfort." We are informed in the Acts, that Philip, the Evangelist, "had four daughters, virgins which did prophesy," and Paul writes of certain women who "labored with him in the gospel."¹

Another remarkable feature in the primitive Church was that ministers received no salaries for preaching. They adhered to the precept of their Master: "Freely ye have received, freely give." After the resurrection of Christ, we find that Peter and others went a fishing, for they were fishers by occupation; and Paul, who was a tent-maker, maintained himself by working at his trade while he abode at Corinth, preaching the gospel every Sabbath in the Jewish synagogue. It is true that Paul claimed for himself and others, while travelling in the gospel ministry, the privilege of sojourning at the houses of the brethren, and eating such things as were set before them, agreeably to the instructions of their Lord. This he terms "partaking of their carnal things," and illustrates it by the Mosaic injunction: "thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." But even this privilege he did not always feel at liberty to accept, for a necessity was laid upon him to preach the gospel, and he did it "without charge."²

¹ Acts xxi. 9. Phil. iv. 3.

² 1 Cor. ix. 18.

In reference to this point, it is remarked by Neander in his church history, that "St. Paul expressly declares that those *who travelled about* to preach the gospel were justified in suffering themselves to receive the supply of their earthly wants from those for whose spiritual advantage they were laboring; but we have no right from this to draw the same conclusion with regard to the church officers of particular communities. The former could not well unite the business necessary to earn their livelihood with the labors of their spiritual calling, although the self-denial of Paul rendered even this possible; the others on the contrary might perfectly well unite, at first, the continuance of their employments with the execution of their duty in the Church; and the primitive ideas of Christians might find nothing offensive in such an union, as men were persuaded that every earthly employment may be sanctioned by the Christian feeling in which it is carried on, and they knew that even an apostle himself had united the exercise of a trade with the preaching of the gospel."¹

3. RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Among the many blessings resulting from the doctrines of Christ, when faithfully maintained, is religious liberty; for "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."² The true Christian will neither invade the liberty of others, nor yield his principles to ecclesiastical domination. When the disciples, James and John, inquired of the Master whether they should call down fire from heaven to consume the

¹ P. 113.

² 2 Cor. iii. 17.

Samaritans who refused to receive them, he rebuked them, saying: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of, for the Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."¹

Accordingly, we find in the apostolic age, no instance where freedom of conscience was invaded by Christians. They did not attempt to force their doctrines upon others, but left each man free to follow his own convictions of duty; and on the other hand, when required by the rulers to desist from their religious duties, the apostles answered: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye."²

The ministers and elders commissioned to feed the flock of God, took the oversight of it, not for filthy lucre's sake, but of a ready mind; neither did they conduct themselves as lords over God's heritage, but as ensamples of the flock.³

They did not assume to be a separate caste from the people, for there was then no distinction of clergy and laity, nor did they accept titles of reverence which the Master himself has expressly forbidden.

The government of the Church was vested in the whole body of its members, among whom, says Mosheim, "there reigned not only an amiable harmony but also a perfect equality." "The people were undoubtedly the first in authority, for the apostles showed by their own example that nothing of moment was to be carried on or determined without the consent of the assembly; and such a method of proceeding was both prudent and necessary in those critical times." "It was therefore the assembly

¹ Luke ix. 54.

² Acts iv. 19.

³ 1 Pet. v. 2.

of the people which chose rulers and teachers, or received them by a free and authoritative consent, when recommended by others. The same people rejected or confirmed by their suffrages the laws that were proposed by their rulers to the assembly; excommunicated profligate and unworthy members of the Church; restored the penitent to their forfeited privileges; passed judgment upon the different subjects of controversy and dissension that arose in their community; examined and decided the disputes which happened between the elders and deacons, and in a word, exercised all that authority which belongs to such as are invested with sovereign power.”¹

4. A TESTIMONY AGAINST WAR AND OPPRESSION.

In no respect was the religion of Christ more remarkably distinguished from all others, than by its opposition to war and oppression. The world had for thousands of years been ruled by physical force, and the earth had been steeped with the blood of its inhabitants; but at the birth of the Messiah, the nature of his kingdom was indicated by the angelic anthem, “Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good-will towards men.” In the Sermon on the Mount he proclaimed those heavenly principles, which, if they prevailed in the hearts of mankind, would put an end to war; for the “poor in spirit,” the meek, the merciful, and the peace-makers, will neither inflict an injury upon others nor avenge their own wrongs by the destruction of human life. The divine teacher, in order to render his precepts the

¹ Ec. Hist. 1 cent. chap. ii.

more emphatic, contrasts them with the Mosaic law which they were intended to supersede: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil." . . . "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy, but I say unto you, Love your enemies." Upon these principles he continually acted, and after his resurrection, his disciples followed his example, evincing by their successful labors the power of divine truth and Christian love to overcome the world.

The triumphs of Christianity have always been effected by love, and often through much suffering; but never by resistance or violence; for love is the proper antagonist of hatred, and there are few human hearts so implacable but that they may be subdued by long-continued kindness.

When we consider the precepts and example of Christ and the nature of those heavenly principles which he inspires, it appears impossible that he can look with approbation upon any war, however plausible the pretext on which it is founded. To impoverish, to devastate, to maim, and to kill, are not the dictates of Christian love, nor can such deeds be reconciled with that heavenly charity which suffereth long and is kind: . . . which seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked: . . . hopeth all things, endureth all things, and never faileth." It is a well attested historical fact, that the primitive Christians during nearly three centuries did not bear arms, nor engage in battle, and the reason assigned for it by Tertullian, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and others, was that war was unlawful for a Christian.

Christianity is not only opposed to war, but is cal-

culated to put an end to every form of violence and oppression. That spirit of universal charity which breathes in the gospel, must, when it pervades society, elevate the degraded, instruct the ignorant, and enfranchise the slave.

The Christians in Judea, during the apostolic age, were a fraternity of believers, who "had all things common;" they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need." This state of things precluded the existence of slavery among them, even if it had not been forbidden by the gospel. In other parts of the Roman empire, slavery existed among the heathens in its worst form, and the master had absolute control over his slaves, even to the taking of life.

"Christianity," says Neander, "first prepared an entire change in these circumstances, because it taught the originally equal rights and the originally equal destinies of all men created in the image of God, and because it represented God as the Father, and Christ the Redeemer of all mankind, and every individual as the immediate object of God's providential care." . . . "Servants and masters, by becoming believers, were mutually bound together in the same bond of an heavenly union, destined for immortality. They became brethren in Christ—with whom there is neither bondsmen nor freemen—they became members of one body, made to drink of one Spirit, and heirs of the same heavenly possessions." . . . "And besides by the very spirit and practice of Christianity, such ideas and feelings were naturally engendered, as were utterly inconsistent with this institution of slavery, however well it might correspond to the then established notions. Christianity would naturally in-

roduce a wish that all men should be placed in those circumstances, in which they would be the least hindered in the free and independent use of their spiritual and moral powers according to the will of God: and thus St. Paul says to the servant, "If thou mayest be made free, use it rather."¹

5. A TESTIMONY AGAINST OATHS.

That oaths of all kinds were forbidden under the gospel, needs, for proof, only a recurrence to the express language of Christ, who, after adverting to the Mosaic prohibition of perjury, adds this emphatic declaration: "But I say unto you, swear not at all." . . . "Let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil." This prohibition is confirmed by the apostle James, who says: "But, above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven nor by the earth, neither by any other oath, but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation."

The primitive Christians understood and observed this command in a literal sense, as has been proved by the writings of Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, and others.²

6. A TESTIMONY AGAINST VAIN FASHIONS, CORRUPTING AMUSEMENTS, AND FLATTERING TITLES.

The primitive Christians were a plain self-denying people, who, in life and conversation, were not con-

¹ Church Hist. Sect. 3, p. 166.

² See William Penn's Treatise on Oaths, Folio Ed. p. 305-321, in which numerous passages from the Fathers are quoted.

formed to the world, but transformed by the renewing of their minds. Having their affections fixed upon heavenly things, their minds were raised above those vain desires which prompt the votaries of fashion to seek enjoyment in gay apparel and frivolous amusements.

The apostle of the Gentiles recommended to Christian women, that they should adorn themselves in modest apparel, and not with brodered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, but, as becometh women professing godliness, with good works; and Peter, in similar language, cautions them against the use of sumptuous apparel.¹ Tertullian, in addressing the Christians of his day, says: "What cause can you have to go out gaily dressed, for you are far from all where this can be required? For you go not about to the temples, you require no plays, and know nothing of the festivals of the heathen! You have no other than serious matters which require you to appear abroad."

Cyprian, after describing the pure joys of the Christian life, thus alludes to the corruptions of the heathen: "If you cast your eyes upon the towns, you meet with an assembly which is more frightful than solitude. A combat of gladiators is in preparation, in order to gratify the thirst of cruel eyes with blood. A man is put to death for the pleasure of men, murder becomes a profession, and crime not only practised, but even taught."²

But it was not alone the combats of gladiators which Christians then refused to witness; they declined attendance upon all those spectacles exhibited

¹ 1 Tim. ii. 9. 1 Pet. iii. 3.

² Neander, Ch. Hist. 162, 176.

for public entertainments; the pantomimic shows, the tragedies and comedies, the chariot and foot races, in short, all the amusements of the theatre and circus.

They carried their principles into all the concerns of their daily life, and refused to engage in any trade or business which could give countenance to idolatry, or minister in any way to the depraved tastes and appetites of the people.¹

“God hath commanded,” says Tertullian, “that the Holy Spirit, a spirit essentially tender and kind, should be received with tranquillity and gentleness, with peace and stillness, and not be disquieted by passion, rage, anger, and the violence of irritated feelings. How can such a spirit put up with the exhibitions of the playhouse?” . . . “Now since with us all immodesty is an object of horror, how can we dare there to listen to things which we dare not speak, while we know that all useless and trifling discourse is condemned by the Lord?”²

The early Christians conferred upon each other no pompous titles, or flattering appellations; they acknowledged but one Lord and Master, even Christ, and all they were brethren. They addressed each other by the endearing titles, “brother, and sister;” which were not empty names, but indicated the equality and affection that reigned among them. In an age of cold selfishness, nothing so much astonished their heathen neighbors as the fraternal affection that prevailed among the Christians, levelling all distinctions of rank or wealth, and obliterating all national prejudices, so that even strangers from distant lands, mingled as one common family.³

¹ Neander, Ch. Hist. 162, 176.

² Ibid.

³ Neander, 156.

Such was the condition of the primitive Christian Church while it retained the vitality of its original constitution. There were doubtless many of its members unfaithful to their high-calling, but the "fruits of the Spirit" were manifest in general purity of life and conversation, and so great was the harmony prevailing among them that the heathen were wont to exclaim "See how the Christians love one another."

THE CORRUPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

The chief causes which led to the apostasy, were the ambition and covetousness of the bishops, their assumption of privileges pertaining to the Jewish priesthood, and their proneness to adopt the notions of speculative philosophy. The apostle of the gentiles had warned the church, that after his departure, "grievous wolves should enter in among them, not sparing the flock," and that the "man of sin" should be revealed. He therefore cautions them to beware lest any man should spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit." It should be remembered that the heathen philosophy here alluded to, was not like modern science, founded on the observation of natural phenomena and applied to useful purposes; but consisted chiefly in vain speculations and conjectures, which served to amuse and exercise the imagination without promoting the good of mankind.

Near the close of the second century, a sect of philosophers arose in Egypt, spread rapidly through the greatest part of the Roman empire, and was extremely prejudicial to the cause of Christianity.¹ They were

¹ Mosheim's Ecc. Hist. 2d Cent. Part II. chap. 1.

called the New Platonists, because they taught some of the views of Plato, which they blended and endeavored to reconcile with the Christian doctrines. Their system was, indeed, an amalgamation of Christianity and heathenism, set forth in the attractive language of philosophy. They professed to select and combine the truths contained in all other systems, and hence they were sometimes called Eclectics.

Many of the Christian ministers embraced these views, and the study of this chimerical philosophy continued to spread among them until they were led away from the simple religion of Christ, which is a life-giving power revealed in the soul, — and were induced to place their reliance upon mere notions and dogmas, — the empty husks of scholastic theology.

There were those among the Christian teachers who saw the dangerous tendency of these doctrines, and endeavored to exclude such discussions from the church, but their efforts were ineffectual, the philosophers prevailed, and in most places gained an entire ascendancy.

Those spiritual gifts which in the apostolic age had been considered sufficient qualifications for teaching and government, and had often been conferred by the Head of the Church on persons destitute of learning, were no longer considered sufficient for the Christian ministry.

“Laws were enacted which excluded the ignorant and illiterate from the office of public teachers.” The bishops and other ecclesiastics took the name of clergy, implying that they were the lot or portion of the Lord; and all others were called laity or the people. Thus the priesthood was established as a separate caste, supposed to possess peculiar sanctity in

virtue of their ordination, and claiming an exclusive right to perform the functions of the Christian ministry.

No sooner was this monopoly established and a sacerdotal order imposed upon the Church, than the clergy began to encroach upon the liberties of the people; assuming the right to settle all difficulties in matters of faith; and the numerous synods and councils they caused to be assembled, composed entirely of ecclesiastics, instead of settling their differences, only tended to disturb the peace of the body and to scandalize their profession. The clergy had the address to persuade the people that the ministers of the Christian Church succeeded to all the rights of the Jewish priesthood, and hence the rise of tithes, first-fruits, splendid garments, and titles of honor, claimed by the priestly order.¹

The persecution to which the Christians were exposed, had a tendency to preserve the purity of the Church, by withholding from selfish or mercenary minds any inducement to enter its communion, or appear as its ministers. This state of things was entirely changed when, about the year 313, the Emperor Constantine made an open profession of the Christian faith. He was disposed to be a munificent patron of the Church, and lavished wealth and honors upon the clergy, which hastened the progress of corruption.

About this time, two errors of a most pernicious tendency began to prevail among the teachers of religion. One was, the maxim, "That it was an act of virtue to deceive and lie, when, by such means,

¹ Moshcim, 2d cent. and Neander III.

the interests of the Church might be promoted ;” the other was : “ That errors in religion, when maintained and adhered to, after proper admonition, were punishable with civil penalties and corporal tortures.”¹ The first of these horrible doctrines sanctioned the pious frauds and fictions employed by the clergy to establish their dominion ; the second served to cloak their persecuting zeal against those they termed heretics.

The principal subject of dispute in the fourth century was, “ The doctrine of three persons in the Godhead ; a subject which, in the three preceding centuries, had happily escaped the vain curiosity of human researches, and been left undefined and undetermined by any particular set of ideas.” “ Nothing was dictated on this head to the faith of Christians, nor were there any modes of expression prescribed as requisite to be used in speaking of this mystery. Hence it happened that the Christian doctors entertained different sentiments on this subject without giving the least offence, and discoursed variously concerning the distinctions in the Godhead, each following his respective opinion with the utmost liberty.”²

The controversy between the Trinitarians and Arians, which began in Egypt, having spread and occasioned warm disputes in other parts of the empire, Constantine convoked, in the year 325, a general council at Nice in Bithynia. In this council, after many keen debates between the two parties, the doctrine of Arius was condemned, he was banished among the Illyrians, and his followers were compelled to give their assent to the creed adopted. An

¹ Mosheim, *Ecc. Hist.* 4th cent. Part II. ch. 3. ² *Ibid.*, ch. 5.

edict was issued by the emperor, commanding that the writings of Arius should be destroyed, and that any person convicted of concealing them should suffer death.

The creed adopted by this council of contentious bishops, and enforced by the sword of a Roman emperor, was far from healing the dissensions of the Church; for, on the death of Constantine, his empire was divided among his three sons, one of whom supported the Arians, while the others adhered to the established creed. Each party assembled its bishops and presbyters; so that council was arrayed against council, brother against brother, and scenes of violence ensued, in which all the principles of Christianity were set at naught.

The ascendancy obtained by the bishop of Rome, and the fraudulent means used to sustain his authority, contributed greatly to accelerate the general apostasy. The claim of the Roman Pontiff to universal supremacy is founded upon the assumption that he is the successor of St. Peter—the Rock on which it is absurdly alleged that Christ declared he would build his church. There is no proof that Peter was bishop of Rome, nor that he delegated his authority to any successor; but independently of these considerations, it cannot be supposed that the church was founded on a fallible man. The Rock referred to in the text is that “Spiritual Rock,” of which the Israelites drank in the wilderness, and “that *Rock was Christ.*” It was this Eternal Word which revealed to Peter that Jesus was the son of God, and on the *revelations of this word*, the true Church has ever been established; for “other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.” He is that stone which

the builders rejected, whom God has made the head of the corner.”

Syricius, who was called to the see of Rome in the year 384 and reigned till A. D. 398, is the first of whom any act exists wherein he styles himself Papa or Pope, a title signifying father; which, prior to this period, was given through respect to all bishops indiscriminately; but which those of Rome subsequently appropriated to themselves.¹ It is evident that about the close of the fourth century, the apostasy was so far advanced that the true Church of Christ was no longer visible;—she had “fled into the wilderness to a place prepared of God,” there to be nourished during the 1260 years, that the witnesses should “prophesy in sackcloth,” while the outer-court was given up to the Gentiles.”²

In Mosheim’s account of the fourth century, he says, “An enormous train of different superstitions, were gradually substituted for true religion and genuine piety.” . . . “The reins being once let loose to superstition which knows no bounds, absurd notions and idle ceremonies multiplied almost every day. Quantities of dust and earth brought from Palestine and other places remarkable for their supposed sanctity, were handed about as the most powerful remedies against the violence of wicked spirits; and were sold and bought every where at enormous prices. The public processions and supplications by which the Pagans endeavored to appease their gods were adopted into the Christian worship, and celebrated in many places with great pomp and magnificence. The virtues which had formerly been as-

¹ Bowers, Hist. of Popes, I. 244.

² Rev. xi. 2, 3, and xii. 6.

cribed to the heathen temples, to their lustrations, to the statues of their gods and heroes, were now attributed to Christian churches, to water consecrated by certain forms of prayer and to images of holy men." . . . "In these times the religion of the Greeks and Romans differed very little in its external appearance from that of the Christians. They had both a most pompous and splendid ritual. Gorgeous robes, mitres, tiaras, wax-tapers, crosiers, processions, lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and many such circumstances of pageantry, were equally to be seen in the heathen temples and in the Christian churches."

Near the end of the 4th century, the emperor Theodosius I. decreed the abolition of paganism and prohibited under pain of death the celebration of its rites, as treason to the state; but he was probably not aware that paganism in its most essential features was already adopted into the Church. In the early part of the 5th century, Theodosius II. issued an edict proclaiming the bishop of Rome "ruler of the whole church."

That church which was once the temple of God had become the temple of Antichrist; for this title is not limited in its application to an individual or a dynasty, nor is it confined to one locality; it is applicable to that proud self-sufficient spirit in man which exalts itself above the Spirit of Christ, presuming in his name to command and enforce obedience to its decrees by making war on the saints. But although it was manifest in its bitter fruits throughout nearly the whole of the visible Church, it was at Rome and Constantinople that the most conspicuous evidences of its power were exhibited. Between the Pope and the Patriarch there was a fierce contest for pre-eminence,

attended with bitter animosity, which continued for centuries and finally resulted in an entire separation between the Greek and Latin Churches.

In the year 606, the title of Universal Bishop was conferred on the Pope by the emperor Phocas, one of the most detestable tyrants that ever usurped a throne. The power of the Roman see was greatly increased in the year 754, by the donation of Pepin king of France, who conferred upon Pope Stephen part of the territory in Italy recently conquered from the Lombards. Charlemagne, the successor of Pepin, confirmed and augmented this grant to the Pope, who thus became a temporal sovereign and held the sword of the magistrate as well as the crosier of the priest. It has been the uniform policy of the Popes to extend the authority of the Roman see, by every means in their power; and their ambition has often involved them in desolating wars.

During the greater part of the 10th century, the Roman Pontiffs were engaged in scenes of violence and fraud almost unparalleled; six popes were deposed, two murdered, and one mutilated; frequently two and even three competitors were contending for the chair, and by turns driving each other from the city. "The history of the popes who lived in this century," says Mosheim, "is a history of so many monsters, and not of men, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious, tremendous and complicated crimes, as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess."¹

In pushing forward their schemes of universal dominion, the popes did not confine themselves to their

¹ Ecc. Hist. 10th Cent. Part II.

spiritual weapons; but like other potentates had their armies, mostly composed of mercenary troops and frequently commanded by ecclesiastics.

In the crusades for the recovery of the "holy sepulchre," instigated by the Roman hierarchy, the clergy took an active part, and while the monarchs of Europe were weakened and impoverished by those disastrous expeditions, the Roman Pontiffs continued to increase in power. During the greater part of that period of ten centuries called the middle ages, while superstition brooded over the civilized world and Europe was convulsed with desolating wars; the Popes, true to the instinct of priestly ambition, took advantage of every turn in political affairs to build up the vast fabric of their power. Their emissaries were found in every city, and their ambassadors at every court; by the arts of diplomacy they circumvented the strong, and by the terrors of excommunication they alarmed the timid, until they were enabled to give the law to empires, to put their feet upon the necks of kings.

THE WITNESSES.

In contemplating the superstition, misery and crime that overspread Christendom during the long night of the apostasy, the inquiry arises, Were there none to keep alive the sacred flame of pure religion? Yes, there were witnesses for the Truth, but they prophesied in sackcloth. In various parts of Europe there were large numbers of devoted Christians, who, for many centuries, had separated from the Greek and Roman churches in order to escape the domination of the clergy. Through their faithfulness a succession of devoted witnesses was preserved until the time of

the Reformation. They were chiefly of two classes, having sprung from two different stocks. One of these was the Paulicians, who in the seventh century originated in the East, and after enduring much cruel persecution from the emperors of Constantinople, a portion of them withdrew into Thrace and Bulgaria, whence they passed into Italy and France. They were known by the names of the Cathari, Bulgarians and Albigenses.

In the 13th century, a crusade was preached against the Albigenses in the south of France, and the soldiers who engaged in this "holy war," were promised not only the plunder of their innocent victims, but a plenary indulgence for all their sins, and a certain passport to heaven. The armies employed in this service by Pope Innocent III., destroyed above two hundred thousand Albigenses in the short space of a few months; and, during a period of twenty years, it was estimated that a million were put to death. The fires of the Inquisition, as well as the sword of the warrior, were called into requisition to put down heresy. During many centuries, that horrid tribunal invented and conducted by priests, was employed in its work of persecution and destruction. Throughout southern Europe, the sanctuaries of domestic life were invaded by its secret emissaries, and the unsuspecting victims, snatched away from their homes, were subjected to the agonies of torture to extort confession, after which they were immured in dungeons or consumed at the stake.

Hallam, in his History of the Middle Ages, after adverting to the persecution of the Albigenses in Languedoc, says, "the Catharists, a fraternity of the same Paulician origin, more dispersed than the Albi-

genses, had previously sustained a similar trial." He attributes to them "qualities of a far superior lustre to orthodoxy, a sincerity, a piety, a self-devotion, that almost purified the age in which they lived." The same historian ascribes a very extensive effect to the preaching of these people, who, he says, "appeared in various countries during the same period, in Spain, Lombardy, Germany, Flanders, and England."¹

These reputed heretics, says Mosheim, "rejected all rites and ceremonies; and even the Christian sacraments, as destitute of any, even the least spiritual efficacy or virtue;" yet he informs us that "even their enemies acknowledged the sincerity of their piety, although they blackened them with accusations which were evidently false."

The other class of Christian "witnesses" was the church of the Waldenses, which, in the valleys of Piedmont, had subsisted from a very early period,—probably from the age of Constantine,—and previous to the Reformation, had spread its affiliated societies in the north of Europe. Among the branches which sprang from this stock were the Bohemian Brethren and the Moravians.

The Waldenses asserted that they had never acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs, but had from the earliest ages preserved the doctrines and testimonies of the primitive church. An old inquisitor of the Catholic church, Rienerus Sacco, reports the following language as coming from the Waldenses:—"The doctors of the Roman church are pompous both in their habits and manners; they love the uppermost rooms and the chief seats in the syna-

¹ P. 506.

gogues, to be called of men Rabbi, Rabbi. For our part, we desire no such Rabbies." . . . "They fight and encourage wars, and command the poor to be killed and burnt, in defiance of the saying, 'He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.' For our part, they persecute us for righteousness' sake. They do nothing but eat the bread of idleness. We work with our hands. They monopolize the giving of instruction, and 'wo be to them that take away the key of knowledge.' — But among us, *women teach as well as men*, and one disciple, as soon as he is informed, teaches another. Among them you can hardly find a doctor who can repeat three chapters of the New Testament by heart; but of us there is scarcely man or woman who doth not retain the whole."¹

According to Mosheim, "they adopted as the model of their moral discipline the Sermon of Christ on the Mount, which they interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner; and consequently prohibited and condemned in their society all wars and suits at law, all attempts toward the acquisition of wealth, the infliction of capital punishment, self-defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds."²

Milton, in a tract entitled "Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Church," says, "Those most ancient Reformed Churches, the Waldenses, if they rather continued not pure since the apostles' days, denied that tithes were to be given, or that they were ever given in the primitive church, as appears by an ancient tractate

¹ Payran's *Nouvelles Lettres, sur les Vaudois*, p. 34.

² *Ecc. Hist.*, 12th Cent.

inserted in the Bohemian history. The poor Waldenses, the ancient stock of our Reformation, without the help [of tithes,] bred up themselves in trades, and especially in physic and surgery, as well as the study of scripture, which is the only true theology, that they might be no burden to the church, and after the example of Christ might cure both soul and body; through industry adding that to their ministry which He joined to his by the gift of the spirit. So Peter Giles relates in his history of the Waldenses of Piedmont."

The Waldenses were dreadfully harassed by the agents of the Inquisition. Many of them were put to death, and others being driven from their country, spread their principles in foreign lands. In the latter part of the fifteenth century, Pope Innocent VIII. issued a bull against them, in which he directed the archdeacon of Cremona to extirpate them, and to "tread them under foot as venomous adders." He accordingly raised an army for this purpose, and the harmless victims of papal intolerance were subjected to the most shocking barbarities. They fled at his approach, and concealed themselves in their mountain caves. He placed quantities of wood at the entrances of the caves, which, being set on fire, four hundred children were suffocated with their mothers, and multitudes were dashed on the rocks below, or butchered by the soldiery. The work of destruction was arrested by the duke of Savoy, who took the remnant of the Waldenses under his protection.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Roman Pontiff was in undisturbed possession of that vast ecclesiastical authority which had been acquired by the sagacity and perseverance of his predecessors. There was however throughout Europe a deep-seated and increasing disaffection to the papal power, produced by the usurpations, the extortions, the profligacy and arrogance of the Roman hierarchy.

In the year 1513, John de Medici succeeded to the pontificate under the title of Leo X. He was addicted to luxuriously living, and so fond of magnificence, that the expenses of his court and the adorning of his capital impoverished the papal treasury. Hence he was led to employ all the expedients for raising money which priestly cunning had invented, and among these the most lucrative was the sale of indulgences. It had been asserted in a bull of Clement VI. that "one drop of Christ's blood would have sufficed to redeem the world," but he shed his blood abundantly that he might supply his Church with a treasury of merits that could never be exhausted. In addition to this, all the good works of the saints, beyond what was needful for their own salvation, — and hence called *works of supererogation*, were laid up in the same treasury to be dispensed by the Church to those who would purchase them by services or money. On this doctrine was founded the sale of Indulgences, and Alexander VI., "the Nero of the papal throne," was the first to declare officially that they released sinners from purgatory.¹

¹ Ranké, Hist. of Popes, 33.

The traffic in these fraudulent credentials was carried by Leo X. and his agents to an enormous extent; the prices being rated according to the wealth of the purchasers, and the nature of the crimes committed or in contemplation. Tetzels, a Dominican monk, was appointed the agent for this traffic in Germany, and he executed his commission in a manner that was revolting to reason and decency.

At this propitious period, when the extortions of the Roman hierarchy had destroyed the confidence of the people, when the revival of letters had increased the intelligence of the educated class, when the invention of printing had furnished the means of disseminating knowledge, and when the seeds of a purer doctrine had been sown throughout Europe by the various dissenting sects; a humble instrument was raised up by divine Providence to begin the work of reformation so long desired and so often frustrated. Martin Luther was a native of Saxony, a monk of the order called "the Hermits of St. Augustine," and professor of Divinity in the university of Wittenberg. He was possessed of great talents and extensive learning, his heart was deeply imbued with piety and his mind enriched with scriptural knowledge. When he heard Tetzels proclaiming the all-saving efficacy of indulgences and saw the demoralizing consequences that ensued, his zeal was kindled, and he publicly denounced the shameful traffic which deluded the people and put in jeopardy the souls of men.

At first, he had no intention to call in question the Pope's supremacy, for at that time he was a devoted adherent of the Roman Church, but the violent opposition and abuse he encountered from Tetzels and others of the Dominican order, as well as the arro-

gance of Cajatan the pope's legate, induced him to examine more closely the foundation of papal supremacy. He was gradually led to the conviction that the Roman hierarchy was actuated by the spirit of Antichrist, that the pope's assumption of universal supremacy was a flagrant usurpation, and that the doctrine of salvation by works performed in the unsanctified will of man, was a dangerous delusion. "The Head of the Church militant," he says, "is Christ himself, and not a mortal man." "All Christians belong to the spiritual state, and there is no difference between them, except that of the functions they discharge." "I declare that neither Pope, nor bishop, nor any other man living, has authority to impose the least thing upon a Christian without his own consent." ¹ Such were the enlightened sentiments that animated the heart of the Christian reformer. Happy had it been for him and his co-laborers in that glorious work, if they had always acted upon principles so pure and noble; but the light was just beginning to dawn upon the world, after a long dark night of apostasy; it could not be expected that the Reformers should at once see all things clearly, and if in some points of doctrine and discipline they erred, we should attribute their mistakes, not to want of sincerity, but to the darkness of the age in which they lived.

The views of Luther, being published in numerous works, and maintained in public discussions with energetic eloquence; but, above all, being seconded by the divine witness for truth in the hearts of mankind, spread rapidly through Germany, and penetrated

¹ D'Aubigné, Hist. Ref. II. 48. 87. 112.

into other countries, producing throughout Europe a profound sensation. Among the bigoted adherents of the papacy, they were received with alarm and indignation; but to pious and reflecting minds, they appeared like the first rays of the rising sun reflected from the mountain-tops, the harbingers of a glorious day.

Leo X., being of an easy temper, and busied with schemes of luxury and ambition, at first disregarded the efforts of the reformer; but, at length, stimulated by the complaints of his legates and counsellors, he tried negotiation in order to induce Luther to retract his opinions. Finding him firm in maintaining them, a Bull of excommunication was issued in 1520, in which the writings of Luther were condemned to be burnt; and the reformer himself, if he should not recant within sixty days, was pronounced a contumacious heretic, who should be seized and brought to Rome. If this sentence could have been executed, Luther and his friends would have suffered in the dungeons of the Inquisition, or at the stake, the dreadful doom that always awaited the advocates of Christian liberty.

Happily for the cause of the Reformation, Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, protected Luther and enabled him to pursue his religious labors. About the same time Charles V., being elected emperor of Germany, summoned the reformer to appear before him in the Diet assembled at Worms. There in the presence of the emperor, the princes of Germany, and the dignitaries of the church, Luther was required to renounce his alleged heresies. It was a sublime spectacle of moral courage and Christian faith, to see a humble monk, under sentence of excommunication,

and in peril of his life, standing before that august assembly, maintaining the truth with unwavering constancy; and when threatened with the doom of an obstinate heretic, exclaiming with pious fervor, "May God be my helper, for I can retract nothing!"

Having been furnished by the emperor with a safe-conduct, Luther was suffered to depart for his home; but the Diet condemned his doctrines, and ordered his books to be burnt, and his person imprisoned to await his punishment. His friend and patron, the Elector of Saxony, caused him to be arrested on his homeward journey, and conveyed to the castle of Wartburg, in order to shield him from his enemies. There he employed himself in translating the New Testament into the German language, a work that greatly accelerated the progress of the Reformation.

When the object of his detention had been answered, he was released, and continued to promulgate his doctrines with remarkable success, being assisted in his labors by Philip Melanchthon and other eminent reformers.

It is remarkable that, in several of the States of Europe, the religious impulse which produced the Reformation was almost simultaneous, although at first without any concert or co-operation among those who were called to the work. The results, however, were very different; for, while in Northern Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Great Britain, the religion of Rome was in a great measure supplanted by the doctrines of the Reformers; the struggle which took place in France, Belgium, Southern Germany, Hungary, and Poland, terminated in favor of the Papacy,

Even in Spain and Italy the new doctrines were received with favor by many, but the terrors of the Inquisition were sufficient to put them down without delay. In France the contest was long, arduous, and bloody. The most violent and sanguinary measures were pursued by the Papists; the warrior's sword, the inquisitor's rack, the dismal dungeon, and the slow consuming fire, were applied without mercy to persons of every rank affected with the alleged heresy, who refused to abjure their faith. A few were induced to recant, many fled to Switzerland, Germany, and England, while great numbers suffered martyrdom with unshaken constancy.

At the beginning of the Reformation, Luther did not rely upon the aid of princes to promote his work. He said to the Elector of Saxony: "No secular arm can advance this cause, God must do all without the aid or co-operation of man." And to the Duke of Savoy he wrote, disclaiming the use of the sword in the cause of religion, and maintaining that "It is by the breath of his mouth that Jesus will destroy Anti-christ; so that as Daniel describes, he may be broken without hand."¹

This line of conduct, so consistent with the doctrines and example of Christ, was blessed with the happiest results, and the Reformation spread with astonishing rapidity; but, unhappily, the Reformers soon began to rely upon the secular arm, and even Luther gave his sanction to an alliance between the Church and the State in Saxony. The Elector assumed the supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and Luther regarding him as the guardian of the people, thought he "should

¹ D'Aubigné, Hist. Ref. III. 425, 426.

compel the inhabitants, who desire neither pastors nor schools, to receive *the means of grace*, as they are compelled to work on the roads, on bridges, and such-like services.”¹ In Sweden and Denmark, after the Reformation, the form of ecclesiastical government was similar to that of Saxony, the sovereign being the head of the Church. In Switzerland, the sovereignty in ecclesiastical affairs was entrusted to the council of two hundred, a political body. A war between the Catholic and Protestant cantons, caused by religious dissensions, retarded the progress of the Reformation; but it was afterwards accelerated by the labors of John Calvin, a refugee from France, who became the master-spirit in the ranks of the Reformers. He was distinguished by talents, learning, and religious zeal, but, unhappily, he was not redeemed from that intolerant spirit which characterized the age. The burning of Servetus for his alleged heresies in relation to the Trinity, has left an indelible stain upon the character of Calvin; but it should be remembered that the dreadful deed was approved by many of the most distinguished Reformers.² They had brought with them from the Church of Rome some of her most pernicious maxims; one of which led to the union of Church and State; another, to the maintenance of the clergy by tithes; and a third, to persecution for alleged heresies in doctrine.

In England, a vigorous effort towards a reformation of the church had been made by the celebrated John Wickliffe, about 150 years before the time of Luther. He translated the New Testament into English, and

¹ D'Aubigné, Hist. Ref. IV. 42.

² Edinburgh Encyclopedia, article Calvin.

wrote many religious works in which he denied the infallibility and supremacy of the Pope and the doctrine of transubstantiation. He also asserted that children may be saved without baptism, and that the baptism of water profits not without the baptism of the Spirit.¹ His enlightened views were condemned by the pope, and by a convocation of bishops, held at London, in the year 1382; but owing to a schism in the church, and a war between the two anti-popes at Rome and Avignon, the English reformer was suffered to live out his days and propagate his doctrines. The principles of Wickliffe were widely diffused in England, and even spread to the continent, where many embraced his views, thus preparing the way for a more decided movement.

While on the continent, the Reformation was begun by pious men actuated by religious zeal, it is remarkable that in England the first step towards a rupture with Rome was taken by a capricious and despotic monarch, actuated by depraved passions.

Henry VIII. was at first a devoted adherent of the papacy; and on the appearance of Luther's writings in England, the king took up his pen in defence of the church of Rome, for which he was rewarded by Leo X., with the title of "Defender of the Faith." Luther's answer was severe and uncourteous, which produced in the mind of the English monarch an antipathy that was never removed. Henry was married to Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur; but becoming enamoured of the beautiful Anne Boleyn, he professed to feel scruples about the validity of his marriage, and applied to the

¹ Neal's Hist. of Pur., and Fuller's Ch. Hist.

Pope Clement VI. for a divorce, which, after much delay and prevarication, was refused.

The king being a man of violent passions, and almost absolute in his kingdom, determined to pursue his own course in defiance of the pope. The universities being consulted, declared his marriage invalid; he then called a convocation of the clergy, and a meeting of the parliament, both of which acknowledged him as "The protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England." Having thus freed himself from the papal yoke, he married Anne Boleyn, and soon after received from Archbishop Cranmer, a divorce from Catherine, which ought to have preceded his second marriage.¹ The pope's bull of excommunication against Henry, fell harmless at his feet; and the rupture between Rome and England was final; but the people of England soon found that the head of their church was no less despotic and arrogant than the Roman pontiffs. Although separated from the Catholic church, he still maintained most of its dogmas, and enforced his own opinions upon others with inflexible severity. The Parliament and higher clergy being subservient to his will, the most intolerant laws were passed against all who denied the king's supremacy, or professed the doctrines of the reformers. Hence it happened that Catholics and Protestants were alike involved in a severe persecution.

It is said that in this reign 72,000 persons were executed.² The Church property and Abbey lands confiscated amounted to more than one-third of the real

¹ Russell's Modern Europe, ii., 277.

² Dew's Digest. of Hist. 521.

estate of the kingdom; but it was not merely the property of the Church; it was also considered the patrimony of the poor, for a part of the tithes and other ecclesiastical revenues had always been applied to the relief of the indigent. The Church of England and the partisans of Henry having appropriated these immense revenues, it became necessary in after times to tax the people for the support of the poor.

On the death of Henry, his son Edward VI. a boy under 10 years of age, succeeded to the throne and became head of the English Church. Although a majority of the bishops and the inferior clergy were on the side of popery, the king's council, appointed by the will of his father, were mostly in favor of the reformation; and thus the new doctrines, being promoted by court favor and legal statutes, gained the ascendancy.

Edward's reign continued but seven years, and after his death, the throne was occupied by his sister Mary, a bigoted Catholic, who arrested the reformation, restored the old forms, and condemned to the flames nearly 300 persons who had embraced Protestant doctrines. The Parliament with the most abject submission passed an act expressive of sincere repentance for their former course, and humble acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy; they begged to be restored to the Catholic Church; but they took care not to restore the Abbey lands and Church revenues which had been distributed among the aristocracy.¹

Mary reigned but five years, and was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn.

¹ Hume, II. 532.

She was a Protestant and proved to be an able sovereign. A new Parliament being assembled, declared the Queen to be the "governess" of the Church, and by one Act swept away all that had been done for Romanism in the preceding reign, taking care also to secure the confiscated church property to those who were in possession of it. The aristocracy and gentry in Parliament, were ever ready to change their religion at the will of the sovereign; they could renounce every thing but the spoils; the clergy manifested an equal degree of subserviency, for notwithstanding these sudden and violent changes in the church, they nearly all retained their places. Out of 9400 parochial benefices, only 243 clergymen quitted their livings.¹

Elizabeth, being fond of a pompous ceremonial, retained in the church service some relics of Romanism, which gave offence to those among the clergy who were zealous Reformers. They contended for a purer form of worship, and being strict in their morals, and rigid in their opinions, obtained the name of Puritans. They were generally Calvinists in their doctrines. The new bishops appointed by the queen, claimed authority by apostolic succession, through the Church of Rome, and, therefore, thought they were bound to admit she was a true Church, though corrupt in doctrine and discipline. The Puritans affirmed that the pope was Antichrist, and the Church of Rome apostate; therefore, they disclaimed the validity of ordination by succession. The penal laws against heresy, and the severity of the bishops, drove from the Church all who could not conform to the

¹ Neal's Hist. Pur. I. 82.

established ritual, and hence the Puritan ministers were forced to take a stand in opposition to the hierarchy.

The Reformation had already been established in Scotland, where the Presbyterian form of church government was adopted, and when, after the death of Elizabeth, the Scottish monarch succeeded to the throne of England, under the title of James I., the Puritans hoped to enjoy protection under a king educated in principles similar to their own. They were, however, disappointed, for the weak and pedantic king was soon gained over by the bishops, whose doctrine of passive obedience to the regal power, flattered his vanity, and secured his favor. The non-conformists being zealous and active, continued to increase in numbers, and they gained favor with the people by their opposition to the despotic maxims in relation to government, put forth by the king, and sanctioned by the bishops.

When, on the death of James, his son, Charles I., ascended the throne, the Puritans had grown to be a formidable party, devoted to the cause of civil liberty, and strong in the affections of the people. They were ridiculed by the courtiers for the austerity of their manners, their affectation of Scriptural phrases, and their sanctimonious pretensions. They possessed, however, beneath this forbidding exterior, a strength of character, and determination of purpose, that insured their triumph in the day of trial. They were firm believers in unconditional election and reprobation, and, of course, considered themselves to be of that small number called the elect, for whom alone Christ died, to purchase for them an eternal inheritance. Their adversaries they regarded as the enemies of

Christ, and they did not hesitate to apply to them the strong language in which the Hebrew prophets denounced heathen idolatry. "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and keepeth back his sword from blood," was their favorite text on the eve of battle.

The despotic maxims, the vacillating course, and the treacherous policy of Charles, having roused the indignation of the people, the celebrated Long Parliament, in which the Puritans had the ascendancy, unfurled the standard of revolution, and called the nation to arms. In the fearful contest that ensued, the superiority of the Parliamentary forces became apparent. The army commanded by Cromwell was distinguished by strict discipline, indomitable courage, and fanatic zeal. Psalms and hymns resounded through the camp, and the officers, assuming the functions of the ministry, encouraged their troops by citing the examples of the Judges and avengers of Israel.

In Scotland, the attempt of the king to force upon the people the Episcopal form of church government, drove them into rebellion, and having entered into a *covenant* for the preservation of their liberties, they defeated the king's troops, and maintained their position. In the year 1643, the English Parliament entered into a "solemn league and covenant" with the Scots, the object of which was to promote the Protestant religion, and to abolish the hierarchy. An assembly of divines, convoked by Parliament, having met at Westminster, adopted a confession of faith and form of church government, which, being submitted to Parliament, was confirmed under the title of "A directory for public worship, passed January 3d,

1644-5." The Church of England having been subverted by the covenant, and the Directory not being generally carried into practice, the people were left at liberty in most places to pursue their own course, and the various dissenting sects came forward more openly to advocate their principles.

In the Westminster Assembly, the Presbyterians were predominant, and during their short ascendancy, they employed coercive means to establish their form of worship. The Independents, being then in the minority, were more liberal in their professions; but when they attained to political power, they fell into the common error; leaning upon the secular arm for support, insisting upon uniformity in faith and worship, and persecuting all who would not conform to their views.

It has justly been remarked by William Penn, that "The children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves very early to earthly policy and power to uphold and carry on their reformation that had been begun with spiritual weapons," and to this he attributes their want of progress in the spiritual life.

A distinguished theologian of our country¹ has truly asserted, that "The great and most fatal defect of Luther's reformation was, that he left the reign of dogma or speculative theology untouched. He did not restore the ministration of the Spirit. Opinions were left to rule the church, with just as much of consequence as they did before. He delivered us from the Pope and the councils, but that which made both Pope and Councils he saved, viz., the authority of

¹ Bushnell's Discourses.

human opinions and of mere speculative theology. The man of sin was removed, but the mystery of iniquity, out of which he was born, was kept. Opinions, speculations, and theologic formulas, were still regarded as the lights of religion. All judgments of men, as Christian or unchristian, continued as before, to be determined by their opinions, and not, in any degree, by their fruits or their character. Love, mercy, faith, a pure and holy life, was still left a subordinate thing—important, of course, but not the chief thing. Christianity remained in the hands of schools and doctors, and that was called the faith, here and there, which, here and there, was reasoned out as the veritable theologic dogma.”¹

In accordance with this view, it may be safely asserted, that, as the ministration of the Spirit was not restored, so the fruits of the Spirit were not generally manifested. Although there were doubtless many pious individuals who had attained to purity of life, there was no visible church that came up to the standard of primitive Christianity.

Instead of that pure spiritual worship, and free gospel ministry instituted by the Messiah, a pompous ceremonial, and a ministry deriving its call, qualification, and reward from man, too generally prevailed.

Religious liberty was scarcely known, even among the Reformers, for all parties who attained to power evinced a disposition to enforce their own opinions upon others, and mostly proceeded to the infliction of fines, imprisonment, and death.

So far from bearing, like the primitive church, a testimony against war, the sword was unsheathed throughout Christendom, and many who professed to

¹ Dogma and Spirit, 290.

be ministers of the gospel were actors or abettors in the deadly conflict.

Swearing, though forbidden by Christ, was almost universally practised, and amid all the fluctuations in church and state, oaths were imposed upon the people at every change of government, which, being inconsistent with each other, often involved the crime of perjury.

And lastly, there was, throughout Christendom, a general declension from that purity of life and simplicity of manners which characterized the primitive Christians.

Notwithstanding these deficiencies, it must be acknowledged that the Protestant reformers were eminent instruments of Divine Goodness, in promoting the cause of truth, by throwing off the chains of the Roman hierarchy, and introducing greater freedom of thought and expression. There were many pious and enlightened persons who lamented that the Reformation had not been perfected, and who looked forward to the dawning of a brighter day. Among these was William Dell, Master of Gonvil and Caius College, Cambridge, who lived during the protectorate of Cromwell. In the Preface to a discourse showing the spirituality of Christian baptism, he writes as follows: — “I appeal to the next generation, which will be further removed from those evils, and will be brought nearer to the word; but especially to that people whom God hath and shall form by his spirit, for himself; for these only will be able to make just and righteous judgment in this matter, seeing they have the Anointing to be their teacher and the Lamb to be their light.”

CHAPTER I.

RISE OF THE SOCIETY IN THE MIDLAND COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND.

1624-1651.

IT was during the time of the civil war, when the Long Parliament was contending with the king, and the whole nation was convulsed with the sanguinary conflict, that it pleased the Most High to raise up from the walks of humble life an instrument to preach and exemplify the gospel of peace.

George Fox was born in the year 1624 at Drayton, Leicestershire, England. His father's name was Christopher Fox, a weaver by trade, exemplary in his character, and highly esteemed among his neighbors. His mother's maiden name was Mary Lago, a pious woman of the stock of the martyrs, and "accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived."¹ From his earliest years, George manifested some traits of a remarkable character, being "religious, still, solid, and observing," beyond his years, "as was manifested by the answers he would give, and the questions he would put, especially in relation to divine things."²

His school education was very limited, but it appears that in his youth he learned to read pretty well, and to write sufficiently to convey his meaning to others.³ Some of his relatives wished him to be educated for

¹ William Penn's Rise and Progress.² Ibid.³ Sewel's History of the Quakers.

a minister in the Church of England, of which his parents were members; but others objected, and he was placed with a shoemaker, who also dealt in wool, and kept sheep. Here he was employed as a shepherd, a business well suited to his quiet and contemplative spirit.

When George Fox was about nineteen years of age, being in company with two of his acquaintance, who were professors of religion, he was led, by their conduct and conversation, to conclude that they were destitute of vital piety, which so deeply distressed him, that he slept none during the night, but "walked up and down, and sometimes prayed to the Lord."¹

In the year 1643, being led by an impression of religious duty, he left his relatives, and withdrew from the companionship of men, in order to devote himself to reading, and religious meditation. Like Wickliffe, Luther, and other eminent reformers, he spent much of his time in reading the Scriptures, and watching unto prayer; for his reliance was not upon himself, but upon the Holy Spirit, to give him an understanding of the heavenly truths recorded in the sacred volume.

While thus retired from the world, his mind underwent a most painful conflict of religious exercise. He says in his Journal: "A strong temptation to despair came upon me; I then saw how Christ was tempted, and mighty troubles I was in. Sometimes I kept myself retired in my chamber, and often walked solitary in the chase to wait upon the Lord." "I was about twenty years of age when these exercises came upon me, and some years I continued in

¹ Journal, I. 68.

that condition in great trouble; and fain I would have put it from me. I went to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them." After travelling for some time in the country, he went to London and took lodgings, but was still in great trouble; for when he looked upon the high professors in the city, he saw "all was dark, and under the chain of darkness." Having understood that his relatives were grieved at his absence, he returned to Leicestershire, and went among his kindred; but continued about a year in great sorrow and trouble, walking many nights by himself.

While passing through this stage of religious experience, he was asked by the priest of Drayton, Nathaniel Stevens, "Why Christ cried out upon the cross, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'" And why he said, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not my will, but thine be done!" "I told him," says George Fox, "at that time the sins of the whole world were upon him, and their iniquities and transgressions, with which he was wounded, which he was to bear and be an offering for, as he was man, but died not as he was God; so in that he died for all men, tasting death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world. This I spoke being at that time in a measure *sensible of Christ's sufferings*, and what he went through."

Thus was George Fox led to distinguish between the manhood that suffered and the Divinity by which it was sanctified; for although the son of God was baptized into a state of suffering for the whole world, on account of "their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded;" yet it is impossible

that Deity should suffer agony or death; he is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. In infinite condescension, he manifested himself through the son as the Redeemer of mankind, for "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself."

The experienced apostle, in addressing the Colossians concerning the gospel of Christ, says, "Whereof I, Paul, am made a minister, who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ for his body's sake, which is the church:" and to the Corinthians he writes, concerning the ministers of Christ, as "always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body." In like manner, George Fox, being subjected to the discipline of the cross, was "in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings," being made to drink of the cup that he drank of, and to be baptized with the baptism that he was baptized with."¹

Such has been, in every age, the lot of those faithful servants of God, who have been chosen to occupy an advanced post in the Lamb's warfare. Luther, in writing to Melancthon concerning certain pretended prophets in Germany, tells him to "Ask them if they have known those spiritual heavings, those pangs of God's new creation, those deaths and hells, which accompany a real regeneration."²

About the year 1646, George Fox, being still under deep religious exercise, had many precious truths opened to him through the immediate operation of divine grace. He was led to understand that none are true believers but such as are "born of God, and passed from death to life;" that the temple of

¹ Mark, x. 38.

² D'Aubigné III. 64.

the Lord is not an outward building, made with hands, for he dwells in the hearts of his people; and that an education at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to qualify a man as a minister of Christ. These truths were at first strange to him, for it was common in that day to regard all professors as believers; they called their places of worship holy-ground and temples of God; and they relied upon human learning and ordination as sufficient qualifications for the gospel ministry. These discoveries struck at the ministry of the parish priests, and George Fox discontinued his attendance on their services. Taking his Bible, he retired to the orchard or the fields, to meditate in solitude and silence. His relatives being troubled at his withdrawal from the church, he referred them to the language of the apostle, "The anointing which ye have received of Him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you."

As he passed through Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, he met with a tender, pious people, with whom he had some meetings and religious conferences. Among them was Elizabeth Hootton, who embraced his views, and subsequently received a gift in the gospel ministry.

During this time, he says, "I fasted much, walked abroad in solitary places many days, and often took my Bible, and sat in hollow trees and lonesome places till night came on; and frequently in the night walked mournfully about by myself; for I was a man of sorrows in the time of the first workings of the Lord in me." "Though my exercises and troubles were very great, yet were they not so continual but that I had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such an heavenly joy, that I thought I

had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery. Oh! the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress! when my troubles and torments were great, then was his love exceeding great. Thou, Lord, makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field; thou bringest down and settest up; thou killest and makest alive, all honor and glory be to thee, O Lord of glory. The knowledge of thee in the spirit is life; but that knowledge which is fleshly works death." . . . "The knowledge which the world hath, of what the prophets and apostles spake, is a fleshly knowledge; and the apostates from the life in which the prophets and apostles were, have got their words, the holy scriptures, in a form, but not in the life nor spirit that gave them forth."

After he had forsaken the priests of the English church, he began to look more towards the Dissenters, and he found among them some tenderness of feeling and religious knowledge; but the most experienced of their ministers could not speak to his condition, and he was forced to relinquish all reliance upon man. It was then, while under deep prostration of soul, he heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." His heart leaped for joy; he saw that the design of Infinite Goodness was to draw him to himself, and his desires after the Lord grew stronger. Thus he grew in the "knowledge of God and of Christ alone without the help of any man, book, or writing." "For though," he says, "I read the scriptures that spake of Christ and of God, yet I knew him not but by revelation, as

he who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to his Son by his spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along and let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books. That love let me see myself, as I was without him; and I was afraid of all company: for I saw them perfectly where they were, through the love of God which let me see myself. I had not fellowship with any people, priests, nor professors, nor any sort of separated people, but with Christ who hath the key and opened the door of light and life to me. I was afraid of all carnal talk and talkers, for I could see nothing but corruptions, and the life lay under the burden of corruptions. When I was in the deep, under all shut up, I could not believe that I should ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrows, and my temptations were so great, that I often thought I should have despaired, I was so tempted. But when Christ opened to me how he was tempted by the same devil, and had overcome him, and had bruised his head, and that through him and his power, light, grace, and spirit, I should overcome also, I had confidence in him." . . . "I found two thirsts in me; the one after the creatures, to have got help and strength there; and the other after the Lord, the creator, and his Son Jesus Christ; and I saw all the world could do me no good. If I had had a king's diet, palace and attendance, all would have been as nothing, for nothing gave me comfort but the Lord by his power. I saw professors, priests, and people, were whole and at ease in that condition which was my misery, and they loved that which I would have been rid of. But the Lord did stay my desires upon him-

self, from whom my help came, and my care was cast upon him alone. Therefore all wait patiently upon the Lord, whatsoever condition ye be in; wait in the grace and truth that comes by Jesus; for if ye do so, there is a promise to you, and the Lord God will fulfil it in you."

Having heard of a woman in Lancashire who had fasted two and twenty days, he went to see her, but perceived that she was under a temptation. He spoke to her condition, and then passed on to Duckenfield and Manchester, where he met with some professors of religion and preached among them the doctrine of Christ as an inward and spiritual teacher. Some of them being convinced were brought to the knowledge of the "Lord's teaching by which they were confirmed and stood in the truth." Others among them were enraged, and could not endure to hear preached the doctrine of Christian "perfection or of a holy and sinless life." This is regarded by the historian Sewel as the beginning of George Fox's public ministry, though there is no doubt he had previously been instrumental in convincing many by his conversation and consistent example. In a paper he drew up "Concerning the first spreading of the Truth," he states that it "first sprang up (to us, as to be a people to the Lord) in Leicestershire in 1644, in Warwickshire in 1645, in Nottinghamshire in 1646, in Derbyshire in 1647, and in the adjacent counties in 1648, 1649, and 1650, in Yorkshire in 1651, in Lancashire and Westmoreland in 1652, in Cumberland, Bishoprick¹ and Northumberland 1653, in London and most parts of the nation of England, Scotland

¹ Durham.

and Ireland in 1654. In 1655 many went beyond seas, where truth also sprung up. And in 1656 truth brake forth in America and many other places.”¹

There were at that time in England many earnest and devout souls, who, being dissatisfied with the formality of the Anglican Church and the sanctimonious professions of the Puritans, both of which were too often destitute of the pure life of the gospel, withdrew from all visible churches, and sought for consolation in reading the Scriptures, with meditation and prayer. These serious and retired people were known by the name of Seekers; and by some were called the Family of Love. They often met to worship God in silence, and sometimes they spoke a few words of exhortation under a sense of religious duty. It was among these that Geo. Fox gathered some of his earliest proselytes; for they had passed through a preparatory stage of religious experience, and when he spoke to them of that inward spiritual law by which Jesus Christ teaches his people himself, their hearts responded to his call. In this early stage of his ministry, his preaching chiefly consisted of some few but powerful and piercing words² which being adapted to the states of his auditors, sank deep into their hearts, and like seed sown in good ground brought forth fruit abundantly.

In the year 1648, being at a great meeting held by religious professors, George Fox heard them speaking of the blood of Christ. “And as they were discoursing of it,” he says, “I saw through the immediate opening of the invisible spirit, the blood of Christ, and I cried out among them ‘Do ye not see

¹ G. Fox's Works, VII. 10.

² Sewel, I. 28.

the blood of Christ? See it in your hearts to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works to serve the living God.' For I saw it, the blood of the new covenant how it comes into the heart. This startled the professors, who would have the blood only without them, and not in them. But Captain Stoddard was reached and said, 'Let the youth speak, hear the youth speak,' when he saw they endeavored to bear me down with many words."

This Captain Amos Stoddard, afterwards becoming better acquainted with George Fox, embraced his principles and faithfully maintained them.

Several passages in the Journal of Geo. Fox about this time, show that there was throughout the land a remarkable state of religious excitement, which extended to all classes, and was manifested by meetings in the fields, and by public discussions among the different sects, all zealously contending for their peculiar views.

He met with a great company in Warwickshire who were praying and expounding the Scriptures in the fields. "They gave the Bible to me, he says, and I opened it on the fifth of Matthew, where Christ expounded the law, and I opened the inward state to them, and outward state; upon which they fell into a fierce contention and parted: but the Lord's power got ground."

He attended another great meeting for public discussion, in which Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Episcopalians participated. It was held in the parish house of worship; the priest occupied the pulpit, and all persons were offered liberty to speak. A woman, availing herself of this privilege, asked "what that birth was of which Peter speaks; viz.,

being 'born again of incorruptible seed by the word of God that liveth and abideth forever.' The priest said to her, 'I permit not a woman to speak in the church.' George Fox stepped forward and asked, 'Dost thou call this place a Church, or dost thou call this mixed multitude a Church?' Instead of answering this question, the priest asked him what a Church was? George replied 'The Church is the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ is the head of, but he is not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones and wood.' This produced much excitement among them and the meeting was broken up.

Thus George Fox continued to travel from a sense of religious duty, visiting, not only houses of worship, but markets, fairs and other places of public resort, preaching repentance and amendment of life, and directing the attention of all to that inward monitor which reproves for sin and leads the true believer into purity of life. Multitudes flocked to hear him, and his ministry being in "the demonstration of the spirit and of power," had a wonderful effect in arresting attention and producing conviction in the minds of his auditors. The main object and stress of his ministry, was to call attention to that great fundamental doctrine of christianity, 'the immediate and perceptible teaching of divine grace, which "brings salvation and hath appeared to all men." This holy and redeeming power, he usually called by the scriptural term, 'the light of Christ,' for he is "the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." "The Lord opened to me," he says, "by his invisible power, how 'every man was enlightened

by the divine light of Christ,' I saw it shine through all, and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation to the light of life, and became the children of it; but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ." . . . 'I was sent to turn people from darkness to light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for to as many as should receive him in his light, I saw he would give power to become the sons of God, which I had obtained by receiving Christ. I was to direct people to the spirit which gave forth the scriptures by which they might be led into all truth, and so up to Christ and God, as those had been who gave them forth." . . . "Yet I had no slight esteem of the Holy Scriptures, they were very precious to me; for I was in that spirit which gave them forth; and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to them."

He rejoiced in being sent forth to call others to the knowledge of that heavenly power revealed in the soul, which had brought him up from the brink of despair, set his feet upon a rock, and put a new song into his mouth, even praises to our God. By this divine power, "the light of Jesus," he was sent to bring people off from all their own ways to Christ the new and living way; "from their churches, set up by men, to the Church in God, the general assembly written in heaven, of which Christ is the head; from the world's teachers, made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life; from the world's religions, which are vain, that they might know the pure religion which leads to visit the widows, and the fatherless, and to keep themselves unspotted from the world; from the world's praying and sing-

ing, which stood in forms without power, that they might pray in the Holy Ghost, sing in the spirit, and make melody in their hearts to the Lord."

He was moreover required to bear a faithful testimony against deceitful or unmeaning salutations. Tokens of reverence adopted from custom and not derived from the genuine emotions of the heart, being destitute of sincerity, were, in his view, calculated to keep alive that vanity and pride from which they had their origin. He could not put off his hat to any man, how exalted soever his station; he was not permitted to bend the knee, to bow, or to give flattering titles to any; and he was required, in addressing a single individual, to adhere to the ancient scriptural language, thee and thou.

This plain and unflattering mode of address, adopted from a sense of duty, although accompanied by the most amiable demeanor, gave great offence, and was the occasion of much suffering to the early Friends. "Thee and thou," says William Penn, "proved a sore cut to proud flesh," and it is remarked by the same author that the use of a plural pronoun to a single person was first applied to proud popes and emperors, imitating the heathen's vain homage to their gods, "as if one pope had been made up of many gods, and one emperor of many men." The uncovering of the head being a mode of manifesting reverence for the divine majesty, and recommended by the apostle Paul to be observed in public prayer and gospel ministry, may be considered as a species of homage not appropriate to be employed in addressing a human being.

It was a characteristic of the hypocritical Pharisees that they loved the uppermost places at feasts and

greetings in the markets, and to be called of men Rabbi. A similar disposition was manifested by the clergy and other professors of religion in the days of George Fox. When they saw that he and his fellow-believers denied them the usual tokens of reverence or adulation, they fell upon them with violence, subjecting them to fines, imprisonment, and personal abuse. But there was another testimony of the Early Friends that rendered them still more obnoxious to obloquy and persecution. They paid no tithes and gave no countenance to a mercenary priesthood. They believed that the gospel of Christ could not be learned in the schools of men, that it was given freely by the Head of the Church, and should be preached freely as it was in the apostles' days without fee or reward from man.

For their faithful maintenance of this testimony, they were subjected to heavy fines and long imprisonments. The clergy of every class, although at variance among themselves, united in their exertions to put down these bold and uncompromising reformers; — representing them as deceivers and blasphemers, they instigated the magistrates to punish them severely, and the rude populace were encouraged to treat them with contumely and violence.

The first imprisonment of George Fox was at Nottingham, in the year 1649. Under an apprehension of religious duty, he went to the parish house of worship, where he heard the priest take for his text these words of Peter: "We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." This, he told the people, was the Scriptures

by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. George Fox being under deep religious exercise, felt constrained to cry out: "Oh! no, it is not the Scriptures, but the holy spirit by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments, are to be tried; for it leads into all truth, and gives the knowledge of all truth. For the Jews had the Scriptures, yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning star, and persecuted Christ and his apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the Scriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they tried them without the Holy Ghost." For speaking thus, the officers came and took him away, and cast him into a foul and noisome prison.

Some time after, the high sheriff, whose name was John Reckless, sent for him to his house. The sheriff's wife met him in the hall, and taking him by the hand, said: "Salvation is come to our house." Being lodged, and courteously entertained at the sheriff's house, he had great meetings there, and many were convinced of his doctrines. But the magistrates, being incensed against him, committed him to the common prison, where he remained a considerable time.

After his release, in 1650, he resumed his travels, visiting fairs, markets, and other places where the people were collected, and as he felt himself empowered by the heavenly gift, exhorting them to repentance and amendment of life. On coming to Derby, he was lodged and entertained at the house of a doctor, whose wife had been convinced of the principles of Friends. While walking in his chamber,

he heard the bell ring, the sound of which, he says, "struck at his life." He asked his hostess, "what the bell rang for?" She answered, for a lecture, and that many officers of the army, priests, and preachers, were to be there, and among them a Colonel, who was a preacher. Being moved by a sense of duty, he attended; and, after *waiting till they had done*, he spoke to them what he believed the Lord required. But an officer came, and taking him by the hand, told him he must go before the magistrates.

On his appearance before the justices, Gervas Bennet and Nathaniel Barton, they spent eight hours in his examination, sometimes deriding him, and then endeavoring by questions to ensnare him. At length they asked him "whether he was sanctified?" He answered: "Yes, I am in the paradise of God." The justices inquired: "Have you no sin?" He answered, "Christ, my Saviour, hath taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin." They said: "How do you know that Christ abides in you?" He replied: "By his spirit that he hath given us." They then queried: "Are any of you Christ?" "Nay," said George Fox, "we are nothing, Christ is all." "If a man steal," said the justices, "is it no sin?" He answered in the language of Scripture: "All unrighteousness is sin."

Although he was guiltless of any offence against the laws, these two persecuting justices committed him to the House of Correction for six months, by a mittimus dated the 30th of October, 1650.

The ostensible ground of his commitment was, for "broaching divers blasphemous opinions contrary to the late act of Parliament," which they alleged he had confessed in his examination. The act of Parliament alluded to, was only applicable to such as "shall

maintain any mere creature to be God, or shall deny the holiness of God, or maintain that all acts of wickedness or unrighteousness are not forbidden in holy scripture, or that God approves them."

These blasphemous sentiments, attributed to the Ranters, were abhorrent to the mind of George Fox; he had expressly disavowed them, acknowledging his own nothingness and the all-sufficiency of Christ, who had taken away his sin.

The commitment was not only without warrant in law, but inconsistent with the religious profession of the justices, who were of the sect called Independents: and, one of them, Colonel Barton, was a preacher. The tenets of their church admitted of no interference by the civil power in ecclesiastical concerns, and yet they did interfere for the punishment of what they called heresy, not only in this case, but in many others.

During the imprisonment of George Fox at Derby, his relations came to see him, and offered to be bound as sureties, "that he should come no more thither to declare against the priests;" but he declined entering into a recognisance, or having others bound for him, because he believed it "would be a blemish on his innocency."

1651. When the time of his commitment to the House of Correction had nearly expired, the Commissioners offered him the captaincy over a new company of troops then being raised for the Parliament's army. Being brought before them, he was asked whether he would not take up arms for the commonwealth against Charles Stuart? He answered that he knew "from whence all wars arose, even from the lusts, according to James's doctrine, and,

that he lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars." Being still further pressed to accept the office tendered him, he told them he "was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes were." They professed to make him the offer through kindness to him, and on account of his virtue. He replied, "If this is your love and kindness, I trample it under my feet." The commissioners being disappointed and enraged, said, "Take him away, jailor, and put him into the dungeon amongst the rogues and felons." In accordance with this order, he was thrust into a filthy dungeon amongst thirty felons, where he was kept nearly six months.

While he lay in prison, another attempt was made to force him into the army. Just before the battle of Worcester, Justice Bennet sent constables to press him for a soldier, and he was repeatedly offered the press-money, but he steadily refused. He was again taken before the commissioners, but he continued steadfast in bearing a testimony against all wars; being dead to those lusts in which they have their origin.

While immured in a noisome dungeon, and deeply grieved with the profane language of the prisoners, his soul was preserved in patience, and he was made to rejoice in his sufferings for Christ's sake. Many persons came to see him, and some were convinced by his instructive conversation and Christian meekness.

During his imprisonment, he wrote several instructive epistles, some of which were addressed to his persecutors, pleading with them to renounce their wickedness, and to turn to the Lord; others were

directed to his friends and fellow-believers, exhorting them to "take heed of conforming to the world, or of reasoning with flesh and blood;" and "to stand fast in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ."

He wrote to the judges to set before them "what a hurtful thing it was that prisoners should lie so long in jail, showing how they learned wickedness one of another, in talking of their bad deeds; therefore speedy justice should be done." His mind was enlightened to see that the practice of putting men to death for larceny under the severe penal code of England, was inconsistent with the principles of Christianity. On this subject also, he wrote to the judges, referring them to the Scriptures, and to the spirit of God that gave them forth, and exhorting them to show mercy, in order that they might receive mercy from God the judge of all. On the subject of oaths, his mind was painfully exercised, and he wrote to the Mayor of Derby, and to the court which met there, exhorting them "to take heed of oppressing the poor, and of imposing false oaths upon the people, or making them take oaths which they could not perform."

This admonition was needful, and pertinent to the times; for in all the sudden and violent changes in the civil and ecclesiastical government of England which had recently taken place, it had been usual to impose upon the people oaths of allegiance, which being often inconsistent with each other, exposed the nation at large to the crime of perjury.

Thus we see that George Fox, at this stage of his religious career, had already been called upon to bear some of the most important testimonies now held by the Society of Friends. He had been led to renounce the ceremonial worship in which he was educated, and

to seek, in the "silence of all flesh," for that spiritual intercourse with God which enlightens and purifies the soul, delivers it from the bondage of corruption, and, by the process of regeneration, makes it a partaker of the divine nature. He had been enlightened to see that a ministry which relied upon human ordination, and scholastic acquirements, was the greatest obstacle to the progress of truth; for God still condescends to teach his people himself by the immediate influence of his light or spirit, and the true gospel ministry is that alone which springs from the fountain of divine love revealed in the soul. This spiritual heart-searching ministry is conferred on those only who have been washed in the laver of regeneration, and are called to go forth under the guidance of Christ, who "putteth forth his own sheep and goeth before them."

They cannot receive from man a compensation for preaching. As their calling is from the Spirit, so is their reward spiritual; and they cheerfully comply with the divine injunction, "freely ye have received, freely give."

In bearing a testimony against oaths, George Fox probably stood almost alone at that time in England; and this testimony, together with that against a mercenary ministry, and that of not putting off the hat as a token of respect to man, were the chief causes of the severe persecution to which he and his friends were so long subjected.

The testimony against war which he was called to bear, is one of the most important of those fruits of the Spirit, which denote the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom. There was at that time in Great Britain a degree of religious excitement that has seldom been

equalled, and it was accompanied with a profession of sanctity that we cannot suppose was altogether hypocritical; but it must be admitted that the warlike spirit of the Puritans was not in accordance with the spirit of the gospel. They fasted often, they prayed and exhorted with passionate zeal, they fought with desperate valor, and they persecuted with unrelenting severity. The most charitable construction we can place upon their conduct is, that a sincere zeal for religion had been suffered to run into fanaticism, and they went blindly forward, in their own wills, without submitting to the cross of Christ, or being imbued with that wisdom from above, which "is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy."

When George Fox had been nearly a year in prison at Derby, the magistrates by whom he had been committed, being conscious of the injustice they had done him, became exceedingly uneasy.

At one time they thought of arraigning him before the Parliament; at another, they proposed his banishment to Ireland; but at length they gave orders for his release, which took place about the beginning of winter, in the year 1651.

It was one of these persecuting justices, Gervas Bennet, who gave him the name of Quaker, because he bade them tremble at the word of the Lord. This appellation, given in derision, was eagerly seized upon by his persecutors, and generally applied to all who embraced his principles. They had previously been called Professors of the Light, or Children of the Light;¹ but the name they adopted for their infant

¹ Sewel I. 42.

Society was that of Friends, being in accordance with the language of the blessed Jesus to his disciples, "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you." "I have called you friends, for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you."

CHAPTER II.

CONVINCEMENT IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

1651-2.

AMONG the proselytes made in the year 1651, through the ministry of George Fox, were Richard Farnsworth, William Dewsbury, and James Nayler, who became eminent as ministers of the gospel.

Richard Farnsworth lived at Balby in Yorkshire. There appears to be no account extant of his early life; but when he heard George Fox preach the doctrine of Christ's inward and spiritual appearance, as the teacher and ruler of his people, he embraced it with zeal, and became an earnest laborer in the Lord's vineyard, as well as a patient sufferer for the cause of Truth. A cotemporary who knew him well, writes concerning him, that although he was highly respected as a man of abilities and learning, "he was content to become a fool to the world, and to be stripped and emptied of his own wisdom and knowledge, and to suffer the loss of all worldly reputation and favor, that he might win Christ Jesus, and be found his servant, clothed with his righteousness of faith. His service was very great for the Lord in his day; for he

was so furnished with heavenly wisdom and understanding through the grace of God, and so seasoned thereby, that his patience, meekness, and humility, exceeded many."¹ In 1652, he travelled with George Fox in Yorkshire; and in 1653, he was engaged in the gospel ministry in the same county, holding crowded meetings, at which many were convinced of the doctrines of Friends. About the year 1658, he was imprisoned six months, at Banbury, in Oxfordshire, for no other offence than failing to take off his hat to the mayor and a justice of the peace, whom he met in the street.²

William Dewsbury was born at Allerthorpe, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, in the early part of the seventeenth century. The year of his birth is not known.

When he was between eight and thirteen years of age, he was brought under the influence of divine grace, by which his understanding was enlightened, and his conscience bore witness against "the lightness and vanity" in which he had lived. It was then the language was intelligibly addressed to his soul, as from the Lord: "I created thee for my glory; an account thou must give to me for all thy words and actions done in the body." Deep sorrow seized upon him, he ceased from his vain conversation, and began to read the Scriptures, and to pray to God; but not knowing where to find him, he looked up "towards the firmament," supposing him to be "above the skies."³ He who fills all space, whom the Heaven of heavens cannot contain, condescends to manifest

¹ Testimony of Josiah Cole, in Barclay's Letters of Early Friends.

² Besse, I. 564.

³ W. Dewsbury's Testimony, London Ed., 1689.

himself to the contrite soul as a "God nigh at hand, a very present help in every time of trouble."

Accordingly, at that early age, William Dewsbury felt the hand of the Lord within him, executing justice upon the transgressing nature, and which way soever he turned to seek for reconciliation with God in outward observances, thither he found the flaming sword was turned against him, "to keep the way of the tree of life." Thus "he stood before the throne of the Lamb, reading in his mournful state the sentence of condemnation," by which man, in the unregenerate nature, is shut out from the joys of paradise.¹

While in this disconsolate condition, he was employed by his relatives as a keeper of sheep, and, like George Fox, he found in the solitude and silence of his occupation, a full opportunity to seek for an acquaintance with God in devout meditation.

When he was about thirteen years of age, hearing of a people near Leeds who were accounted very religious, he prevailed on his parents to place him as an apprentice with a clothmaker who lived in that vicinity.

Here he found there was much discourse about religion, preaching from the letter of the Scriptures, and seeking the kingdom of God in outward observances; but he met with none "who could tell him what God had done for their souls, in redeeming them from the body of sin," which he was then groaning under. He walked strictly with them in their ceremonial observances, and listened attentively to their ministers; but he could find no peace in that way of

¹ W. Dewsbury's Testimony, London Ed., 1689.

worship, nor in receiving the bread and wine, which they told him were the seals of the covenant.

Before partaking of the eucharist, he sought for divine aid that he might receive it worthily, but he found in it no food for the soul; on the contrary, much fear came upon him, and the condition of Judas was brought before him, until at length he was enabled to see that the seal of the covenant is the spirit of Christ, and that the Lord's Supper is the body and blood of Christ, which the world knows not, neither had he then experienced it; but he was made willing to wait for its manifestation.

He could no longer join in psalm-singing; for the light in his conscience enabled him to see the evil of his heart: he knew he was not in David's condition, to sing the songs of Zion, and while others sang he mourned and wept for want of that pure spirit and clean heart to which alone the promises belong. So great was his distress that it preyed upon his health, and his body wasted away, until his employer, thinking he was in a consumption, purposed sending him back to his parents. William was fully aware that the cause of his affliction was not a malady of the body, but of the soul, and he applied to those who professed to be ministers of Christ, but they could do nothing for him. They spoke smooth things to him, advising him to believe in the name of Jesus Christ, and to apply the promises to himself; but they failed to inform him that Jesus Christ can only be known within the soul, where he appears as "a refiner with fire, and a fuller with soap," to take away the defilement of sin.

At that time the civil war was raging, and the Puritan preachers exhorted their flocks to join the

ranks of the Parliament's army, to fight, as they alleged, for the Protestant cause. In order to rouse the indifferent, and stimulate the lukewarm, they raised the cry: "Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty."¹

William Dewsbury, being deluded by his teachers, and willing to give up his body to death, in order to free his soul from sin, enlisted with those who professed to fight for the gospel, but when he came among them, he found them ignorant of the gospel; for they applied this term to the letter of the Scriptures, which is only a declaration or record concerning that inward law — the gospel of Christ, which is "the power of God unto salvation." Having heard that there was a Reformed Church in Scotland which walked in the fear of the Lord, he took a journey into that country, and coming to Edinburgh, he found there nothing but formality; the teachers of religion, like those in England, calling the people to seek for the kingdom of heaven in outward observances. Then he returned to England, and frequented the meetings of the Anabaptists and Independents, who professed to be the children of God, but he did not find among them the evidence of that divine love which alone could satisfy the longings of his soul.

Being thus taught by experience, that the kingdom of heaven cannot be attained through ceremonial observances, he was led to seek for it where alone it can be found. "Then my mind," he says, "was turned within by the power of the Lord, to wait in his counsel — the light in my conscience, to hear

¹ William Dewsbury's Works, p. 48.

what the Lord would say: and the word of the Lord came unto me and said: 'Put up thy sword into thy scabbard; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my children fight; *knowest thou not that if I need, I could have twelve legions of angels from my Father;*' which word enlightened my heart, and discovered the mystery of iniquity, and that the kingdom of Christ was within and was spiritual, the power of God." After this discovery of the peaceable nature of Christ's kingdom, the weapons of whose warfare are not carnal, he withdrew from the army, and returned to his home, where he resumed his former employment.¹ While his hands were engaged in his outward vocation, his mind continued to be deeply exercised, which was doubtless permitted for the trial of his faith and the preparation of his heart for the important service to which he was appointed.

"In that day and hour of temptation," he says, "I witnessed those Scriptures fulfilled in me, of Paul's condition wherein he complained as I then did. I found a law in my members warring against the law in my mind, so that when I would do good, evil was present with me; the sense of which caused me to cry: 'Oh wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? And as I was crying to the Lord to free me from the burden I groaned under, the word of the Lord came to me, saying: 'My grace is sufficient for thee.'"

About the year 1646, having experienced the saving efficacy of Christ's baptism, he began to consider whether it was not his religious duty to declare to others what the Lord had done for his soul. He felt

¹ William Dewsbury's Testimony, London Edition, 1689.

an entire willingness to devote himself to the work of the ministry, but while waiting for further evidence of his call, it was clearly made known to him, as he believed, by the Holy Spirit, that he should not proceed in the work until the year 1652, and he was enabled to foresee that there would then be a greater hungering and thirsting after the Lord raised in the hearts of the people.

In obedience to these impressions of duty he waited for a further manifestation of the divine will, and continued for some years to follow his occupation as a weaver of cloth.

It was probably about this time, he entered into the married state, though the precise date has not been preserved. The nuptials of William and Ann Dewsbury were solemnized at a meeting of the Anabaptists, with whom the bride was associated in religious profession. "It is related to have been a season of divine regard; their children, who are the historians in this instance, having often heard their father say that the hearts of those who attended the ceremony were so overcome by a sense of the divine presence that there were but few dry eyes in the room."¹

Soon after this event, he met with a severe trial of his faith. His wife was entitled to a considerable property in land, of which she was unjustly deprived by her brother. "Although everything is said to have been clear respecting the proceedings, and the case was submitted to trial, yet the decision was against him; the judge would not let him have the property. As he was going home, he met with the buffetings

¹ Life of W. Dewsbury by Edward Smith.

of the enemy, who insinuated into his mind some misgivings for having married a well-bred woman, whom he was likely to bring to poverty.”¹ In deep humility he turned his thoughts towards the Most High, desiring that He would make him content in whatever condition he might be pleased to place him; and immediately his heart was filled with an overpowering sense of the Lord’s presence, accompanied by an assurance of divine favor.

He was accustomed to hold religious meetings in his own house, and in the neighborhood; but, it does not appear that at this time he was in the practice of exercising any vocal gift in public worship.

It was in the year 1651, that William Dewsbury, accompanied by his wife, attended an evening meeting held by George Fox, at Lieutenant Roper’s, near Synderhill Green, Yorkshire. The account given by George Fox concerning this meeting is as follows, viz: “At one evening meeting there, William Dewsbury and his wife came and heard me declare the truth; and, after the meeting, it being a moonshine night, I went out into the field, and William Dewsbury and his wife came to me from the meeting into the field, and confessed to the truth, and received it, and after some time he did testify to it.”²

It does not appear that he was then, for the first time, convinced of those spiritual views held forth by George Fox; for he had, some years before, come to

¹ Life of W. Dewsbury by Edward Smith.

² George Fox’s statement in “*W. Dewsbury’s Testimony*, 1688.” The name of Dewsbury is spelt differently in the old London edition of his works, viz., Dewsbery; but I have adopted the form used in Edward Smith’s life of Dewsbury, being the same as that in Whiting’s catalogue.

the knowledge of them by the immediate operation of divine grace, and when he heard them declared he immediately united with them. In the following year he was impelled by a sense of religious duty publicly to advocate the truths of the gospel. He believed that the time he had foreseen was then come; and when he went forth on his mission, clothed with authority from the Head of the Church to call sinners to repentance and amendment of life, he found there was indeed "*a hungering and thirsting in the hearts of the people after the Lord.*" He was made instrumental in turning many to righteousness; and the following interesting account of his powerful ministry was written by one of his first converts, Thomas Thompson, of Skipsea in Yorkshire:—

“Now it came to pass, about the sixth or seventh month of the year 1652, we heard of a people raised up at, or about, Malton, who were called Quakers, which was the first time I heard of that name being given to any people. They were by most people spoken against, but when I strictly inquired what they had to lay to their charge, that might give cause for such aspersions as were thrown upon them, I met with none that could justly accuse them of any crime; only they said they were fantastical and conceited, and burnt their lace and ribbons, and other superfluous things, which formerly they used to wear; and that they fell into strange fits of quaking and trembling. These reports increased my desires to see and be acquainted with some of them; and in the eighth month of the aforesaid year I heard that the Quakers were come to Bridlington, whereat I greatly rejoiced in my spirit, hoping that I should get some opportunity to see them.

“This was that faithful laborer and minister of the gospel, William Dewsbury, who then was ordered into these parts; and on the fifth day following I heard that they were come to Frodingham. Being on my master’s work in Brigham, I could not go in the day, but determined to go in the night, and would gladly have had some of my acquaintance to go with me, but, the night being very dark, none would go, so I went alone. Coming into the room where William was, I found him writing, and the rest of his company sitting in silence, seeming to be much retired in mind and fixed towards God; their countenances, being grave and solid, preached unto me, and confirmed what I had before believed—that they were the people of the Lord. After a little time, William ceased writing, and many of the town’s-people coming in, he began, in the power and wisdom of God, to declare the Truth. And, oh how was my soul refreshed, and the witness of God reached in my heart! I cannot express it with pen; I had never heard nor felt the like before, for he spake as one having authority, and not as the Scribes; so that if all the world said nay, I could have given my testimony that it was the everlasting Truth of God.

“In the same month my mouth was livingly opened to declare the name of the Lord, and preach repentance to the people; and the work of the Lord prospered in the hands of his faithful servants.

“I knew a bridle to my tongue, and was greatly afraid lest I should offend the Lord in thought, word, or deed; and the word of the Lord was in me. ‘Thou shalt not do thine own works, nor think thy own thoughts, nor speak thy own words, on this my holy day.’ And though I suffered and went through many

great exercises, yet the Lord bore up my spirit and carried me on, while I abode faithful to him, to the praise of his own name.

“But through reasoning, and looking too much at my own inabilities and unfitness for so weighty a work, the enemy sometimes prevailed to keep me in disobedience, and cast down my mind so low that my growth was thereby hindered for a time; yet did the Lord, in his endless love to my poor soul, renew his visitations, and my mouth was often opened in the congregations of his people to praise his worthy name. In those days I often accompanied William Dewsbury, John Whitehead, and sometimes James Nayler, and other early ministers, to and fro in the East Riding of Yorkshire; and the glorious presence and power of the Lord our God was richly with us, to the overcoming of our souls, the comfort of his heritage, and the praise of his own name.”

The services and sufferings of William Dewsbury will again be brought forward in the progress of this history, and in the mean time another character, still more celebrated, claims our attention.

James Nayler was born at Ardsley, (or Ardislaw) near Wakefield in Yorkshire in the year 1618. There appears to be no account extant concerning his early life. On his marriage, about the year 1640, he removed to Wakefield, but the civil war breaking out the following year he became a soldier in the Parliament's army commanded by Fairfax, and was afterwards a quarter-master under Lambert. When he had been in the army between eight and nine years, being disabled by sickness, he left his military employ and returned to Wakefield. At this time

he was joined in religious profession with the Independents.¹

His first interview with George Fox, took place at the residence of Lieutenant Roper in the year 1651. "It was here," says George Fox, "James Nayler came to see me, when he was convinced after I had some discourse with him."² There is reason to believe that his mind had been previously enlightened in regard to the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, and that he was prepared by his own experience to unite with the views he then heard promulgated. Not long afterwards, he felt himself called by a strong impression of duty to go forth and publish to the world the glad tidings of salvation through Christ, the inward and spiritual Redeemer, not only from the guilt but from the dominion of sin. The extraordinary power of his ministry is illustrated by the following anecdote. "A person of some note, who had been an officer under Oliver Cromwell, related to James Wilson as follows: viz., "After the battle of Dunbar, as I was riding in Scotland at the head of my troop, I observed, at some distance from the road, a crowd of people and one higher than the rest; upon which I sent one of my men to see and bring me word, what was the meaning of this gathering. And seeing him ride up and stay there, without returning according to my order, I sent a second, who staid in like manner; and then I determined to go myself. When I came thither, I found it was James Nayler preaching to the people; but with such power and reaching energy as I had not till then been witness of. I could not help staying a

¹ Life of J. Nayler, by Jos. Gurney Bevan, London, 1800.

² G. F's statement in W. Dewsbury's Testimony 1688.

little, although I was afraid to stay; for I was made a Quaker, being forced to tremble at the sight of myself. I was struck with more terror by the preaching of James Nayler, than I was at the battle of Dunbar, when we had nothing else to expect, but to fall a prey to the swords of our enemies, without being able to help ourselves. I clearly saw the cross to be submitted to; so I durst stay no longer, but got off, and carried condemnation for it in my own breast. The people there, in the clear and powerful opening of their states, cried out against themselves imploring mercy, a thorough change and the whole work of salvation to be effected in them.”¹

In the year 1652, James Nayler was engaged in holding meetings near Kendal, in Westmoreland, where he met with great opposition from the clergy. After much disputing, one of them began to accuse him before the magistrates, saying that he taught people to burn their bibles and to contemn the civil authority; that he encouraged children to disobey their parents, and wives their husbands; to which James answered, “Thou art a false accuser: prove one of these things if thou canst.” But he, not being able to prove any of his charges, accused James of teaching the doctrine that there is a light which convinces all of sin, alleging that all men have not such a light. James replied, “Point out one in all this multitude that will dare to say he has it not.” “These are all Christians,” he said; “but if a Turk or Indian were here, he would deny it.” James rejoined, “Thou goest far for a proof, but if a Turk or Indian were

¹ J. Barclay's *Memoirs of Friends in Scotland*, 295; and the *Life of James Gough*, 56; Dublin ed. 1781.

here, he would witness against thee." The people beginning to fight, the priest turned away, saying there would be a disturbance. "These," said James, "are thy Christians, and this is the fruit of thy ministry." One of the justices exerted his influence to keep the rude populace from pressing upon James, and he preached to them with freedom and authority, notwithstanding the jeers and threats to which he was exposed.

He was, soon after, desired by many Christian friends to attend a meeting at Orton for divine worship. He accordingly went, but the clergy, having intelligence of his purpose, five of them attended, and there was a great concourse of people. He went to a friend's house, and while there received a message from the priests to come into the field or town common, which they said was a more convenient place for a great multitude. He answered, "It is my desire that all may be edified," and coming into the field, the priests asked him by what authority he came thither? and why he had gathered so many people to break the peace? "Wilt thou be bound," they asked, "that none here shall break the peace?" He answered, "We came not hither to create offences, but if any break the law let him suffer by the law." One of his opposers suggested that he should "go into the church, where the people might all sit and hear better." James said, all places were alike to him, and he would stay in the field; whereupon they produced an ordinance of parliament forbidding any to speak but such as were authorized to speak, either in church or chapel, or any public place; and bade him speak at his peril. "Those that are sent to declare the things of God," he replied, "have not their authority

from men." They bade him prove that position. He said, "Paul received not his commission from man nor by man." To which one of them answered, "that was his gospel; but they would prove that Paul had a command from man to preach;" and for that end, he named the place, in Acts xiii. 2, where the Holy Ghost said, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul," and the apostles laid their hands upon them: "which," said one of them, "was the laying on of hands of the Presbytery." James asked him if that was Paul's call to the ministry? He made no reply. The question was repeated, and still he answered nothing. "Then," said James, "*if that was his call*, he had preached long without a call, as may be proved from the first chapter of Galatians." Another priest stood up and said, "Thou oughtest to give an account of thy faith to every one that asketh," and he propounded various questions which James answered. One of the company cried out, "Answer not all, but ask *him* some." James asked him "how he would prove himself a minister of the gospel while he lived upon tithes?" He declined to answer, and James said, "Neither will I answer thy questions, if thou ask me twenty more." The next question was, "Whether Christ was ascended or not?" James said, "I will not answer thee;" whereupon the priest cried out to the people, "He denies the humanity of Christ." The people exclaimed, "Let us hear him; you have often told us many things against him: let him speak, and then if he speak not truth you may reprove him." James hearing the desire of the people began to speak, and they listened attentively. He held forth the doctrine that Christ alone is the teacher of his people in spirit and in truth; but one of the

priests cried out, "I cannot endure to hear this seducer any longer." Upon which James said, "Prove me a seducer before all this people, or else thou art a false accuser." The priest did not attempt to prove his accusation, but said, "If thou wilt not answer me that question I asked thee, I will call thee a seducer as long as I live." James and his friends, seeing there could be no peace on the common, retired into a house; but they were followed by the populace, who assailed them with blows, and surrounded the house, raging and shouting all the time he was speaking.

On the following week, the priests renewed their opposition with greater success. Having excited the populace by false charges, and gained the assistance of a magistrate, they proceeded with an armed multitude to the house where he was, and some of their company entering without opposition, seized him by the throat, and dragged him out to the field, where a justice of the peace with a pitchfork struck off his hat, and commanded him to answer such questions as the priests should ask him. One of the priests then began to interrogate him concerning the resurrection, the humanity of Christ, the Scriptures, and the Sacraments. He answered their questions, and confirmed his doctrines by citations from the Scriptures. At length, being asked if Christ was in him, he replied, "I witness him in measure." "Is Christ in you as man?" "Christ is not divided," said James, "for if he be, he is no more Christ: but I witness, *in measure*, that Christ who is God and man." But, said the priest, "Christ is in Heaven with a carnal body." To which James replied, "Christ filleth heaven and earth, and is not carnal, but spiritual: for if

Christ be in Heaven with a carnal body, and the saints with a spiritual body, that is not proportionable or agreeable, neither was that a carnal body which came in among the disciples, the doors being shut: for Christ is a mystery, and thou knowest him not."

After some further discourse, the justice assisted in conducting James back to the house; but while the latter was praising God for his deliverance from the violence of his adversaries, some of them were heard to say, "If we let him go thus, all people will run after him;" and forthwith they hauled him out again with violence.

The justice and the priest, mounting their horses, caused James to run after them to an ale-house, where they went in, and proceeded to examine him.

James, having said *thou* to the justice, he was displeased, and in order to show the dignity of his station, he said, "My commission runs, Ye." He told him, moreover, that, if he did not take off his hat, he would send him to prison. James said, he did not keep it on in contempt, for he owned the civil authority, and respected it according to the Scriptures: he added, that he found no such honor commanded in Scripture, but forbidden.

They determined to send him to prison as a wandering person, alleging that none knew whence he came. "Thou knowest me," said James, addressing himself to Arthur Scaife, "for I was in the army with thee eight or nine years." "It is no matter," said the justice, "thou art no soldier now." The next day James Nayler and some other Friends were guarded to Appleby, and there committed to prison.

The priests prepared three petitions, full of false accusations against the Friends, and exerted them-

selves to obtain witnesses against them. They were examined by four justices of the peace, "upon an indictment for blasphemy, at the Sessions held at Appleby in January, 1652." The proceedings were reported as follows, viz.

Justice Pearson.—Put off your hats.

J. Nayler.—I do it not in contempt of authority; for I honor the power as it is of God, without respecting men's persons, it being forbidden in Scripture. He that respects persons, commits sin, and is convicted of the law as a transgressor.

Just. P.—That is meant of respecting persons in judgment.

J. N.—If I see one in goodly apparel, and a gold ring, and see one in poor and vile raiment, and say to him in fine apparel, sit thou in a higher place than the poor, I am partial, and judged of evil thoughts.

* * * * * *

The indictment was read, wherein James was charged with saying, that Christ was in him, and that there was but one word of God.

Col. Brigs.—Where wast thou born?

J. N.—At Ardislaw, two miles from Wakefield.

Col. Brigs.—How long livedst thou there?

J. N.—Until I was married; then I went into Wakefield parish.

Col. Brigs.—What profession wast thou of?

J. N.—A husbandman.

Col. Brigs.—Wast thou a soldier?

J. N.—Yea; I was a soldier between eight and nine years.

Col. Brigs.—Wast thou not at Burford, among the levellers?

J. N.—I was never there.

Col. Brigs.—I charge thee by the Lord, that thou tell me whether thou wast or no.

J. N.—I was then in the North, and was never taxed for any mutiny, or any other thing, while I served the Parliament.

Col. Brigs.—What was the cause of thy coming into these parts?

J. N.—If I may have liberty, I shall declare it. I was at the plough, meditating on the things of God, and suddenly I heard a voice saying unto me, “Get thee out from thy kindred and from thy father’s house.” And I had a promise given with it. Whereupon I did exceedingly rejoice that I had heard the voice of that God which I had professed from a child, but had never known him.

* * * * *

Col. Brigs.—What was the promise that thou hadst given?

J. N.—That God would be with me: which promise I find made good every day.

Col. Brigs.—I never heard such a case as this is in our time.

J. N.—I believe thee.

Justice Pearson.—Is Christ in thee?

J. N.—I witness him in me: and if I should deny him before men, he would deny me before my Father which is in heaven.

Justice Pearson.—Spiritual, you mean?

J. N.—Yea, spiritual.

Justice Pearson.—By faith, or how?

J. N.—By faith.

Justice Pearson.—What difference then between the ministers and you?

J. N.—The ministers affirm Christ to be in heaven with a carnal body, but I with a spiritual.

Justice Pearson.—Which of the ministers say Christ is in heaven with a carnal body?

J. N.—The minister, so called, of Kirby-stephen.

Priest Higginson stood up, and affirmed it again openly before all the court.

J. N.—If Christ be in heaven with a carnal body, and the saints with a spiritual body, it is not proportionable; neither was that a carnal body which appeared among the disciples, the door being shut, and appeared in divers forms.

Question.—Was Christ man or no?

J. N.—Yea, he was, and took upon him the seed of Abraham, and was real flesh and bone; but is a mystery not known to the carnal man: for he is begotten of the immortal seed, and those that know him, know him to be spiritual; for it was the word that became flesh, and dwelt amongst us; and if he had not been spiritual, he had not wrought my redemption.

Justice Pearson.—Is Christ in thee as man?

J. N.—Christ filleth all places, and is not divided; separate God and man, and he is no more Christ.

Justice Pearson.—If we stand to dispute these things, we should have the ministers.

* * * * *

Col. Brigs.—Didst not thou write a paper, wherein was mentioned, that if thou thinkst to be saved by that Christ which died at Jerusalem, thou art deceived?

J. N.—If I cannot witness Christ nearer than Jerusalem, I shall have no benefit by him; but I own no other Christ, but that who witnessed a good confession

before Pontius Pilate; which Christ I witness suffering in me now, (viz., spiritually).

Col. Brigs. — “Wilt thou deny thy hand?”

J. N. — I will not deny my hand if I may see it; and I desire that I may have so much favor, that that paper may be kept as an evidence, either with or against me.

A large petition being read, wherein was something against quaking and trembling:

Justice Pearson. — How comes it to pass that people quake and tremble?

J. N. — The Scriptures witness the same condition in the saints formerly; as David, Daniel, Habakuk, and divers others.

* * * * *

Justice Pearson. — To the word: what sayst thou to the Scriptures? are they the word of God?

J. N. They are a true declaration of the word, that was in them who spoke them forth.

Higginson. — Is there not a written word?

J. N. — Where readest thou in the Scriptures, that they are called the written word? The word is spiritual, not seen with carnal eyes: but as for the Scriptures, they are true, and I witness them true, in measure fulfilled in me, as far as I am grown up.

Justice Pearson. — Why dost thou disturb the ministers in their public worships?

J. N. — I have not disturbed them in their public worship.

Justice Pearson. — Why dost thou speak against tithes, which are allowed by the state?

J. N. — I meddle not with the state; I speak against them that are hirelings, as they are hirelings: those that were sent of Christ never took tithes, nor ever sued any for wages.

Justice Pearson.—Dost thou think we are so beggarly as the heathens, that we cannot afford our ministers maintenance? We give them it freely.

J. N.—They are the ministers of Christ, who abide in the doctrine of Christ.

Justice Pearson.—But who shall judge? How shall we know them?

J. N.—By their fruits you shall know them; they that abide not in the doctrine of Christ, make it appear they are not the ministers of Christ.

Justice Pearson.—That is true.”¹

At the close of this examination, the members of the court conferred together, when justice Benson maintained that the words spoken by James Nayler, “were neither within the act against blasphemy, nor against any law.” Two of the justices replied, that rather than Nayler should go at liberty, they would stand the hazard of being fined by the judges of the assize; another member of the court said, that they committed him upon the minister’s petitions, rather than upon the indictment.² It was finally concluded that he should be re-committed to prison until those petitions were answered, though none of the charges they contained had been proved. He remained in prison at Appleby twenty weeks, during which time he published jointly with George Fox, a pamphlet entitled, “Several Petitions answered that were put up by the Priests of Westmoreland.” “It is singular,

¹ J. Nayler’s Works, Cincinnati Ed. 1829, pp. 56 to 61. See also Besse’s Sufferings, II. 4. Besse makes no mention of justice Benson, but it appears by J. G. Bevan’s Life of Nayler that he was present.

² J. Nayler’s Works p. 61.

if this piece procured his liberty, seeing it abounds with censure, not very gently expressed, against the petitioning priests.”¹

It is an interesting fact that Anthony Pearson, the justice who took so active a part in the examination of James Nayler, received, at that time, while on the bench, religious impressions which had important results; for he was led to seek an acquaintance with George Fox, as will be related hereafter.

Another member of the court, Gervase Benson of Kendal in Westmoreland, was afterwards convinced of the principles of Friends through the ministry of George Fox, and became an efficient member of the society.

The same year that James Nayler was released from Appleby jail, and probably during his confinement there, he wrote a paper entitled “Truth cleared from Scandals,” being an answer to accusations against him and George Fox, contained in a petition addressed to the Council of State, by the clergy and others in Lancashire.

As the sentiments of James Nayler, in relation to the divinity of Christ, had been called in question, the following extract is deemed important, viz:

“Concerning Jesus Christ, he is the eternal word of God, by whom all things were made and are upholden, which was before all time, but manifested to the world in time for the recovery of lost man; which word became flesh, and dwelt among the saints, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; who did, and doth, dwell in the saints; who suffered, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and is set at the

¹ J. G. Bevan's *Life of J. Nayler*, 67.

right hand of God; to whom all power is given in heaven and in earth, who filleth all places, is the light of the world; but known to none, but to those that receive and follow him; and those he leads up to God, out of all the ways, works, and worships of the world, by his pure light in them, whereby he reveals the man of sin, and by his power casts him out, and so prepares the bodies of the saints, a fit temple for the pure God to dwell in, with whom dwells no unclean thing. And thus he reconciles God and man, and the image of God, which is in purity and holiness, is renewed: and the image of Satan, which is all sin and uncleanness, is defaced. And none can witness redemption, further than Christ is thus revealed in them, to set them free from sin: which Christ I witness to be revealed in me *in measure*." Gal. i. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 5; Col. i. 27.¹ This declaration, being found, not only in James Nayler's works, but in a work written by George Fox and others, entitled, "Saul's Errand to Damascus," published in London in the year 1654, may be considered in accordance with the doctrine on this point, then generally held among Friends.

In the same publication, George Fox expresses his own views on the spiritual manifestation of Christ, in answer to objections urged against him "by the contrivers of the aforesaid petition."

"*Objection I.* That he did affirm that he had the divinity essentially in him."

"*Answer.* For the word essential, it is an expression of their own: but that the saints are the temples of God, and God doth dwell in them, that the Scriptures

¹ G. Fox's Works, vol. iii. p. 598. J. Nayler's Works, p. 64. J. Gurney Bevan's Life of J. Nayler, p. 71.

do witness, 2 Cor. vi. 1; Eph. iv. 6; 2 Pet. i. 4. And if God dwell in them, then the divinity dwells in them; and the Scripture saith, Ye shall be partakers of the divine nature, and this I witness: but where this is not, they cannot witness it.”¹

CHAPTER III.

YORKSHIRE AND WESTMORELAND.

1651-2.

AMONG the early Friends, many of those who were called to the gospel ministry believed it was sometimes required of them, as a religious duty, to visit the houses of worship erected for the established church, there to proclaim to priests and people the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom. This practice has induced some writers to stigmatize them as disturbers of the churches, and by many persons, who have not examined the subject, their conduct has been regarded as an evidence of fanaticism. It will be found, however, on due inquiry, that the practice was not confined to Friends; nor was it liable to the objections that might be urged in ordinary times. Those edifices being the property of the nation, all persons had a right, and, indeed, were required by law to attend them. Before the subversion of the Anglican Church, her ministers alone were legally authorized to officiate in them; but after that event

¹ G. Fox's Works, III. 594.

the attempt to establish by law another form of church government was not fully accomplished, and in most places, the people exercised their own judgment in the choice of their religious teachers.

Some of the ecclesiastical benefices came into the hands of the Presbyterian ministers, others were assigned to the Independents, and a few were possessed by the Baptists. Some of the Anglican clergy veered round with the changes of the times, and adapted their doctrines to the public taste. Among these was Nathaniel Stevens, priest of the parish where George Fox was born. He renounced his connection with the Episcopal Church, and became a preacher among the Independents. This sect was then becoming numerous, and being favored by Cromwell and the army, their sentiments were gaining the ascendancy. They held that any "*gifted brother*," even without ordination, was at liberty to exercise his gift by preaching in the assemblies of the people. The officers of the army not only exhorted their troops in the camp and on the field of battle, but assuming the functions of the ministry, they entered the pulpits and expounded the Scriptures, referring chiefly to the Old Testament for precepts and examples to sustain their principles.

Cromwell asserted the right of those called laymen to preach in the churches. In answer to the Presbyterians of Scotland, who complained of his "opening the pulpit doors to all intruders," he wrote, "We look on ministers as helpers of, not lords over the faith of God's people." . . . "I hope he that ascended up on high may give his gifts to whom he pleases, and if those gifts be the seal of missions, are not you envious, though Eldad and Meded prophesy? You know

who has bid us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy; which the apostle explains to be, a speaking to instruction, edification, and comfort, which the instructed, edified, and comforted, can best tell the energy and effect of.”¹

In a Memoir of John Audland, it is stated that while he was a minister among the Independents, he sometimes went to the chapels and parish houses of worship, where there were idle or dissolute priests, and preached to a large auditory. It was not unusual for persons of different religious opinions to meet for conference or disputation. In 1648, George Fox attended such a meeting at Leicester, in which Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Episcopalians participated. It was held in the Parish house of worship, the priest occupied the pulpit, and all persons were offered liberty to speak.² From these facts, it may be concluded that members of the various Protestant sects were in the practice of speaking or preaching in those edifices called *parish churches*; an appellation which George Fox scrupled to give them, because the church is “made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ is the head of; but he is not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones, and wood.”³ “The Lord had showed me,” he says, “while I was in Derby prison, that I should speak in steeple-houses to gather people from thence; and a concern sometimes came upon my mind about the pulpits that the priests lolled in. For the steeple-houses and pulpits were offensive to my mind, because both priests and people called them the house

¹ Neal, II. 116.² Journal, I. 82.³ Ibid.

of God, and idolized them, reckoning that God dwelt in the outward house, whereas they should have looked for God and Christ to dwell in their hearts, and their bodies to be the temples of God."

The situation of the early Friends with regard to the established church, was similar to that of the primitive Christians in relation to the Jews; and accordingly George Fox refers to apostolic example in justification of his own practice. He says, in a paper published in 1654, "Whereas we are accused for going into steeple-houses, it was the practice of the apostles to go into the synagogues, reasoning and disputing about the Scriptures, showing them the substance, and they told them that God did not dwell in temples made with hands, neither was he worshipped with men's hands."¹

It appears by several entries in his journal, that the preaching of George Fox in the parish-houses of worship was often acceptable to the people, and sometimes he was invited by the ministers to occupy their pulpits. At Malton he had great meetings, but it being thought strange that he should preach in private houses, he was much desired to speak in the "steeple-houses." One of the priests wrote to him to preach in his church, calling him "his brother." He accordingly went, and found only eleven hearers; but when it became known in the town that he was there, the house was soon filled with people. He was invited to take the pulpit, but he declined it, stating that "he came not to uphold such places, nor their maintenance and trade." Upon this they were angry, and said, "These false prophets were to come in the

¹ G. F.'s Works, IV. 43.

last times." George then stepped upon a high seat, and "declared to them the marks of the false prophets, showing that they were already come;" and he "manifested these to be out of the steps of the true prophets, of Christ, and of his apostles." In this instance, having "directed them to the spirit of God in themselves," he had a satisfactory meeting, and departed in peace; but in many other places, when he exposed the abuses of a mercenary priesthood, he was assaulted with violence.

In going to those places of worship, it was seldom, if ever, his practice to interrupt the ministers; he waited till they had done, and then spoke in accordance with his impressions of duty. It was not the interruption of ministers which occasioned him and his friends so much persecution, but the pointed and severe rebukes they administered to "spiritual wickedness in high places."

It is worthy of note, that, after Friends had settled meetings of their own, it was not unusual for priests and dissenting ministers to attend them, asking questions, and making objections to the doctrines they heard. While they were thus taking a liberty they were not willing always to grant to others, they were civilly treated by Friends, and their objections were patiently heard and answered.¹

At Pickering, George Fox had a meeting in a school-house, where many were convinced of his doctrines, among whom was "a 'priest' that was humble and affectionate." He offered his house of worship for George to preach in, but he refused it, saying that he came "to bring them off from such things to Christ."

¹ G. Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, London, 1725, p. 162.

This clergyman, whose name was Boyes, accompanied him for several days. On coming to a town, they halted to bait, when the bells began to ring. George asked what they rang for? He was answered, that he was expected to preach. He walked towards the churchyard, in which he found large numbers of the people were gathered. Being asked to enter the parish house of worship, he declined, and, standing in the yard, he preached to the people, declaring that he came not to uphold "their idol-temples, nor their priests, nor their tithes, nor their augmentations, nor their priests' wages, nor their Jewish and heathenish ceremonies and traditions." He told them, "that piece of ground was no more holy than any other;" he showed them that the object of the apostles in going into the Jews' synagogues and temple, which God had commanded, was to bring people off from that temple and those synagogues, and from the offerings, tithes, and covetous priests of that time; for such as were converted and believed in Jesus Christ in the apostles' days met together in dwelling-houses, and all who preach Christ, the Word of Life, ought to preach freely, as the apostles did, and as he commanded. He exhorted the people to come off from all those things — to rely upon the grace of God in themselves, that they might know Christ to be their free teacher, to open the Scriptures, and to bring them salvation. All were quiet; many received the truth, and he came away rejoicing in the goodness of God.

At another place, a large crowd assembled to hear him, and he sat upon a haystack for several hours in silence, finding it his duty "to *famish them from words.*" Some of the audience being impatient, said,

“When will he begin? When will he speak?” The friendly priest, who still accompanied him, told them to wait, and remarked that the people waited upon Christ a long while before he spoke. At length, the power of divine life rose into dominion, and George Fox being moved of the Lord to speak, there was a general convincement of the audience. This was indeed the secret of his wonderful success: he waited for the arising of that divine life which is “the light of men,” for the manifestation of the Spirit is given “to every man to profit withal.” In the hurry of business and the tumult of the passions this heavenly monitor is not heard, but in an assembly gathered for divine worship, while waiting upon God in the silence of all flesh, its influence is felt in the secret of the soul; and if there be some present who have yielded to its dominion, their spirits being baptized by it into sympathy with others, a united travail of spirit ensues, and a feeling of divine life overspreads the assembly. This may take place without the utterance of words; but if there be one or more present called to the gospel ministry, a qualification may be experienced and authority given to speak to the states of the people in the demonstration of the spirit and of power.

George Fox continued to pursue his religious labors with indefatigable zeal, travelling afoot, inquiring for the seekers after truth, holding conferences with them, and attending meetings for public worship. Sometimes being denied food and lodging, for which he offered compensation, he was compelled to sleep in the fields, and often he was abused by the rude populace. He found many persons, however, that appreciated his blameless life and Christian doctrines.

Among these, he mentions Justice Hotham, who said to him, "If God had not raised up that principle of light and life which you preach, the nation would have been overrun with Ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it, with all their laws." This friendly justice wished to protect him from violence, and asked him whether any persons had meddled with him or abused him; but he declined giving evidence against his persecutors, thus manifesting that beautiful trait in the Christian character, forgiveness of injuries.

In the beginning of the year 1652, George Fox, accompanied by Thomas Aldam, who had been convinced of the principles of Friends, came to Lieutenant Roper's, at Synderhill Green, Yorkshire, where they found James Nayler, Thomas Goodyear, William Dewsbury, and Richard Farnsworth. There they had a great meeting, in which the truths of the gospel were declared, the Scriptures opened, the parables and precepts of Christ expounded, the state of the Church in the apostles' days was plainly set forth, and the apostasy that ensued disclosed. The power of divine truth prevailed over all, and some persons of high rank, who were present, acknowledged that "they believed this principle must go over the whole world."

After this meeting, George Fox proceeded on his way, and passing through the dales of Yorkshire, he found many serious, devout persons, some of whom had separated from the Anglican Church, and were looking for a more spiritual religion, which they sought by meditation and secret prayer. These were of the class called "seekers:" they joyfully embraced the doctrine, that Christ is an inward and spiritual

teacher, and many meetings of Friends were settled in the dales of Yorkshire.

At Justice Benson's, near Sedberg, George Fox attended a meeting of persons who had "separated from the public worship." Under his ministry, they were generally convinced, and a large meeting of Friends was established. There being a fair at Sedberg, he passed through it, "declaring the day of the Lord," and then he went into the church-yard, where many of the people, "with abundance of priests and professors," came to him, to whom he preached for several hours, declaring that Jesus Christ would teach his people himself, for he is the way, the truth, and the life. At length a captain said: "Why will you not go into the church? This is not a fit place to preach in." George told them that he denied their Church. Then Francis Howgill, a preacher, who had not before met with George Fox, stood up to answer the captain, and soon put him to silence, "for," said Howgill, "this man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes."

The next First-day, being in the spring of the year 1652, George Fox came to Firbank chapel in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill and John Audland were officiating as ministers to a crowded auditory. Seeing him arrive, they quickly ended their services, and they, with some of their hearers, went to dinner, but many remained at the chapel until their return. While they were gone, George Fox refreshed himself with water from a brook, and then sat upon a rock contiguous to the chapel.

In the afternoon the people gathered around him to the number of about a thousand, among whom were several of their preachers. During about three

hours he preached the gospel to them with freedom and authority, directing them to the Spirit of God in themselves, that they might be turned from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God. He showed them that by the Spirit of Truth they might be led into all truth, so as to understand the words of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, and might come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them. Thus they would know their bodies to be sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. He opened to them the figures and shadows under the law, and directed them to Christ the substance. He told them that those temples which they called the dreadful houses of God, were no more holy than that mountain; nor were their priests called, as Aaron's priesthood was; nor were their tithes appointed by God, as those amongst the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple and its worship, and the priests and their tithes, and who said to his followers, "Learn of me." His ministry being accompanied by the Lord's power, reached home to the hearts of the people, and they were generally brought under the baptizing power of divine truth.

Among the large number of persons convinced at this meeting, were Francis Howgill, John Camm, John Audland and Ann his wife (afterwards known as Ann Camm), all of whom became ministers in the Society of Friends. As they occupied important stations in the Society, some account of their lives and religious experience is deemed appropriate.

Francis Howgill, of Grayridge, in the county of Westmoreland, was educated at one of the universities for a minister of the Anglican Church, but afterwards becoming dissatisfied with that profession, he withdrew from it.¹ According to his own account,² he was at the age of twelve years brought under the influence of religious impressions, seeking for the knowledge of God by reading the Scriptures, and in silent meditation. He saw the vanity of the sports and pastimes in which youths of his age were generally engaged, and he resolved to abstain from them; but these resolutions being made without a sufficient reliance upon divine aid, did not stand in the time of temptation, and through transgression he was brought into condemnation and deep sorrow. In this condition he read much, prayed often, and sought retirement.

When about fifteen years of age he frequented religious meetings, and often went many miles to hear those ministers who were accounted the most eminent. He found, however, that corruption still prevailed in his heart, but "as he kept within to the light in his conscience," he was restrained from gross evils, and condemned for sin; or when he resisted temptation, he rejoiced in spirit. These convictions, he was told by the ministers, proceeded from "a natural conscience," and thus he was induced to undervalue the light "as too low a thing, being only a common grace that preserved out of gross evils, whereas the saints had a peculiar faith and grace," and to them "sin was not imputed, but believing in Christ, his righteousness was accounted to them."

¹ Sewel, I. 77.

² Howgill's Works, "The Inheritance of Jacob Discovered," 39.

He was advised to seek Christ by means of prayer and receiving the sacrament, and he was instructed to believe that Christ had suffered the penalty of sin for him; but he could not see how his sins were taken away, for the witness in his conscience told him, that while he remained in the practice of sinning, "he was the servant of sin."

"He fasted, prayed, and walked mournfully in sorrow," being tempted on every hand; he went from one minister to another, seeking comfort, and they applied the promises to him, but it was only in words, for "the witness of Christ showed him that the root of iniquity stood, and the body of sin was whole." Then he was told that although "sin was taken away by Christ, yet the guilt would still remain during life," in proof of which they adduced the warfare of the saints; but he thought this was a miserable salvation, and said within himself, "Surely this is not the ministry of Christ." Then he kept much at home, or walked abroad in solitary places, weeping much, and finding most peace of mind when most affected with sorrow; yet "he was often made to do many righteous things by the immediate power and word of God," for which he felt the reward of peace and joy, and realized the promise, that "the Lord himself would teach him."

Having found among the Independents some tenderness of feeling, and believing them to be more separated from the world than others, he joined himself to them; but at length he found them in doctrine and practice like those whom he had forsaken. He next resorted to the Anabaptists, who appeared to walk more in accordance with the Scriptures, and there was among them something that he loved; but

when he heard them asserting that "All who came not into their way were out of the fellowship of the saints and the doctrine of Christ," he saw they occupied the same ground as the rest of the teachers; for all maintained that "The letter was the word and rule, and that Christ, at a distance without them, had done all." They preached the doctrine that "all sin was done away, past, present, and to come, and so *preached salvation to the first nature*, and to the serpent that bore rule, only believing this and all was finished;" but when he hearkened to this doctrine he lost his spiritual condition, and the language was spoken to him, "His servant thou art, whom thou obeyest."

At length, having tried many teachers of religion, he concluded that they all sought their own advantage, and fed the people on words without the life of the gospel; therefore he withdrew from them, which caused them to persecute him. Being persuaded from an inward evidence, that the day was at hand when the Lord would teach his people himself, he waited, and as his mind was turned to the light, he had some pure openings of gospel truth; but not abiding in patience, he went forth in his own strength, and attempted by his own intellectual powers to expound these openings, preaching against the ministry of others. Being sincere and zealous in his religious efforts, he was admired and followed by many; but when he heard the powerful, heart-searching ministry of George Fox, the witness for truth in his own conscience sealed it; he saw that he had not built on the right foundation, and his soul was humbled before God.

He now acknowledged that he had been "ignorant

of the first principle of true religion," and "as he turned his mind within to the light of Jesus Christ," which had formerly reproved him for vanity, it led him into righteousness, and he saw this was the true and faithful witness that brought all things to remembrance that ever he had done. He passed through deep religious exercise, and as he submitted to the judgments of the Lord inwardly revealed, the serpent's head was bruised by the power of Christ, the captive soul was set free, and he was made to rejoice in the light of the Lamb. In relation to this stage of his experience he writes, "It pleased the Father to reveal his Son in me through death, and so I came to witness cleansing by his blood which is eternal, glory unto him for ever; and I am a minister of that Word of eternal life which endures for ever," "and I have rest and peace in doing the will of God, and am entered into the true rest, and lie down in the fold with the Lamb of God, where the sons rejoice together, and the saints keep holy days; Glory unto Him for ever!"

Having received a gift in the gospel ministry, he went forth in the Lord's service; but priests and magistrates being incensed against him, he was, in the year 1652, cast into jail at Appleby, being at the same time that James Nayler was imprisoned there.

John Camm was born about the year 1604, in the barony of Kendal, in Westmoreland, at a place called Camm's-gill, which had long been possessed by his ancestors.¹ From his childhood he was inclined to piety, and when he came to maturity he associated

¹ Memory of the Righteous Reviewed, *i. e.* the Writings of J. Camm and J. Audland, London, 1689.

with those who were the most strict and upright in the performance of their religious duties. Being dissatisfied with the lifeless forms of the National Church, he withdrew from it, and still pressing forward with earnest desires for a clearer manifestation of gospel light, he joined himself with many others who had similar desires, and they often met together to wait upon the Lord.

He sometimes officiated as a minister at Firbank Chapel, and, at the memorable meeting held there by George Fox, he was convinced of the principles of Friends.

He was then about forty-eight years of age, in prosperous circumstances, and highly esteemed for his stability and wisdom; but through the effectual operation of divine grace he was humbled, and made willing to appear as a fool for Christ's sake. After a season of painful conflict and deep exercise, in which he experienced the Lord's power to be a spirit of judgment and of burning, whereby the old heavens and the old earth were destroyed and a new creation brought forth, he became a fit instrument for the Master's service, and received a gift in the gospel ministry.¹

John Audland was a near neighbor and intimate friend of John Camm, but was a much younger man, having been born in the year 1630, and he was at the time of his convincement twenty-two years of age. He was then of a ruddy complexion, a sweet countenance, and a cheerful spirit. He had been noted, even in childhood, for his quick apprehension and ready wit, but although led by the buoyancy of his

¹ T. Camm's Testimony concerning John Camm.

spirits to indulge in youthful play, he was never addicted to any vice.

When about seventeen years of age he was drawn, by the influence of divine love, to the frequent perusal of the Sacred Scriptures, with fervent aspirations for a holy life. He sought the society of the most religious persons, and having a good understanding and a retentive memory, well furnished with scriptural knowledge, he conversed fluently on religious doctrines, and became eminent as a minister among the Independents. He preached frequently in chapels, or in houses of worship where idle or dissolute priests officiated; and, his ministry being acceptable to the people, multitudes flocked to hear him.

When about twenty years of age, he married Ann Newby, of Kendal, a pious young woman attached to the same religious society of which he was a member. They were closely united in religious communion, and when they heard the gospel message of George Fox, their hearts were opened for its reception, and the light of divine truth disclosed to them the emptiness of their former professions. Like Job, when humbled by affliction, they sat down in silence and astonishment, being stripped of their own wisdom, and made to hunger and thirst for that sustaining food which God alone can give.¹ The wife of John Audland, in relating this portion of his religious experience, says: "The word and power of the Lord were as a fire revealed within him, to burn the great building that he had been erecting, together with the hay, wood, and stubble; and in this exercise I also had a share with him, and in great lamentation I have

¹ T. Camm's Testimony.

heard him often sorrowfully say, 'Ah! what have we been doing? What have we been laboring for? Or what availeth our great profession? All our building tumbles down; our profession is high as the wind; the day of the Lord is upon it, and his fire consumes it as dry stubble, and puts an end to all empty professions and high notions without life or 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 that I long for, it is Him that my soul pants after.' " . . . "To this effect did his soul often travail before the Lord, and He who had called him for the purpose of his own glory was not unmindful of him, but had regard to his blessed work begun, to prosper the same, that so, out of the furnace of affliction, a pure and clean vessel might be brought forth. And then the Lord plentifully poured upon him his holy spirit, filling him with wisdom and power to publish his everlasting gospel, to bring glad tidings to the poor, deliverance to the captivated soul — to say unto Sion, 'Thy King reigneth.' "

Richard Hubberthorne embraced the principles of Friends in the year 1652, and there is reason to believe he was one among the many hundreds who were convinced at the memorable meeting in Firbank chapel.¹

He was born in the north part of Lancashire; his father was a yeoman of good repute. From his early youth Richard was inclined to a religious life, being exemplary in his conduct and faithful according to his knowledge in every duty. His natural disposition

¹ *Piety Promoted*, articles John Camm and R. Hubberthorne.

was meek and lowly, he loved peace among men, and "sometimes preached among his sincere and sober companions." When it pleased God to visit him with a more certain knowledge of the gospel through the powerful ministry of George Fox, he underwent great afflictions through the dispensation of the grace and spirit of Christ Jesus, until the same power that had wounded, also healed and restored him.

A gift in the gospel ministry being committed to him, he went forth in the name of the Lord, and was instrumental in calling many to repentance and amendment of life.

He was a man of small stature, weak constitution, and slow of speech, being more ready to hear than to speak; yet he was endued with true wisdom, and knew when to speak and when to be silent. His judgment was sound, his experience deep in divine things, and his ministry, being in the authority of truth, reached the witness for truth in the minds of others, and thus he became a benefactor to many.¹

After the meeting at Firbank chapel, George Fox went to the house of John Audland, and thence to Preston Patrick chapel, where he preached to a large congregation. The next meeting he attended was at Kendal, in the Town Hall, where several were convinced of the doctrines he preached. At this place he writes in his journal, "One whose name was Cock met me in the street, and would have given me a roll of tobacco. I accepted his love, but did not receive the tobacco." From this we may infer that he did not use that hurtful and disgusting weed.

From Kendal he went to Underbarrow, and several

¹ E. B.'s testimony in R. Hubberthorne's Works.

persons accompanied him, with whom he had much reasoning by the way. Among these was Edward Burrough, who afterwards became an eminent minister in the Society of Friends. He was born in the barony of Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland, about the year 1635. His parents were of respectable standing, and gave him as good an education as could be obtained in the country. He was from early youth remarkable for his precocious talents and religious disposition. It is testified by one who knew him from his childhood, that he was even then endued with wisdom far beyond his years. He was never known to be addicted to any vice or misconduct, but feared the Lord and walked uprightly, according to the light and knowledge received. In his natural disposition he was bold and manly, dexterous and fervent, and whatever he undertook he did with all his might. He was loving, kind and courteous, merciful and easy to be entreated. He had little taste for sports or pastimes, but his whole delight was in the society of the good, to be conferring with them, or reading the Scriptures. "His very strength," says Francis Howgill, "was bended after God, and [he] was separated from his mother's womb, and fitting for the work's sake whereunto he afterwards was called."¹ Edward Burrough, at the time of his convincement, was about 17 years of age. His parents and near relatives being displeased with him for embracing a faith then generally despised, discarded him, and even expelled him from his home; but he cheerfully endured the afflictions that attended him, counting nothing too dear to be renounced for the treasures of Christ's kingdom.

¹ F. Howgill's testimony in E. B.'s Works.

He was soon after entrusted with a precious gift in the gospel ministry, and was made instrumental in turning many to righteousness.

Many meetings of Friends were then gathered in the north of England, and a holy zeal for the cause of truth was manifested among them. "From that day forward," says F. Howgill, "our hearts were knit unto the Lord and one unto another, in true and fervent love; not by any external covenant or external form, but we entered into the covenant of life with God; and that was a strong obligation or bond upon all our spirits, which united us one unto another; and we met together in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace."

CHAPTER IV.

THE CIVIL WAR—CONVINCEMENT IN LANCASHIRE.

1652-3.

DURING the interval that elapsed between the year 1644, when George Fox entered on his religious labors, and the year 1651, when he was released from imprisonment at Derby, great changes had taken place in the civil and ecclesiastical government of England. In the contest between Charles I. and the Parliament, the king's troops being totally defeated, he was induced to throw himself on the mercy of the Scots, but they delivered him up to the Parliamentary officers, by whom he was held in captivity. In the Parliament the Presbyterians were in the ascendancy,

and having subverted the Anglican Church, they endeavored to establish on its ruins their own form of ecclesiastical government; but the army, by which their victories were achieved, was composed chiefly of Independents, who were full of religious zeal or fanaticism, and entirely devoted to Cromwell, their subtle adviser and able commander. At his instigation they seized the king's person, and then advancing to London, they reduced the Parliament to subjection.

The English Presbyterians and the Scotch Covenanters being dissatisfied with the movements of the army, and the king, about the same time, having made his escape, the civil war was renewed, and an army from Scotland invaded England to support the royal cause. By the valor and activity of Cromwell and his officers the Scots were defeated, and the king's person again secured.

During these conflicts, the Parliament had resumed its authority, but Cromwell and his adherents determined to make it an instrument for their own advancement, and with this view they forcibly excluded those Presbyterian and Republican members who were inimical to their interests. The remnant that was left, still claimed the title and authority of a Parliament, and being entirely subservient to Cromwell, they appointed a tribunal called a High Court of Justice, by which the king was condemned to death, and three days after sentence, he was publicly executed.

This unprecedented act, which took place in the year 1649, filled all Europe with astonishment, and paved the way for Cromwell to push forward with remarkable success his ambitious designs. At the head of an army he proceeded to Ireland, which was

then in a state of revolt, and by his vigorous and sanguinary measures he soon reduced it to subjection. By his orders whole garrisons were put to the sword, and few conquerors, even among heathen nations, have exercised upon the vanquished such inhuman severity.

In the mean time the Scotch covenanters, being disgusted with the English Parliament, entered into a treaty with the young king, Charles II., who, to gain a throne, professed to embrace the covenant, and returning from the continent, where he had been an exile, he appeared in Scotland, and accompanied the army raised for his restoration. Cromwell, with his victorious troops, soon after arrived, and defeated the Scots with great slaughter at the battle of Dunbar; but the king, with the remnant of his army, pushed forward into England, hoping to meet with support from the royalists in that kingdom. He was pursued by Cromwell, and in the year 1651 was totally defeated at Worcester, after which he wandered in disguise during forty-one days, and then escaped to the continent.

In these sanguinary wars and political convulsions, the whole polity of the State, both civil and ecclesiastical, was subverted, the hierarchy was deposed, one king beheaded, and another exiled, desolation and distress spread throughout the land, and one hundred thousand citizens found an untimely grave.

It is remarkable that a misguided religious zeal should have been one of the chief causes of these national calamities. They bring to mind the awful scenes figuratively portrayed in the Apocalypse, when, after the opening of the Sixth Seal, "there was a great earthquake, and the sun became black as

sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood, and the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind. . . and the kings of the earth, and the great men, . . . hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains," but the servants of the living God were sealed in their foreheads;" they received their food from the Lamb, and were conducted to the fountain of living waters.¹

Amidst that scene of strife and confusion which pervaded the land, a beneficent Providence was watching over the nation; "from seeming evil still educing good," and by the secret influence of his grace drawing to himself many devout souls, who finding no rest in the outer-court of popular religion, sought for a purer worship in the inner sanctuary of the heart.

It was then George Fox and his coadjutors were sent forth to proclaim the glorious truth of Christ's inward and spiritual appearance. "Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them and be their God."² It was the firm belief of the Early Friends that the 1260 years were then expired, which had been assigned in the Apocalypse as the period during which the woman "clothed with the sun," should be nourished in the wilderness. Accordingly, they declared that the Church of Christ was then coming up "leaning upon her beloved," they saw her, "looking forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." We find in their

¹ Rev. vi. 12, 15, and vii. 3, 17.

² Rev. xxi. 3.

writings many evidences of their belief that the prophetic declarations were then being fulfilled. Thus George Fox writes, "There is a people come forth of the North that shall spoil Babylon." "Now is the fulfilling of the word of God, now is the earthquake known, such an earthquake, as hath not been since the foundation of the world. And the mystery of iniquity shall be discovered and the true mystery of godliness is revealed, which doth discover it. Glory to God in the highest, and the Lamb and the Saints shall have the victory."¹ In accordance with this view, Francis Howgill writes: "Now, the time, times, and half a time, [the 1260 days], being near an end that John saw the woman should be retired in the wilderness, she is appearing again in her beautiful garments, and her heir and her seed appearing again after the long night of darkness."² Robert Barclay in his "Apology for the true Christian Divinity," shows that as the great Apostasy came not all at once, but by degrees, until thick darkness overspread the nations, so neither did that full and clear light and knowledge of the glorious dispensation of the gospel of Christ appear all at once, the work of the first witnesses being more to testify against and discover the abuses of the Apostasy than to establish the truth in purity. He that comes to build a new city must first remove the old rubbish before he can lay the foundation, and he that comes to a house greatly polluted and full of dirt, will first sweep away and remove the filth, before he put up his own good and new furniture." . . . "And we can from a certain experience boldly affirm, that the not waiting for this, but building among, yea and with the old popish

G. F's Works, IV. 229, 230.

² F. Howgill's Works, p. 219.

See Introduction to this Work, page 38.

rubbish, and setting up before a full purgation ; hath been, to most Protestants, the foundation of many a mistake, and an occasion of unspeakable hurt. Therefore the Lord God who, as he seeth meet doth communicate and make known to man the more full, evident and perfect knowledge of his everlasting truth, hath been pleased to reserve the more full discovery of this glorious and evangelical dispensation *to this our age* ; albeit divers testimonies have thereunto been borne by some noted men in several ages." . . . "And for the greater augmentation of the glory of his grace, that no man might have whereof to boast, he hath raised up a few despicable and illiterate men, and, for the most part, mechanics, to be the dispensators of it."¹

Although, among the Early Friends, a large proportion were of the class here described as despised and illiterate, yet there were many who were well versed in literature and science. These relied not upon their scholastic attainments, having learned, like the experienced apostle, to "count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus their Lord." But whether learned or unlearned, the gospel messengers of that day were strong in faith, full of religious zeal, and unwavering in their fidelity to the cause of truth. By their holy living, their patient sufferings, their refusal to bear arms, and their forgiveness of injuries, they exemplified in practice the reign of the Prince of Peace, and proved themselves to be subjects of that spiritual kingdom that shall never have an end.

The labors of George Fox in the north of England

¹ Apology, Prop. V, VI. § X.

up to the year 1652 having been signally blessed with divine favor, many meetings of Friends were gathered in Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. At Underbarrow a meeting was appointed for him in the chapel, where he was enabled to "open the way of life and salvation," and the priest, not being able to endure his doctrine, withdrew; but many "received the word of life," and stood fast in it under the "teaching of Christ Jesus." After he had preached for some hours, and the meeting was ended, some of the congregation began to reason with him in the chapel yard, whereupon he took a Bible, and opening it he expounded to them the Scriptures, and answered their objections.

Proceeding on his way, he came to Ulverstone, and thence to Swarthmore, the residence of Thomas Fell, a judge of high standing, and vice-chancellor of the county of Lancaster. The judge was then absent from home, being engaged on the Welsh circuit, but his house being always open for the entertainment of ministers and religious people, one of the friends of George Fox brought him thither, and Lampit, the priest of Ulverstone, being present, they engaged in a dispute on doctrines. The wife of Judge Fell, having been abroad through the day, was informed by her children when she came home that Lampit and George Fox had disagreed, which somewhat troubled her, for she then had confidence in her pastor.

In the evening George Fox had much discourse with Margaret Fell and her family, to whom he opened the principles of divine truth. Next day Lampit came again, when the controversy was renewed in the presence of the family, who now began

to perceive the errors of the priest, and their minds were opened for the reception of more spiritual views.

It being a fast-day, Margaret Fell invited George Fox to go with them to the parish house of worship at Ulverstone; he answered, that "he must do as he was ordered by the Lord." He then walked into the fields, and soon after found it his duty to follow them. When he came there, he found the priest and people were singing, but the sentiments they uttered seemed to him entirely unsuited to their states. When they had done singing, he stood upon a seat and asked for liberty to speak, which being granted, he commenced with these words: "He is not a Jew that is one outward, neither is that circumcision which is outward; but he is a Jew that is one inward, and that is circumcision which is of the heart." He told them that Christ was the light of the world—that He was come to teach his people by his spirit, and to bring them off from all their old ways, religions, churches, and worships; for they were but talking of other men's words, while they were out of the life and spirit which those were in who gave them forth.¹

John Sawry, a justice of the peace, bade the church-warden take him away, but Margaret Fell said, "Let him alone: why may he not speak as well as any other?" The priest also said, "Let him speak;" so he proceeded to speak for some time, until at length Justice Sawry caused the constable to put him out, and then he spoke to the people in the graveyard.

In the evening he returned to Swarthmore, where he spoke in the family among the servants, and they

¹ M. Fell's Testimony and George Fox's Journal.

were generally convinced of the principles of Friends. Leaving Swarthmore, George Fox went on his way, and came to a chapel at Ramside, in which Thomas Lawson, an eminent clergyman, officiated as pastor. In the morning, he had informed his hearers that George Fox would be there in the afternoon, by which means a large congregation was gathered to hear him. Finding no place so convenient as the chapel, he went into it, with the minister's approbation, and proclaimed so powerfully the truths of the gospel, that many embraced the doctrines he taught. Among these was Thomas Lawson, who resigned his benefice, and after some time became a free gospel minister in the Society of Friends. He was the author of several religious works, and one of the most skilful herbalists in England.¹

George Fox, after preaching at Walney Island, Becliff, and Gleaston, in all of which places some embraced his doctrines, returned again to Swarthmore, at the request of Margaret Fell. Her husband had returned from his Welsh circuit much displeased with the report he had heard on his way; for some of his officious neighbors had gone forth to meet him with information that "a great disaster had befallen his family, — that the Quakers were witches, and had turned them from their religion; and that he must send them away, or the country would be undone."

Margaret Fell, being in great distress at her husband's displeasure, desired James Nayler and Richard Farnsworth, who were then at Swarthmore, to speak to the judge, which they did moderately and wisely. After he had heard them speak awhile, he became

¹ Sewel and Whiting.

better satisfied. At night, George Fox having arrived, he was invited into the parlor, and the family being assembled, he spoke to them with so much force and propriety, that a deep impression was made upon Judge Fell, who, from that time forward, treated him and his friends with kindness and respect. Soon after this interview, some Friends were speaking of there being many convinced of their principles in that vicinity, and that they knew not where to hold a meeting. Judge Fell, hearing them, said of his own accord, "You may meet here if you will." This offer was gladly accepted, a large meeting was held next day in Swarthmore Hall, and meetings continued to be held there from 1652 to 1690, when a meeting-house was erected near the Hall.

Although Judge Fell did not join the Society of Friends, like the other members of his family, yet he was well affected towards them, used his authority for their protection, and when they held meetings in the Hall, he frequently sat in an adjoining room, and listened to their ministers. For several years before his death, he ceased to attend the national worship.

Among the members of his family, convinced of the principles of Friends, were Thomas Salthouse, William Caton, and Anne Clayton, all of whom became ministers of the gospel.

Thomas Salthouse was the author of several religious works; he labored much in the cause of truth, and suffered frequent imprisonments, which he endured with Christian patience.

William Caton, when fourteen years of age, had been placed by his father in the family of Judge Fell, where he had the judge's son for a companion, engaging in the same sports, and learning Latin together

under the tuition of a clergyman. He was, from his early youth, inclined to piety, and when fifteen years old he was very diligent in writing down the heads of the lectures or sermons he heard, which was an exercise then highly esteemed. When he heard George Fox preach concerning the light with which Christ Jesus has enlightened every man—which shines in the heart and convinces of sin—his mind was seriously impressed, and in due time yielding obedience to this inward monitor, he was restrained from evil in his conduct and conversation. He had not then left school, though well advanced in learning, and he found the making of Latin verses was become a burden to him, for he could not indulge his imagination as others did, nor could he any longer give to the master of the school the “compliment of the hat,” as he had been accustomed to do. Being thus brought into a strait, and desirous to leave the school, Margaret Fell obtained for him the privilege of staying at home, where he was employed in writing for her, and teaching the children.

At seventeen years of age, he was earnestly engaged in his religious duties, and his heart was often filled with joy from a sense of the mercy and goodness of God. He was frequently moved to go to the places of public worship, and to markets to warn people to repentance, but his efforts to do good were generally requited with opprobrium and abuse.

Feeling it his duty to travel in the gospel ministry, he obtained the consent of Judge Fell and his wife, and in the year 1654, being then eighteen years of age, he quitted his home in order to visit his friends in the northern counties of England. Afterwards, he went to London, where he was well received by

Friends and others, his persuasive address and heavenly gift making way for him in the hearts of the people.¹

George Fox, while travelling in Lancashire, frequently visited Swarthmore Hall, where he sometimes met with a number of clergymen, with whom he engaged in religious discourse. On one occasion, he met there Thomas Taylor, a clergyman, who had a benefice at Richmond, in Yorkshire. He was born near Skipton, in the same county, educated at the University of Oxford, and being ordained a priest in the National Church, he attained to eminence in his profession. It appears that "he was a man of a tender spirit, seeking after a further attainment in the knowledge of God."² His ministry was more spiritual than that of the other priests in his neighborhood, and many of his hearers being serious, religious people, were called Roundheads and Puritans. He allowed John Audland and Francis Howgill, before they became Friends, to preach in his pulpit, and he had come to see the insufficiency of infant baptism, concerning which he had a public controversy with some of the priests.

Prior to his interview with George Fox at Swarthmore Hall, many of his hearers had left him, being convinced of the principles of Friends.³ In that interview he, and other clergymen present, were asked, "Whether he, or any of them, could say that they ever heard the voice of God or Christ that bid them go to speak to any people." Thomas answered frankly that he had never heard any such voice or

¹ Sewel.

² Testimony of his son, T. Taylor.

³ Testimony of Robert Barrow.

command, and being further questioned, "What he preached to the people," he said, "His experiences." George Fox then told him that "his experiences might not reach to every condition; but he that had the word of the Lord might preach it, whom God sent, and that would reach all conditions."¹

Thomas Taylor, being reached by the power and grace of God, remained silent, and appeared that night sad and thoughtful, sometimes evincing his distress by groans. The next day he accompanied George Fox into Westmoreland, where they met a congregation in a churchyard, being denied admittance into the house of worship. After sitting some time in silence, Thomas Taylor was visited with a "tender spring of divine life," and he spoke very well to the people, both of his own condition and theirs; showing where they had been, and how they must turn to the Lord Jesus Christ. Continuing faithful, he grew in grace, and improved in his gift in the gospel ministry, being made willing to appear as a fool for Christ's sake. Although he had a wife and five small children dependent upon him, he resigned his benefice, preached the gospel freely, and travelled and suffered much for the cause of truth. His wife was shortly afterwards convinced of the principles of Friends, and lived in conformity to them. It is related by George Fox that Thomas Taylor, "having been a lecturer at Richmond, in Yorkshire, was made to go there, and turn his back on the priest, and put his hands to both his ears, and stop them, as a sign, how God had stopped his ears unto their sacrifice and service and offering."² His brother, Christopher

¹ Testimony of George Fox in T. Taylor's Works.

² Ibid.

Taylor, who had been a clergyman, was also convinced of Friends' principles, and became a free minister of the gospel. He afterwards emigrated to Pennsylvania, and will be mentioned in a subsequent part of this work.

The numerous proselytes made by George Fox and his co-laborers in the gospel of Christ, caused great exasperation among the clergy, and through their instigation the rude populace became exceedingly abusive to Friends. At Walney, a small island, in the Irish Sea, near the coast of Lancashire, George Fox and James Nayler were attacked by an infuriated mob, armed with clubs, staves and fishing poles. George, being stunned with their blows, fell into a swoon, and when he recovered he saw James Lancaster's wife throwing stones at his face, while her husband was lying over him to protect him. James had become a proselyte to the doctrines of Friends, and his wife had been persuaded that he was bewitched by the influence of George Fox. She was afterwards convinced of the same principles, and repented of the evil she had done. James Nayler was scarcely less abused than George Fox, and both of them were conveyed back to the main land by James Lancaster, where their wounds were dressed by sympathizing friends. Margaret Fell sent a horse for George Fox, and brought him to Swarthmore Hall. Two persecuting justices, Sawry and Thompson, had issued a warrant against him, but Judge Fell, on learning the circumstances of the case, prevented its execution, and sent warrants into the Isle of Walney to apprehend the rioters. The judge desired George Fox to give him a relation of the persecution, but he declined to do so, saying they could not do otherwise

in the spirit wherein they were, and that they manifested the fruits of their priests' ministry. Judge Fell afterwards remarked to his wife, that "George spoke of it as a man that was not concerned."

The warrant issued by justices Sawry and Thompson against George Fox, being still in force, though not served upon him, he determined to meet his accusers at the Lancaster sessions, to which he went with Judge Fell. He found there about forty priests, who had chosen for their orator one of their own order named Marshal, and the witnesses they had provided were a young priest and two sons of clergymen. The accusation was that George Fox had said that God taught deceit, and that the Scriptures contained but a parcel of lies.¹ The witnesses, being examined on oath, were so confounded that one of them, not being able to answer a question, referred to the other, saying, "He can say it." "What," said the judge, "have you sworn it and given it in already upon oath, and now say that he can say it? It seems that you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have sworn it." There were present in court several men of reputation for integrity, who were at the meeting where the blasphemous expressions were alleged to have been spoken, and they testified that the accusation was altogether false. Then Colonel West, a justice of the peace, who was on the bench, turned to George Fox and said, "George, if thou hast anything to say, thou mayst freely declare it."

Being thus permitted to speak for himself, he declared "That the Holy Scriptures were given forth

¹ Sewel and George Fox's Journal.

by the Spirit of God, and all people must first come to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, of whom the prophets and apostles learnt, and by the same spirit know the Holy Scriptures; for, as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the Scriptures, so the same spirit must be in all them that came to understand the Scriptures. By which spirit they might have fellowship with the Father, with the Son, with the Scriptures, and one with another; and without this spirit they can know neither God, Christ, nor the Scriptures, nor have a right fellowship one with another." When he began to speak, Marshal, the clerical orator, left the court, and when he had concluded his defence, some of the priests expressed their anger in unbecoming language. One of them, named Jackus, said "the spirit and the letter were inseparable." George Fox replied, "Then every man that hath the letter hath the spirit, and they might buy the spirit with the letter of the Scriptures." To which Judge Fell and Colonel West added, "that according to that position they might carry the Spirit in their pockets as they did the Scriptures."

The court, seeing that the witnesses did not agree, and being sensible that the accusation was groundless, granted a supersedeas to stop the execution of the warrant, and George Fox was cleared in open sessions. This result was regarded as a triumph over the priests, and was hailed with joy by great numbers of the most serious people. It afforded an opportunity to proclaim the doctrines of Truth, and many were convinced; among whom were Justice Benson of Westmoreland, Major Ripan, Mayor of the town of Lancaster, and Thomas Briggs.

1652. The earnest labors and Christian patience of Thomas Briggs evinced the sincerity of his motives and the depth of his religious convictions.¹ Being called to the gospel ministry, he went through many cities, towns, and villages, exhorting the people to repentance and amendment of life. Sometimes in markets and other public places, his Christian admonitions were requited with obloquy and abuse. At Warrington in Lancashire, for speaking a few words in a place of worship after the priest had done, he was violently assaulted, and a man taking him by the hair of his head, pulled out a handful of it. He endured this cruel treatment with much patience, and taking up the hair, he mildly said, "Not one hair of my head shall fall without my Father's permission." At Salisbury, the oath of allegiance was tendered to him, under pretence that he was a Jesuit; and he, being conscientiously opposed to taking it, was committed to prison. After his release he continued his travels, laboring zealously for the promotion of vital religion, and his testimony being under the influence of divine grace, was effectual in the conversion of many.²

Among those convinced of the principles of Friends about this time, the name of Robert Widders must not be omitted. He was born in the year 1618, at Upper Kellet, in Lancashire, and before his acquaintance with Friends was a seeker of heavenly truth.³ In the year 1652, George Fox held a great meeting at his house, at which many were convinced, and it is supposed he was one of that number. He frequently travelled with George Fox, who speaks of him "as a thundering man against hypocrisy, deceit, and the

¹ Besse, I. 300.

² Sewel, I. 95.

³ Piety Promoted.

rotteness of the priests.”¹ Being zealous in his religious efforts, and a severe reprover of “spiritual wickedness in high places,” he suffered much, and his life was often in peril from the rude assaults of his adversaries. On account of his faithful testimony against tithes he suffered great loss of property, but was not the least dejected or disheartened by it, knowing well that the cause for which he suffered was the promotion of Christian truth. In a testimony concerning him, it is said, “Though he was not large in declamation, yet he was large in integrity and zeal, and was endowed with a word of wisdom, and in discerning and sound judgment, and gave good advice and admonition to Friends, for establishing them in the faith wherever he came; and the Lord prospered his work in his hand.”²

In the year 1652, at a meeting for worship, held at Malton in Yorkshire, John Whitehead, a soldier in the army then stationed at Scarborough, became a proselyte to the doctrines of Friends. It appears by his own account that he was educated in the strictest profession of Puritanism, but “lived without any true sense of his fallen and lost estate until he was about fifteen years of age,” when it pleased the Most High to visit him, causing the light of divine grace to shine in the darkness of his heart, and enabling him to see the moral pollution by which he was separated from God. In this condition the fear of the Lord so far prevailed that his life and conversation became blameless before men; but he was not yet acquainted with that true waiting upon God, and reliance upon him,

¹ G. F.'s Journal

² Piety Promoted, I. 98.

by which redemption may be experienced from the evil that is lodged in the heart.

Being instructed by his parents to use what are considered the means of grace, he was diligent in frequenting meetings, hearing sermons, and reading the Scriptures, so that he grew in knowledge, but had little acquaintance with the life and power of religion in the soul. His affections and lusts not being crucified, nor his will subjected to the divine will, he still groaned under the burden of sin, and at times longed for deliverance. At eighteen years of age he entered the army, which at that time contained many zealous professors of religion, who were, however, but little acquainted with the spiritual and peaceable nature of Christ's kingdom. While employed as a soldier, John Whitehead continued to seek for religious knowledge, and having experienced the joy that attends the first victory over sin, he was unhappily seduced into the belief that the whole work of his redemption was accomplished. "The serpent beguiled me under fair pretences," he writes, "and said unto me, that I was now made partaker of the love of God, and that there was a perfect reconciliation to God, brought forth in the blood of Jesus, and whom he loved once he loved to the end. And when the pure Light that witnessed for God called for purity and holiness, the serpent laid before me the failings of the saints, and said, the best of saints did commit sin, and that I could not be set free from it while I was here on earth, for in the flesh dwelt no good thing; but, said he, that is no matter, for all is reconciled in Christ, and none can pluck thee out of his hand. And I, lending an ear to him in these plausible temptations, was drawn from the counsel

of Christ in carelessness, and forgot the loving kindness of God. My will then got strength, and ran forth again into pleasures and wantonness, so I was carried captive into spiritual Egypt, where our Lord was crucified, and the witnesses slain."

From this perilous condition he was awakened by the powerful ministry of William Dewsbury; and his understanding being opened by divine grace, he saw himself, in the prodigal state, treading under foot the cross of Christ, like the servant who had known his master's will and had not done it. Being made willing to return to the Father's house in deep humiliation, he experienced forgiveness, and was enabled to rejoice in an assurance of salvation through the love and mercy of God. By the power of Christ revealed in his soul, he was enabled to overcome his spiritual enemies, to separate himself from his former companions, and to dedicate his heart to the divine service. Having left the army, he engaged in agricultural employments, and when he was called to preach the gospel, he went forth cheerfully to labor and to suffer for the cause of truth.

It is stated, by a contemporary who knew him well, that "while he was a young man he travelled much and labored in the work of the Lord, and many were turned to God through his ministry." "He suffered much for the Truth's sake in buffetings, beatings, reproaches, cruel mockings, and many long imprisonments, in which the Lord preserved him in faithfulness and dominion over all." "When at any time he returned to his home, and had respite from travel, his manner was to appoint meetings where there had not been any before, that so the sound of Truth might go forth unto all, and if pos-

sible some might be gained and brought from the evil of their ways and turned to the Lord.”¹

The number of proselytes to the doctrines of Friends had, in the year 1653, greatly increased; and it is known, from authentic records, that among them were not less than twenty-five who had appeared in the gospel ministry. In addition to those already mentioned, the name of Miles Halhead claims especial attention.

He lived at Underbarrow, in Westmoreland, and in the year 1652 began to preach the doctrines of Friends.² In the following year he went to Swarthmore, to visit his friends and attend their meeting. On the way he met the wife of the justice, Thomas Preston, and because he passed her quietly, without the usual form of greeting, she ordered the man who waited on her to go back and beat him, which he did. Miles then said to her, “O thou Jezebel! thou proud Jezebel! canst thou not permit the servant of the Lord to pass thee quietly?” At this reproof she put forth her hand, as though she would strike him, and spit in his face, saying, “I scorn to fall down at thy words.” Three years after this occurrence, as Miles was riding from Swarthmore, near Houlker-Hall, the seat of Justice Preston, he met a person who said to him, “Friend, I have something to say to you, which hath lain upon me this long time. I am the man that, about three years ago, at the command of my mistress, did beat you very sore, for which I have been very much troubled, more than for any thing I ever did in all my life; for truly

¹ T. Thompson's Testimony, and John Whitehead's Works, London, 1704.

² Sewel, I., 83, 98.

night and day it hath been often in my heart that I did not well in beating an innocent man that never did me any harm. I pray you forgive me, that I may be at peace and quiet in my mind." To this Miles answered: "Truly, friend, from that time to this day I never had any thing in my heart against thee or thy mistress, but love. The Lord forgive you both; I desire that it may never be laid to your charge, for ye knew not what ye did."

Miles Halhead, being zealous and fearless in the discharge of what he believed to be his religious duty, sometimes went to the houses of worship where priests officiated, and after waiting till they had done, he bore testimony to the truths of the gospel; but in many cases he was thrust forth with violence, and sometimes severely injured. On one occasion, he went to the house of Captain Adam Sands, in Lancashire, where a large congregation being gathered, Priest Lampit was preaching to them. As soon as Miles entered, Lampit was silent, which continuing some time, Captain Sands said to him, "Sir, what is the matter?—are you not well?" The priest answered, "I am well, but I shall speak no more as long as this dumb devil is in the house." "A dumb devil!" said the captain; "where is he?" "This is he," said Lampit, pointing to Miles. The captain replied: "This man is quiet, and saith nothing to you. I pray you, sir, go on in the name of the Lord; and if he trouble or molest you in my house, I will send him to Lancaster Castle." But the priest again said: "I shall not preach as long as this dumb devil is in the house." Then the captain said to another priest, named Camelford, "I pray you, sir, stand up and exercise your gift, and I will see that you are not dis-

turbed." But this priest answered, as the other: "I shall not speak as long as this dumb devil is in the house." Then the people cried: "Lord rebuke thee, Satan! Lord rebuke thee, Satan! What manner of spirit is this, which stops our ministers' mouths?" Then the captain came to Miles, and, taking him by the hand, led him out of the house. In all that time he had said nothing, and saw now the accomplishment of what the Lord had before shown him, that an invisible power would confound by him the wisdom of the priests, without his speaking a word.¹

The wife of Miles Halhead, before she became a proselyte to the same views, was much dissatisfied with his being so frequently from home in the service of the gospel; and she would sometimes say, "Would to God I had married a drunkard! then I might have found him at the ale-house; but now I cannot tell where to find my husband." About a year afterwards, it pleased the Lord to visit her with affliction.

She had a little son, about five years of age, that she loved very dearly, and considered him her only delight and comfort. This darling child was removed by death. Some time afterwards she spoke thus to her husband: "Truly, husband, I have something to tell thee: one night being in bed, mourning and lamenting with tears in my eyes, I heard a voice saying, 'Why art thou discontented concerning thy husband? I have called and chosen him to my work, my right hand shall uphold him. Therefore be thou content and pleased that he serve me, and I will bless thee and thy children for his sake, and all things shall

¹ Sewel, I. 99.

prosper that thou shalt take in hand. But if thou wilt not be content, but grudge, and murmur, and repine against me and my servant, whom I have chosen to do my work, I will bring a greater cross upon thee.' These words being fresh in my mind night and day, I often said within myself, What cross can this be, that would be greater than the want of my husband? But for all this I could not be content: all the joy I had or could find was in our little boy, who would often, when he saw me weeping and mourning, take me about my neck, and say, 'My dear mother, pray be content, for my father will come home in a little time.' This child would often comfort me in this manner, but for all that I could not be content. Not long after, it pleased the Lord to take from me this my only son, my chiefest joy. Then the voice which I had heard came into my mind, and I, perceiving that this was the cross which the Lord would bring upon me, smote my breast, and said within myself, that I was the cause why the Lord had taken away my little son. A great fear then seizing upon me, I said, O Lord, my God, give me power to be content to give up my husband freely to do thy will, lest, O Lord, thou take away from me all my children."

From that time forward, she no longer opposed her husband when he was called forth to labor in the gospel, and, there is reason to believe, she afterwards came to be united with him and his friends in religious fellowship.

In the year 1654, Miles Halhead, being at Berwick in Northumberland, went to the mayor at his place of business, and said to him: "Friend, hear what the servant of the Lord hath to say unto thee: Give over

persecuting the Lord's servants, whom he doth send to this town of Berwick, to show you the way that leads to life eternal." For this bold admonition, the mayor, who was greatly offended, sent him to prison, where he remained ten weeks, and was then arraigned before the court. The charge against him being read, Miles related what he had said to the mayor, upon which the recorder said: "Sirs, as I understand by his own words, if he cannot prove the mayor of this town a persecutor, in my judgment he hath wronged him." Miles replied: "If the mayor dare say in the presence of the Lord, whose presence is here, that he is no persecutor, but the persecuting nature is slain in him, I will be willing to abide the judgment of the court." The clerk of the court appealed to the mayor for an answer; but he, being conscience-stricken, said: "I know not what to do, I would I had never seen him; I pray you let him go, and let us be no more troubled with him." Then Miles asserted that he would prove the mayor of Berwick the greatest persecutor in town or country: "I was once," he said, "committed to prison in this town before, by some of the justices that are now in this court; but thou, O man, hast exceeded them all; thou hast committed me, and kept me in close prison for about ten weeks, for speaking to thy own person in thy own shop. Now I make my appeal to the recorder, as I am a free-born Englishman, whether my imprisonment be legal, or not?" The recorder answered: "It is not very legal for any minister of the law to imprison any man in his own case." The court then cried: "Take him away."

At this juncture, a clergyman rose, and desired of

the court that he might ask the prisoner one question. Miles Halhead, addressing him, said: "The Lord knows thy heart, O man, and at this present has revealed thy thoughts to his servant;" . . . "if thou wilt promise me before the court, that if I tell thee the question thou wouldst ask me, thou wilt deal plainly with me, I will not only tell thee thy query, but I will answer it." The priest said he would, and Miles proceeded: "Thy question is this; thou wouldst know whether I own that Jêsus Christ that died at Jerusalem, or not." "Truly," said the priest, "that is the question." Miles then proceeded: "According to my promise, I will answer it before this court; in the presence of the Lord God of heaven I own no other Christ than him that died at Jerusalem, and made a good confession before Pontius Pilate, to be the light and way that leads fallen man out of sin and evil, up to God eternal, blessed for evermore." No other questions were asked him, but the jailor was directed to take him away. A few days afterwards, he was released by order of the court, and returned to his home.¹

¹ Sewel's History, I. 126.

CHAPTER V.

CUMBERLAND, WESTMORELAND, NORFOLK, SUFFOLK,
AND ESSEX.

1653-5.

IN one of the most secluded and picturesque regions of Cumberland, there is a rocky eminence called Pardshaw Crag, which overlooks a natural amphitheatre. Tradition still preserves among the neighboring inhabitants an account of the immense concourse of people who, in the days of George Fox, met in the open air to worship at this place.¹ Taking his stand upon the crag, that great minister of the gospel would lift his clear and powerful voice so as to be heard throughout the vast assembly; and wonderful were the effects produced by his persuasive and heart-searching ministry.

At these meetings many hundreds were convinced of the principles of Friends, and there is reason to believe that among them was John Burnyeat, who became an eminent minister of the gospel. He was born in the parish of Loweswater, in the county of Cumberland, about the year 1631. In his early years, being brought under the influence of divine grace, his heart was inclined to goodness, and he read diligently the Sacred Scriptures, in order to obtain the knowledge of heavenly things. Being earnestly desirous of advancing in the spiritual life, he went from

¹ London Friend, 7th Month, 1853.

teacher to teacher, but found no true satisfaction, until it pleased the Lord to send his ministers to turn his mind to the invisible word of life, which he gladly received, and waited in humiliation to feel its operation in the secret of the soul.¹

In relating his religious experience, he states that in the year 1653 it pleased the Lord to send his servant George Fox into the county of Cumberland, as a messenger of the gospel of peace; and through his ministry thousands were directed "unto the light and appearance of Christ Jesus their Saviour, in their own hearts, that they might come to know him and the glory of the Father through him, in his appearance, and so come to believe in him with the heart, and with the mouth to confess him unto salvation."²

While listening to these spiritual truths, John Burnyeat felt the judgment of the Lord upon the transgressing nature in his own soul; he was brought into deep affliction and sorrow of heart; and he perceived that all his profession of an imputative righteousness would not avail him while he lived in the practice of sin. It was then that the spiritual warfare began, and the state described by Paul was known: "To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good, I find not." . . . "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" He found a law in his members, warring against the law in his mind, and bringing him into captivity to sin. Then all his "high conceit," and his "notional faith," and "his hopes of justification thereby, were overthrown.'

¹ Testimony of Friends of Cumberland.

² J. Burnyeat's Works, London, 1691

When the light of divine truth broke in upon him, he found that he, and others professing with him, had been feeding upon the tree of knowledge, endeavoring to sustain the soul by merely talking of that which the holy men of old possessed and enjoyed. While in this state they could not have access to the tree of life, so as to be healed by its leaves and sustained by its fruit; but as there was a coming under the sword of the spirit, which Christ brings to slay the carnal nature in man, there was an arising of the soul in newness of life. They who would reign with Christ must first suffer with him; "for," says the apostle, "if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection."

John Burnyeat being, through suffering, made willing to bear the cross, was brought into a state of humble obedience and entire reliance upon that inspeaking Word which redeems from sin, and gives assurance of eternal life. Being associated with others who were passing through the same fiery baptism, they found it their duty to withdraw from that formal and lifeless worship in which they had been engaged, and to meet together in silence to hear the voice of the true shepherd of souls. Sometimes not a word was heard in their meetings for months, but all who were faithful waited upon the living Word in their hearts to know sanctification thereby, and great was the joy they experienced when partaking of that heavenly food which sustains the soul.¹

During four years from the time of his conviction, he remained mostly at home attending to his

¹ J. Burnyeat's Works, London, 1691, p. 16.

temporal affairs; but he diligently attended meetings for divine worship, and occasionally visited Friends who were imprisoned for their religious testimonies. So great was the satisfaction he derived from the public worship of God, that when meeting was over, he longed for the coming of the next meeting-day, in order that he might, in company with his friends, partake of that spiritual communion which is the highest and purest of all enjoyments.

In this serene and peaceful state of mind, he was content and willing to abide; but the Lord, who had dealt so mercifully with him, began to show him that he must go forth in the power of his Spirit to bear testimony against the hireling shepherds, who fed themselves and not the flock. Accompanied by a Friend, he went, under a sense of religious duty, to a house of worship at Aspetry, where a clergyman named Warwick was preaching. On seeing the Friends come in, Warwick put forth some questions to provoke them to speak, but they held their peace; then he called on the constable to put them out, but that officer bade him go on with his sermon, saying, "They do not disturb us." When the service was ended, John Burnyeat began to speak to the people, during which the priest got away without allowing him a full opportunity to discharge what he considered his religious duty. The Friends then retired, and proceeded homewards, but John Burnyeat became greatly distressed under an apprehension that he had failed in his duty by sparing the priest whom he was sent to reprove.

Being greatly humbled and contrited before the Lord, he arose with boldness, and went back with speed till he came to the same house of worship,

during the time of service in the afternoon. Having stood in silence till the service was ended, he spoke to the priest what he believed the Lord required of him, and then, after speaking to the people and clearing his conscience fully, he returned home with great peace of mind. In the year 1657, he went to Brigham, to speak to a priest who had brought many false accusations against Friends; and after waiting, as usual, until the service was ended, he fulfilled what he believed to be his duty, but immediately some of the congregation fell upon and beat him severely, after which he was taken before Launcelot Fletcher, who committed him to prison in Carlisle, where he remained twenty-three weeks.

In Cumberland, the meetings of Friends continued to increase, and among those added to their number in the year 1654 was John Banks, who has left on record some account of his religious experience.

He was born at Sunderland, in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1638, and in early life removed with his parents to the neighborhood of Pardshaw. Through the judicious care and counsel of his pious mother, he was preserved from the corrupting influence of bad examples, and being sent to school early, he became a diligent and exemplary student. At fourteen years of age his father put him to teach school at Dessington, and the following year he taught at Mosser Chapel, near Pardshaw, where he read the Scriptures and the homilies of the Church of England to those who attended the chapel on First days. He also joined with them in singing psalms and public prayer. "For this service," he says, "my wages from the people was to be twelve pence a year from every house of those who came to hear me, and

a fleece of wool, and my table free; besides twelve pence a quarter for every scholar I had, being twenty-four." Among those who attended the chapel was John Fletcher, a good scholar, but a drunkard. He took John Banks aside and told him he read very well for a youth, but did not pray in proper form, offering at the same time to teach him. His instructions for praying were sent in a letter, which, coming to John while at the chapel, he went out to read. No sooner had he read it, than his mind became convinced, through the immediate operation of divine grace, that a qualification for gospel ministry and acceptable prayer can only come by "the revelation of Jesus Christ;" and the language arose in his heart, in relation to the written instructions he had just been reading, "Thou hast this prayer from man, and art taught it by man, and he one of the worst of many." Under the solemn feelings then experienced, he determined never more to pray in that formal manner; and an impression at the same time attended his mind, saying, "Go to the meeting of the people in scorn called Quakers, for they are the people of God." Being at Pardshaw meeting the next First-day, "the Lord's power," he says, "so seized upon me in the meeting, that I was made to cry out in the bitterness of my soul, in the true sight and sense of my sins, which appeared exceeding sinful; and the same evening, as I was going to an evening meeting of God's people, scornfully called Quakers, by the way I was smitten to the ground with the weight of God's judgment for sin and iniquity, which fell heavy upon me, and I was taken up by two Friends. Oh, the godly sorrow that took hold of me that night in the meeting, so that I thought in myself every one's con-

dition was better than mine! A Friend, who was touched with a sense of my condition, and greatly pitied me, was made willing to read a paper in the meeting, which was so suitable to my condition that it helped me a little, and gave some ease to my spirit."

He was then about sixteen years of age, and at the end of the year when he was to receive compensation for reading at the chapel, he could not accept it, nor did he ever again read prayers to the congregation. For some years he continued under deep religious exercise, which so affected him, both in body and mind, that he had to relinquish his school. He then engaged in husbandry, and assisted his father in business, being doubtless convinced that useful industry promotes physical health and serenity of mind. At length, he says, "I overcame the wicked one, through a diligent waiting in the light and keeping close to the power of God — waiting upon him in silence among his people, in which exercise my soul delighted." "Oh, the comfort and divine consolation we were made partakers of in those days! and in the inward sense and feeling of the Lord's power and presence with us, we enjoyed one another, and were near and dear one unto another. But it was through various trials and deep exercises, with fear and trembling, that thus we were made partakers. Blessed and happy are they who know what the truth hath cost them, and hold it in righteousness!" . . . "My prosperity in the truth I always found was by being faithful to the Lord in what he manifested, though but in small things, unfaithfulness in which is the cause of loss and hurt to many in their growth in the truth."

About six years after his conviction, being in the year 1660, he appeared in the gospel ministry. "The Lord," he says, "opened my mouth with a testimony in the fresh spring of life, that I was to give forth to his children and people." "Oh! then a great combat I had through reasoning that I was but a child, and others were more fit and able to speak than I. But the Lord by his power brought me into willingness, and with fear and trembling I spoke in our blessed meetings."

At one time, as he was sitting in silence at a meeting on Pardshaw Crag, his mind was deeply exercised under an apprehension of religious duty to go to the parish house of worship at Cockermouth. Although much in the cross to his own will, he yielded, and went. When he entered the house, the minister was preaching; who cried out, "There is one come into the church like a madman, with his hat on his head. Churchwardens, put him out." They immediately thrust him out; but after awhile he went in again, and waited till the service was ended. Then he said to the priest, "If thou be a minister of Christ, stand to prove thy practice, and if it be the same as the apostles and ministers of Christ, in doctrine and practice, I will own thee; but if not, I am sent of God this day to testify against thee." The priest immediately departed, and a great uproar ensued, some of the people being disposed to maltreat John Banks, and others endeavoring to protect him. At length he was hauled out of the house, but found an opportunity in the yard to address the congregation, opening to them the truths of the gospel of Christ, after which he came away in the enjoyment of "sweet peace and spiritual comfort."

It was not long before he experienced the common lot of nearly all the Friends of that day; being taken in a religious meeting held on a common at a place called Howhill, in Cumberland, he and three other Friends were committed to prison at Carlisle. Being unwilling to pay the prison fees demanded by the jailer, they were kept in the common jail for several days and nights without food, drink, or bedding, and their friends were denied the privilege of supplying their wants. The jailer, finding that he could not effect his purpose by this means, removed them into a room in his own house, where several Friends were imprisoned for the non-payment of tithes. After about two weeks' confinement they were tried at the quarter sessions, and set at liberty; but a considerable amount was taken from them by distraint of their goods for the payment of fines.¹

John Banks was a devoted and efficient minister of the gospel, whose labors and sufferings will again claim our notice.

After the examination of George Fox at Lancaster and his triumph over the priests, as related in the preceding chapter, he continued his religious labors, and about the beginning of the year 1653 came to Swarthmore. While there he heard that great threats had been made in Cumberland, that if ever he came into that county, they would take his life. Feeling a concern to go into the very parish where these threats had been made, he went accordingly, and found that his adversaries had no power to touch him. On his return he came to Colonel West's, where he received a message from Swarthmore, to meet, at that place,

¹ Journal of J. Banks.

Anthony Pearson, a justice of the peace, who had been an opposer of Friends. In compliance with the request he went, and was instrumental in confirming the good impressions made on the mind of Justice Pearson the preceding year at Appleby sessions. He was convinced of the principles of Friends, and became a valuable member of the Society. He wrote a work against the tithe system of England, in which he evinced much ability and research.

George Fox, in the prosecution of his religious labors, came to Carlisle, in Cumberland, where he had a meeting in the Abbey, with a congregation who were chiefly Baptists, another in the Castle among the soldiers, and a third at the Market-cross. In these meetings he gained many proselytes, and, though threatened with violence, received no injury. On the following First-day he went to the parish house of worship, where, after the minister had done, he began to preach. The magistrates desired him to depart, but he told them he came to declare the way of the Lord to them, and so powerful was his ministry, that the people began to tremble, and some of them thought the house itself was shaken. At length the rude populace raised a riot, which was quelled by the soldiers, some of whom took George by the hand and conducted him away. The next day, the magistrates being assembled in the Town Hall, issued a warrant for his apprehension, and he, hearing of it, went up to the Hall, where he found many false accusations had been made against him. He had much discourse with the magistrates, and pointed out to them the fruits of their priests' ministry. After a long examination, they committed him to Carlisle prison, as a "blasphemer, a heretic, and seducer.

While he lay in jail a report went abroad that he was to be hanged, which caused many persons to visit him, among whom were some ladies of rank, and many priests.

When the assizes came, the judges refused to bring him to trial, whereupon Anthony Pearson, on his behalf, wrote them a letter, remonstrating against his illegal imprisonment, and claiming for him a lawful trial, a copy of his charge, and the privilege of answering for himself. In this letter he says, "To my knowledge he utterly abhors and detests every particular, which by the act against blasphemous opinions is appointed to be punished, and differs as much from those people against whom the law was made, as light from darkness. Though he be committed, judgment is not given him, nor have his accusers been face to face, to affirm before him what they have informed against him; nor was he heard as to the particulars of their accusation, nor doth it appear that any word they charge against him is within the act."

This remonstrance was unavailing; the judges refused to try or liberate the prisoner, leaving him to be dealt with by the magistrates, who ordered the jailer to put him down among the felons, which he did accordingly. In this noisome prison he was compelled to associate with the most depraved characters of both sexes, but such was the influence of his pure spirit and Christian demeanor, that even these neglected and hardened criminals evinced their love and respect for him, and some of them, being convinced of sin, embraced the offers of redeeming love.

The under-jailer was exceedingly abusive, and sometimes beat with a great cudgel both George Fox and the Friends who came to see him. He says in

his journal, "While he struck me I was moved to sing in the Lord's power, which made him rage the more. Then he fetched a fiddler and set him to play, thinking to vex me; but while he played I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing, and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle, struck and confounded them, and made them give over fiddling, and go their way.

At length Anthony Pearson prevailed on the governor of the castle to go with him and inspect the prison. They found it so exceedingly filthy that "they cried shame upon the magistrates for suffering the jailer to do such things." Calling the jailers before them they made them give surety for their good behavior; and the under-jailer who had been so cruel they cast into the dungeon among the felons.

In the spring of the year 1653, Oliver Cromwell, having found the Long Parliament inimical to his ambitious designs, dissolved it by military force, and a few months afterwards, he summoned a legislative body consisting of a hundred and thirty-nine of his own partisans, nominated by himself and his council of officers. This assembly was popularly known by the appellation of Barebones' Parliament, on account of one of its members, a leather-seller of London, whose name was Praise God Barebones.¹

¹ It appears to have been usual among the most fanatical of the Puritans of that age to adopt none but Scriptural names, and some of them received Baptismal names consisting of several words of a favorite text. Here are the names of a jury said to have been impanelled in Sussex.

Accepted Trevor, of Norsham,
Redeemed Compton, of Battle,
Faint not Hewit, of Heathfield,

This Parliament on hearing a report that a young man, imprisoned at Carlisle, was to die for religion, caused a letter to be written to the sheriff and magistrates concerning him. It was probably this inquiry that caused the justices to liberate George Fox, for they must have been conscious that his detention was illegal.

His imprisonment, which continued seven months, had the usual effect of promoting the cause it was intended to obstruct. Among the proselytes he then made were James Parnel and John Stubbs, both of whom became valuable ministers in the Society of Friends.

James Parnel was born at Retford in Nottinghamshire,¹ and enjoyed the advantage of a good education. From his own account of his religious experience,² it appears that, in his early youth, he came under con-

Make Peace Heaton, of Hare,
 God Reward Smart, of Fivehurst,
 Stand fast on High Stringer, of Crowhurst,
 Earth Adams, of Warbleton,
 Called Lower, of the same,
 Kill Sin Pimple, of Witham,
 Return Spelman, of Wabbling,
 Be Faithful Joiner, of Britling,
 Fly Debate Roberts, of the same,
 Fight the good Fight of Faith White, of Emer,
 More Fruit Fowler, of E. Hadley,
 Hope for Bending, of the same,
 Graceful Harding, of Lewes,
 Weep not Billing, of the same,
 Meek Brewer, of Oakeham.¹

¹ *Piety Promoted*, I. 29.

² *Fruits of a Fast*, Parnel's Works, English Edition, 1675.

¹ *Broome's Travels in England*, p. 279; quoted in *Hume's England*, IV. 93.

demnation for sin, but was not then aware of the heavenly nature of that pure light which in secret reproved him. Being brought into a serious consideration of his sinful condition, he resolved to amend, and sin no more; but this resolution being made in his own will, without a reliance upon divine aid, did not stand in the hour of temptation, and he was again, through unwatchfulness and disobedience, brought under suffering. The judgments of the Lord being experienced, he was led to sincere repentance, and through divine grace, an effectual change was wrought in his heart, by which he became a vessel of honor, sanctified for the Master's use. In this condition, being no longer able to conform to the vain customs and formal worship prevailing around him, he became a subject of wonder and offence to his acquaintance, and even his relatives became his enemies. For his testimony to the truth, he encountered obloquy and reproach, but even at the early age of fifteen years, through divine aid, he was strengthened to bear the cross, and despise the shame.

A few miles distant from the town where he lived, he met with a people "whom the Lord was gathering out of the dark world to sit down together to wait upon his name," and with them he felt unity of spirit; but they soon found themselves the objects of reproach and persecution. Afterwards, he felt himself called to visit some Friends in the north of England, with whom he says "he had union in spirit before he saw their faces." It is probable that, during this visit in the year 1653, he met with George Fox, then in prison at Carlisle, who says in his Journal: "James Parnel, a little lad about sixteen years of age, came to see me, and was convinced." From this visit James

returned to his home, and pursued his temporal vocation. In his eighteenth year he was impelled, by a sense of religious duty, to visit Cambridge, not knowing the service that might be required of him, but fully aware of the danger that awaited him, for he had heard before of the cruelty exercised upon two of his friends.

When he arrived there, he found a Friend in prison for bearing a testimony against the wickedness which prevailed in that seat of learning and licentiousness. When James Parnel had remained in Cambridge fourteen days, he was committed to prison by the mayor for publishing two papers against the corruption of the magistrates and of the priests. He was kept in prison during two sessions, and then he was tried on a charge of publishing scandalous and seditious papers; but being acquitted by a jury, the magistrates again sent him to prison for three days, and then banished him from the city.

It was not long until he again came to the city, where he preached the gospel freely, as also in the counties adjacent, during the space of six months, and many embraced the principles he taught, for his ministry was accompanied by that unction and power which the spirit of Christ confers upon his dedicated servants.

John Stubbs was a soldier in Cromwell's army, and being in garrison at Carlisle while George Fox was imprisoned there in the year 1653, became acquainted with him, and through his ministry was convinced of the doctrines held by Friends. He had received a liberal education, and was skilled not only in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but in the Oriental languages.

In the year 1654, when Oliver Cromwell took the

government into his own hands, and required of the soldiers an oath of fidelity, John Stubbs, not being willing to take it, retired from the army. As he continued to follow the leadings of Divine Truth, he grew in religious experience, and having received a gift in the gospel ministry, he became instrumental in the conversion of many.

Among those who, about this time, embraced the principles of Friends, George Whitehead claims particular notice, on account of the conspicuous place he long occupied in the Society. He was born about the year 1636, in the parish of Orton, and county of Westmoreland, of reputable parents, who gave him a good education. From his own narrative, it appears that in his youth he attended divine worship among the Presbyterians; but when about fourteen years of age he became dissatisfied, under an impression that in religious experience and practice they did not come up to their professions, and he was induced to seek among others a more refined, spiritual religion.

After a short time, he heard of the "people called Quakers, who trembled at the word of God," and observing how they were reviled and reproached by loose and wicked people, he felt his heart drawn towards them before he had been at any of their meetings, or heard any of their ministers. At that time, good desires were raised in his mind by the secret touches of divine grace; but he was often led away through levity of disposition and a fondness for music and mirth. After these deviations, the Lord was graciously pleased to follow him with judgment and reproof, exciting renewed desires for holiness; but he knew not then that it was the light of Christ which shone in his heart to manifest the sins of his youth.

As, in the beginning, darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the waters, saying, "Let there be light, and there was light," so in that great work of divine power by which man is created anew in Christ Jesus, the Spirit of God moves upon his heart, and the light of heavenly truth shines there, to manifest the formless void, and by successive steps of creative power, to bring it into order and beauty.

The first meeting of Friends which George Whitehead attended, was at Sunny-Bank near Grayrig chapel, in Westmoreland. After a short time of silence, a Friend named Thomas Arey spoke of the spiritual deliverances, travels, and progress of the Lord's people, alluding to Israel's deliverance out of Egypt from under Pharaoh and his task-masters. All this was understood by George Whitehead, as spiritualized by the speaker, but that which most struck his attention was the appearance of "a great power of the Lord in the meeting breaking the hearts of some into great sorrow, weeping, and contrition," which he believed was a godly sorrow for sin, in order to unfeigned repentance. He particularly noticed a young woman, who, on leaving the meeting, sat down upon the ground, with her face towards the earth, as though she regarded no one present, and moaning bitterly, she cried out, "Lord, make me clean! O Lord! make me clean!" This evidence of deep emotion had more effect upon his feelings than all the ministry he had ever heard, and was to him a certain evidence that her contrition, as well as the trembling and sorrow he beheld in others, arose from a real work of divine power.

Believing that the Lord was about to raise up a

people to worship him in spirit and in truth, George Whitehead ceased to attend on the ministry of the priests, and resorted to the meetings of Friends, which brought upon him reproach and opposition from his relatives and others. In his account of his "Christian Progress," he says, "Some time after I was fully convinced, and my mind turned to the light, I was persuaded and resolved to persevere among Friends, before I heard our dear Friend, George Fox. The first time I heard him minister was at an evening meeting at Sunny-bank, at Captain Henry Ward's house. I was then very low, serious, and intent in my mind, willing to see and taste for myself, for my own inward satisfaction; and I saw and felt his testimony was weighty and deep, and that it proceeded from life and experience, and did bespeak divine revelation, and tended to bring to an inward feeling and sense of the life and power of Christ, and sanctifying operation thereof in the heart. His speech was not with affecting eloquence, or oratory, or human wisdom, but in the simplicity of the gospel, *to turn the mind to the light and life of Christ*, and the Lord abundantly blessed his ministry to many."

"After some time that I was conversant among our Friends, and frequented the meetings to which I belonged, both in Westmoreland and Yorkshire, chiefly between the years 1652 and 1654, being much inwardly exercised in waiting upon the Lord among them, where we had little preaching, but our meetings kept much and often in *silence*, or but few words declared. The Lord was pleased sometimes, by his power and word of life, both to tender and open my heart and understanding, so that he gave me, (among some others,) now and then a few words livingly to

utter in some meetings, to their and my comfort in Him who opened our hearts, in great love one to another, which then increased and grew among us; blessed be the Lord our God for ever."

"It was out of these, and such our frequently *silent meetings*, the Lord was pleased to raise up and bring forth living witnesses, faithful ministers and true prophets, in early days in Westmoreland and other northern parts, in the years 1654 and 1655. . . .

"The Lord gradually brought us to experience what he said of old to his holy prophet, 'Keep silence before me, O Islands, and let the people renew their strength; let them come near, *then let them speak*; let us come together in judgment.' Isaiah, xli. Oh! thus keeping silence before the Lord, and thus drawing near to him in a true silent frame of spirit, to hear first what the Lord speaks to us before we speak to others, whether it be of judgment or mercy, is the way for renewing our strength, and to be his ministers to speak to others only what he first speaks to us. Oh! that the people truly minded this; Oh! that they would seriously consider hereof, then would they not run after or follow such as their ministers, priests or prophets, who run, and God never sent them, who say, 'Thus saith the Lord,' when God hath not spoken to them, and who shall not profit the people at all."¹ Jer. xxiii.

In the early part of his religious experience, George Whitehead was convinced that tithes ought not to be required nor paid under the gospel dispensation; because Christ's ministry is free; he said to his disciples: "Freely ye have received, freely give;" and

¹ Whitehead's Christian Progress, p. 11.

moreover, "because Jesus Christ, the one offering, and great apostle and high-priest of our Christian profession, hath by the one offering and sacrifice of himself, put an end to tithes, and oblations, or offerings, and the priest's revenues, together with that priesthood and first covenant, under which they were upheld and maintained."

From his youth George Whitehead had been accustomed to reading the Scriptures, and though he did not then understand the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, yet he acknowledged that he derived benefit from the sacred volume, and, when further advanced in religious experience, as the Lord opened to him, through the operations of his grace, the truths recorded by holy men of old, the passages treasured in his memory were sweetly revived in his secret meditations, and became a source of comfort and encouragement.

Being fully persuaded that God would reveal to all his dedicated servants that which Paul said was a "mystery among the Gentiles," but made known to the saints; even Christ in them the hope of glory,¹ he waited in humility for that divine visitation which sanctifies the heart and enlightens the conscience. As he thus waited, he received ability, and was called to go forth on a gospel mission, although he was then less than eighteen years of age.

Having acquainted some Friends with his prospect of visiting some counties to the south of his residence, he left Westmoreland in the summer of 1654, having for his companion Edward Edwards, a young man who afterwards appeared in the gospel ministry.

¹ Col. I. 27.

Travelling on foot, they first went to York, and attended Friends' meeting; thence to the southern part of that county, where they met with George Fox and other Friends, and "were comforted together." George Whitehead had a testimony to bear in two "steeple-houses," and he writes that "he met with no hard usage *except haling out.*" Having parted with Edward Edwards, he was joined by Thomās Ralison, and they went into Lincolnshire, where a burden came upon George Whitehead to go and bear testimony for the truth in two "steeple-houses," and he says: "I had no harm nor violence at either except pulling or pushing out," but Thomas Ralison was much abused and beaten.

George Whitehead having again parted with his companion, travelled alone, on foot, to Cambridge, where he was kindly received by Alderman Blake-ling and his wife, and the few Friends living in that city.

From Cambridge, being accompanied by Thomas Lightfoot, he went to Norwich and visited Richard Hubberthorne, who was there in prison. Several persons having been convinced of Friends' principles, through his testimony and sufferings, they came to the prison, and were much affected under the tendering influence of Divine Truth.

The most noted and serviceable man in that city was Thomas Symonds, a master weaver, who entertained travelling Friends. He was an honest, exemplary man; received a gift in the gospel ministry, and having been faithful in life, he died the death of the righteous.

At his house George Whitehead had several meetings, in which the gospel was preached with authority

and success. At one of them, an Antinomian preacher, named Scarfe, attended, who maintained that sin must continue through life, even in the best of saints; and, "yet, though they continue sinners in themselves, they are not under the law, but under grace, and reckoned righteous in Christ." George withstood and confuted this dark, sin-pleasing doctrine, showing that the work of Christ was "to destroy sin, and save his people from transgression."

At another meeting, a company of Ranters attended, to whom sound doctrine was preached against "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life;" showing that they who lived in such things, professing, at the same time, to make the righteousness of Christ a cloak for their sins, must suffer condemnation. Some of them were reached by the word of life, and being convinced of their danger, experienced repentance and reformation.

Among those convinced by the ministry of George Whitehead, in the year 1654, were John Lawrence and his family, Joseph Lawrence and his wife, and William Barber and wife, who became useful and exemplary Friends. William Barber afterwards suffered imprisonment in Norwich castle twenty years for the non-payment of tithes, which he bore with patience and resignation.¹

At Mendlesham, in Suffolk, a meeting of Dissenters had been kept for some time at the house of Robert Duncan, and several preachers usually attended. To this meeting George Whitehead came on the first day of the week, and they sat together for a while in silence; but the preachers becoming uneasy, mani-

¹ Whitehead's Christian Progress, 30.

fested a desire for vocal service; whereupon Robert Duncan spoke a few words to this purpose: "That peradventure they had been too much in words, or depending on men's teaching; therefore God now might see it meet to bring them into silence, that they might come more to depend upon him for teaching." Some of the preachers were for putting forward one or another of them to prayer, during which George Whitehead bore patiently with "their voluntary devotions," until at length the Lord opened in his heart the spring of life, and he was enabled to speak in the authority of truth, "To turn their minds to the true light, that they might know the immortal seed and birth which is from above." His ministry was effectual in bringing many of them to a state of silent waiting upon Christ, and a Friends' meeting was established there. Some of their teachers left them for a time, but afterwards returned; among whom was Edward Plumstead, sen., who became a minister among Friends.

George Whitehead having returned to Norwich, went on a lecture day to a place of worship "called Peter's church," where, after the sermon was ended, he began to speak, but was violently hauled out and abused. He was taken before the mayor, who examined him, chiefly on the subject of water baptism, and then committed him to the city jail, where James Lancaster was also imprisoned for exhorting the people to repentance in the market at Norwich. At the next sessions they were tried before Judge Cock, who was incensed at their not putting off their hats before him, which he considered a contempt of the court. He was informed that they were actuated by conscientious motives, as they could not pay that mark

of homage to any but the Supreme Being. They were again committed to prison, where they lay eight weeks, in the winter season, and suffered much from cold and hard usage.

George Whitehead, after his release from prison, continued to travel in Norfolk and Suffolk, holding meetings and bearing testimony to the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom.¹

At Mendlesham meeting, held at Robert Duncan's, in the year 1655, he was instrumental in convincing of the principles of Friends, George Fox the younger, an inhabitant of Suffolk.² This Friend took the appellation of the younger, because he considered himself less advanced in religious experience than his more distinguished cotemporary of the same name. He had been several years in the Parliament's army; but after he became a Friend, he received a gift in the gospel ministry, and proved to be a valiant soldier in the Lamb's warfare. He was remarkable for his undaunted courage in bearing witness against the corruption of priests and rulers, as well as for his patient endurance of much suffering for the cause of truth.³

At Charsfield, where George Fox the younger then lived with his father, George Whitehead had a memorable meeting, which was held in an orchard. He says in his journal: "I was wonderfully assisted and enlarged in my testimony for Christ Jesus and his blessed gospel truth, insomuch that I was enabled to stand upon a joint stool, though slippery, near five hours that day, preaching the truth and opening the

¹ Christian Progress, 52.

² Whitehead's Christian Progress, 53.

³ Works of George Fox the younger, London, 1665, p. 71.

things which concerned the kingdom of Christ." A considerable portion of this long meeting was probably occupied in answering objections; for it appears that John Burch, a Baptist minister, put some questions in relation to water baptism, which were answered so satisfactorily that he was convinced, and some years afterwards became an acceptable minister among Friends.

In the latter part of the same meeting several Independent ministers, who were present, charged Friends with denying the Holy Scriptures and the ordinances of Christ; which accusations were answered by George Whitehead, and the truths of the gospel were so fully set forth that many were convinced, and a meeting of Friends was soon after settled at that place.

George Whitehead being subsequently joined in his religious labors by Richard Hubberthorne, they were instrumental in spreading their principles in the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, where many meetings of Friends were established.¹

In the Fifth month, 1655, George Whitehead being joined by Richard Clayton, they travelled into Essex, where they visited James Parnel, then in prison at Colchester; from thence they proceeded on foot towards London, but meeting George Fox and Amos Stoddard on the way, they concluded to stay with them and attend some meetings in Essex. In these meetings they heard George Fox earnestly engaged in gospel ministry, exposing the corruptions that existed in the world, and opening the truths of spiritual religion.

¹ George Whitehead's Christian Progress, 64.

George Whitehead and Richard Clayton, accompanied by John Harwood of Yorkshire, held a meeting in a barn at South Halstead, which was well attended, and greatly blessed with the evidence of divine life. They then proceeded on their way, and passing through a town called Buers, in Suffolk, Richard Clayton posted on the door of the parish house of worship a paper, in which he showed that priests who preach for hire and divine for money are testified against in the Scriptures. This paper giving offence, they were summoned before a justice of the peace, who caused Richard Clayton to be whipped and sent out of town, while George Whitehead and John Harwood, who had no share in the transaction, were committed to prison at Edmundsbury. About a month afterwards, George Rofe was committed to the same prison for no other offence than asking a question of a clergyman after he had ended his sermon. These three Friends, being brought to trial at the quarter sessions under false accusations, were pronounced guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of twenty nobles each, in default of which they were detained in prison.

On the day of their trial, George Fox the younger admonished one of the justices to repent of his unjust proceedings; and for this reproof he was committed to prison with his brethren.

About the same time, Henry Marshall, for speaking to a clergyman after his sermon was ended, was also committed to Edmundsbury prison.

The five Friends, thus committed to prison, were at first confined in an upper room, for which the jailer required them to pay rent; but they, having a prospect of a long imprisonment, determined not to comply

with his demand. They were then thrust into the common ward among felons, which is described as a low, dungeon-like place, their lodging being on straw spread upon the damp earthen floor. The jailer kept a bar-room, to supply the prisoners with beer, and some of the felons being frequently drunk, scenes of violence and profanity ensued, which were extremely painful to the Friends. These patient sufferers bore a faithful testimony against the wickedness of the other prisoners, and abstained from the use of intoxicating drinks, which disappointing the jailer of his expected profits, he became exceedingly abusive, and encouraged the felons to commit acts of violence upon them. Frequently they were subjected to severe blows upon the face, causing the effusion of blood; and in more than one instance a drunken prisoner threatened to kill them. These wanton insults and blows they endured with Christian meekness, but when one of the criminals, rendered furious by drink, attempted to kill his own child, a boy about ten years of age, that was in prison with him, four of the Friends held him securely by the hands and feet for a full hour, until his frenzy subsided, and thus they frustrated his murderous intention.

During this protracted and painful imprisonment, many Friends came a considerable distance to see them, but were often denied access by the cruel jailer. Among these sympathizing visitors was William Dewsbury, whose words of counsel and encouragement were peculiarly grateful. After they had been detained more than twelve months, their unjust imprisonment and barbarous treatment were represented to Cromwell through the intervention of Mary

Saunders, a member of his household, and an order was obtained for their release.

It is remarked by George Whitehead, that Mary Saunders "was a sober maid and a good example" in Cromwell's family; she afterwards married a worthy Friend, named Henry Stout, of Hertford, and continued to the end of her days in true Christian faith and love to Friends.

In pursuance of the Protector's order, the imprisoned Friends were, in the year 1656, released by Sir Francis Russel, who kindly furnished them with an order or warrant to produce in their defence if they should be molested in their travels.

Their fidelity and patience were the means of convincing many of their religious principles; and the divine support they experienced during their imprisonment is gratefully acknowledged in the Journal of George Whitehead.¹ "I am," he says, "still truly and humbly thankful to the Lord our God in remembrance of his great kindness to us; how wonderfully he supported and comforted us through and over all these our tribulations, strait confinement, and ill usage, and preserved us in bodily health. In the comfortable enjoyment of his glorious divine power and presence, several of us have often been made to sing aloud in praise to his glorious name; yea, his high praises have been in our mouths oftentimes, to the great amazement and astonishment of the malefactors shut up in the same ward with us. When walking therein, our hearts have been lifted up in living praise to the Lord, often for several hours together, with voices of melody." . . . "O my soul!

¹ Christian Progress, 94.

still bless thou the Lord, and for ever praise his excellent name, for the true inward sense and experience thou hast often and long had, and still hast, of his divine power and unspeakable goodness! Glory and dominion be to our God and to the Lamb that sits upon the throne for ever and ever! Let the praise be unto Him in whom is our help, salvation, and strength.”

CHAPTER VI.

LONDON.

1654-6.

THE first meetings of the Society of Friends held in the city of London were in the early part of the year 1654, and the first messengers were Isabel Buttery and a female companion. Taking with them a printed Epistle of George Fox, addressed “To all that would know the way to the kingdom,”¹ they distributed this tract among those who were willing to receive it, and they held private meetings at Robert Dring’s house in Watling street, and at Simon Dring’s in Moorfields, where they sometimes spoke a few words in gospel ministry.² The distribution of Friends’ books being considered by the Mayor an offence deserving punishment, Isabel Buttery was committed to Bridewell, which is the first instance on

¹ The first tract in his *Doctrinals*.

² *Memoirs of W. Crouch*, London, 1712.

record of Friends' sufferings for conscience' sake in London.¹

In the memoirs of William Crouch, he says, "In the Fifth month of this year, 1654, it pleased God to send two of his faithful messengers and able ministers to the city of London, viz., Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who were the first that declared Truth *publicly* there, whom He made instruments in his hand for the gathering of many, who, like good old Simeon, were waiting for the consolation of Israel." "The Lord was pleased to visit a tender seed in and about the city of London by these his chosen instruments; and as he opened the hearts of a remnant to receive the word of life and believe in it; such opened their doors for meetings in their houses, and, for some time, it so continued, that they met from house to house."

John Audland, John Camm, Richard Hubberthorne, and Anthony Pearson, soon after visited the metropolis, and in conjunction with the two faithful ministers already mentioned, they were instrumental in making many proselytes.

The establishment of Friends' meetings in London being a subject of much importance in the history of the society, some passages from the correspondence of those who were engaged in the work are deemed sufficiently interesting to be worthy of insertion.²

In a letter from Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell dated London 29th of Sixth month [Eighth month] 1654, they write: "We have three meetings or more every week, very large, more than any place will contain, and which we can conve-

¹ Letters of Early Friends, Part I. No. 2.

² *Ibid.*

niently meet in. Many of all sorts come to us, and many of all sects are convinced, — yea, hundreds do believe; and by the power of the gospel declared amongst them is the witness for God raised which shall never die. There are some brought under the power exceedingly, which strikes terror into the hearts of many; and many lie under true judgment, and a true love is raised up in many, and the time of redemption to many is drawing nigh.” . . . “Our dear brethren John Audland and John Camm, went from us the last Sixth day out of this city towards Oxford, to be there the last First-day; our hearts were broken in separating one from another, for our lives are bound up in one, and we partake of one another’s sufferings and of one another’s joy. We receive letters every week from the prisoners at Chester: the work of the Lord goes on gloriously in that county, there is precious seed; and Anthony Pearson writes to us of the like in the county of Bishoprick, [Durham,] it is even our reward to hear that the Lord is raising up that in power, which was sown in weakness: to the Lord of glory, be glory forever!”

About a month later, Francis Howgill writes to Robert Widders:

“DEAR BROTHER:—E. B. [Edward Burrough] and I stay still in this city: large is the love of God to us, and the work of the Lord prospers in our hands; eternal living praises [to Him] for evermore. We are here among this great people in much weakness; and when we see such multitudes, we are often put to a stand where one might get bread to satisfy so many. But the wisdom and power of God hath been with us, and there are hundreds convinced; but not

many great or noble do receive our testimony: yet there are many put to a stand and brought into silence, and many are under deep judgment and true power." . . . "Miles Halhead and James Lancaster were here, and came to visit us; they staid one First-day, and so were moved towards Cambridge. We are much refreshed; we receive letters from all quarters; the work goes on fast everywhere; eternal living praises to Him for ever!"

In the Twelfth month, 1654 [equivalent to Second month, 1655], George Fox was arrested by Colonel Hacker, and sent to London under charge of Captain Drury, one of Cromwell's life-guards. He was lodged at the Mermaid inn, near Charing Cross, and being informed that the Protector required him to promise that he would not take up a carnal sword against him or the government as it then was, he gave no immediate answer; but the next morning he addressed a letter to Cromwell, stating that "he did, in the presence of the Lord, declare that he denied the wearing or drawing a carnal sword, or any other outward weapon against him or any man." And furthermore, "that he was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence, and against the works of darkness, to turn people from darkness to the light; to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting to the peaceable gospel; and from being evil-doers, which the magistrates' sword should be a terror to."

This letter being handed to Cromwell, he required the attendance of George Fox, who was brought before him at Whitehall, on the 19th of Twelfth month, 1654. In the interview that ensued, Cromwell conducted himself moderately, and George Fox, with

his usual frankness, avowed his principles, declaring against the mercenary character of the clergy, and showing that Christ's ministers preached freely. As he was about to withdraw, the Protector took him by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, said, "Come again to my house; for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other;" adding, "that he wished him no more ill than he did to his own soul." As George Fox passed through the palace, he was brought into a hall, where the gentlemen of the household were to dine, and he was, by the Protector's order, invited to dine with them. But he told them to inform the Protector, that "he would not eat of his bread nor drink of his drink." When Cromwell heard this, he replied: "Now I see there is a people risen that I cannot win with gifts, honors, offices, or places; but all other sects and people I can."

In a letter from Alexander Parker to Margaret Fell, dated London, 10th of First month [Third month], 1655, he alludes to another interview with the Protector, as follows: "Our dearly beloved one, George Fox, is set free by Oliver Cromwell, to go whither he pleaseth: he was never under any restraint, but had liberty to pass among Friends. On the 6th day of this instant he was brought before the Protector, and was with him a pretty while in his chamber at Westminster; he was very loving to him, and wished him to come again to him; and afterwards set him free, to go whither he pleased. So we are yet in this city, and for a while continue in it; there are many Friends come up, as Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, Thomas Salthouse, Miles Halhead, William Caton, John Stubbs, and several

others; but I believe we shall disperse abroad after to-morrow."

During the sojourn of George Fox in the metropolis, he was much engaged in religious services, having conferences with Friends and others, and holding large meetings in which he preached the gospel with remarkable success.

The crowds who attended his meetings were often so great, that it was with difficulty he reached the houses where they were held.

It appears from the letters of some of the Friends then in London, that they had a large house for public meetings, which they called their *threshing-floor*; and several other places of meeting for those who were convinced of their doctrines. In these more private meetings they could enjoy their silent devotions, or receive counsel adapted to their conditions, while at their "threshing-floor," the multitudes who flocked to hear Fox, Howgill, and Burrough, were reached and contrited by their powerful and persuasive ministry.

EDWARD BURROUGH AND FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 27th of First Month [Third Mo.] 1655.

DEAR SISTER, who art a fruitful branch in the living vine, and a pleasant plant in the garden of God. We have been in this city near three weeks in great labor and service. G. [G. Fox,] with many more of our brethren, was here when we came. We all staid over one First-day after we two came into the city. G. was that day in private with Friends; and we two were in the general meeting-place among the rude world, threshing and ploughing; and the rest of our

brethren were that day at several meetings, some at one and some at another, and some among the Baptists and gathered people; and great service there was that day. Then, shortly after that First-day, the brethren separated into the fields [the country] to reap and gather in. Richard Cleaton and Thomas Bond went towards Norwich and into Suffolk and that way, and are in great service there. John Stubbs and William Caton went towards Dover. We have received one letter from them since they went to Dover; the mayor and the officers strictly examined and charged them to keep the peace; they were with some gathered people, and at some steeple-houses, and had little persecution. Miles Halhead and Thomas Salt-house went towards Plymouth; they had a great meeting one First-day in Reading; and many, they wrote, were convinced. G. F. is at present in Bedfordshire; Alexander Parker is with him; there is a people that way. John Audland was here with us, but goes towards Bristol shortly for aught we know. James Lancaster was with us in this city, but is gone to George. R. Hubleerthorne is yet in prison. John Camm is at or near Bristol. We believe that G. [Fox] will return to this city again. We two are too few in this city for the service, for truly it is very great; at present many come in daily to the acknowledgment of the Truth. Friends are so many that not one place can hold them on the First-days, where we can peaceably meet, for the rude people; for since we came they have been very rude, — very oft to pull us down when we have been speaking. G. [Fox] was at the great meeting-place two First-days before we came, and his voice and outward man was almost spent amongst them.

We have thus ordered it since we came, — we get Friends on the First-days to meet together in several places out of the rude multitude, &c., and we go to the great meeting-place which we have, which will hold a thousand people, which is always nearly filled, [there] to thresh among the world; and we stay till twelve or one o'clock, and then pass away, the one to one place, and the other to another place, where Friends are met in private, and stay till four or five o'clock. * * * *

E. B., F. H.

Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough embraced every opportunity that offered to advocate the cause of Truth. An anecdote is related by Sewel, which illustrates the zeal of those undaunted reformers. It was then the custom in London, during the summer season, for many tradesmen, when they left off work in the evening, to resort to the fields, in order to try their skill and strength in wrestling. On one occasion, as Edward Burrough passed by the place where they were wrestling, he saw standing in the ring a strong and dexterous man, who had already thrown three others, and was waiting for a fourth champion to present himself. None being bold enough to venture, Edward Burrough stepped into the ring, and, having looked upon the wrestler with a serious countenance, began to preach the gospel, greatly to the surprise of all present.

He spoke with heart-piercing power, declaring that "God had not left himself without a witness, but had given to man a measure of his grace, and enlightened every one with the light of Christ." This unexpected and earnest address was so effectual that some of the spectators were convinced of the doctrines he preached.

By a letter from Alexander Parker to Margaret Fell, dated London, 10th of 3d month, 1655, it appears that George Fox still remained in the city; that seven or eight meetings of Friends were held every First-day, and that many were daily convinced of their doctrines. The following passage from this letter will show the deference paid to George Fox by the Friends of London, who had recently become acquainted with him: "Here are in this city many precious Friends, and they begin to know George, though at the first he was strange to them, and one thing they all take notice of, that if George be in the company, all the rest are, for the most part, silent, which they did much wonder at."

A letter from Francis Howgill, written in the same month, says: "The work is great in this city, but even few are fitted for it. The last First-day there were ten meetings in the city, and the work lieth upon George Fox and us two [F. Howgill and E. Burrough]; here are a precious people, [they] grow in wisdom and life, and many are added. All the priests and all the gathered congregations in the city preach against us, and are bent in great rage, and print lies, and incense people much. Edward Burrough and I have ordinarily two public disputes with the heads of them, and they lose their members so fast, that they know not what to do; yet the city is pretty calm and quiet, and wisdom begins to grow among Friends, and divers are moved to go forth in the ministry. Two young men and two young women are moved to go to Barbadoes, out of the city, and another young man, a Scotchman, is moved to go for Scotland; and other two women are gone to Wales, and other two to Oxford — all these are citizens."

In the autumn of the same year, Alexander Parker, writing from London to Margaret Fell, says: "The Truth in this city spreads and flourishes; many large meetings we have, and great ones of the world come to them, and are much tendered. James [Nayler] is fitted for this great place, and a great love is begotten in many towards him. Our dear one, George Fox, doth purpose this week to pass into the country northward, but how far north I cannot tell."

In the summer of the year 1655, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough visited Ireland, and on their return to London, early in the autumn of 1656, they wrote as follows:

DEAR BRETHREN:—Our care is great; the harvest is great; who are sufficient for these things? Here are fields white unto harvest, and much of the power of God hath been with us. Great hath been our burden, and our work since we came here, and our reward is great. Much have we been drawn out to administer in power and wisdom. We have exceeding great meetings of all sorts, and we labor and travail until Christ be formed in them. Pray for us, that we may be kept in his power [that] reigneth over all: by the power of the Lord the mouths of lions are stopped, kings are bound in chains; eternal living praises for evermore to Him who rides on conquering in power and great glory! Many are brought under great judgment and true power, and many have learned their own condemnation."

The meetings of Friends in London were at first held in private houses, but the number in attendance having greatly increased, in the year 1655 they took,

for a meeting-place, a part of a large house near Aldersgate. Another part of the same building having been used for an inn, with the sign of the Bull and Mouth, occasioned the meeting-house to be known by this name.

Stated meetings for worship were also held on First-days, and near the middle of the week in the following places, viz :

At Sarah Yates', in Aldersgate street.

At Humphrey Bache's, Tower street.

At Gerard Roberts', Thomas Apostle's street.

At William Woodcock's, in the Savoy.

At the house of Captain Brock, Stepney.

Besides these stated meetings, others were held occasionally at private dwellings.

Near the same time, a meeting was established at Horsleydown in the house of a widow, and the number of Friends increasing, a piece of ground was procured, and a meeting-house built.

At Westminster, meetings were held in the house of Stephen Hart, until a house was taken, and a meeting established there.

About the year 1656, a meeting was set up in John's street, called the Peel meeting, and another called the Wheeler street meeting. The last of these meetings was first held at the house of John Oakly, in an upper room, and the number of attendants increasing, another room was added ; but the place still being too small, a canvas tent was used in the garden until a meeting-house was erected.¹

Among the Friends in London, Ann Downer was

¹ Memoirs of William Crouch.

the first who was called to the gospel ministry. Many others were subsequently engaged in the same service, among whom were Richard Greenway, John Giles, Sarah Blackberry, Ann Gold, Rebecca Travers, Mary Booth, William Bayly, William Crouch, and Gilbert Latey. The last three of these Friends having been eminently serviceable, and some account of their religious experience having been preserved, a brief notice of each is here subjoined.

William Bayly was born in the borough of Southampton;¹ but the date of his birth is not stated. In a paper of his, entitled, "A short relation or testimony of the working of the light of Christ," he informs us, that while he was yet a child, his soul thirsted for the water of life, and at ten years of age he was drawn to seek for retirement, in order to wait upon God; but when he was about fifteen years old, not heeding the true guide, he entered the army in time of war, and served nearly two years as a soldier.

Through the example of wicked companions, and the corrupting influence of a military life, his heart became hardened, until he even "took delight in swearing and drunkenness." Yet oft-times when he had withdrawn from his companions, he was brought into awful condemnation by the witness for God in his own soul, being seized with horror, and tormented with visions of death and perdition.

The army being disbanded, he was discharged, and, about the same time, he "was so smitten by God's witness, the light in his conscience," that he began to leave off his wicked practices, and profane company became burdensome to him. He now began to hunger

¹ Besse, I. 229.

for spiritual food, and in order to obtain it, he resorted to the priests, who, he supposed, could, by their learning, open the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom. He found, however, that they fed him upon husks, being destitute of that true bread which comes down from heaven, and, while he was famishing, the cry of his soul was: "Give me food, or else I perish."

"In those days," he says, "my soul was awakened by the witness of God, feeling the burden of sin, and was often afraid of death and misery without end; but knew not how to get out from under the power of sin and death, nor to escape the wrath to come, being ignorant of him that saveth from it, which is Christ, the power of God, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, which condemns sin in the flesh." Finding he could derive no help from the priests, he left them, and sought for retirement and quietude at home, which was a great cross to his wife and nearest relatives. But although he had from a sense of duty, withdrawn from attendance on the mercenary teachers of religion, he was induced by motives of expediency, and through the persuasion of others, to frequent their meetings again, for which he was brought into condemnation and deep distress by the Searcher of hearts.

Being in want of employment, he made two voyages to France, and became deeply interested in the study and practice of navigation, by which he was so much fascinated, that his attention was, for a time, withdrawn from the pursuit of spiritual good, "the spirit of the world came in upon him like a flood, and gross darkness covered his soul." Yet he was so far restrained by the witness for God, — the light in his

conscience, that he durst not return to his former course of wickedness. Although he was preserved from gross immorality, yet the love of the world had a strong hold in his heart, and the love of righteousness had greatly declined.

While in this condition, he indulged many vain imaginations of honor and renown; but suddenly his mind was arrested by a divine visitation, — a cloud came over his prospects of worldly glory, and a season of calm reflection ensued, during which he saw that he wearied himself for things that would perish with the using, and that “like a fool he might leave them in the midst of his days.” Being now like one awakened from sleep, and hungering for food, he began to look around for that which would satisfy the longings of his soul. He went among the Anabaptists, hoping to find rest and peace; for he often felt the love of God extended to him, and thence concluded that he was one of the elect, for he did not then know that there is, “a seed in man to which the promises and the blessings belong, and the elect is before the foundation of the world.” The promise of election was to Christ the true seed, and to all those who, through obedience, become united to him in the covenant of life. William Bayly, entered into communion with the Anabaptists, and received the rite of water baptism. He observes: “Before I was dipped in water they called me not brother, but suddenly after, they did; yet I was the same every way as before.” He did not find the peace and joy he expected, and he longed for that spiritual food which alone can satisfy the soul.

Having heard a book read concerning the sufferings of the people called Quakers, his heart was touched with tenderness and pity towards them, and he was

led to believe they suffered innocently for conscience' sake.

Afterwards he heard one of their ministers, who preached the word of life, and he rejoiced in hearing it, being convinced that it was the very truth. He became satisfied that there is no other way to know God, but by walking in the light which comes from Christ the Saviour, and leads all who follow it out of the evil that is in the world. He who "was glorified with the Father before the world was," is the substance of all the types, figures, shadows, and ordinances. "He redeems man by his blood—the life—out of the earth, into which man was driven by transgression," and brings him again into union and communion with God.

As the mind of William Bayly was turned to the true light, many passages of Scripture were revived and opened to him, by which he was confirmed in the doctrines of Friends. A change was then begun in him, and "he was made to weep and lament, seeing all the religion in the world to be but a fading leaf, without the pure life and power of God, which alone can save from sin and bring into unity with him." While in this troubled condition, he was followed day and night by many Anabaptists, endeavoring to persuade him out of it; looking upon him as deluded, some resorted to prayers, some to flatteries, and others to railing words, telling him that he was fallen from grace, and was become under the law, making the blood of Christ of none effect. Their efforts were not without success, for he knew not then "the blood to be the life, and that the light is the life of men." Though he was convinced in his conscience, yet his understanding being darkened by listening to their coun-

sels, he was drawn away from a reliance upon "the law written in the heart—the sure word of prophecy," to which he should have been faithful.

In order to obtain relief from trouble, he was persuaded to join again with them more zealously than before, and having become a minister, he "encouraged others to follow their strong imaginations from the letter of Scripture, looking for a Saviour without us, though the Scripture saith, "Christ in you the hope of glory," and "Know ye not that Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates."¹

He found, however, that all his efforts to obtain peace of mind by outward observances were in vain; he was brought under severe condemnation for his dereliction of duty, and finally he withdrew from fellowship with the Anabaptists, and joined in membership with Friends.

He was convinced by the ministry of George Fox, in the year 1655, being then a resident of Pool, a seaport in Dorsetshire.² Believing it his duty to testify publicly to the spiritual truths he had embraced, he went to the parish house of worship for that purpose, but was hauled out with violence. He suffered imprisonment for conscience' sake at Southampton in the year 1657, and at Hartford he was some years a prisoner, being committed in 1663. It does not appear at what date he settled in the city of London; but in the year 1662, while quietly standing in the street, near the Bull and Mouth meeting-house, he was taken by soldiers and carried before Richard Brown, alderman, who treated him with violence, and then committed him to Newgate prison. Again in 1670, being

¹ Collection of W. Bayly's writings.

² Sewel.

found preaching in Grace-church street meeting, he was taken before the mayor and committed to prison.¹ He was a patient sufferer for the cause of truth, and a powerful minister of the gospel.

William Crouch was born the 5th of the Second month, 1628, at Penton, near Andover, in Hampshire. His father was a substantial yeoman of good repute, and his mother a religious woman. In 1646 he came to London, and bound himself as an apprentice in Cornhill, near which place he continued to reside after he attained to manhood.

In his account of his early life he writes, "God was pleased in his abundant grace and favor to place his witness near, even in my heart and conscience, so that when I was a child I was preserved from many evils incident to youth, and an awe continued with me as I grew up; and God did often visit me in mercy, and preserved and delivered me from many great temptations and evils; for which my soul gives thanks and praise to his excellent name, in the continued remembrance thereof." "In the year 1656, I came to be in some measure convinced of the everlasting truth of God, revealed and made known to a despised people called Quakers; my mother and sisters having been before convinced in Gloucestershire, near to Bristol. For by a good hand of Providence I was brought to some meetings of the said people in London: concerning whom I had heard various reports, but when I heard for myself the testimony of truth declared, it was to my outward ear as 'a very lovely song.' (Ezek. xxxiii. 32.) But I felt not the power working in my heart until it pleased

¹ Besse, I. 229, 388, 412.

the Almighty to touch it therewith; who did thereby open my heart and set my sins in order before me. Then, oh then! I saw my woeful state and condition, although I was in a profession and form of religion; and that salvation is only in and through Christ Jesus, the gift of God and light of the world, given of the Father for a Saviour unto the ends of the earth. Now I found him a God nigh at hand, a discoverer of the thoughts and intents of the heart, a judge standing at the door, a reprover in secret, before whom I was made to bow and bend. He in mercy showed me my state and condition, and through the manifestation of his light and truth in my heart and conscience, showed unto me the way to escape the many snares and temptations wherein I had been overtaken and captivated. Now did sin appear exceeding sinful, and the fire of God's jealousy was kindled in my soul, in the sense and feeling of which I travailed day and night, for months and years, and sometimes in the bitterness of my soul cried out, Hath God forsaken me? Is there no pardon or mercy for me? Hath God forgotten to be gracious? Hath his anger shut up his tender mercies?"

In the depth of distress he cried to the Lord and found deliverance; then under a lively sense of divine favor he was led to exclaim, "Righteous art thou, O God! and thy judgments are true; search me thoroughly; try my heart, and if iniquity be found therein, let the fire of thy jealousy burn up, and consume everything that is contrary to thy holy will; let not thine eye pity nor thy hand spare, but in and through Christ Jesus, the only Mediator and Saviour, give me favor with thee, and life eternal, whatever it cost."

“I found,” he says, “a necessity to continue my travel and get forward, for I saw that a distance is set between seed-time and harvest. The considerate husbandman doth not expect to reap so soon as the seed is sown, but he waits the appointed seasons, through many storms and tempests, until the blade appears, and ‘then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear,’ according to the will of God. Even so the seed of the kingdom is sown in the good ground, — the honest and good heart, — which having heard the word keeps it, and bringeth forth fruit with patience. He that believeth shall not make haste.”

As there were inwardly fiery trials, so the Lord permitted outward exercises to attend; such as imprisonments for not swearing, scoffs and revilings of men, loss of goods by distresses, for a good conscience towards God, for not paying to the hireling priesthood, and for meeting with the people of God to worship him.” “Through all the Lord supported me and bore up my head so that the storms and tempestuous floods of persecution prevailed not over me. God gave me power, strength and courage, to undergo with joy and gladness whatever he was pleased to permit and suffer to come upon me.”

William Crouch is mentioned by one who knew him well, as a remarkable example of Christian meekness and fidelity.¹ He did not rest in the beginnings of regeneration, where too many content themselves; but, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, pressed forward and labored for a thorough sanctification of heart.

“Such was the heavenly frame of his mind, such

¹ Preface to his Memoirs, by Richard Claridge.

the spiritual travail of his soul. He had a state of perfection in his view, and believing it attainable by the grace of God, he desisted not from the pursuit, till through the same grace, we hope, he was made a partaker of it.

“He was a humble, self-denying man, and owned no state above a watchful one; nor did he assume to himself the attainment spoken of, but continued in faith, humility, watchfulness and prayer, looking unto Jesus, that he who had begun the good work in him would confirm it unto the end; relying always upon the grace of God, and not upon any duties or performances of his own.” “Now as doing righteousness or doing good, according to the apostle, is a certain proof of being born of God, so is it vain for any man to conceit he is so born, in whom the fruits of righteousness are not. But where we see those fruits apparent, there we have good grounds to infer the person is born of God.”¹

Gilbert Latey was born in the county of Cornwall, in the year 1626. In youth he was bound apprentice to a tailor, and served out his time, notwithstanding he had a very wicked and severe master.

In the year 1648, he came to the city of London, where he prospered in his business; “being employed and respected by persons of the first rank and quality in the kingdom.” He was at that time exemplary in life and conversation, and earnestly engaged in seeking for religious knowledge. He followed those who were esteemed the most zealous among the clergy, often hearing four sermons a day, and being frequently engaged in private prayer. But he did not find that

¹ Preface to his *Memoirs*, by Richard Claridge.

peace of mind and assurance of divine favor for which his soul was thirsting. In the year 1654, he was informed that some men from the north of England were to have a meeting at the house of Sarah Matthews, a widow who lived in Whitecross street; and repairing thither, he heard the gospel preached by Edward Burrough so effectually, that he was convinced of the doctrines declared. Being directed to "the light of Christ in himself," and not consulting with flesh and blood, he gave up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit, resolving, with the Lord's assistance, to take up his cross and despise the shame, accounting all things but as dross that he might win Christ.

It was not long before he found a great trial awaited him in the prosecution of his business; for, being engaged in making apparel for persons of rank and fashion, whose garments were usually adorned with lace and ribbons; he felt a conscientious scruple against administering to their sumptuous habits. He would neither make such garments himself, nor allow his journeymen to make them; which deprived him of his most profitable business, and led some of his neighbors to question his sanity.

Although he suffered a temporary loss, he was in the end amply compensated; being not only prosperous in his outward affairs, but abundantly blessed with the more enduring riches of Christ's kingdom.

He received a precious gift in the gospel ministry, and was eminently serviceable as a solicitor for the release of his imprisoned brethren and sisters, as will more fully appear in the course of this history.¹

One of the earliest sufferers among the Friends in

¹ Life of Gilbert Latey, London, 1707.

London was Ann Downer, already mentioned as a minister of the gospel. She, for some expressions against the preacher who officiated at a house of worship in Stepney, was, in the year 1655, committed to the house of correction, and because she refused to work, was beaten with a rope's end. She was then a maiden about thirty years of age, and afterwards became the wife of George Whitehead. She was a woman of excellent endowments, very serviceable in religious society, a mother in the Church — well qualified to exhort others, and exemplary in her Christian care over persons in sickness and poverty.¹

In the same year, George Baily, for speaking in a parish house of worship after the priest had ended his sermon and prayer, was sent to Newgate prison, where he lay three weeks till the sessions, when no accuser appearing against him, the court seemed willing to discharge him; but demanded an acknowledgment of his offence. He answered, that "he could not do so without hypocrisy, because his conscience did not accuse him of any offence." This innocent boldness they called obstinacy; and required sureties for his good behavior, which he, not being willing to give, was sent to Bridewell, where he remained above ten weeks.

About the same time, and for the same cause, Ruth Hill, William Markfield, and William Robinson, were sent to the house of correction.

Francis Howgill, feeling a sympathy with Friends who were persecuted and imprisoned in several places, waited on Oliver Cromwell, and interceded with him to put a stop to it. There is no evidence that his

¹ Besse, I. 361.

object was attained, but his visit had a salutary effect upon some of the Protector's family, among whom Theophilus Green was so much affected with his discourse, that he subsequently joined himself in membership with Friends.¹

CHAPTER VII.

BRISTOL, KENT, AND BEDFORDSHIRE.

1654-5.

WHILE the principles of Friends were rapidly advancing in London, during the years 1654 and '55, a work of similar character was in progress at Bristol. The first instruments employed in this service were John Camm and John Audland, who came to the city in the Fifth month, 1654.²

The first meetings they attended were among a "seeking people, who kept one day in the week in fasting and prayer," waiting for a more full manifestation of divine life and power. These tender and devout people being prepared for the reception of the good seed, received with joy the message of those gospel ministers, and experienced a season of divine visitation, during which they were brought under the baptizing power of the Holy Spirit. Charles Marshal,

¹ Gough, I. 144.

² C. Marshal's Testimony concerning John Camm and John Audland.

one of the first proselytes in Bristol, has left an account of the labors of John Camm and John Audland, from which the following passages are selected:

“Some meetings we had before the more general gathering in and about that city, which began on this wise: On a First-day, in the morning, I went with these two servants of God, about a mile and a half from the city, to a little spring of water, where I often had spent many solitary hours in my tender years, seeking the Lord; there we sat some time and drank of the spring. After some hours of the morning were spent, I saw in them a great travail in spirit; trembling, John Audland said, ‘Let us be going into the city;’ so we came to the street called Broadmead, to a house where there were several people met together, inquiring after these two men of God. John Audland was under great exercise of spirit, and said, ‘Is here any one who has an interest in any field?’ An ancient man said, ‘I have, in a field pretty near.’ Notice being given to the people in the house, they came forth; and as we went along, people in the streets went also to the field, called Earls-mead; so that we came a pretty number, where some seats or stools were brought. Dear John Camm began to speak tenderly and in great zeal, directing to the heavenly grace of God, and testifying against sin and iniquity fervently; to which some were attentive. . . I perceived a great exercise of spirit on my dear friend and father in Christ, John Audland, who trembled very much. After dear John Camm stepped down, he stood up, full of dread and shining brightness in his countenance, lifted up his voice as a trumpet, and said, ‘I proclaim spiritual warfare with the inhabitants of the earth, who are in the fall and separation from

God.' ” “And so he went on in the mighty power of God, opening the way of life. But, ah! the seizings of soul and prickings at heart, which attended that season; some fell on the ground, others crying out under the sense of the opening of their states, which indeed gave experimental knowledge of what is recorded in Acts ii. 37.” “At this meeting many were effectually convinced and turned from darkness to light, after which our meetings grew larger and larger. They visited the meetings of them called Independents and Baptists, testifying amongst them in great power the things given them of God, directing the poor and needy in spirit, that saw their want of the Lord Jesus Christ, no longer to seek the living amongst the dead, but to look from the mountains and hills, dead ways and worships, unto Christ Jesus, the foundation of life and salvation; and there was added unto the gathering daily, and great dread was round about and in our meetings, under the seasonings of the Holy Ghost. Oh! the tears, sighs and groans, tremblings and mournings, in the sight of the middle wall of partition that we saw then, in our awakened states, that stood between us and the Lord, and in the sight and sense of our spiritual wants and necessities.” “Oh! the strippings of all needless apparel, and the forsaking of superfluities in meats and drinks; for we walked in a plain self-denying path, having the fear and dread of God on our souls, and being afraid of offending in word or deed. Our words were few and savory, our apparel and houses plain, being stripped of superfluities, our countenances grave, and deportment weighty amongst those we had to do with.”¹

¹ C. Marshal's Testimony.

This plain, unvarnished statement, from the pen of one who participated in those deeply interesting scenes, affords evidence of the powerful emotions and fervent zeal experienced by the early Friends. They were thoroughly in earnest to secure their own salvation, and to promote that of others; and they were willing to make every sacrifice that they believed the Lord required of them.

The meetings at Bristol were so large that they were forced to hold them in the open air, and even during the time of frost and snow three or four thousand persons assembled together; thus evincing their deep interest in the momentous concerns of religion.¹

Among those at Bristol who became prominent members of the Society of Friends, were Charles Marshal, Josiah Cole, George Bishop, and Barbara Blaugdone.

Charles Marshal was born at Bristol, in the year 1637, and was religiously educated by his parents among the Independents. He afterwards joined the Baptists, "but grew more and more dissatisfied with the empty and lifeless profession of those among whom he walked." He spent much time in retirement, walking alone in the fields, under a sense of spiritual want, crying unto the Lord and seeking after his saving knowledge. In this state he continued, until he was brought to the knowledge of the blessed truth by the powerful ministry of John Audland, as already related. After his mind was turned to the light of the Lord, he witnessed God's pure power, love and life to break in upon him; and being resigned and obedient to the divine will, he received

¹ Besse, I. 39.

a gift in the gospel ministry, and became an instrument to turn many to righteousness.¹

Josiah Cole was born near Bristol about the year 1633. He was twenty-two years of age, when John Camm and John Audland visited that city and became instrumental in bringing him under the powerful operation of the word of life. "He walked for a time under deep judgment and mournfully, so that he became a gazing stock and wonder to his former acquaintance." But through the baptizing power of the Holy Spirit, he was made a fit vessel for the Master's use, and became an able minister of the gospel, in which service he labored almost incessantly during twelve years. "It was his life and joy to be speaking the word of the Lord, and not in his own words; and many thousands were living witnesses to the power, virtue, and efficacy of his ministry; but above all, he was terrible to the sowers of strife, secret backbiters, and such as rend the holy body and separate from the life, love, and fellowship of the blessed trnth." . . . "In his conversation his kindness was so mixed with seriousness, and his familiarity with a staid and exemplary behavior, that he was an honor to the truth, and therein a confirmer of his holy testimony and a strengthener of his weaker brethren.² In the service of the gospel he travelled much in foreign lands, and will again be noticed in the progress of this work.

George Bishop occupied a prominent place among the Friends in Bristol; but there appears to be no account extant, concerning his early life and religious experience. In a letter from F. Howgill and E. Bur-

¹ Piety Promoted, I. 198.

² Ibid.

rough to Margaret Fell, written in Bristol in 1654, the following passage occurs: "On the last First-day we had a meeting at one Captain Bishop's house in the city; a large house with large rooms; but all were too little. So in the afternoon we went to a place called the Fort. There were about two thousand people there; and many great men and women, and all silent; but we could hardly reach them with words, the multitude was so great."¹

George Fox, in his Journal, under date 1655, gives an account of a great meeting at Reading, to which, he says, "George Bishop of Bristol came with his sword by his side, for he was a captain." There are in the writings of the Early Friends, several instances recorded of persons convinced of their doctrines, who wore their swords for a short time, until they became more thoroughly imbued with Christian principles.

George Bishop, after he had laid by his warlike weapon, took up the pen in defence of the principles of Friends. He wrote many books and pamphlets, among which, the most noted is his work called "New England judged;" being an account of the persecution and martyrdom of Friends in Massachusetts.

Barbara Blaugden was from her youth religiously inclined; she had received a good education, and was much esteemed in her profession as a teacher of youth. On being convinced of the principles of Friends, believing it her duty to take up the cross, she adopted the simplicity of manners peculiar to this Society, in dress and address, in consequence of which her pupils were withdrawn, and she lost her employment. She even carried her self-denial so far as to abstain from

¹ Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, LXXXVI.

all flesh, wine and beer, during the space of a year. In the meanwhile, she continued to advance in spiritual knowledge, and being faithful to her religious convictions, she went forth as a messenger of the gospel of Christ.

Being moved by a sense of duty, she sometimes went into the parish houses of worship, in order to exhort the people to the fear of the Lord and amendment of life, for which she was several times committed to prison. For no other offence than this, she was, in one instance, whipped until the blood ran down her back; but she did not flinch from suffering; on the contrary, she sang aloud, and was made to rejoice that she was counted worthy to suffer for the name of the Lord. In some instances, even her persecutors were touched with a feeling of compassion for her, and convinced of the truth of her testimony. She was repeatedly engaged in interceding for her persecuted friends, and not without success.¹

In the autumn of 1654, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill visited the city of Bristol, and promoted the great work then in progress, by the aid of their powerful and persuasive ministry. The success that attended their labors alarmed the priests, and by their instigation the mayor and magistrates attempted by persecution to arrest the spreading of Friends' principles. They called Burrough and Howgill before them, and subjected them to an examination at which none of their friends were allowed to be present, although their opposers were readily admitted. The result was, that the council issued an order for them "to depart from the city forthwith at their

¹ Sewel and Gough.

peril." To this they answered, "We came not in the will of man, nor stand in the will of man; but when He moves us to depart, who moved us hither, we shall obey; but your wills we cannot obey, for your will is no law; if we are guilty of the transgression of any law, let us suffer by it; but rather than we will transgress the righteous law of God, written in our hearts, by submitting to your wills and lusts, we shall choose to walk in the law of God, and to suffer under your wills what you can lay upon us. We are free-born Englishmen, and have served the commonwealth in faithfulness, being free in the presence of God from the transgression of any law. To your commands we cannot be obedient; but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot resist." Having said this, they left the court, but remained in the city preaching as before; for though the magistrates bore them no good-will, they could not, either by law or justice, execute the order they had made.¹

The priests and their adherents finding that the Friends still increased in numbers, stirred up the rude populace, and especially the youth of the city, to insult and abuse them. Near the close of the year 1654, as John Camm and John Audland were passing over the bridge towards Brislington, where they had appointed a meeting, they were assaulted by some hundreds of the rabble, whose ignorant zeal had been blown up by one Farmer, a persecuting priest, to the highest pitch of fury. They violently drove back the innocent strangers, some crying out, "Bring them presently," and others, "Knock them down,"—and

¹ Besse, I. 39.

would have dragged them out of the city to execute their wicked purpose; but were dissuaded by others, who advised them to carry them before the mayor. They then dragged them to the Tolzey, a place where courts of justice were held. There again, the enraged mob would probably have torn them in pieces, had not a Friend, with much danger and difficulty, got them into his house, and shut the door. The rabble, with hideous noise, threatened to pull down the house, while the innocent men remained as lambs, dumb before their shearers, in quietness and patience, yet undaunted, putting their trust in God. After some time, the officers of the garrison were seen approaching, and the mob dispersed. Next morning, the Friends proceeded to their meeting. Three of the rioters were apprehended; but the report of their arrest spreading through the city, the mob again gathered to the number of about 1500, and forced the discharge of their companions.

These tumults were too much countenanced by men in office, and yet the magistrates soon after, in a report to the Protector, charged them upon the innocent men against whom they were raised.¹

About a month after the riots in Bristol, the magistrates of that city issued a warrant to the constables, in which they allege, that "certain persons of the Franciscan order in Rome have of late come over to England, and under the notion of Quakers, have drawn together several multitudes of people in London; and that certain strangers, under the names of John Camm, John Audland, George Fox, James Nayler, and Edward Burrough, have lately resorted

¹ Besse, I. 40.

to Bristol, drawn multitudes after them, and occasioned great disturbances; therefore, it being suspected that these strangers are some of those who came from Rome, the officers are required to make diligent search, and bring them forward to be dealt with according to law."

It does not appear that any of the persons named in the warrant were arrested under it; but Thomas Murford, a citizen of Bristol, possessed of some estate, was taken out of a meeting of Friends, and carried before the mayor. They charged him with being a Franciscan friar, because he was clothed in a coat of hair. When the mayor and aldermen asked him why he came into the city in that habit, he replied: "I was commanded of the Lord to come and mourn in sackcloth for you, and to warn you to let the Lord's people alone, as you will answer it at the day of judgment, and not to persecute and imprison his saints." Upon this, the mayor ordered him to be turned out of town, and on his coming in again, committed him to Newgate. When his wife complained to the mayor of the injustice of her husband's confinement, she was sent to Bridewell.¹

Some months afterward, Sarah Goldsmith, clad in a garment of sackcloth reaching to the ground, her hair disheveled, and ashes on her head, passed through the streets of Bristol, and stopped at the high-cross in view of the market as a sign against pride. There she stood about half an hour, until the rude populace began to abuse her, when some bystanders, in compassion, forced her into a shop, and from thence she was taken before the mayor. When asked "why

¹ Besse, I. 40, 41.

she appeared in the city in that habit," she replied: "In obedience to the light in my conscience." . . . "I have not broken any law by which I can be brought under just censure: if I had appeared in gay clothing, you would not have been troubled." The mayor sent her to Bridewell, and with her, Anne Gunnicliffe and Margaret Wood, for having accompanied her.¹

These cases, and some others of a similar character among the early Friends, in which individuals thought it their religious duty to appear as 'signs' before the people in order to bear a testimony against evil, should not be condemned as the result of delusion or fanaticism. They were perhaps more appropriate and effective in that age than they would be in this, because it was a season of great religious excitement; and moreover, it was customary among the Puritans to refer continually to the *Old Testament* for examples. Many cases are recorded there in which sackcloth was worn by the prophets and kings of Israel; sometimes as a token of approaching calamity, and often in seasons of great and general affliction.

At Oxford, in the year 1654, the spirit of persecution was remarkably manifested towards Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher, who came from the North of England under a religious concern to exhort the scholars in their colleges, and the inhabitants generally, to repentance and amendment of life. Their labor of love was rejected by the scholars, and their Christian advice was requited by contumely and abuse. The students drove them to a pump, where they pumped water on their necks, and into their

¹ Besse, I. 41.

mouths, until they were almost dead. They were then tied arm to arm, and dragged through a pool of water; afterwards they threw Elizabeth Fletcher over a tombstone into an open grave, causing a contusion on her side, from which she never recovered, but died not long after. A few days after this, the same women went to a place of public worship, and after the priest had done, began to exhort the people to the practice of godliness. But two justices of the peace, who were present, ordered them to be sent to a prison, called Bocardo, where thieves and murderers were usually confined.

Next day the justices sent a message to the mayor, desiring him to meet them to examine these Quakers, but he declined to act, saying he had nothing against them. The vice-chancellor of the university readily agreed to co-operate with the justices, and the women being questioned respecting their object in coming, replied, that "they came to declare against sin and ungodliness, as pride, covetousness, lust, and all manner of self-righteousness and false worship, which both priests and people lived in, contrary to the commands of God." After being further questioned, they were ordered to withdraw while the magistrates consulted together. At length their sentence was drawn up in writing, "That they should be whipt out of the city." It was usual for the mayor to sign such sentences; but he refused, and Doctor John Owen, the vice-chancellor, said, "If he would not sign it, they would execute it without him."

It was accordingly executed with severity. The women endured their grievous sufferings with Christian patience, in no wise murmuring or complaining; and their meekness was so affecting to many of the

sober inhabitants, that they acknowledged them as servants of the living God, and accompanied them out of the city.¹

For bearing the like Christian testimony against vice and superstition in places of public concourse, at Oxford, Jeremy Hayward, John Shockerly, Thomas Loe, Mary Loe, and William Simpson, suffered imprisonment there.

In the spring of the year 1655, John Stubbs and William Caton preached in the Baptist meeting-house at Dover, and many embraced their doctrine. The magistrates sent for them, and though they had transgressed no law, imposed a penalty on any person that should entertain them, upon which they were turned out of their lodging. Luke Howard, a shoemaker of Dover, received them into his house, and heard them gladly. He had before heard William Caton at London, and then received but little impression from his discourse, saying to a companion, "I know more than he can tell me, or more than either he or I can live up to:" but now he heard him with no less satisfaction than Agrippa did the Apostle Paul, when he said to him, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."

Such was the love that Luke Howard felt for his guests, that when the mayor of the town sent four constables to his house with a requisition to deliver them up, in order that they might be carried out of the town, he refused to do so, relying upon his right as a freeman of the corporation; and the doors being shut, he kept the constables out of his house, and told them, from the shop-window, that the mayor had

¹ Besse, I. 288.

no lawful authority to have these men hauled out of his house and sent out of town. They staid with him some days, and he becoming fully convinced of their doctrines, joined with them in religious profession, and gave up his house as a meeting-place for Friends.¹

John Stubbs and William Caton, after leaving Dover, and visiting several other places, came to Lydd, in the county of Kent, where they became instrumental in convincing of Friends' principles, Samuel Fisher, then the parish priest of that town.

The place of his birth is not ascertained. He was educated at one of the universities, and being ordained as a minister, he first became chaplain to some man of rank, and afterwards was made priest of Lydd, a benefice worth about two hundred pounds per annum. While in this situation, he was requested by the master of Luke Howard, then an apprentice to a shoemaker at Dover, to converse with the young man respecting a scruple he entertained about the singing of David's Psalms in public worship. Luke Howard explained his objections to the practice in such a manner that Fisher, rather than he, was changed in opinion on the subject. "The arguments used on this occasion were, that God is a spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth; but that it was contrary to truth, for a proud man to sing that he was not puffed up in mind, that he had no scornful eye, and did not exercise himself in things too high for him. Further, to sing, rivers of tears run down my eyes because other men keep not thy law, when those who thus sing never knew true repentance for their own sins, was such a violation of common morality as true religion could not sanction."

¹ Sewel, I. 135.

Samuel Fisher had before felt some uneasiness with various matters connected with his clerical employment, and this conversation still further increased his dissatisfaction. Preaching for hire, and the baptism of infants, became burdensome to him, and so great was the dedication of his heart to the cause of truth, that he voluntarily relinquished his lucrative situation, took a farm to support his family, and joining himself to the Baptists, by whom he was highly esteemed, he became a minister among them.

When John Stubbs and William Caton came to Lydd, he hospitably entertained them at his house, and their ministry made some impression upon him, but he did not then acknowledge it. After leaving Lydd, and visiting some other places, they returned thither again, and found their labors had been so far blessed that many persons were now ready to join them. George Hammond, however, a Baptist minister, publicly preached against them, which gave Samuel Fisher so much uneasiness that he stood up in the same meeting and said to Hammond: "Dear brother, you are very near and dear to me, but truth is nearer and dearer: it is the everlasting truth and gospel which they hold forth." This was so displeasing to Hammond, that he exclaimed, "Our brother Fisher is also bewitched." Fisher made no reply, but attaching himself still more closely to the Friends, he joined in membership with them in the year 1655.¹

In the following year he felt an impression of religious duty to go to the Painted Chamber, Whitehall, and there, in the presence of the Protector and Par-

¹ Sewel, I. 135; and Friends' Library, vol. XI. Life of Fisher.

liament, to speak whatever the Lord might require of him. Under a deep sense of the responsibility involved in this undertaking, he waited some days for a full confirmation of it, and then, being assured that it was his religious duty, he went accordingly, and waited till the Protector had ended his speech. The crowd was very great, and some of the audience perceiving the intention of Samuel Fisher to speak, endeavored to prevent him; he made an effort, however, to deliver his message; but had said only a few words, when there was a cry from some of the bystanders, "A Quaker, a Quaker, keep him down, he shall not speak."

He was persuaded that the Protector and some of the members of Parliament would have listened to him, but they were then retiring from the chamber, and his purpose was frustrated. Being prevented from delivering what he believed he was required to say, he committed it to writing, and published it. The purport of his message was, that the Puritans then in power were a hypocritical generation, who, in their long prayers and sermons, talked much of turning to the Lord and seeking the knowledge of His law, but who were in fact haters of the Light and persecutors of the innocent.

In this strain he proceeds to declare that, while they remain proud, covetous, and cruel, they cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. In the writings of the early Friends, we find many such remonstrances, showing that they considered the Puritans then in power as deceivers, who, under pretence of promoting civil and religious liberty, had usurped all the powers of government, and persecuted the Friends by fines, imprisonment, and death.

Samuel Fisher was a scholar of considerable attainments; he wrote a paper addressed to the Jews, in Hebrew, a language in which he was well skilled. His principal work is of a controversial nature, in defence of the doctrines of Friends; it is entitled "Rusticus ad Academicos; or, the country correcting the university and the clergy." It is remarked by William Penn, in his Preface to Samuel Fisher's works, that this author "allows himself, in some passages, the freedom of the prophet Elijah against the prophets of Baal, sometimes exposing absurd things by vulgar terms and proverbs; yet, all that kind of rhetoric and learning he had so low an esteem of, that he often counted it not worthy to be compared to the least degree of divine wisdom and experience of Christ Jesus." He was probably one of the most learned of the early Friends, and yet it is remarkable that so good a scholar should have written in a style less perspicuous and agreeable, than almost any other among them. His writings, as well as many others, serve to show that a classical education does not confer the power to excel in the use of our own language. He was, however, a faithful laborer, and a patient sufferer in the cause of truth, as will appear in the subsequent pages of this work.

John Stubbs, and William Caton, after their second visit to Lydd, continued travelling together in the service of the gospel. They visited Crawbrook and some other towns in the county of Kent, where they found a tender-hearted people, who embraced their doctrine and pressed them to accept of money; but they refused it, telling the people it was not theirs, but them, they sought. On arriving at Maidstone, John Stubbs went to the parish-house of worship, and

William Caton to the meeting of the Independents, where, after waiting till the services were ended, they spoke to the people. Next day they were both sent to the house of correction, where they were searched, and their money, ink-horns, and bibles taken from them. They were then stripped, their necks and arms were put into the stocks, and they were inhumanly whipped. Afterwards means were used to compel them to work, and they were told that he who would not work, should not eat. This demand they considered unjust, as they were not guilty of breaking any law, and they declined to comply with it. Thus they were kept without food for some days, and only a little water allowed them once a day. The malefactors with whom they were imprisoned, would have given them a part of their bread; and, the women of the house, being moved with compassion, offered to furnish them with food privately, but they were not free to accept of either. When the report of this cruel treatment began to spread through the town, many were indignant at it, and an officer was sent to make restitution of some of their property, after which they bought food with their own money. Soon afterwards they were parted, and being conducted by officers, they were turned out of the town at opposite points. At length they met with each other in London, and, being impressed with a sense of duty to return to Maidstone, they resigned themselves to what they believed was the divine will, which was a sore trial of their faith and obedience. It was, however, so ordered by Divine Providence, that no one meddled with them, although they went on the First day of the week to the parish house of worship, in order that their presence might be known.

In the spring of the year 1655, George Fox and Alexander Parker, after having been engaged in religious service in London, proceeded to Bedfordshire. The name of Alexander Parker frequently occurs in the writings of the Early Friends as the travelling companion of George Fox; but there appears to be no particular account extant of his life and religious labors. He is mentioned in Whiting's *Memoirs* as an "eminent servant of God and minister of Jesus Christ." "He was," says John Whiting, "born in Yorkshire, near Bolton in Lancashire, and was well educated, and had a gentleman-like carriage and deportment as well as person, for I knew him well. He was convinced early, but the exact time, when and where, I do not find. He came up to London with George Fox, when he was brought up out of Leicestershire by Colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell in 1654, and staid with him in London and thereabouts for some time, and afterwards went with him to a General Meeting at John Crook's, in Bedfordshire, in 1655."¹

They made their home at the house of John Crook during fifteen days, while engaged in holding meetings in that vicinity, and their religious labors were effectual in bringing many to the knowledge of the Truth.²

John Crook had previously been convinced of the principles of Friends, as appears by an account he has left of his religious experience. He was born in the North of England in the year 1617, and at eleven years of age was sent to school in London, until his seventeenth year, when he was placed as an appren-

¹ *Memoirs*, 184,

² *Letters of Early Friends*, IX.

tice in that city. While he was attending school, although he lived in a wicked family among those who scoffed at religion, he often withdrew into secluded places where he walked alone in meditation, or prayed and wept before the Lord. During the time of his apprenticeship he became acquainted with the Puritans, who frequented sermons and lectures, read the Bible, and conversed on religious subjects. He entered earnestly into their views and practices, but found no relief to his burdened spirit; on the contrary, he was often, in the midst of his devotions, seized with fear, under an impression that the enemy of all good had gained possession of his soul. Thus he continued for some years, "professing and praying, hearing and reading," without perceiving any amendment; for the same youthful vanities drew away his mind when opportunities were offered; but he was mercifully preserved from falling into gross evils or profanity.

At length his mind was brought under still deeper exercise, the burden of sin became oppressive, and he went mourning on his way. In this tried condition it pleased the Father of mercies to visit him with a renewed manifestation of his love. The language of divine consolation arose in his heart, "Fear not, O thou tossed as with a tempest and not comforted, I will help thee; and although I have hid my face from thee for a moment, yet with everlasting loving kindness I will visit thee, and thou shalt be mine; fear not, for I am pacified towards thee, and will never leave thee nor forsake thee."¹ Then his doubts and fears were suddenly removed, calmness and serenity

¹ J. Crook's Works, IX.

ensued, and the light of divine grace shone so brightly on his soul, that "he walked as one taken up from the earth," having his "conversation in Heaven."

During a period of about eight days, he could not enjoy the formal worship in which he had previously engaged; but his heart being filled with peace and joy, he entered into sweet communion with the Father of Spirits. In relation to this state, he writes, "While I abode and walked in that light and glory which shone so clearly in my mind, there was not a wrong thought appearing or stirring within me, but it vanished presently, finding no entertainment; my whole mind and soul was so taken up with that glorious light and satisfactory presence of the Lord thus manifested in me."

Afterwards, he found an abatement of this heavenly state; then he began to read and perform devotional duties as he had done before, but with more life and zeal; so that his associates began to admire his gift in prayer, and often called upon him to engage in that service. Some young men of his acquaintance, being also inclined to piety, they often met together for prayer and religious conference, and while others spoke chiefly in exposition of the Scriptures, he spoke what he had learned in his own experience. In the course of two or three years he stored his memory with Scripture texts, which he reasoned upon, without a sufficient reliance upon divine aid, until, gradually, the knowledge he gained by his natural understanding, "began to outgrow and overtop the sense of his inward experiences." Then he lost the lively appreciation of spiritual good, and little remained but the remembrance of those heavenly consolations he had formerly enjoyed.

In this condition he determined to seek for the purest form of worship among the various Protestant churches, and after visiting several, he joined himself to a congregation of Independents, with whom for a time he united in feeling, enjoying among them many seasons of spiritual refreshment.

They were watchful and tender, their minds inwardly retired, and their words few and savory. Every week they communicated their experiences to each other, relating nearly all they passed through, from the beginning of the week to the end. This continued some years, until it grew *formal*, and consequently lifeless. They then began to discuss the subject of water baptism, as to its form, and the proper subjects for its administration, with other questions relating to ordinances. In proportion as their attention was turned to ceremonial observances, they began to lose the life of religion, their love for each other diminished, their meetings were neglected, and finally discontinued.

John Crook had, however, so far tasted of the word of life, that he did not relinquish the pursuit of spiritual good, and he was enabled to hold on his way through the many discouragements that attended his course.

Being providentially led, in the year 1654, to a meeting where William Dewsbury was engaged in gospel ministry, he felt the power of Divine Truth to seize upon him, and he was enabled clearly to perceive that the kingdom of God is not in word but in power." As he submitted to the refining operation of the Holy Spirit, "he passed from Mount Sinai to Mount Sion; from the ministration of condemnation unto the ministration of the Spirit; and he was en-

abled to give thanks to God through Jesus Christ for his deliverance from the bondage of sin.¹

Having obtained access to the holiest of all through Christ the new and living way, he was called to publish to others those spiritual realities that he had seen and felt in his own experience. It was testified of him by George Whitehead, that "He was eloquent, allegorical, and mysterious many times in his ministry, but did not thereby deny or invalidate the sacred history of things as literally recorded in the Holy Scriptures." "He labored to promote Christian religion in life and power, and the sincere practice of piety, above all empty and fruitless professions."

At the time of his conviction he was a justice of the peace in Bedfordshire, and a man of note in that county. After he joined in membership with Friends, he was removed from his station as a magistrate, and suffered imprisonment at various places on account of his religious principles.

In the year 1655, Humphrey Smith, of Little Cowne, in the county of Hereford, embraced the doctrines of Friends.² In his early youth he was visited with conviction for sin and impressions of religious duty; through which he became sensible that his happiness could only be secured by obedience to the divine law. Then he began to pray and to read religious works; but not knowing the sufficiency of that divine monitor which would lead out of all evil and redeem the obedient soul, he was induced to follow the priests and to rely upon their ministrations. In this condition "his heart was exalted and he increased in profession," but he knew not the spiritual

¹ J. Crook's Works.

² Piety Promoted.

nature of Christ's kingdom.¹ He became a public preacher and a man of note in the world;² but in the height of his worldly prosperity the hand of the Lord was laid upon him; he was made to see the invalidity of that ceremonial worship in which he had been engaged, and he was required to bear a testimony against it. He did not, however, like the apostle, at once yield obedience to the heavenly vision; but "conferred with flesh and blood," saying, "I shall be esteemed a madman, the people will not believe me." Through the constraining power of divine love, he was almost persuaded to comply with his sense of duty; but then, the tempter being near, he thought of his wife and children, and queried how they should be provided for. An assurance was given him that they should be cared for, and the promise was added, "He that converteth souls to God shall shine as the stars forever." He was then overcome with a joyful sense of divine favour, and made willing to undergo all tribulations, if he could be instrumental in converting but one soul to God. This happy condition was of short duration, for his heart was not yet weaned from the world; he again resisted his convictions of duty; a state of darkness came over him, and the love of his temporal possessions overcame his love to God.

In this state of rebellion it pleased the Most High to visit him with the rod of adversity. "My outward wealth," he says, "which I then loved more than Christ, became a prey and a spoil to unreasonable men, and most unjustly on their parts, was I by them

¹ H. Smith's Works; London, 1683, p. 57.

² G. Fox's Testimony.

deprived of it; and the Lord also dried up all my springs within, that such a time after I knew that I was left without hope, being in the horrible pit of darkness from God, that I could neither pray nor believe, but concluded that I was accursed from God forever.”¹ In this desolate condition he was not forsaken by that merciful Being who chastens his disobedient children in order to save them, for when the rod of affliction had accomplished its purpose, and the heart was bowed in humble obedience to the divine will, “The Lord brought him up out of the horrible pit, and placed his feet upon a rock and established his goings, and put a new song into his mouth, even praises to our God.”

In reference to the ministry he was engaged in before his conversion, he says, “What I did then was in great zeal and real intent to do good; neither did I covet men’s silver for it; neither was it my end to make a gain thereby, though much was freely offered me, though I received it not, so that therein I was not found in covetousness. But when judgment came upon me, I gave up that preaching, and said at the last meeting I had then, which was at Stoke-bliss, ‘That my mouth was stopped at that time, but if ever the Lord should open my mouth again, I should preach indeed.’ “Although I had a great zeal then for God, it was not according to the knowledge of the cross of Christ, which crucifies to the world, and all its vain customs.” “And so my preaching did not bring souls home to God, though I informed their minds of many things, which many ignorant people knew not before, and so much love

¹ H. Smith’s Works, 60.

was in many, yet this brought not forth fruits of obedience unto God, and so all came to little; for the people remained in their sins and received not power to come out of them; neither came they out of the fashions and customs of the world, nor to be separated from the unclean, neither did they come to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ which purifies the heart, stands in the pure conscience, and respects no man's person, for unto that I was not then come myself: and so their faith and mine were vain, being then in our sins."¹

Having desisted from his public preaching, he was led to wait upon the Lord in silent adoration; in which religious exercise he was joined by a few persons who, like himself, were seeking for a more certain knowledge of heavenly Truth.

At length he was called to labor "in that ability which God giveth," and became an able minister of Jesus Christ. He was instrumental in "converting many souls to God," and suffered much for the testimony of Truth; but he had the comforting assurance of divine favor, and the consolations of the Holy Spirit, to support him under all the trials to which he was subjected.

In the latter part of the summer of 1655, Humphrey Smith, being at a religious meeting in the house of Thomas Cartwright, in the borough of Evesham, Worcestershire, a constable came and took both these Friends before two justices, who tendered to them the oath of abjuration. Being conscientiously opposed to all oaths, they declined to comply, and were committed to prison. About a month afterwards they

¹ II. Smith's Works, 63.

were examined before the Mayor, who re-committed them; and, subsequently, they were arraigned at the Sessions, before the Recorder and Judge of that court. No other offence appearing against them, they were fined for not putting off their hats, and remanded to prison. In the afternoon, a meeting of Friends was held in the street contiguous to the prison; but the Mayor, Edward Young, came and broke it up with violence, putting some of the Friends into the stocks, and others into prison. He caused Humphrey Smith, and two others, to be thrust into a dungeon not twelve feet square, with no other ventilation than a hole only four inches wide, and so dark that even in the day-time they kept a candle burning when they could obtain one. The bedding brought them by their friends was taken from them by order of the Mayor, and they were even denied the use of straw.

In this noisome dungeon, too offensive for description, they were kept fourteen weeks, and the whole time of their imprisonment was more than a year. The number of Friends then imprisoned at Evesham was twelve, who were liberated, and their fines remitted, by an order from the Protector, dated 1st of September, 1656.

Humphrey Smith remained but a short time at liberty; being taken early in the following year, at Ringwood in Hampshire, and committed to prison, where he was detained fourteen weeks, until discharged by order of a committee of Parliament.¹

Ambrose Rigge, a native of Westmoreland, was convinced of Friends' principles by the preaching of George Fox, about the year 1652, and received a gift

¹ Besse, Vol. I.

in the ministry.¹ In the year 1655, he was led by a sense of religious duty to visit London and the south and west parts of England, preaching the gospel of peace and salvation. Being joined by his friend, Thomas Robinson, they held a meeting at Basingstoke in Hampshire, where a justice of the peace, accompanied by a priest, came and arrested them. The oath of abjuration being tendered to them, they conscientiously refused to take it, and were sent to prison, where they remained three months. In the same year Ambrose Rigge was imprisoned at Southampton in Hampshire; and again, in the year 1658, as he was going to visit some Friends in prison at Southampton, he was seized by a constable and other officers, who pulled him down-stairs, and dragged him on the ground by the hair of his head. After this, he was, by the mayor's order, whipped in the market-place, then thrown into a cart, and sent away, with threats of worse usage if he returned. Such was the barbarous treatment inflicted on an innocent man, for no other offence than performing the Christian duty of visiting his imprisoned brethren.²

Among those convinced of the principles of Friends in the year 1655, was John Lilburn, who had occupied a conspicuous position in public life. He was at one time a book-binder in London, and during the reign of Charles I. had warmly espoused the cause of civil and religious liberty. His open opposition to the policy of the court rendered him obnoxious to Archbishop Laud, and being arraigned before the star-chamber, in the year 1637, for publishing seditious pamphlets, he was required to take an oath to answer

¹ Works of Ambrose Rigge, London, 1710.

² Besse, I. 228 to 230.

interrogatories; which he refused to do, because he conceived that no man was bound to accuse himself. For this alleged contempt of authority, he was condemned to be whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned. During the execution of the sentence, he addressed the people, and declaimed against the tyranny of the bishops. This being considered an aggravation of his offence, he was ordered to be gagged, placed in irons, and confined in the Fleet prison.¹ In the year 1640, he was released by the Long Parliament, and obtained a decree for damages against his judges. In the civil war, having embraced the cause of the Parliament, he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel, and gained a victory over the Earl of Derby, who was marching through Lancashire with an army to join the king.

After the execution of the king, the Parliament became subservient to Cromwell, who had the army at his command; and the expectations of the people in regard to a redress of grievances and constitutional freedom were disappointed. At this juncture, Lilburn, true to his principles, presented a petition to Parliament, breathing the spirit of liberty, and, about the same time, he published a pamphlet entitled, "England's Second Chains." His remonstrances were so unwelcome to the pretended champions of liberty then holding the reins of government, that he was thrown into prison as a promoter of sedition, and illegally prosecuted. Petitions were presented from a vast number of persons, both men and women, praying that the prosecution might be arrested; but regardless of the voice of the people and the restraints

¹ Gough, I. 200.

of law, the party in power caused him to be tried for high treason. He defended himself with signal intrepidity, and being acquitted by the jury, obtained his release, to the great joy of the people.¹

After Cromwell had attained to supreme authority under the title of Protector, Lilburn again came forward, both by word and writing, to expose his usurpation and the tyranny of his proceedings. Being much incensed at these bold remonstrances, the Protector caused him to be taken into custody, and prosecuted for high treason. Lilburn again defended himself with undaunted courage, asserting in answer to the charge against him, "That what he had done was not only no high treason, but the government was such that no high treason could be committed against it, and that it was the duty of all good Englishmen to oppose it as a tyrannical usurpation; that he might have attained great preferment if he could have brought himself to acquiesce in it; but, believing this to be unlawful, his life was to be a sacrifice to his honesty; but he was exempt from fear, because he was asserting a good cause." He was acquitted by the jury, notwithstanding the efforts of the judges to convict him; but Cromwell, to secure his own usurped authority, kept him in prison during the remainder of his government. Lilburn, being removed from one prison to another, was at length incarcerated in Dover Castle. Here he became acquainted with Luke Howard, who has already been mentioned as an inhabitant of Dover, professing the principles of Friends. Through his instructive conversation and example, Lilburn was induced to embrace the same principles.

¹ Hume, IV. 54-76.

In a letter to his wife, written in prison, he says, "Here in Dover Castle, through the loving kindness of God, I have met with a more clear, plain, and evident knowledge of God and myself, and his gracious visitations to my soul, than ever I had in all my life-time."

He had been previously offered his liberty by Cromwell on condition that he would sign a declaration never to draw a sword against his government; but at that time he was not prepared to renounce the use of warlike weapons. After he embraced the peaceable principles of Friends, he issued a printed declaration, stating that "he was already dead or crucified, to the very occasions and real grounds of all outward wars," and that he should never again use the sword; this declaration, he states, was not given forth to avoid persecution, but, in order, if he must be an imprisoned sufferer, that it might thenceforth be for the Truth as it is in Jesus, which Truth he witnessed to be professed and practised by the people called Quakers. He continued steadfast in the Truth, was liberated on the death of Cromwell, and died in London, in the year 1660.¹

¹ Sewel, I. 162; Gough, 1.

CHAPTER VIII.

YORKSHIRE AND CORNWALL.

1654-6.

IN the year 1654, there were, in the Society of Friends, about sixty ministers,¹ who, being called and qualified by the great Head of the Church to preach the gospel of peace, became instrumental in making many proselytes, and settling meetings in various places. But in proportion as the principles of Friends were spread, and their numbers augmented, the opposition and persecution they endured continued to increase; being chiefly instigated by the clergy, whose emoluments were endangered by the success of a free gospel ministry.

Among those who labored much and suffered long for the cause of truth, William Dewsbury, whose convincement has already been mentioned,² now claims our attention. In the spring of the year 1654, he was travelling through Yorkshire, holding meetings for public worship, and "confirming the brethren from house to house," when Edward Bowles, a clergyman who officiated in the cathedral at York, lodged information against him with the foreman of the grand jury. In this accusation, he was called a "ringleader of the persons called Quakers, and it was stated that he was then going up and down in the

¹ George Fox's Journal.² See Chap. II.

West Riding of Yorkshire, dispersing principles prejudicial to the truth of the gospel and the peace of the Commonwealth.”¹ On this information, Judge Wyndham granted a warrant for his apprehension, and a constable, armed with an iron fork, proceeded to Tholthorpe, where William Dewsbury and his friends were found in a meeting, waiting upon God. Although the officer came into the meeting as though he intended to commit an act of violence, yet his bloody purpose was frustrated, either by the solemn and dignified deportment of the Friends, or by that divine power whose presence was felt to be in the midst of them. He did not, however, abandon his purpose, but went to Kirby Hall, the residence of Thomas Dickenson, a justice of the peace, and there procured another warrant for William Dewsbury’s apprehension and imprisonment.

At Crake, a small town about twenty-five miles north-west of York, he was apprehended by John Lockwood, the high constable, and taken before Justice Dickenson, who being unable to prove anything against him, committed him to York Castle, by virtue of the warrant previously issued by Judge Wyndham.

Here he remained a prisoner three months, until the general assizes, when Judge Wyndham sat upon the bench. William Dewsbury and his friends court-ing an investigation, interceded with the judge to bring him and his accuser face to face in open court; but this reasonable request was denied, and without a trial the innocent sufferer was cleared by proclamation and set at liberty.²

¹ Dewsbury’s Testimony, London, 1689; and Besse.

² Dewsbury’s Testimony.

After his release, he continued to travel in the work of the ministry, holding meetings in Cleveland and other parts of Yorkshire, in Nottinghamshire, and at Derby. He was, however, left at liberty only about a month, when he was again arrested while preaching to the inhabitants of Derby, and carried before the court then in session. The first question propounded to him was, "In whose presence dost thou now stand." He replied, "In the presence of the everlasting God." The justice then said, "Jailer, take him away, and put him in prison for disturbing the court." He was accordingly conducted to prison, where he remained until the evening, when the mayor sent for him, and asked him, "What he came to do?" He answered, "I came to declare the word of the Lord to the consciences of the people of Derby." The mayor asked him, if he would go out of the town? William Dewsbury answered, "When the Lord orders me to go forth, then I shall go; till then, I shall stay." The mayor then remanded him to prison. The next day, in the forenoon, one of the mayor's officers came to the prison and said to him, "If thou wilt go out of the town and come into it no more, I will open the prison doors." Dewsbury replied, "Out of the town I shall not go, until I am ordered of the Lord; and if thou openest the door I shall not go forth from the prison, till the man who said he had authority to put me in, come by the same authority and take me out." The officer then left him, and soon after the man under whose charge he was committed to prison, came, and having opened the prison door, took him by the arm and thrust him out. He was then delivered to an officer, who put him out of the town, charging him with threats to

depart and not return. These threats were, however, disregarded by William Dewsbury, who being conscious of his innocence, and constrained by a sense of duty, returned to Derby, and there continued until he felt freedom to depart. Pursuing his journey, he came to Leicester, and there, on the first day of the week, a large number of persons assembled to hear him, to whom he declared the gospel of Christ. He then went to the public place of worship, and after the minister had done, he preached the word of eternal life to the people, who heard him with much attention. Before he had finished his discourse two officers laid hands on him, and with violence carried him before the mayor of the city, who, without examination, committed him to prison. The next day he was brought before the mayor and another officer, who proceeded to examine him, and although nothing was proved against him, they ordered the jailer to put him out of the town, threatening to treat him with severity if he should return. He was accordingly conducted beyond the limits of the city; but this illegal and unjust proceeding did not prevent his immediate return, and he resumed his religious labors in Leicester. At length, feeling himself clear to depart, he travelled into Northamptonshire, and at the town of Wellingborough he preached the word of life, which many received with gladness. His success excited the animosity of Thomas Andrews, the resident clergyman, who said to him in the street, "Give over deceiving the people, lest the plagues of God fall upon thee." William Dewsbury answered, "If thou sayest I deceive the people, make it appear wherein I deceive them." He replied, "Thou tellest them there is no original sin." "Didst thou hear me say so?"

rejoined Dewsbury. No answer being returned, he added, "Thou must either prove what thou accusest me of, or own thy condemnation upon thy false accusation." The clergyman made no reply, but hastened away.

About three weeks afterwards, being in the 10th month, 1654, William Dewsbury, having been absent from Wellingborough, returned, and went to the parish house of worship. He stood in silence until Andrews had gone through the service, and then embraced the opportunity to preach to the people who listened with attention. Having finished his exhortation, he turned to Andrews, saying, "Thou hast accused me of deceiving the people; prove thy accusation now before the people, or acknowledge the falsehood of it." The priest made no answer, but departed. Upon this, William Dewsbury was hauled out of the house into the yard, where he found another opportunity to address the congregation, who stood quietly to hear him, until the high-constable came to arrest him. He was conducted to the market-place, but when it was found that nothing could be proved against him, he was liberated.

He then retired to the house of his friend, Francis Ellington, and from an upper window, preached to the people assembled below, "many of whom received the word in much love."¹ Francis Ellington was a woollen manufacturer and upholsterer at Wellingborough, who, having previously been convinced through the ministry of William Dewsbury, invited him to his house, and afterwards became his fellow-prisoner for the testimony of the gospel.

¹ Life of Wm. Dewsbury, by Edward Smith; Friends' Lib. II. 239.

William Dewsbury was not long permitted to enjoy this hospitable retreat: for, on the following day, the constable having procured a warrant for the apprehension of "one who is commonly called a Quaker," came to arrest him. Francis Ellington remonstrated with the officer for attempting to arrest his friend under a warrant so vague that the name of the party to be arrested was not even mentioned in it; but, the constable persisted in his purpose, and conducted his prisoner before a justice of the peace, who committed him to the common jail, at Northampton, there to await the assizes.

Joseph Storr was also committed with him for no other offence than having come before the justice to witness the issue of his friend's examination.

It appears by a letter of John Whitehead's to George Fox, that the labors of William Dewsbury, in Yorkshire, were attended with remarkable success. He writes about this time, that there was a mighty thirst on every side, great meetings and many convictions." ¹

The Friends in Northampton jail were kept nearly two weeks in an apartment twelve feet under ground, among thieves and murderers; and then were brought before the justices at the Quarter Sessions. Their mittimus was read, but they were refused a copy of it, and without examination they were remanded to jail till the next Assizes, to be held about two months after. At the Sessions, Francis Ellington, who came thither to hear the trial of his friends, being required to give sureties for his good behavior, declined, and was committed to the same prison.

¹ Life of William Dewsbury; Friends' Lib. II. 240.

Henry Williamson was also committed before the next assizes for having attempted to speak to a congregation after the priest had gone through his services.¹

At the Assizes, which began the 10th of the First Month, 1655, William Dewsbury, Joseph Storr, and Henry Williamson, were brought before the judges, Matthew Hale and Hugh Wyndham, when the following examination took place.

Judge Hale. — Art thou Dewsbury?

W. Dewsbury. — Yea, I am so called.

Judge Hale. — Where dost thou live?

W. Dewsbury. — I have a wife and three children at Wakefield, in Yorkshire.

Judge. — What camest thou into this country to do, that thou didst not stay in thy own country with thy wife and children?

W. D. — I staid in that country with my wife and children until the Father revealed his son in me, and called me forth from my wife and children to declare his Word of Eternal Life, which he hath manifested to my soul in the great work of regeneration, in the new covenant of life in Christ Jesus. I am sent to preach the everlasting gospel to those that dwell upon the earth.

Judge. — I fear it is a delusion, and thine own fancies, and not the truth.

W. D. — Time will make it manifest.

Judge. — Thou drawest people together, and actest against ministry and magistracy.

W. D. — As thou standest in the presence of God, take heed of hearkening to false accusations. Ministry

¹ Besse, I. 519.

and magistracy which are of God, I own, but those who are called ministers of Christ, and walk contrary to scripture, I disown.

Judge. — But who are they that walk contrary to scripture?

W. D. — They that abide not in the doctrine of Christ, but have the chief place in the assemblies, stand praying in the synagogues, love greetings in the market-places, and are called of men masters—which practices Christ cried wo against; and they that walk in them walk contrary to scripture.

Judge. — These are small things to speak of.

W. D. — There is nothing small which the Lord commands.

Judge. — Thou sayest well. [*To the Court.*] What have you against these men?

W. D. — That is what we would have manifested, what law we have transgressed.

Judge. — Produce what you have against them, and I shall proceed according to law.

Clerk of the Peace. — Here are papers which Dewsbury and Storr had, which are against the lord Protector.

W. D. — The papers they took from me, which they say are against the lord Protector, I was moved to write. I sent one to him privately with care, in the Fourth month in last year, and the other hath been privately delivered to him; and privately I kept the copy of the papers, until I was apprehended by virtue of a warrant granted by Justice Pentlow. . . . Then they took these papers from me which I had privately on me in a letter-case, which here they produce publicly as an evidence against me.

Judge. — Read the paper. [*When part of it was read.*] Give over, that paper is not to be published,

W. D. — It is not my mind that they should be published.

Judge. — How darest thou write to him in such high language, as from the spirit of the Lord?

W. D. — They in whom the spirit of the Lord is, write from the spirit, and he that hath not the spirit of Christ is none of his.

Judge. — But I fear it is not from the spirit, for many pretend to the spirit and the divine light and revelations, but how shall we know they are the truth according to the Scriptures?

W. D. — The Scriptures cannot be known but by the pure divine light of Christ, which enlightens every one that comes into the world; of which pure light Christ hath given to every one a measure to try the spirits in them, whether they be of God or not. "Every spirit that confesseth Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; but he that denies that Christ is come in the flesh is the spirit of Antichrist." And this light gave the Scriptures forth, which light leads to Christ, who reveals the Father to the soul which gives up to be guided by him. So the soul comes to know God by the revelation of Jesus Christ, and they who walk in the spirit are known by their fruits in all their words and works. The prophet Amos had the spirit of the Lord, and from the spirit declared the word of the Lord to the king of Israel, but the people could not bear his words.

Judge. — Thou sayest well, if thou doest as thou sayest; but this it may be will be expected, and I think it will be fair to give bail for your appearance at the next assizes.

W. D. — First make manifest what law we have transgressed before bail be required,

[After this, the prisoners were set aside, and the judge proceeded to other business, till the court was ready to adjourn in the evening, and then the jailer asked the judge what he should do with those Yorkshiremen.]

Judge.—Bring them before the court.

[This being done, some of the court said, “Take off their hats,” and two of their hats were taken off; but as they were about to take off William Dewsbury’s, the judge said, “Let it be on,” and bade them put on the hats of the other two again, which was done at his command. He then spake to William Dewsbury.]

Judge.—Now I see what thou art, and thy vizard and form of fair words is seen, and thou art not the man thou pretendest to be.

W. D.—Vizards and formality I deny; but the power of God I own and witness, in which I stand, and am subject to it, and to the ordinances of man for conscience’ sake.

Judge.—Now thou art commanded: Take off thy hat.

W. D.—Honor is not in pulling off the hat, but in obeying the just commands of God, and my hat offends not any. They who are offended at it may take it off; I shall not resist them. But there is no Scripture that expresses any honor to be in putting off the hat.

Judge.—What! must we do nothing but what is expressed in Scripture, for our apparel what we shall put on?

W. D.—Yea, the Scripture saith, “Let your adorning be with modest apparel.”

Judge.—Art thou judge, that thou standest covered, and will not uncover, as other prisoners do?

W. D.—What I do, God is my witness, I do it not in contempt to any; but in obedience to the power of God for conscience' sake.

Judge.—If you will not stand as prisoners, I will not do any thing concerning you; but here I found you, and here I shall leave you.

W. D.—We have been above ten weeks in the low jail, and no breach of any law found against us: we stand subject to the power of God, whatever he suffers thee to do with us.

The court then proceeded to the examination of other prisoners.

On the 12th of the same month, the judges, Wyndham and Hale, being together on the bench, they called for the prisoners, Dewsbury, Storr, and Williamson.

Judge Wyndham.—Take off their hats.

Judge Hale.—Read the evidence against them.

The evidence being read, the judge said, "Didst thou speak these words?"

William Dewsbury then related his intercourse with priest Andrews, and the circumstances which led to the disturbance in the market-place at Wellingborough; asserting that the breach of the peace and the tumult were caused by his accusers, and not by him. The examination then proceeded. William Dewsbury was questioned concerning his place of residence and occupation, after which, he and the other Friends were required to give sureties for their appearance at the next assizes; but they, being conscious that they were innocent, and had been unjustly imprisoned, refused to comply with the demand.

Judge Hale then said: "If you will not find sureties, you must lie here till the next assizes. Look to them jailer."

William Dewsbury meekly replied: "Do with us as thou hast power to do."

Accordingly, they were carried back to prison, and there confined, as before, in the low, noisome cell, among felons.

It is much to be regretted that the name of Judge Hale, otherwise so deservedly honored, should be found in connection with these disgraceful proceedings. He was, doubtless, influenced by the general odium then heaped upon Friends; but afterwards, when he came to know them better, his course towards them was very different. Great fears of political convulsions were then entertained, and the refusal of Friends to take the oath of allegiance and abjuration, subjected them to undeserved suspicion from the civil authorities.¹ It was about this time, that George Fox, as already related, was arrested, and carried before Oliver Cromwell.

During the imprisonment of Dewsbury, Storr, and Williamson, in Northampton jail, several other Friends were committed to the same prison.

John Whitehead, having attended the parish house of worship at Wellingborough, waited till the service was over, and then asked the priest some questions concerning his doctrine. Instead of answering the questions, the priest called him a madman, and went away. John Whitehead then preached so powerfully to the people that they heard him willingly, and many of them accepted his doctrines. This displeased the priest, who sent him a challenge to a disputation, which being accepted, they met in the parish house of worship, where many people were assembled, and

several clergymen were present. John Whitehead proposed a question to the preachers, which they refused to answer; but Andrews, one of their number, began to accuse him, and he defended himself so successfully, that many of the people evinced their satisfaction. The clergymen, finding themselves baffled in controversy, resorted to their last argument. Byfield, priest of Torrington, laid violent hands on John Whitehead, and dragged him by force out of the house. A warrant was procured to apprehend him as a vagrant, and he was carried before two justices. He told them he was no vagrant, for he could prove his habitation and manner of living by one of his neighbors, a substantial man, if they would admit him to come in. Upon this, Marmaduke Storr was called, who informed them of John's residence, and that he had a wife and family whom he reputably maintained.

They then asked Marmaduke his name and place of residence. He informed them he was a grazier, that he lived at Holderness, in the eastern part of Yorkshire, and had come to visit his brother, Joseph Storr, then a prisoner at Northampton. The account he gave of himself and his neighbor was so unexceptionable, that the justices were at a stand, but, after consulting with some of the clergy, they tendered them both the oath of Abjuration. The Friends answered, that they were well known to be no Papists; but that they could not swear for conscience' sake. They were then required to give sureties for their good behavior, which they declined to do, and were committed to prison.

Edward Ferman was imprisoned under a groundless charge of being a vagrant; and Thomas Cockett

appearing in his defence, and reproving the justice for his severity, was also committed to the same prison.

It appears from letters written by William Dewsbury, during his imprisonment at Northampton, that the justices made use of the jailer to endeavor to obtain from the Friends some expressions that could be construed into a willingness to give bonds for their good behavior, promising on this condition their immediate release. These efforts were fruitless; they maintained their integrity, refusing to enter into any compromises, to make any concessions, or to pay any fines. The jailer could make no such advances to William Dewsbury, for he feared his piercing eye, and generally shunned him. The same reluctance to encounter him was manifested by the chaplain of the prison, whose doctrines Dewsbury had censured.

It was even stated in open court, at the sessions, that "the minister durst not come to preach any more unless some course were taken with these Quakers;" so an order was given to lock them down in the dungeon, which was always done afterwards during the hour of preaching.

"The dread of our God is upon them," writes William Dewsbury; "their hearts fail them, and their torment is daily increased to see the Lord's work prosper, which goes on in mighty power all over these parts, and all the nation over. Friends grow in the power of our God. They come from London, and many other places on every side to visit us, though they hear that they cannot be suffered to come at us; and the wisdom of our God is much in it, who keeps them in patience with boldness to sit at the jail door, for a testimony against them, which adds to their torment. The jailer threatens them, and some

are ordered of the Lord to go to the justices to bear witness against their wickedness; and every one would put it off from themselves, and deny what they have done.¹

“We have all things we need in the outward; three in bonds with me maintain themselves; two brothers, Marmaduke and Joseph Storr, and one Francis Ellington, who is by trade an upholsterer; and Thomas Goodair is in the town jail, and maintains himself.

“I have not been free to receive any money of Friends here towards my necessities, which hath much confounded my adversaries, that my life should be given up for their soul’s good, and not to receive money of them to supply my wants; but in some places I paid for what I needed where they were not able. As to some that had wealth, but had parents who said they would be destroyed with receiving me, and that their trading would fail in the world, contrary to their minds I was ordered of the Lord to pay them in full for what I had, that the gospel might not be burdensome. I am supplied at all times with what I need, and so shall my wife and children be, according to the word of the Lord, which was sealed to me eight or nine years ago, when a house and garden grounds were taken from me by this persecuting spirit, which then would not let me have the benefit of the law, but called me *heretic*, and said I might not be suffered to have an outward being in this nation.

“Thomas Goodair was kept in the power and wisdom of our God, in the day when he was brought before the rulers of this town for a testimony against

¹ Life of William Dewsbury; Friends’ Lib. II. 244.

them. Thomas Stubbs is in great service, and is preciousy carried forth in the life. Richard Farnsworth is come up amongst Friends in these parts; much service the Lord hath for him amongst them; a great convincement there is upon many people, and a great thirst wherever such Friends come; the harvest is mighty, but the laborers are few; pray the Lord of the harvest to send faithful laborers into his harvest.”¹

William Dewsbury, while imprisoned at Northampton, being debarred from the free exercise of his gift in the gospel ministry, employed a portion of his time in writing tracts on religious subjects and epistles for the edification of the church. One of the main objects of his concern was to call people away from a dependence upon a formal worship, and a lifeless, stipendiary ministry, in order to direct their attention to that living and eternal power which is revealed in the soul to condemn for sin and lead to holiness. “Hearken,” he says, “every one diligently to the counsel of the Lord, the light that witnesses for God in the conscience. Give up to be guided by it, then you will need no more to be taught of men, neither shall your teacher be removed into a corner any more, but thine eye shall see thy teacher, and thine ear shall hear a voice behind thee, saying, ‘This is the way, walk in it, when thou turnest to the right hand or to the left.’ To the members of his own religious Society he wrote, “Friends, meet together in the true silence of your spirits; wait in the light for the unlimited spirit of the Lord to manifest his power in you and bruise the serpent’s head in all his appearances, and put an end

¹ Life of Dewsbury.

to sin and bring in everlasting righteousness; that in Him you may grow, who is God over all, blessed for ever.”¹

1655. At the assizes held at Northampton the 21st of the 7th month, 1655, W. Dewsbury and the other Friends imprisoned there, were brought into court, judge Atkins being on the bench, when an examination took place very similar in its character and results to that before judges Hale and Wyndham, as already related. The prisoners were again required to give bonds for their good behavior, which they refused to do, on the ground that it would involve an acknowledgment of guilt, and might interfere with the performance of their religious duties.

They were again remanded to jail, where they remained six months longer, until the First month, 1656, when they were discharged by an order from Oliver Cromwell, the Protector. In this grievous imprisonment, W. Dewsbury and Joseph Storr had suffered fifteen months; Henry Williamson, John Whitehead, Marmaduke Storr, and Thomas Cockett, about ten months; Francis Ellington thirty-eight weeks; John Hutchin and Michael Patteson twenty-eight weeks; and Edward Ferman thirteen weeks.²

After the liberation of William Dewsbury, he continued his travels and labors in the gospel ministry, in England, Wales, and Scotland, being instrumental in converting many to righteousness, and frequently suffering imprisonment for the cause of truth, as will be hereafter related.

In the year 1656, George Fox, accompanied by William Salt of London, and Edward Pyott of Bristol,

¹ Life of Dewsbury.

² Besse, I. 528.

travelled into Cornwall, and came to a place called Market-Jew, where the mayor and aldermen sent their constables to arrest him; but as the officers had no warrant, he declined to go with them, and reprovèd them for their incivility to strangers. Before he left the town, he wrote a letter of exhortation to the inhabitants of the seven parishes at the Land's-end, which he sent by a man going to St. Ives. This paper was conveyed to Peter Ceely, a major in the army, and a justice of the peace in that county, who, when George Fox and his companions came to St. Ives, asked him whether he would own it. He said, yes. Then the major tendered to him the oath of abjuration, and George handed to him an answer to it, which he had given to the Protector. After a tedious examination, the three Friends were placed under a guard of troopers, with a warrant to commit them to Launceston jail. Notwithstanding they were thus guarded by a company of rude soldiers, they managed to preach to the people in the several towns through which they were conducted. "On First-day," says George Fox, in his Journal, "several of the town's-people gathered around us, and whilst I held the soldiers in discourse, Edward Pyott spoke to the people; and afterwards Edward Pyott held the soldiers in discourse, whilst I spoke to the people. In the mean time, the other Friend (William Salt) got out backwards, and went to the steeple-house to speak to the priest and people. The people were exceedingly desperate, in a mighty rage against him, and abused him. The soldiers also missing him, were in a great rage, and threatened to kill us; but I declared the day of the Lord and the word of eternal life to the people."

On the road they met Major General Desborough,

the captain of whose troop being acquainted with George Fox, offered to speak to the General on his behalf. The prisoners were permitted to relate the manner of their arrest and commitment; but General Desborough told the soldiers they might carry them to Launceston, for he could not stay to talk, lest his horses should get cold.

It was nine weeks from the time of their commitment until the assizes held in the spring of 1656. A great crowd was in attendance, and Judge Glyn, then chief justice of England, was on the bench. The prisoners coming into court with their hats on, the judge said to them, "Why do you not put off your hats?" They made no answer. "Put off your hats," said the judge. Still they said nothing. "The court commands you to put off your hats," cried the judge. At length George Fox said, "Where did ever any magistrate, king or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats when they came before them in their courts, either amongst the Jews (the people of God) or amongst the heathen? And if the law of England doth command any such thing, show me that law, either written or printed." The judge replied in an angry tone, "I do not carry my law books on my back." George Fox rejoined, "Tell me where it is printed in any law book, that I may read it." "Take him away—prevaricator!" said the judge, "I'll firk him."

The prisoners were then taken away, and put among the thieves; but presently the judge called to the jailer to bring them back again.

Judge [to Geo. Fox].—"Come! where had they any hats, from Moses to Daniel? Come, answer me. I have you fast now."

G. Fox.—“Thou mayst read, in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar’s command, with their coats, their hose, and their *hats* on.”

Judge.—“Take them away, jailer.”

They were accordingly taken to prison, and by order of the court “some scores of books,” relating to Friends’ principles, were taken from them. In the afternoon they were again brought into court, and George Fox, observing the jurymen and others taking oaths, handed forth a paper he had written against swearing. This paper passing from the jury to the justices, they handed it to the judge, who directed the clerk to ask George Fox, “Whether that seditious paper was his?” He answered by desiring that it might be read, and then he would own it, if it was his. The clerk objected; but at length consented, and read it, after which George Fox said, “I own it, and so may you too, unless you deny the Scriptures; for is not this Scripture language, the words and command of Christ and the apostle, which all true Christians ought to obey?” The paper was then laid aside, and the judge commanded the jailer to take off the prisoners’ hats. George Fox said, “Why have we been detained these nine weeks, seeing that nothing is objected to us but about our hats? As for putting off our hats, that is an honor that God will lay in the dust, though you make so much ado about it. The honor which is of men, and which men seek one of another, is a mark of unbelievers; for ‘how can ye believe,’ saith Christ, ‘who receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only?’ Christ saith, ‘I receive not honor from men,’ and all true Christians should be of his mind.”

The indictment being read, was so full of false charges, that it might be supposed to relate to some of the thieves. George Fox told them it was all false, and he asked for justice for their false imprisonment. Then Major Ceely said to the judge, "May it please you, my lord, this man (pointing to George Fox) went aside with me, and told me how serviceable I might be to his design; that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour's warning, and involve the nation in blood, and so bring in King Charles; and I would have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. And if it please you, my lord, I have a witness to swear it." The judge was not forward to examine the witness; perceiving, no doubt, that the charge was a falsehood. George Fox then desired that his mittimus might be read; but the judge said it should not be read; George insisted that it should be read, as it concerned his liberty and his life, and turning to a fellow-prisoner, he said: "Thou hast a copy, read it up." It was read, and the whole court listened in silence. The mittimus, signed Peter Ceely, stated that the prisoners had spread several papers tending to the disturbance of the public peace, and could not render any lawful cause for coming into those parts, being persons altogether unknown, having no pass for travelling, refusing to give surety for good behavior, and declining to take the oath of abjuration. When the reading was ended, George Fox made his defence, showing the inconsistency between the mittimus and the accusation just made by Major Ceely; for, if the prisoner had given security, he might have been at liberty to carry on the alleged treasonable design; whereas, if such a design had been made known to the magistrate, he had no right to accept

bail; and, moreover, if there was such a plot, Major Ceely had rendered himself a party to it by keeping it so long concealed, and offering to aid one of the parties out of the country.

The judge, perceiving that the accusation was false, took no more notice of it, and then Major Ceely, addressing the court, stated that George Fox struck him, and gave him such a blow as he never had in his life. This charge he offered to prove by a witness then in court; but the person appealed to refusing to answer, the accusation was suffered to drop. It appeared afterwards that the blow received by Major Ceely was merely a reproof administered by George Fox while a prisoner, because Ceely took off his hat to him, and addressed him with a deceitful compliment. Judge Glyn, finding all the accusations groundless, and being determined to inflict some punishment on the prisoners, fined them twenty marks apiece for not putting off their hats, and remanded them to prison until the fine should be paid.

George Fox and his two friends, William Salt and Edward Pyott, being now immured in Launceston jail, with no prospect of a speedy release, sent their horses into the country, and concluded no longer to pay the jailer for their board. Being thus disappointed of his gains, the inhuman jailer thrust them into a dungeon called Doomsdale, usually appropriated to atrocious criminals after their condemnation. This was a horribly filthy place, so noisome that few who went into it ever came out in health. Here being without beds, or even straw to lie on—standing in mire and filth to the top of their shoes, and prevented by the jailer from cleansing their cell, the sufferings they endured are more readily conceived than described.

At the next general quarter sessions, they forwarded to the court an account of their sufferings, when an order was obtained that Doomsdale door should be opened, and that they should have liberty to cleanse it, and buy their meat in the town. Having obtained this liberty, they sent for Anne Downer, a young woman from London, who has been already mentioned, and she cheerfully attended to the purchase and preparing of their food.¹

While George Fox was in prison, a Friend went to Crómwell, and offered himself, body for body, to lie in Doomsdale in his stead. The Protector said he could not accept it, being contrary to law, and turning to some of his counsellors, who were present, he queried, "Which of you would do as much for me if I were in the same condition?"

He was told by Hugh Peters, one of his chaplains, that he could not give George Fox a better opportunity of spreading his principles in Cornwall than by imprisoning him there.² This proved to be the case, for large numbers from Cornwall and the adjoining counties visited the imprisoned Friends, whose patience under sufferings and persuasive ministry made many proselytes.

Thomas Lower, a physician of London, was one of those who visited the prisoners in Launceston jail, and asking many questions concerning religion, he received from George Fox such clear answers that he said afterwards, "His words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through me; I had never met with men of such penetration in all my life." By their

¹ Sewel's Hist. and G. Fox's Journal.

² Gough, I. 217. Besse, I. 114.

means he became convinced of the doctrines of Friends, and subsequently joined in membership with them.

When George Fox and his companions had been in prison about seven months, the Protector sent General Desborough to release them on condition that they would go home and preach no more. This offer they declined. He then urged that they should promise, "To go home if the Lord permitted." But they were unwilling to come under any engagement that would compromise their liberty. He left the matter in charge of Colonel Bennet, who had command of the jail. This officer offered to release them on the payment of the jailer's fees; but they answered, "We can give the jailer no fees, for we are innocent sufferers." At length they were released unconditionally, the 13th of the Seventh month (September, O. S.) 1656.

On being liberated, they resumed their travels and their labors in the gospel ministry. They first went to see Humphrey Lower, who had visited them in prison, and embraced their principles. At his house they had a precious meeting, in which "many were convinced and turned by the Spirit of the Lord," to his own inward teaching. After attending several meetings, one of which, being unusually large, was held in an orchard, they returned to Launceston to visit the Friends' meeting which had been gathered there during their imprisonment.

Leaving this little company "well established on Christ their rock and foundation," they proceeded to Exeter, and thence to Bristol. In that city they attended, in the morning of First-day, a large and quiet meeting, and in the afternoon another was held in an

orchard, at which some thousands were present. Although there was an attempt at disturbance, the powerful and persuasive ministry of George Fox seemed to quiet the discordant elements, and the meeting was crowned with the evidence of divine life.

Leaving Bristol, George Fox proceeded on his travels, holding large meetings, until he came to London. On entering the city, he saw, near Hyde Park, a great concourse of people, and among them was the Protector coming in his coach. Riding up to the coach-side, he attempted to speak, and some of the guard would have prevented him; but Cromwell forbade them. George Fox then spoke to him concerning his condition, and represented to him the sufferings of Friends throughout the nation, showing him how contrary such persecution was to Christianity. Cromwell, at parting, desired him to come to his house, and, on reaching the palace, said to Mary Saunders, one of his wife's maids, that "he could tell her good news." She asked what it was. He answered, "George Fox is come to town." She replied, "That is good news indeed." Accompanied by Edward Pyott, George Fox soon after went to Whitehall, and in an interview with the Protector, again laid before him the sufferings of Friends, directing his attention to "the Light of Christ who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world." Cromwell objected that it was a natural light. George Fox maintained that it was divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ the spiritual and heavenly man; and that which was called "The life in Christ the Word, was called the light in us." He then exhorted him to "lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus."

George Fox was standing by a table, Cromwell came and sat upon it, saying, "I will be as high as you are;" and he continued, in a tone of levity, to speak against the light of Christ; but when he parted with the Friends and joined his family, he seemed to regret his conduct, for he said, "I never parted with them so before."

On leaving the Protector, the Friends found themselves in company with many persons of rank, one of whom spoke against the doctrine of the Light of Christ, and George Fox felt bound "to slight him for speaking so lightly of the things of God." A bystander said to him, "That is the Major-General of Northamptonshire." "What!" said George Fox, "our old persecutor, that has sent so many of our Friends to prison, and is a shame to Christianity? I am glad I have met with thee;" and he proceeded to rebuke him sharply.

Such were the undaunted courage and fidelity of the early Friends that they did not falter in the presence of authority, nor hesitate to rebuke spiritual wickedness in high places; they bowed to no earthly potentate, but reserved their homage for Him who is Lord of lords and King of kings.

During the remainder of the year 1656, George Fox was actively engaged in religious service, and travelled in fifteen counties of England. "In this year," he writes in his Journal, "the truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thousands were turned to the Lord; insomuch that there were seldom fewer than one thousand persons in prison in this nation, for truth's testimony, some for tithes, some for going to steeple-houses, some for contempts as

they were called, some for not swearing, and others for not putting off their hats.”

In the year 1656, one of the most earnest and efficient ministers of the society was called from works to rewards. An account has already been given of the early life and convincement of John Camm; his call to the ministry, and his successful labors in London and Bristol.¹ Being closely united in Christian fellowship with John Audland, they generally travelled together, and their services were eminently blessed in promoting the Redeemer's kingdom. John Camm was naturally of a weak constitution; for several years before his death, he was subject to a violent cough and great debility; yet he continued to labor in the good Master's cause, and travelled through many counties, confirming and strengthening the flock of Christ. Although, at times, scarcely able to reach a place of meeting, he was, while engaged in gospel ministry, scarcely conscious of his weakness, being sustained by the enlivening power of the Holy Spirit.

In his travels he was careful to make the gospel of Christ without charge, freely spending for the cause of truth, not only his estate, but his strength and his life. He would often call his children and family together to wait upon God; exhorting them to fear the Lord and to walk in holiness of life, as becomes the believers in the gospel; and praying for them with fervency of spirit. He was thankful even for his bodily weakness, saying, “How great a benefit do I enjoy beyond many! I have such a large time of preparation for death; being dying daily, that I may

¹ See Chapters III. and VII.

live forever with my God, in that kingdom which is unspeakably full of glory. My outward man daily wastes and moulders down, and draws towards its place and centre; but my inward man revives and mounts upwards towards its place and habitation in the heavens."

The morning that he departed this life, he called his wife, children, and family, and gave them seasonable instruction to love the Lord and his way and truth, and to walk in the same — saying his glass was run, the time of his departure at hand, and he was about to enter into everlasting joy and rest. Presently he fainted and appeared to pass away as into a sweet sleep; on which the family, supposing him to be dead, began to weep aloud. Awaking, as from sleep, he desired to be lifted up in his bed, and said to those around him, "My dear hearts, you have wronged me, and disturbed me; for I was at sweet rest. You should not passionately sorrow for my departure. This house of clay must go to its place, but this soul and spirit is to be gathered up to the Lord, to live with him forever, where he shall meet with everlasting joy." So, again taking his leave of every one, charging them to be content with his departure, he lay down and in a little time was at rest in death. He was about fifty-two years of age, and had been in connection with Friends about four years.

CHAPTER IX.

IRELAND.

1653-7.

THE first and most efficient instrument in the Lord's hand, to plant the principles of Friends in Ireland was William Edmundson. He was born at Little Musgrove, in Westmoreland, England, in the year 1627. His parents were John and Grace Edmundson, and he was the youngest of six children. In his early youth, both parents being removed by death, he was placed as an apprentice, in York, to learn the trade of house-carpentry. During the time of his apprenticeship, his mind was often visited by the tendering influence of divine grace, by which he was enabled to see his condition, and to bewail his transgressions. He went into the Parliament's army during the civil war, and, after the execution of the king, he served under Cromwell, in Scotland. In the year 1651 he was at the battle of Worcester, and fought against the Royalists, who were there totally defeated. After the fight his mind was troubled, but "he fled from judgment, and made merry over God's witness in his conscience which testified against him."¹

In the year 1652, being placed in command of the recruits for the army in Scotland, he marched thither with them, and having delivered up his charge, he left the army and returned to England.

¹ W. Edmundson's Journal.

After visiting his relations in the North of England, he went into Derbyshire, where he married, and then, meeting with his brother, who had been serving as a soldier in Ireland, he concluded to settle in that country. Taking with him a stock of goods to commence store-keeping, William Edmundson and his wife embarked for Ireland and landed at Dublin. There he learned that his brother was with the army in the northern part of the island; but he soon after came to Dublin with horses and conveyed them to Antrim, where their troop was quartered.

William Edmundson settled at Antrim, and soon sold his stock of goods, after which he embarked for England to purchase more. He went into the north of England, among his relations, in the year 1653, when George Fox and James Nayler were holding meetings there. Having learned that James Nayler was to hold a meeting, he went about three miles to attend it, being accompanied by his brother Thomas and another kinsman. They were all three convinced of the doctrines of Friends. William Edmundson acknowledged that "God's witness in his heart answered to the truth of what was spoken, and the Lord's former dealings with him came fresh into his remembrance. Then he knew it was the Lord's hand that had been striving with him for a long time." Being under deep religious exercise, his past transgressions were brought to judgment, and the baptism of Christ was found to be like a fire that burns up the chaff, in order that the wheat may be gathered into his garner.

Having accomplished his business in England, he returned with a fresh stock of goods, and landed at Carrickfergus. Here a trial awaited him, on account

of the oath required of him by the officers of the revenue. He told them he could not swear, because it was contrary to Christ's command. This being the first instance they had met with of such a scruple, it caused much surprise, and various rumors began to spread concerning the Quakers. At length he obtained an order to bring the goods to the Custom-House, when they were passed without an oath, and he was allowed to convey them to his home at Antrim.

The conflict in his mind still continued; he was bowed under the weight of sorrow, and the judgments of the Lord were heavy upon him. He would have gone far to meet with an experienced Friend, but there was none to comfort him, and some of his acquaintance who saw his sad and restless condition, were ready to conclude that his reason was impaired. About this time Miles Bousfield came from England, and hearing of William Edmundson's condition, came to see him; but, not finding him at home, conversed with his wife concerning the people called Quakers, of whom he spoke in very favorable terms. On William Edmundson's return, his wife informed him of Bousfield's visit and conversation, which induced a strong desire for an interview, and soon after he went twelve miles to see him. He found Bousfield to be a talkative man, with very little depth of religious experience, for he could not enter into sympathy with a mind that was burdened and distressed; but, on the contrary, advised him to be cheerful and merry, not regarding those inward troubles that bowed him down, for they were the work of the enemy, that would lead him to despair. This advice being agreeable to the natural inclina-

tions of the heart, afforded a temporary relief, but, through divine mercy, he was not permitted long to enjoy this false rest; the power of divine grace again brought him into judgment, and his understanding being farther enlightened, he saw that the crucifixion of his own will, and the subjugation of his natural desires, were not yet completed.

Being deeply humbled under the cross of Christ, he became sensible of his own weakness, and was brought to a reliance upon the arm of divine power, which he found to be strength in weakness, and a present help in the time of trouble. Thus he grew in the knowledge of heavenly truth, was enabled, at times, to rejoice in the assurance of divine favor, and being purified in spiritual baptism, became a fit vessel for the Master's use.

In the spring of the year 1654, he removed to the county of Armagh, where he kept a store, and took some land for grazing cattle. The use of *thee* and *thou* in addressing a single individual was a subject of wonder and offence to many; and his practice of adhering to one price for his goods, asking no more than he intended to take, was at first an obstruction to his business; but afterwards resulted in his benefit, when his customers were convinced of its justice.

His wife and brother having embraced the principles of Friends, they met together at his house twice a week for divine worship; and soon after, four other persons, being convinced, joined them in their silent devotions. This meeting of seven members, held at Lurgan, was the first meeting of Friends established in Ireland.¹

¹ Edmundson's Journal and Ruttly's Rise of Friends in Ireland,

In the year 1655, John Tiffin came to Ireland on a religious mission, and sojourned awhile at the house of William Edmundson, where he sometimes spoke a few words in their meetings. Although he had but little to say by way of public ministry, William Edmundson felt a concern to travel with him to fairs and other places of public concourse, where his brief remarks were very serviceable. At that time very few persons would venture to lodge them on account of the general prejudice entertained against Friends. Near the town of Belfast a person dwelt who seemed friendly, and promised to let them hold a meeting at his house; but when the appointed time came, the man absented himself, and his wife refused to allow them to meet there. They concluded to hold their meeting at a short distance, in the public road, where three lanes met; and having taken their seats, the people came around them, wondering at a proceeding so unusual. After a time of silence, some words were spoken to direct the attention of the people to God's spirit in their own hearts; and this exercise, though performed in much weakness and fear, had a salutary effect; the cause of truth was advanced, and some members were added to the little meeting of Friends at Lurgan.

After John Tiffin had left on his return for England, the meeting continued to increase, and William Edmundson sometimes felt a religious concern to utter a few words in their meetings, which he did in much fear, "lest a wrong spirit should get entrance and deceive him, under the likeness of an angel of light."

About this time he was drawn by a sense of religious duty to visit England, in order to confer with George Fox, whom he had not yet seen. He met

with him at Badgley, in Leicestershire, where there was a great meeting of Friends assembled from several places. "When the meeting was ended," he writes, "I went to George Fox, and he took notice of me; we went into the orchard, and kneeling down, he prayed. The Lord's heavenly power and presence were there; he was tender over me. I told him where I lived, of several being convinced in Ireland, of the openness among the people, in the north of that nation, to hear the truth declared, and of the want of ministering Friends in the gospel there. He wrote the following epistle to Friends, which he sent with me, viz:

"FRIENDS:—In that which convinced you, wait, that you may have that removed you are convinced of; and all my dear Friends, dwell in the Life, and Love, and Power, and Wisdom of God, in unity one with another and with God; and the peace and wisdom of God fill all your hearts, that nothing may rule in you but the Life which stands in the Lord God.

"G. F."

"He bid me, when I came to Ireland, to go to Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, for they were come into the south of that kingdom, in the service of truth. So when I had been at Swarthmore, and some other places in England, to visit Friends, I returned to Ireland, and read the foregoing epistle to Friends in the meeting; there the power of the Lord seized on us, whereby we were mightily shaken and broken into tears and weeping."

About this time, William Clayton, from England, came to Ireland on a religious visit, and went directly

to the house of William Edmundson ; who, after some days, accompanied him in his travels ; both going a-foot, on account of the difficulty of obtaining accommodations on the journey.

At Colerain they preached repentance in the streets, and circulated several papers on religious subjects, one of which they posted on the door of a place of worship. The inhabitants would not receive their testimony, nor allow them to lodge in the town, but conveyed them across the river, and forbade their return. That night they lodged in a cabin in the mountains, and next day came to Londonderry. There they had two meetings, in which several persons were convinced, and at one of them the governor was present, who acknowledged the truth of their doctrines.

Proceeding on their way, and preaching at several places, they came to the house of Margery Atkinson, near Killmore in the county of Armagh. She received them kindly, was convinced of their doctrines, and continued steadfast in the Truth. At her house they had a religious meeting, at which many proselytes were made, and a Friends' meeting was settled there, which afterwards became large.

William Clayton returned to England, and, about the same time, two women Friends, Anne Gould and Juliana Westwood, arrived from London on a gospel mission. They came from Dublin to Londonderry, and thence to Colerain, on foot, in the winter season, wading through the streams and miry roads, until Anne Gould, becoming exhausted, gave way to discouragement, and concluded that "God had forsaken her, and that she was there to be destroyed."

At this time, William Edmundson and his brother

were at a fair in Antrim, and started homeward, intending to lodge at Glenary. Before they reached that place, William Edmundson felt a strong impression on his mind, which he took to be a divine intimation, that his shop was in danger of being robbed that night. He mentioned it to his brother, and they concluded to hasten home ; but soon after, he believed it was required of him by the Lord to go back to Clough. This brought him into a strait between conflicting prospects, one of which was to return home, and preserve his property, the other to go back for an unknown service. Being under deep exercise of mind, he waited in stillness, and a clear intimation was received to this effect: "That which draws thee back, will preserve thy shop." Having faith in the teachings of divine grace, and the protection of God, he turned about, and proceeded towards Clough, where he arrived the next morning. On going into the inn, he found there Anne Gould in a state of despair, and Juliana Westwood with her. When the poor disconsolate woman heard his name, she revived, and met him rejoicing. He then saw the service for which he was sent, and told them, "How he had been brought there by the good hand of God, led as a horse by the bridle to the place where they were." Anne Gould was relieved of her trouble, and saw she had been under a temptation. William Edmundson conveyed the women to his house, and when he arrived there, he found that his shop had really been in danger of robbery at the time he received the intimation ; but the shop-window being broken down, fell with such violence on the counter that it awakened the family, and frightened the robbers, who made their escape.

As William Edmundson attended to his gift in the

gospel ministry, it was increased by experience, and the sphere of his usefulness was enlarged. He held meetings in various places, and sometimes went to houses of public worship, where he met with rough usage; but his labors were effectual to the conviction of many, and the meetings of Friends were increased. On account of his religious testimony, he was committed to prison at Armagh, where the jail being out of repair, he was confined to a room in the jailer's house. He was brought before the magistrates of the county at the sessions, when Justice Cunningham, the president of the court, being fond of religious disputation, began to question him, in order to provoke a controversy. William Edmundson entered into it with reluctance, but his reliance being placed on divine aid, he was enabled to foil his antagonist, who grew angry, and threatened him with the exercise of his authority. Justice Powel then stood up, and said to his colleague: "You do not deal fairly with him; for, if you will dispute of religion, you must come on equal terms, lay aside your authority of a justice, and give liberty to be opposed as well as to oppose." He then commended what William Edmundson had said, and the court set him at liberty.

Soon after his liberation, he felt a religious obligation laid upon him to leave shop-keeping, and to take a farm, in order that he might set an example of bearing a testimony against tithes, for as yet no one had borne this testimony in Ireland. Accordingly, he and several other Friends, removed into the county of Cavan, where they rented land and commenced farming. They held a meeting for divine worship twice a-week, and they were sweetly united

together in the fellowship of the gospel. "In those days," writes William Edmundson, "the world and the things of it were not near our hearts, but the love of God, his truth and testimony lived in our hearts; we were glad of one another's company, though sometimes our outward fare was very mean, and our lodging on straw. We did not mind high things, but were glad of one another's welfare in the Lord, and his love dwelt in us."¹

It was not long before they experienced the sufferings they anticipated, and which they were prepared cheerfully to endure in obedience to the Master's will. For the non-payment of tithes and church-rates, and for declining to keep holy days, they were spoiled of their goods, and some of them subjected to imprisonment.

William Edmundson, under a sense of religious duty, travelled from place to place holding meetings, in which he preached the word of life with success, but not without much opposition. At Belturbot, the Provost broke up the meeting of Friends, and sent both men and women to prison. They were exposed to much suffering from cold during a severe night in winter; but, next morning, they were all liberated, except William Edmundson, who was put in the stocks at the market-place. While confined there, he preached to the people, who crowded around him; and they heard him with attention. Among them was Robert Wardell, then a youth, who was convinced of Friends' principles, and afterwards became a valuable minister of the gospel. The people being much dissatisfied with the conduct of the Provost, he

¹ William Edmundson's Journal, 30.

sent his officer to release William Edmundson from the stocks: but William said to him, "I have been grossly abused, and made a public spectacle to the people, as though I had done some great offence; but I have not been convicted of the breach of any law; so let the Provost come himself and take me out, for he put me in." The Provost then came and opened the stocks, bidding him take out his leg. "No," said William, "let him take out my leg that put it in." The Provost then opened the stocks with one hand, and took out the leg with the other.

A declaration having been issued by Oliver Cromwell, "That such should be protected in their religion as owned God, the Creator of all things, Christ Jesus, the Savior of man, and the Scriptures," the governor of the garrison sent for William Edmundson to appear at the court-house, and answer whether such was the belief of himself and his friends. His answer was so satisfactory, that the governor and other officers gave their judgment, that the Friends were to be protected in their religion.

William Edmundson then called on them, in presence of the large crowd in attendance, to bear witness how long the Friends had been imprisoned illegally, and that he had been exposed in the stocks wrongfully — adding that the law provided reparation in such cases.

The Provost, knowing that he was liable to prosecution, was much alarmed; but the Friends did not take advantage of the law, choosing rather to follow the example of Christ, who "When he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered he threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously."

On account of his religious principles, William Edmundson was, in the year 1656, imprisoned fourteen weeks in the jail at Craven. He was confined among thieves and robbers, in a dungeon so exceedingly filthy that persons who came to the grate to see him could scarcely endure the smell of it. In the day the prisoners would beg for turf, which at night they burned in the cell, and being accustomed to live in smoky cabins they appeared to suffer very little inconvenience; but to William Edmundson it was exceedingly oppressive, and on one occasion he was so nearly suffocated that he fell senseless to the ground.

When the Assizes came, one of the justices who had committed him, passing by the prison window, stopped and expressed his regret for what they had done, saying that he had been much troubled on account of it. William Edmundson desired that he would ask leave for him to appear before the judge to answer for himself, as a report was in circulation that the Quakers were for no law or government, but the light in man. This privilege being granted, he came into court and said: "I have been a close prisoner fourteen weeks, for my religion and faith towards God. I want justice, and to be tried by the law now established, for I know no law that I have broken; and I am one that have ventured my life to establish the government as it now stands, and I own the government and the laws." He was then remanded to prison, but next day was released without any trial.¹

His faithful services, and severe sufferings for the cause of Truth, will again claim our attention in the progress of this work.

¹ William Edmundson's Journal.

In the year 1654, Miles Halhead, James Lancaster, and Miles Bateman, came from England into Ireland as messengers of the gospel. They had some service with the civil and military officers, and preached with success in several towns. After a short stay in the northern part of the island, they embarked at Belfast for England.¹

In the early part of the year 1655, Elizabeth Fletcher, and Elizabeth Smith, came from England and landed at Dublin, where they preached the gospel of Christ and made some proselytes. For speaking at a house of public worship they were committed to Newgate prison. After their release they had a meeting at the chamber of Richard Fowkes, a tailor, near Polegate, which was the first meeting of Friends known to have been held in Dublin; but the first established meeting in that city was at George Latham's, near Polegate.²

These faithful women were the first Friends who came to the city of Cork. They held many meetings in the southern part of the island, particularly at Younghall, where several were convinced through their ministry.

In the autumn of the same year, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, arrived in Ireland. They labored together in Dublin about three weeks, holding meetings which were well attended; and then F. Howgill, leaving his companion, went towards Cork. After their separation, Edward Burrough remained two weeks in Dublin, and then proceeded to the southern part of the island. From Waterford he wrote to Margaret Fell as follows, viz. :

“Sister beloved, whom I forget not, but do remem-

¹ Ruty's Rise of Friends in Ireland, and Besse's Sufferings.

² Ruty's History, 92.

ber with kindness, and of whom I am not forgotten ; with my heart and soul I do salute thee, being bound up with thee in the covenant of life everlasting." "Two weeks was I in Dublin city, in the ministry of Christ, laboring in season and out of season ; and my suffering was not little in that place, and I have none to bear the yoke with me in my travails ; and yet I was not alone, but the Father was with me in power, and wisdom, and boldness. It is a bad place, a very refuge for the wicked : being moved, I passed through it to this place, for our service lies only in great towns and cities ; for generally the country is without inhabitant, except bands of robbers, which wait for their prey and devour many ; from which yet we are preserved.

"I had great opposition in this city ; five times opposed by the rulers, who are Baptists, and once was I tried for a vagabond, and once examined by them for a Jesuit : but to this day, out of snares and plots am I preserved, and walk as a bird among fowlers' snares, and as an innocent dove that hath no mate — nay, none unto whom I can open my cause, but the Lord my God only. About sixteen days was I at Kilkenny city, twenty miles from this, where I gave a warning to the inhabitants, and was twice among the Baptists ; and one time, by command from the governor of the city, was I hauled out of their assembly rudely, in the manner of their generation ; but a few in that city received our report.

"I have, not long [since], heard from my chiefest companion, Francis Howgill, whose love in the same measure salutes thee with mine. It is now four months since we parted at Dublin, and what I have said in respect of suffering and trials, he can seal the

same with me; who have been companions in tribulation and in patience, and are now in joy and rejoicing; hoping to receive the end of our labors, and to see the travail of our souls, that we may bring the sheep with us into the fold, and may return to our camp with victory from our Lord.”¹

Francis Howgill held meetings at Kinsale, where his labors were blessed with success. At Bandon he was hospitably entertained by Edward Cook, a man of ability and influence, cornet of Oliver Cromwell's troop of horse. They went together to the public house of worship, where Francis preached the gospel, and then Edward Cook invited the people to a meeting to be held at his house that evening. Many attended, and gladly heard the word of life. Among those who embraced the principles of Friends were Edward Cook, and Lucretia his wife.² Concerning Edward Cook, the following testimony has been left by his friends: “He embraced the Truth with his whole heart, and retained it, was given up to serve the Lord, and lived and walked under the cross of Christ Jesus in great self-denial to the world, and the glory and greatness of it, to his dying day, and laid down his head in peace with God, and sweet unity with true-hearted Friends.”³

Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill having again met in their travels, went to the city of Limerick, and were accompanied by Edward Cook. The next morning after their arrival, they went to the public place of worship, and after waiting some time, they attempted to speak, but they were rudely treated, and compelled to desist. The following day, they

¹ Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, CVI.

² Ruttly's History of Friends in Ireland, 95.

³ Ibid.

were, by order of the public authorities, conducted out of the city. As they rode through the streets, Edward Burrough preached on horseback, and after passing the gates, he and his companions had an opportunity of speaking to a great multitude that followed them. A number of persons became proselytes to their doctrines, and a meeting was subsequently gathered there, of those who felt concerned to assemble in silence for the worship of God. They encountered much opposition in their self-denying course; and the magistrates even forbade the other citizens from dealing with them. Richard Pearce, an apothecary, was the first to entertain Friends in Limerick, and meetings were held at his house for many years. During several months, his custom was withdrawn, and his business interrupted; but it was afterwards re-established, and continued prosperous to the end of his days.

At Cork, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were arrested and carried to Dublin by the high-sheriff of the county, in obedience to an order from Henry Cromwell, then Lord Deputy of Ireland. As they were conducted on their way, the guard of soldiers that attended them, being very lenient, allowed them to hold meetings at the towns through which they passed, and many were convinced of their principles. After being examined by the governor and council, they were imprisoned about a week, and then compelled to embark for England.¹

Among the many in Ireland convinced of Friends' principles, by the preaching of these two eminent ministers, was Thomas Wight, who afterwards became

¹ Letters of Early Friends, CVIII.

known as the author of "An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of Friends in Ireland." He was born in the city of Cork, in the year 1640, and was an apprentice to a clothier in Bandon when he first attended a Friends' meeting. Finding that the people sat silent for a long time, he began to be very uneasy, for he had heard that the Quakers were witches, and he feared that he might be bewitched if he should stay any longer. At length, Francis Howgill stood up and uttered these words: "Before the eye can see, it must be opened; before the ear can hear, it must be unstopped; and before the heart can understand, it must be illuminated." These three sentences he opened with such clearness and energy, that a deep impression was made on the mind of Thomas Wight; but through prejudice and the opposition of his relatives, he was prevented at that time from making open profession with Friends. He afterwards heard Edward Burrough, whose preaching was so powerful, and accompanied with such an evidence of truth, that he could no longer withstand it; but resolved, with divine assistance, to be faithful according to the light received. From a sense of duty, he attended the meetings of Friends, and conformed to their practice in plainness of dress and address; for which he incurred the reproaches of his relatives, and became a by-word among his acquaintance. He counted nothing too dear to be sacrificed for peace of mind, and continuing faithful, he became an exemplary and useful member of the Society.

When he became engaged in a prosperous business, with a fair prospect of amassing wealth, he received, as he thought, a divine intimation, that "he could not be heir of two kingdoms," and thenceforth he

grew more retired from the world, devoting the remainder of a long life to the promotion of religious concerns.¹

On the same day that Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill left Dublin, Barbara Blaugdon arrived there. She came from England in a vessel bound for Cork, but which was by foul weather carried to Dublin. When the storm was raging with violence, the seamen imputed the cause of it to her, because she was a Quaker, and were conspiring to throw her overboard; but she overheard their conversation, and told the captain that if he did not prevent them, her blood would be required at his hands. He interposed his authority, and frustrated their wicked purpose. The storm continuing, and it being the first day of the week, she went on deck, being moved by a sense of duty to exhort the seamen and to pray for them. They were very quiet and sedate; acknowledging that they were obliged to her for her prayers, at a time when the chaplain of the ship was silenced through fear.

On landing at Dublin, she went directly to the Deputy's house; but was told that she could not speak with him, and that he had just banished two others of her persuasion. She applied to the secretary, and at length got permission to see the Deputy.

When she came into the withdrawing room, a person came out of the Deputy's chamber *covered*, while those who attended him stood bareheaded; for they, knowing she had never seen the Deputy, designed to impose on her by substituting another person in his stead. The room being nearly full of people, some

¹ Ruttys Rise of Friends in Ireland, p. 299.

of them asked her "Why she did not speak to their lord." But she, having a sense that a deception was intended, answered, "When I see your lord, I shall deliver my message to him." Soon afterwards the Deputy himself came forth, and sat down on a couch. She then stood up and spoke to him; cautioning him to beware that he was not found fighting against God, in opposing the truth, and persecuting the innocent, but, like wise Gamaliel, to let them alone; for, if it was of God, it would stand, but, if of man, it would fall." She added, that the enmity did not lie so much in himself, as in the magistrates and priests by whom he was instigated to persecute the people of God. After she had thus spoken, she returned to her lodging at the house of Captain Rich, who coming home told her the Deputy was so much troubled, and so melancholy, that he could not go to bowls, nor engage in any other pastime.

Barbara having performed her service in Dublin, went to Cork, where she had some relatives; but feeling a religious engagement to appear at places of public resort, and to preach repentance and amendment of life, she met with much abuse, and was subjected to imprisonment. It was remarked, however, that in almost every place where she published the principles of truth, some of the audience embraced her doctrines.¹

After her release from prison, in 1656, she embarked for England; but did not remain long at her home in Bristol, until she again returned to Ireland in the service of the gospel. The vessel in which she came foundered near the Irish coast; but her life was provi-

¹ Besse, II. 458.

dentially saved, and after landing she pursued the same course as before, preaching with zeal and success; but her sufferings for conscience' sake were even greater than on her former visit. She was imprisoned both at Dublin and at Limerick, and on her passage homeward she was robbed by a privateer of all the property she had with her.¹

In the year 1657, Thomas Loe, of Oxford, in England, came to Ireland on a religious mission. He had an excellent gift in the ministry, being sound, clear and powerful in expounding the truths of the gospel. At Munster he was successfully engaged in gospel ministry, and from thence he travelled on foot to Dublin, where he preached in the streets the doctrines of life and salvation. He also visited Ulster, and many other places throughout the island, in most of which he was instrumental in convincing many of the spiritual views he promulgated. His visits to Ireland were frequent, and his labors so successful, that by some he was called the "Apostle of Ireland."²

In the year 1659, John Burnyeat landed at Donaghadee, in Ulster, and travelled on foot through the greater part of that province, preaching the gospel of Christ. He held meetings in several counties in the north of Ireland, and many were convinced of the principles of Friends through his ministry. He then came to Dublin, where he had much religious service, and from thence proceeded to Mountmelick, Kilkenny, Munster, and other places. At Lurgan he met with Robert Lodge, an able minister of the gospel, lately arrived from England, and they generally travelled together during their stay in Ireland,

¹ Besse, II. 459.

² Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, CIX.

which was about twelve months. They were closely united in Christian fellowship, and their labors were blessed with peace to themselves and consolation to many. They had, however, to endure numerous hardships, from cold hunger, and personal abuse. They were imprisoned once in Armagh, once in Dublin, and twice in Cork; but they were willing to endure all things for Christ's sake.¹



CHAPTER X.

WALES.

1654-60.

IN the Journal of George Fox, under date 1654, it is mentioned that Thomas Holmes travelled into Wales, about this time, and there is reason to believe that he was one of the first that preached the doctrines of Friends in that principality.² In the following letter, supposed to be addressed to George Fox, he gives some account of his religious labors:—

“Cardiff, 27th of 12th month, 1654.

“DEAR BROTHER:—

This is to let thee know of my journey and service in Wales. I came out of Cheshire about five weeks ago, and I stayed two days in Radnorshire, in the

¹ Burnyeat's Works, 28, and Rutt's Hist., 117.

² Besse, I. 740

mountains, when I had divers meetings, where many of the people called Baptists are convinced of the Truth. There is a great convincement in that part, but, the most are Welsh, and some cannot understand English. There are three who have the Welsh tongue, who are serviceable, and labor among them, which three Friends came out of the north of Wales. There is one who is a justice of peace convinced, and is very faithful and serviceable in his place. I was five nights in his house, and had a great meeting at his house; he dwells in the mountains of Montgomeryshire. After I had been two First-days in Radnorshire, I passed into Monmouthshire to a town called Abergavenny, where I got a meeting that evening in the inn where I lodged; and, the next day, I was moved to speak in the market. I drew the people into a convenient place, and spoke a pretty time to them; it cast a sound through the town and country, for not any Friend had spoken there before. The next day I met with my wife and Alexander Birket, at a place where they had a meeting. Alexander Birket is in Monmouthshire; two Justices of peace are convinced there. The last First-day, I had a meeting four miles from Chepstow, and another on the Third-day; and this being the Fourth-day, I had a meeting six miles beyond Cardiff, at the sea-side, To-morrow, I pass to a general meeting in Newport. at a Justice's house.¹

THOMAS HOLMES."

Very few particulars concerning this Friend have been preserved. It appears that he was imprisoned

¹ Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, LXXXVII.

in the year 1658, for speaking to a priest at a house of worship, in Curwent, in Monmouthshire. He was also imprisoned upwards of three months at Cardiff, and his wife, Elizabeth Holmes, coming to visit him, was taken into custody by the magistrate and imprisoned with him.¹

About the time that Thomas Holmes began his religious labors in Wales, Morgan Floyd, a clergyman of that country, sent two of his congregation into the north of England to inquire into the reports he had heard concerning the people called Quakers. These triers, as they were called, when they came among the Friends, remained some time, and were convinced that the doctrines they heard were gospel truths. On their return to Wales, one of them departed from the principles he had embraced; but the other, whose name was John Ap-John, remained steadfast, and became a useful minister of the gospel.²

In the early part of the year 1657, George Fox visited Wales, and was instrumental in making many proselytes. The first town he entered was Cardiff, where he had a meeting in the town-hall, and, although some disturbers were present, he writes that "the Lord's power was over all," and many were gathered to his name.

At Swansea he was instrumental in establishing a meeting, and proceeding thence to Brecknock, he there met with Thomas Holmes and John Ap-John. At this place the rude populace, incited by the magistrates, kept up a continual clamor for many hours,

¹ Besse, I. 748. In Whiting's Catalogue, it is stated that Thomas Holm, of Westmoreland, died in Wales, in the days of King Charles II.

² G. Fox's Journal.

and George Fox, having written a paper addressed to the citizens on their unchristian conduct, proceeded on his way, accompanied by his friends.

The next meeting they held was in a churchyard. There being many professors of religion present, George Fox was moved to open the Scriptures to them, turning their attention "to Christ who had enlightened them, with which light they might see the sins and trespasses they had been dead in, and their Saviour who came to redeem them out of them, who was to be their way to God, the truth and the life to them, and their priest made higher than the heavens; so that they might come to sit under his teaching."¹ It was a peaceable meeting in which many were convinced and settled in the truth. From thence they went to Pontemoil, where a great concourse of people assembled to hear them; many were convinced of their doctrines, and a large meeting of Friends was gathered and "settled in the name of Jesus."

After this meeting, George Fox travelled for a short time in England, and then returning to Wales, he passed through Montgomeryshire into Radnorshire, where, he says, "there was a meeting like a leaguer for multitudes. While the people were gathering, he desired John Ap-John to go to them, and if he had anything for them from the Lord, to speak to them in Welsh, and thereby gather and settle the meeting. When they were well gathered, George Fox, being under much religious exercise, went into the meeting and stood a considerable time in silence. At length, feeling the power of divine life to arise and go over

¹ George Fox's Journal.

the assembly, he began to speak, opening the Scriptures to them, and directing their attention "to the light of Christ the heavenly man, that by it they might see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be their Saviour, their Redeemer, their Mediator, and come to feed upon him the bread of life from heaven."¹ Many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to his free teaching; and all were bowed down under the power of God, so that, though the multitude was so great that many sat on horseback to hear, there was no opposition.

At Leominster, in Herefordshire, G. Fox attended a meeting where many hundreds of people were gathered, among whom were six congregational preachers. While he was speaking of the heavenly divine Light which enlightens every one that comes into the world, the priest of Leominster, whose name was Tombs, cried out, "That is a natural light, and a made light." George Fox desired the people to take out their bibles, and directing their attention to the text, John i. 4, "In him (to wit, in the Word) was life, and the life was the light of men;" he showed that this is not a natural or created, but a spiritual and eternal light." He cited also the prophecy of Isaiah, "I will give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation to the ends of the earth;" and he added, "So Christ in his light is saving, as the Apostle said, 'The light which shined in their hearts, was to give them the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ,' which was their treasure in their earthen vessels."

Continuing his journey, he came to Teuby, in

¹ George Fox's Journal.

Pembrokeshire, where, as he rode up the street, a justice of the peace stepped out of his door, desiring him to alight and to stay at his house, which he accordingly did. On First-day they had a precious meeting, attended by the mayor and his wife, with many respectable citizens. John Ap-John left the meeting and went to the parish house of worship, where he was arrested by order of the governor, and cast into prison. The next morning the governor sent one of his officers for George Fox, which grieved the mayor and justice, who went in advance of him to the governor's office. When George came in, the following dialogue ensued :

George Fox. — Why hast thou cast my friend into prison ?

Governor. — For standing with his hat on in the church.

G. Fox. — Had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one and a white one ? Cut off the brim of the hat and then my friend would have but one, and the brim of the hat was but to defend him from the weather.

Governor. — These are frivolous things."

G. Fox. — Why dost thou cast my friend into prison for frivolous things ?

Governor. — Do you own election and reprobation ?

G. Fox. — Yes, and thou art in the reprobation.

Governor [*in an angry tone*]. — I will send you to prison till you prove it.

G. Fox. — I will prove it quickly if thou wilt confess truth. Are not wrath, fury, rage, and persecution, marks of reprobation ? He that was born of the flesh persecuted him that was born of the Spirit ; but Christ and his disciples never persecuted any.

Governor.—I acknowledge that I have too much wrath and passion in m^e.

G. Fox.—Esau is up in thee, the first birth, not Jacob, the second birth.”

The governor being conscious that this was the truth, acknowledged it, and as George was going away, invited him to dinner, and set his friend at liberty.

They went back to the house of the justice, and he, with the mayor, accompanied by their wives and several other persons, went with the Friends to the water-side, about half a mile out of town. There George Fox “knelt down with them and prayed to the Lord to preserve them.” After commending them to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and free teacher, he and his companions went on their way, ascribing praises to the Most High.

Accompanied by John Ap-John, George Fox continued his travels, and came to Haverford-West, where they were instrumental in establishing a Friends' meeting. After passing through two large towns, where they preached in the markets and in the streets, they were overtaken by a man of rank who thought at first they were highwaymen, and proposed to have them arrested at the next town. But George Fox was impelled by a sense of duty to speak to him, which so effectually reached his feelings, and awoke his conscience, that he invited them to his house, and entertained them kindly. He and his wife desired to be furnished with some Scripture proofs of the doctrines of Friends, which George Fox willingly supplied. As he dictated the passages, their host wrote them down, and was convinced both by the spirit of God in his own heart, and by the corroborating testimony of Scripture.

As the travellers proceeded on their way, they came to a hill, said to be two or three miles high, from the top of which an extensive prospect was spread out before them. Here George Fox was favored with a sense of spiritual vision, which enabled him to point out to his companion the several places where "God would raise up a people to himself to sit down under his own teaching." These places were remembered by John Ap-John, and he lived to see the prediction fulfilled.

Having passed through every county in Wales, and been instrumental in settling many meetings of Friends, George Fox came to Westchester, and thence to Liverpool, and Manchester, holding meetings and preaching the gospel of Christ. He then went to Swarthmore, and remained more than a week visiting the neighboring meetings, and writing epistles to Friends on the momentous concerns of religion.

One of the earliest proselytes to the principles of Friends in Wales, was Richard Davies, who became an earnest and successful laborer in the Lord's vineyard. He was born in Welch-Pool, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, in the year 1635. In his youth, his mind was seriously impressed with the duty of abstaining from evil, in order to prepare for death; and, forsaking his gay companions, he sought the society of those who were accounted the most religious. He frequented the meetings of the Independents, and was diligent in writing out the sermons he heard, while following their ministers from one parish to another. These sermons he sometimes repeated to others, and being well acquainted with the historical parts of the Scriptures, he gained applause

by his religious knowledge, which puffed up his mind with vanity. "We were diligent," he says, "in searching the Scriptures, which was good in its place, but, the main matter and substance of pure religion, is the enjoyment of eternal life to the soul from Christ."¹

With the consent of his parents, he bound himself apprentice to a felt-maker, who was a professor of religion among the Independents, and had family prayers in his house. Here he continued in the practice of writing and repeating sermons, and he joined in the family prayers, until he became conscious that they were dry and formal, being performed in his own will and time without the anointing of divine grace. His first acquaintance with the principles of Friends is thus related in his own language:—

"About the year 1657, there came a poor man in a mean habit to my master's house, named Morgan Evan, of South Wales; he had met with the people called Quakers in his travels, and was convinced of the Truth. The poor man discoursed with my master about the principles of Truth; and I being in the shop about my calling, my mistress came and said, 'Why do you not go to help your master, for here is a Quaker at the door that hath put him to silence?' I hearing this, made haste, and took my bible under my arm, and put on what courage I could to dispute with the poor man; but he proved too hard for us all. When I went to them, they were upon the words thee and thou; but I very per-

¹ Account of Richard Davies, London, 1770,

emptorily asked him, 'What command he had to speak thee and thou?' For I acknowledged to him, that it was the language of God to Adam, and the language of the Scriptures; but, said I, that is not enough for us now in this day, we must have a command for it. To which he answered, 'Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me.' I asked him whether this was Scripture? He asked me whether I would deny it. I told him he was to prove it. Then he took the bible out of my hand, and turned to 2 Timothy, i. 13, which he read, and told me that '*Hold fast,*' there was a command, which I knew very well both the Scripture and the command. But, to prove him farther, I desired him to read a little more of that chapter, both backward and forward, which he freely did, and asked me why I required that of him? I told him that we heard the Quakers denied the Scriptures, and that they would not read them. He said there were many false reports of them. And truly, when he read the Scriptures so readily, I concluded in myself, that what was reported of them was not true; and he saw that he had reached to the witness of God in me. Then he exhorted me to take heed to the Light that shined in my heart, and showed me my vain thoughts, and reproved me in secret for every idle word and action, saying, that that was the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and in that Light I should see more light, and that would open the Scriptures to me: and that I should receive a measure of the same Spirit that gave them forth. And farther he told me, it was 'the more sure word of prophecy, unto which I did well if I took heed as

unto a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts.'"¹

Such was the effect of this interview upon the mind of Richard Davies, that he could not escape from the words of life and power that took hold upon him, and the more he waited upon that Light which shines in the soul, the more clearly did he see that the rituals in which he had been trusting were comparable to "wood, hay, or stubble," which shall be tried by fire.² It was then he put up his petition, in deep humility, to the Most High, that he might be enabled to build upon that Rock on which the true church of Christ is established.

Being thus brought to rely upon Christ's inward teaching, he forsook his former teachers, and frequently withdrew into the woods or other secluded places to wait upon the Lord; where his heart was much tendered and contrited by the power of divine grace. After much research and reflection in relation to the use of water-baptism and the sacrament of bread and wine, he became fully satisfied that they are not required under the gospel dispensation; but his mind underwent a painful conflict before he could renounce the use of the plural pronoun in addressing a single person. He says, "I was conscientiously concerned to speak the pure language of *thee* and *thou* to every one without respect of persons, which was a great cross to me, though it seems to some but a weak and foolish thing; yet when the Lord lays the necessity of speaking the truth to all in that language that God and all his servants used, it comes to be of a greater weight than many light and airy persons think

¹ Richard Davies' Life, IX. 12.

² 1 Cor. iii. 12.

it is. The saying of Christ came to my mind, 'Who-soever will be my disciple, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me.' " Being under the necessity of using this language to his master and mistress, the former was not offended; but the latter was so much incensed that she struck him a severe blow on the head with a stick, and "swore that she would kill him, though she should be hanged for it." She continued to persecute him for a considerable time; but afterwards, being brought very low in sickness, she sent for him, and asked his forgiveness, before she could die in peace.

The first meeting of Friends he attended was in 1658, near Shrewsbury, distant eighteen miles from his residence. It was held in silence, but proved to be a season of deep instruction. Concerning this meeting, he writes: The word of the Lord God was among us, it was a hammer and a fire, it was sharper than any two-edged sword, it pierced through our inward parts, it melted and brought us into tears, that there was scarcely a dry eye among us; the Lord's blessed power overshadowed our meeting, and I could have said that God alone was minister of that assembly." He was preparing to return home, greatly comforted with the goodness of God and the love of the brethren, when he heard that John Ap-John was come to town, and was to have a meeting there. He stayed, and heard for the first time a Friend engaged in gospel ministry. He thought John Ap-John "spoke as one having authority, and not as the scribes, his words being sound and piercing."

On his return home, having found three young men of his acquaintance who were convinced of Friends' principles, they four met together for divine worship,

and having no house of their own, they concluded to meet on a hill in a common. There they sat together in silence, a spectacle of wonder to their neighbors, and when the wind and rain beat upon them on one side of the hill, they removed to the other side, still adhering to their meeting.

When the time of his apprenticeship expired, in 1659, he went to London, and there followed his trade as a felt-maker, attending meetings, and enjoying the society of his friends. In the course of a few months, a religious concern came upon his mind to return to his native country, and there stand as a witness for the Truth; but the prospect being disagreeable to him, he endeavored to put it from him. In this state of disobedience he continued until he lost the sense of the divine presence, and was smitten with anguish of spirit and bodily pain; when at length being made to bow to the divine will, he renewed his covenant with God, and was restored to peace and health. Soon after this, he was united in marriage to a pious woman in London, who agreed to go with him to Wales, and they settled at Welch-Pool, his former residence. Here he continued steadfast in bearing an open testimony to the Truth; for which he suffered much persecution; but the frequent imprisonments he endured promoted the spreading of his principles, and he rejoiced in being thought worthy to suffer for the cause of righteousness.

CHAPTER XI.

SCOTLAND.

1654-60.

AMONG the first of the English Friends who travelled into Scotland in the service of the gospel, were Christopher Fell, George Wilson, John Grave, Sarah Cheevers, and Katherine Evans, about the year 1654; but there appears to be no particular account of their labors now extant. In the same year, Miles Halhead and James Lancaster were at Dumfries, and being at the parish house of worship, they waited till the minister had ended the service, when Miles testified against the deceit and hypocrisy of the people. This so incensed the congregation that they forced the two Friends out of the town to the side of the river, intending to stone them; but they made their escape by wading through the stream. They then went to Edinburgh and Leith, and remained about ten days, where Miles delivered to the officers of the army a message to this effect: "That the anger of the Lord was kindled against them, because they had not performed their promises which they made to him in the day of their distress, when the enemies compassed them on every side; for the Lord delivered them, and gave them the victory, but they had returned him evil for good, and committed violence against those he had sent to declare his word amongst them." Having performed the service which they believed was re-

quired of them, they went to Glasgow and Stirling, and then returned to England.¹

It appears, however, that at least a year prior to this date, there had been religious meetings held after the manner of Friends in the South of Scotland, at Drumbowly and Heads. They were composed of serious persons who had become weary of the formality and superstition of the national religion, and who longed for the purity and spirituality of gospel worship. Having withdrawn from the national church, they met in silence, and came to experience the quickening virtue of the Holy Spirit, by which some of them were called to proclaim to others the way of salvation.

Among these native preachers were William Osborne, who had been a Colonel in the army, Richard Rae, and Alexander Hamilton. They were not then known to the Society of Friends in England, but were afterwards recognised and united with them.

In the year 1655, William Caton and John Stubbs visited their brethren in Scotland, preaching the gospel and administering counsel adapted to their condition. John Stubbs returning to England, W. Caton went to Stirling, where he was arrested and carried before the governor, who at first accosted him in a rough and angry manner; but William being of a meek temper, by soft answers appeased his wrath, so that he became cool and tender. He was also at Glasgow, and went into the great cathedral, where, after their worship was ended, he had an opportunity of speaking to the people in the yard, the English

¹ Besse, I. 495.

soldiers in garrison there not permitting any injury to be done to him.¹

In the autumn of 1657, George Fox, accompanied by Robert Widders, visited Scotland, and preached the doctrine of the Light of Christ, which is God's gift for man's salvation. He was led to expose the fallacy of the doctrine of election and reprobation as taught by the clergy, who maintained that God had ordained the greatest part of men and women for hell, and that a certain number were elected for heaven, let them do what they would, as David an adulterer, and Paul a persecutor, yet elected vessels for heaven. He showed that God had warned those that rebelled against his law, as, for example, Cain, Corah, and Balaam, and had said to Cain, "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?" Their reprobation was the result of their disobedience. Does not Christ say, "Go preach the gospel to all nations?" He died for all men, the ungodly as well as the godly, and he enlightens every man that cometh into the world, that through him they might all believe. "Now all that believe in the light of Christ as he commands, are in the election, and sit under the teaching of the grace of God, which brings their salvation. But such as turn from this grace into wantonness are in the reprobation; and such as hate the light are in the condemnation."²

The promulgation of these views, and the increase of Friends' meetings, exasperated the clergy, who, in order to deter the people from embracing them, drew up a number of curses to be read in their congregations; as, for instance, "Cursed is he that saith, —

¹ Besse, I. 495.

² G. F.'s Journal.

‘Every man hath a light within him sufficient for salvation;’ cursed is he that saith, ‘Faith is without sin;’ ‘cursed is he that denieth the Sabbath-day.’”

To these maledictions a suitable answer was returned, showing that Christ commands all to believe in the light, that they may become children of the light; that faith is the gift of God, and every gift of God is pure; and that the *Sabbath-day*, which is the Seventh-day of the week, is no longer a day of rest.

At Edinburgh, “many thousands were gathered together about the burning of a witch,” and George Fox being in the city, “was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them.” He then went to Friends’ meeting, where many rude people came, who, being reproved by him, left the house; after which they had “a blessed meeting in the Lord’s power, which was over all.”

The clergy, having petitioned the national council against G. Fox, he was summoned to appear before it, and was questioned concerning his motives for coming into Scotland. He told them that “he came to visit the seed of God which had long lain in bondage under corruption; that all in the nation who professed the Scriptures, the words of Christ, of the prophets and apostles, might come to the light, spirit and power, which they were in who gave them forth; that in and by the spirit they might understand the Scriptures, and know Christ and God aright, have fellowship with him, and one with another.” After some further discourse, they commanded him to “depart from Scotland by that day Seven-night.”

He returned to his inn, and continued in the city preaching the gospel. During his stay he wrote a letter to the council, expostulating with them for their

unchristian conduct in passing an order to banish him, "an innocent man, who only sought their salvation and eternal good." On leaving Edinburgh he returned to Heads, where Friends were suffering much from the intolerance of the clergy, who had excommunicated them, and interdicted the people from dealing with them, or supplying them with food or drink.

These uncharitable proceedings were, however, arrested by Colonel Ashfield, who was a justice of the peace for that county. He protected the Friends, and afterwards being convinced of their principles, had a meeting at his house, and became a minister of the gospel.

At Glasgow, George Fox and his companions appointed a meeting, but none of the citizens attended. The guard took them before the governor, with whom they had much discourse, and then, after preaching in the streets, they left the city. At Stirling they could not obtain a meeting, but there being a horse-race near the town, George Fox embraced the opportunity to preach the word of life to the people.

At Perth, a persecuting spirit was manifested towards them, especially by the Baptists. Finding they could not prevail by disputation, they applied to the governor, who sent a company of soldiers to expel the Friends from the town. George Fox was now accompanied by Robert Widders, Alexander Parker, and James Lancaster. As they were guarded through the streets, "James Lancaster was moved to sing with a melodious sound in the power of God," and George Fox preached the gospel to the people, who came out of their doors and filled the streets. The soldiers were so much ashamed of the part they were required

to act, that they said, "They had rather have gone to Jamaica than to have guarded the Friends."¹

At another market town they desired to hold a meeting, and were told by the officers of the garrison that they should have the town hall; but the magistrates, in order to prevent it, appointed a meeting there for public business. The officers and soldiers advised the Friends, nevertheless, to occupy the hall. They answered, "No, by no means; for then it would be said we took it by force. We will go to the market-place." The others said, "It was market day." "So much the better," said George Fox, "for we would have all people to hear the truth and know our principles." Accordingly they went, and Alexander Parker stood upon the cross with a bible in his hand, preaching to the soldiers and market people, with but little effect. Presently, George Fox "was moved to stand up, and with a loud voice to proclaim the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all sin and wickedness." This awakening call aroused the people, who came flocking from the town hall, and a large company was gathered, to whom the word of life was declared. "The people were turned," he says, "to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them, and had enlightened them, that with his light they might see their evil deeds, be saved from their sins by him, and might come to know him to be their teacher. But if they would not receive Christ and own him, it was told them that this light, which came from him, would be their condemnation." This discourse was well received, especially by the English troops, who were quartered there.

¹ George Fox's Journal.

At Leith, George Fox was informed by the inn-keeper that the Council at Edinburgh had granted a warrant to apprehend him, because he had not left the State in obedience to their order. He replied, "If there were a cart-load of warrants, I do not regard them, for the Lord's power is over them all." He proceeded to Edinburgh, and went to the same inn where he lodged before. After visiting his friends in the city, he again went to Perth, from which he had recently been banished, and then returning to the metropolis, he went to Friends' meeting on First-day, which was attended by many officers and soldiers. It was a solemn meeting; the power of God reigned over all, and no man attempted to disturb them. The next day, George Fox and his companions set forward on their return to England; and on coming to Dunbar, they appointed a meeting to be held in the church-yard. It was large, and highly favored with the divine presence, the truths of the gospel being declared with baptizing power. This was the last meeting they held in Scotland.¹

In the latter part of the year 1658, John Burnyeat visited Scotland, and spent about three months in labors connected with the gospel ministry. The first intimation he received, that this service would be required of him, was during his imprisonment at Carlisle.² Being then young in the ministry, the prospect of so weighty a service brought him under deep exercise, attended with discouragement, but as he became resigned to the divine will, the power of the Lord was revealed. with the assurance of His support. On his

¹ George Fox's Journal.

² See Chapter V.

release from prison, he returned to his house, and followed his temporal calling that summer, attending meetings with diligence, and growing in the knowledge of the truth.

In the Eighth-month, he proceeded on his journey to Scotland, and travelled as far north as Aberdeen, then back again to Edinburgh, and thence to Lithgow, Hamilton, Ayr, and Port Patrick. "Our service," he writes, "was at their steeple-houses and markets, and other places where we met with people, and sometimes at Friends' meetings, where there were any. And our work was to call people to repentance, out of their false, hypocritical profession, and dead formalities, wherein they were settled in ignorance of the true and living God; and so to turn them to the true light of Christ Jesus in their hearts, that therein they might come to know the power of God, and so come to know remission of sin, and to receive an inheritance among the sanctified."¹

In the same year, William Dewsbury went on a religious mission to Scotland, travelling on foot, he says, "with great joy;" preaching to the people in the fields and in the highways, who heard the truth with much tenderness.

He was three times at the meeting of Friends at Edinburgh; he then journeyed towards the west, attended Friends' meetings at Badcow and Heads, and thence went to Hamilton, Glasgow, and Stirling. In a letter to Margaret Fell, written during this journey, he writes: "Dear sister, in a short time the Lord led me on foot some hundreds of miles with much joy,

¹ J. Burnyeat's Works, p. 26.

for the seed's sake; my bread I am casting on the waters, assured I am, I shall find it in the time appointed."¹

In the year 1659, Stephen Crisp travelled through Scotland on foot, encountering many difficulties, and preaching the gospel of Christ.

The labors of these faithful messengers were effectual in bringing many to the knowledge of the "Truth as it is in Jesus;" but a most violent opposition was manifested by the clergy, who aspersed them with gross calumnies, and exerted their influence with the magistrates and people to persecute all who bore the name of Quakers. Their principles, however, continued to spread, and the persecutions they endured with Christian meekness were the means of inducing large numbers to attend their meetings, where the power of divine grace was manifested in the conversion of many.

¹ Life of William Dewsbury.

CHAPTER XII.

ESSEX, BEDFORDSHIRE, AND LONDON.

1655-60.

IN the year 1655, Stephen Crisp, of Colchester, in Essex, was convinced of the principles of Friends. From his own account of his religious experience, it appears that in his childhood, as soon as he was capable of understanding, he became conscious of a seed of divine grace that witnessed against all evil, and gave him peace when he hearkened to its counsel; but there was also a seed of a contrary nature which inclined him to evil, and a struggle for dominion was then begun between the powers of light and darkness.

When about seven or eight years of age, feeling condemned for transgression, he prayed and wept in secret, and was led to covenant with God for more watchfulness in future. Being again overcome by temptation, and led into evil thoughts, words, and actions, he lamented his condition day and night. At nine or ten years of age he diligently sought for the knowledge of God with strong cries and many tears; being then willing, if it were in his power, to give the whole world to obtain the mastery over his corrupt propensities. When he observed the carelessness and profanity of other children, who seemed not to think of God nor to be troubled for their sins, he felt great concern for them, and said within himself: "Ah, Lord! what will become of these, seeing thy hand is so heavy upon me that I can find neither

peace nor assurance of thy love?" Then he was tempted to seek for rest by comparing himself with others, and thinking he was better than they; but this false rest was broken, for the pure witness followed him night and day, and suffered him not to rely on his own works.

"Then," he says, "I grew a very diligent hearer and regarnder of the best ministers, as they were reputed, and went with as much diligence and cheerfulness to reading and hearing sermons, as other children went to their play and sportings. And when I heard any one treat of election, and how a man might know if he were elect, and would, in their dark wisdom, lay down signs of a true believer, and signs of an elect soul; then would I try myself in their measure, and weigh myself in their balance, and so gather up a little peace to myself, finding such things in me as they spoke of for signs: as a desire against sin, a loathing of myself for sin, a love to them that were counted the best people, a longing to be rid of sin, &c. But alas! here was but the blind leading my poor blind soul. This was not the balance of the sanctuary, and when I had gotten a little peace and quietness, and thought to hold it, alas! it would soon be shattered and broken; and when God's pure witness arose in me, that I must be weighed in the true balance, Oh! then I found I was much too light. Then anguish would again kindle in me, and a cry was in me, Oh, whither shall I go? and what shall I do? that I may come to a settled state before I go hence and be seen no more." "When I was about twelve years old, my general and constant cry was after the power by which I might overcome corruptions. and although I heard the teachers of those

times daily saying, none could live without sin, and the doctrine of perfection holden as a dangerous error, yet that did not abate my cry, though indeed it did often weaken my belief of obtaining, and made my prayer almost faithless, and so without success. But I knew that without the power of God I must perish, and I could not reckon myself saved while I was captivated with a corrupt and a rebellious nature, let them all say what they could; for I remembered the words of Christ, 'He that committeth sin is the servant of sin,' and that I knew was I." "As for the priests and professors of those times, the most of them would boast of experiences and of zeal, and of assurances of the love of God, and what comfort they enjoyed by thinking or meditating of the suffering of Christ for their sins. Alas! thought I, I could think of these things as well as you, but my wound still remains fresh, and I see that I am as one of the crucifiers while I live in sin, for which he died; and my soul longed after some other kind of knowledge of him than that which was to be obtained by reading, for I saw that the worst as well as the best could attain to that."

"Then I began, when I was about seventeen or eighteen years of age, to seek yet further, and hearing, of a people that held forth the death of Christ for all men, I went to hear them, and after some time I came to see that there was more light and a clearer understanding of the Scriptures among them, than among the former; so I began to be conversant with them, and frequent their meetings, and came to be established in that belief, that there was a dear son of hope, and way or means of salvation prepared for all people, and none positively by any eternal decree

excluded, as by name or person; but as unbelievers or disobedient. So this ministered comfort awhile, and I set myself to believe and to get faith in Christ, and to reckon myself a believer, and found it hard work, even too hard for me, though I cried aloud many times to have my unbelief helped: yet when I saw sin prevail over me, Alas! said I, where is that faith that purifies the heart, and giveth victory; mine is not such." . . .

In this condition Stephen Crisp remained some years, making but little progress in the spiritual life, and at length becoming discouraged by observing the inconsistency of many who professed to be religious; he began to lose his tenderness of conscience, to indulge an inclination for mirth, and to associate with wicked company. He was, however, through divine mercy, restrained from the gross evils that his companions indulged in, and even in the midst of his mirth, the hand of the Lord was heavy upon him; causing him to mourn in secret, and to lament his captivity to sin.

On conferring with some professors of religion, he was advised to comply with what they termed the ordinances of Christ, and in accordance with their counsel, he submitted to the rite of water-baptism. He now made a renewed effort to restrain his evil propensities; not, however, from the pure love of God, but rather with an eye to his reputation as a professor of religion. This motive was not sufficient to preserve him; temptation was again too strong for him, and he fell under condemnation for transgression. He then saw that he had been grasping at a shadow; the fiery baptism of Christ, which burns up the chaff, was still wanting, and he became dis-

satisfied with himself and with the form of religion he had adopted. He told the elders of the church that God would overturn those religions which stood in outward and carnal ordinances, and would make known a more spiritual way that should stand for ever.

His mind being thus prepared for the reception of the Truth, he heartily embraced it, as appears from the following passage in his narrative: "At last the Lord sent his faithful servant and messenger of the everlasting gospel, James Parnel, to our town of Colchester about the Fourth-month, 1655, and in the 27th year of my age, who came in the name and power of the Most High God, in which he turned many to righteousness, both there and in other countries before, of whom some remain, and many are fallen asleep. When I saw this man, who was but a youth, and knew not the power nor spirit that was in him, I thought to withstand him, and began to query and seek discourse with him; but I quickly came to feel the spirit of sound judgment was in him, and the witness of God arose in me, and testified to his judgment, which I found was just and true; and I, the same day and hour, testified that all our rods of profession would be lost or devoured by his rod, alluding to that of Moses and the magicians of Egypt, which shall certainly come to pass. That day I went to a meeting, and heard him declare the everlasting gospel in the name and authority of the Lord, which I could not with all my wisdom and knowledge withstand, but was constrained to own and confess the truth."

Stephen Crisp saw, however, at the very first of his conviction, that a new danger attended him. Hav-

ing found that he could not withstand the cogent arguments addressed to him in support of the truth, his understanding was convinced, and he was disposed to rely upon his intellectual powers to maintain the views he had embraced, instead of waiting upon God in humility of soul, in order to grow in the root of divine life. He soon felt that his sacrifice was not accepted, and a painful conflict arose in his mind. The judgments of the Lord seized upon him, and being brought down into the valley of humiliation, he felt that he was poor, and blind, and naked. Doleful nights and sorrowful days were then his portion; all temporal enjoyments were blasted, and the glory of the world passed away like a scroll that is burnt with fire. He heard of joy and salvation, but could scarcely think he should ever partake of them, for he yet wanted that living faith which is the gift of God. But he still felt the true seed groaning to be delivered from the burden of sin, and after long travail, and many bitter tears, he found a little hope springing up that "the Lord would, in his own time, bring forth his elect seed, — the seed of his covenant," — to rule in his heart.

He then waited in hope; but on one occasion, being at a meeting of Friends, he concluded it was useless for him to sit there, with such a wandering mind, which he had in vain endeavored to control; and therefore he was on the point of withdrawing; but his mind was powerfully impressed with the language, "That which is weary must die." He then returned to his seat, and waited in the belief that divine goodness would enable him to overcome the carnal nature; that so, being crucified with Christ, the life of Christ might reign in him. Having thus taken up the cross

of self-denial, he was enabled to walk in newness of life; and the more he came to feel and perceive the love of God to flow forth towards him, the more was he humbled and bowed in mind to obey him, and to serve the least of his people.

As he waited to receive instruction daily from on high, he became qualified to administer counsel to others who were tempted as he had been; and as the church increased in numbers, his attention to the poor, and his care over the younger members, called into exercise the precious gifts with which he was endowed. About four years after he had embraced the principles of Friends, he was called to the gospel ministry, and became a noble instrument in the Lord's hand to promote the cause of righteousness in the earth.

The early experience and first religious services of James Parnel have already been mentioned.¹ His testimony was, "That God was Light, and that Christ, who proceeded and came from God, did enlighten every man that cometh into the world, that all men through him might believe."² Having heard of a people in the county of Essex who were seeking the Lord, he held meetings among them, and they received the Truth with gladness. But as he went from place to place preaching the gospel, he met with much abuse, and was sometimes hauled out of their meeting-houses.³ After having planted several good meetings, and confirmed them that believed, he came on the Seventh-day of the week, about the middle of summer, in the year 1655, to the town of Colchester.

¹ See Chapter V.

² Thomas Bayle's Test. of J. Parnel.

³ Fruits of a Fast, by J. Parnel.

On the First-day following, he preached the gospel to many thousands of people; first at his lodgings, next at the parish house of worship after the sermon, and then at a great meeting appointed on purpose. He afterwards disputed with the town-lecturer and another priest in the French-school all one day, in which the wisdom, power, and patience of Christ were manifested through him to the conviction of many. Among these proselytes was Stephen Crisp, as already related. He says, in his testimony concerning James Parnel, that "He spent that week in preaching, praying, exhorting and admonishing, turning the minds of all sorts of professors to the light of Jesus, which did search their hearts and show their thoughts, that they might believe therein, and so might become children of the light; and many did believe, and found it so, but others were hardened and rebelled against the appearance of Truth, and became enemies."

The opposers of James Parnel undertook to second the arguments of the priests by subjecting him to personal violence, which he bore with great patience. One of them struck him with a staff as he came out of Nicholas meeting-house, saying, "There, take that for Christ's sake." He meekly answered, "Friend, I do receive it for Jesus Christ's sake."

After having been zealously engaged for about ten days in Colchester, he went to Coggeshal, where a meeting had been appointed by the clergy to fast and pray against the errors of the people called Quakers. He went into their place of worship, where an Independent preacher named Willis was railing against the Quakers as false prophets and deceivers.¹ James

¹ Fruits of a Fast, by James Parnel.

Parnel stood still until Willis had done, and then he attempted to vindicate the principles of Friends, commencing with these words, "This is the order of the true church, that all may speak one by one; and if anything be revealed to him that stands by, let the first hold his peace." As he was about to proceed with his vindication, he was interrupted by the clergyman, who asked, "What he had to object against *him*?" James Parnel answered, "Thou hast reviled the people called Quakers, and said they are built upon a sandy foundation; but I will prove their foundation not to be sandy, and thee to be a false prophet." Being accused by some present, that he owned no church, he said, "It was false." Then he was asked what church he owned; he replied, "The Church in God." Willis then stood up and told him "he spoke nothing but nonsense." "Name one word of nonsense that I have spoken," said Parnel. Willis replied that it was nonsense to say, "The Church in God." Then Parnel took out his bible, and read, from the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, where the apostle writes, "To the Church which is in God the Father."

One of the clergymen being thus put to silence, another ascended the pulpit and began to pray; but Parnel not taking off his hat, the magistrates ordered him to put it off. He answered, "Order the priest to put off his cap;" and then withdrawing, he added, "Before I will be subject to your wills, I shall leave the meeting."¹

As he was going quietly on his way to a friend's house, Justice Wakering followed, and, striking him

¹ Parnel's Works, p. 255, 261.

on the back, said, "I arrest you in the name of the Lord Protector." Some Friends being present, engaged that he should be forthcoming as soon as their meeting was ended, which being agreed to, he went to a Friend's house, and preached the gospel to those who were there assembled. The meeting being over, he went before the justices, four of whom were met to examine him, and six or seven clergymen were present. Justice Wakering plucked off James Parnel's hat and threw it away; they then began to ask him many questions, which he answered. At length they wrote a mittimus, and sent him to the common jail at Colchester, where none of his friends were suffered to come to him. The chief instigators of this persecution were four preachers of Independent congregations, who occupied the station of parish priests, having got possession of benefices, and being supported by tithes.¹

The time of the assize being come, they fastened him to a chain with several felons and murderers, and led him in this manner eighteen miles to Chelmsford. He remained fastened to the chain day and night, so that he could not obtain his natural rest, but he says, "The truth was preached in all this, and prevailed in the hearts of the people, so that I could rejoice in all, and triumph over mine enemies."²

Before he was brought into court, the irons were removed from his hands, and then, in the presence of the judge, his hat was taken off by the jailer, and thrown upon the floor. The indictment, which was full of falsehoods, being read, the prisoner was asked

¹ Fruits of a Fast, Parnel's Works, p. 243.

² Parnel's Works, p. 243.

if he was guilty. He answered that he denied all guilt, and called for his accusers. Judge Hills told him he might see them. The jury was then called, whose foreman was a drunkard; priest Willis and two magistrates appeared as witnesses, and were sworn. The accusations were, that in a riotous manner he entered the parish church at Great Coggeshall, that he there stood up and told the minister he blasphemed and spoke falsely, using many reproachful words against him; that afterwards he went into the common highway, with a great number of his followers, who kept there unlawfully together, and some of them gave out menacing and threatening speeches, tending to the breach of the peace; and also, that the said James cannot give a good account where he was last settled, or of his life and conversation.”¹

He answered, that he went to the steeple-house alone and quietly; when he came there, several boys and children would have flocked in after him; but he bade them go in first, rather than make any disturbance; he then went in very orderly, and stood quietly, not speaking one word until their priest had done and was leaving his seat, although the priest had been openly reviling the people called Quakers. He did not deny that he told priest Willis he blasphemed, in saying that “*the Church in God*” was nonsense, inasmuch as that is a scriptural expression. As to the accusation that he went into the common highway, and there with his followers kept unlawfully together, it was an abominable falsehood, for he was passing quietly on his way to a friend’s house when he was arrested. And lastly, as to his life and conversation,

¹ Parnel’s Works, p. 151.

let that speak for itself, and if any could accuse him, let them do it.”-

Judge Hills, in charging the jury, endeavored to incense them against the prisoner, and told them “If they did not find him guilty, the sin would lie upon their own heads.” When James Parnell wished to speak to the jury in his defence, the judge interrupted him and would not suffer it, although one of the jurymen desired to hear him.

When the jury came in with their verdict, they did not find him guilty of the charges in the indictment, but only of having written a paper in answer to the mittimus, after he was imprisoned, which paper he had avowed in his defence. The judge, however, being determined on persecution, imposed two fines upon him to the value of about forty pounds, one of which, he said, was for contempt of the magistracy, and the other for contempt of the ministry; and Parnell was again committed to prison until the fine should be paid.¹ The place of his confinement was an old ruinous castle at Colchester, supposed to have been built in the time of the Romans.

The jailer was charged not to allow any giddy-headed people to come to him, by which was meant the Friends, and they were accordingly excluded. Sometimes the victuals which his friends brought were taken away from him, and he was not permitted to have a bed which they offered to furnish; but was compelled to lie on a damp stone floor. He was then put into a place called “The hole in the wall,” which was a little cell arched over and very high from the ground. The ladder by which he ascended to his cell

¹ Parnell's Works, 249.

being six feet too short, he had to climb up and down by a rope in order to obtain his food, for the jailer would not permit him to use a cord and basket to draw it up.

After remaining some time in this hole, his limbs were benumbed with cold, and while in the act of climbing up with his victuals in one hand, he missed the rope and fell from a great height on the stone floor, by which he was so much stunned and bruised that he was taken up for dead. Then he was put into another cell called "The oven." It was nearer the floor, not larger than some bakers' ovens, and had no means of ventilation, so that when the door was shut the prisoner was almost suffocated.

Some of his friends offered to be his sureties for the fine of forty pounds, or to lie in jail in his stead, in order that he might breathe a little fresh air; but the offer was refused. A request was then made that he might walk in the castle yard, but this privilege was denied him; and the door being left open, James stepped into the yard, but the inhuman jailer closed the door and kept him out all night during the coldest time of winter.

His friends, seeing that his unrelenting persecutors were determined to cause his death, used every effort for his release, and laid his case before those who were "highest in authority;" but they turned a deaf ear to the recital of his wrongs, and showed no mercy to the innocent sufferer.

At length, after ten or twelve months of imprisonment, being exhausted by suffering and benumbed with cold, the time drew nigh when he should find relief in death. Two of his friends, Ann Langly and Thomas Shortland, were then permitted to visit him;

to whom he said, "Here I die innocently — now I must go;" and turning to Thomas he said, "This death I must die — Thomas, I have seen great things — do not hold me, but let me go." Again he said, "Will you hold me?" to which Ann replied, "Dear heart! we will not hold thee." He had often said that one hour's sleep would cure him of all. His last words were, "Now I go." Then he stretched himself out and fell into a sweet sleep, which having continued about an hour, he quietly breathed his last.¹ He died about the 19th year of his age, in the year 1656.

The patience and resignation of this youthful martyr affords one of the most instructive evidences of the power of divine love to sustain the soul under all the trials of life, and to light the passage of the purified spirit through the shades of death. The persecutions he endured at the instigation of the Independent preachers, and under the protectorate of Cromwell, show that the high professors of religion then in power, were intolerant bigots and strangers to the benign spirit of the gospel.

The labors and sufferings of George Whitehead, up to the period of his release from Edmundsbury prison, have been related in a preceding chapter.² In the winter of 1656, being soon after his liberation, he proceeded to London, and remained some time, attending the meetings of Friends, in which his religious labors were satisfactory, and blessed with encouraging results. Leaving the city, he travelled into Essex and Suffolk, holding meetings. At Saffron-

¹ Testimony of Ellis Hookes, in Parnel's Works.

² Chap. V

Walden, he had a good meeting, little disturbance being attempted; but, in the evening, while he sat at supper, the bailiff of the town with a constable entered, and took him into custody. Without allegation of crime or form of trial, they put him into the stocks, and kept him there during part of the night. Next morning, he went to the bailiff to inquire "if he had any matter of fact against him," but could obtain no satisfaction.

At Nayland, in Suffolk, he held a meeting, that was disturbed by the populace, who threatened to pull down the house in which they were assembled. He advised the congregation to withdraw to a meadow near the town, which being done, they had a satisfactory meeting, the power of divine Truth being spread over the large assembly.¹

Some weeks afterwards, he had another meeting at Nayland, which was held in an orchard. After a time of silent waiting on the Lord, George Whitehead stood upon a stool, and preached the gospel of life and salvation, "testifying against all sin and wickedness, against the Beast and false prophet." While he was thus engaged, "a pretended gentleman," accompanied by a constable, came rushing in, and with violence pulled him down. They conducted him before John Gurden and his son Robert, both justices of the peace, who had with them the priest of the parish. On examination, nothing being proved against him, one of the magistrates read from a law book an old statute against vagrants and sturdy beggars, and then wrote a warrant, requiring the constable to whip him, and to pass him on to the constable of the next parish, and

¹ George Whitehead's Christian Progress, 100.

thence from parish to parish to Orton, in Westmoreland, the place of his residence.

George Whitehead pointed out the injustice and illegality of this sentence, showing that he "was neither found vagrant nor wandering at Nayland, but in a religious meeting for the worship of God."

The sentence was executed most unmercifully; his back and breast being lacerated by the whip until the blood flowed copiously. A great crowd being present, many were affected to the shedding of tears, and they cried out to stop the cruel infliction.

George Whitehead, in relating it many years afterwards, says, "It is very memorable to me how wonderfully the Lord, by his divine power, supported me, even at that very instant, while they were inflicting their cruelty and punishment upon my body, that even then my spirit was raised, and my mouth opened to sing aloud in praises to the Lord my God, for that he counted me worthy to suffer for his name and truth's sake."¹

The scourging being over, he mounted his horse, and was attended by the constable to the next parish, thence he was passed from constable to constable, until he reached the edge of Cambridgeshire. There he was delivered to an officer, who, being unwilling to go with him, gave him the warrant to proceed alone as he thought proper. Being thus set at liberty, he changed his course to the south; and travelling into Essex, he held meetings in Colchester and other places, until he came to Sudbury, near Nayland. "The country," he says, "being alarmed and awakened by my suffering, the people were the more stirred

¹ Christian Progress, 106.

up to come to meetings, and to see and hear the young man that was so cruelly whipped at Nayland; and many were tenderly affected and convinced, and the truth of our testimony was the more spread and prevailed, so that the dark wrath of man turned to the praise of God, and I had great joy and consolation in Christ Jesus, my Lord, for whom I was freely given up to suffer, and he did powerfully sustain and stand by me therein; glory to his name and dominion be to him forever. I was the more deeply concerned in spirit to travel and labor in the gospel ministry in that country, and those parts where I had so greatly and openly suffered, and often to visit those eastern counties; being supported in spirit, and borne up above all the threats of branding, hanging, &c., and above the envy of that cruel persecuting spirit, and made to despise all the shame it could cast upon me by reproach and contempt." George Whitehead was then only twenty-one years of age, having been about three years engaged in the gospel ministry.

In the summer of 1657, being joined by his friend, Richard Hubberthorn, they travelled together from Huntingdonshire to Leicester, Coventry, Warwick, and Worcester, visiting Friends, and attending meetings. Near Gloucester, at the house of Justice Grimes, they met with George Fox, and they held a meeting there in the court-yard. "The justice, with his wife and family, were convinced of the blessed truth as it is in Christ Jesus, his life and power." The next day George Whitehead went to Gloucester, and thence to Worcestershire and Herefordshire, visiting Friends, holding meetings, and encountering adversaries in public disputations. These controversies mostly related to the light of Christ or immediate revelation,

and the doctrine of perfection or freedom from sin, which were maintained by Friends, and opposed by others.

After a large meeting held in the open air at Leicester, George Whitehead was taken sick, and became so ill that his recovery was doubted; but he had a sense given him that the Lord had more work for him to do, and that he should recover, which was speedily verified. Soon after his recovery, he travelled northward, through Yorkshire, visiting meetings until he came to his father's residence in Westmoreland. Having been absent three years, he was received by his parents with joy and kindness. They had heard of his severe sufferings under persecution, and they received him as one risen from the dead.

He had much religious service in the north of England, and then, in the year 1658, returned to Essex and Suffolk. While riding through the town of Hoxen in Suffolk, he met Edward Willan, a clergyman residing there, who accused him of "seducing his flock from the church." This led to a discussion on the proper acceptation of the word church. The clergyman applied it to the house in which his congregation met; but George Whitehead told him, the church of Christ was built up of living stones, and when the apostle wrote to the church of God, he wrote to them that were sanctified in Christ. He wrote to the sanctified people, and not to a house of wood and stone. Willan, being foiled in argument, became exasperated, and seizing George Whitehead's horse by the bridle, forcibly detained him. With the assistance of some others, he forced George to go before a justice of the peace, who wrote a mittimus for his imprisonment at Ipswich, under the pretence that he had reviled the priest.

He was put into the common ward, usually appropriated to felons, where he found William Alexander of Needham, and two other worthy Friends, who had been imprisoned for non-payment of tithes. At the quarter sessions, George Whitehead being arraigned for trial, his clerical accuser appeared against him, and, by a false or exaggerated testimony, caused him to be fined and returned to prison, where he was detained until after the death of the Protector, being about sixteen weeks.

In the year 1658, a general Yearly Meeting for the whole nation, was held at John Crook's, in Bedfordshire. George Fox, who attended this meeting, writes in his Journal, that "it continued three days, and many Friends, from most parts of the nation, came to it; so that the inns and towns thereabouts were filled; for many thousands of people were at it." Although there was some disturbance from rude people, "the Lord's power came over all, and it was a glorious meeting," for "the everlasting gospel was preached, and many received it." George Fox was led to open to the people, "the promise of God, how it was made to the seed; not to seeds as many, but to one, which seed was Christ; and that all people, both male and female, should feel this seed in them, which was heir of the promise, that so they might all witness Christ in them the hope of glory, the mystery which had been hid from ages and generations, and which was revealed to the apostles, and is revealed now, after this long night of apostasy; so that all might come unto this seed, Christ Jesus, and walk in it, and sit down together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, who was the foundation of the prophets and apostles, the rock of ages, and is our foundation."

He was also led to address much salutary counsel to Friends engaged in the gospel ministry, concerning the exercise of their spiritual gifts in the church. His remarks being taken down by one present, and preserved in his Journal, are worthy of attention by all who are engaged in that solemn service. The following passages are selected from the discourse, viz: "It is a weighty thing to be in the work of the ministry of the Lord God, and to go forth in that. It is not a customary preaching. It is to bring people to the end of all outward preaching. For when ye have declared the truth to the people, and they have received it, and come into that which ye spoke of, the utterance of many words and long declarations out of the life may beget them into a form." . . . "And take heed of running into inordinate affections; for when people come to own you, there is danger of the wrong part getting up. There was a strife among the disciples of Christ, who should be the greatest. Christ told them, 'The heathen exercise lordship, and have dominion over one another, but it shall not be so among you.' " . . . "This is the word of the Lord to you all — keep down, keep low, that nothing may rule nor reign in you, but the life itself." . . . "And all Friends, be careful not to meddle with the powers of the earth, but keep out of all such things; as ye keep in the Lamb's authority, ye will answer that of God in them, and bring them to do justice, which is the end of the law."

It was at this meeting, and through the ministry of George Fox, that Isaac Pennington was convinced of the principles of Friends.¹ He was born in the

¹ Testimony of Alexander Parker in Pennington's Works, vol. I., London, 1761.

year 1617, being the son of Isaac Pennington, a wealthy alderman of London, and a noted member of the Long Parliament; who, perceiving the natural abilities of his son, was careful to give him all the advantages of education that schools or colleges could supply. From his childhood he was inclined to piety, and being very early brought under the tendering impressions of divine grace, he was, in a great measure, preserved from evil, and separated from the spirit of the world. As he advanced to manhood, he became a subject of wonder to his relatives and acquaintances, on account of his serious deportment and his declining all company that might interrupt his meditations, for he was disposed to lead a life of mourning. "Yet this sorrow did not flow from a sense of former vices, for he was virtuous from his childhood; but with Habakkuk, from the dread he had of the majesty of God, and his desire to find a resting place in the great day of trouble. In the midst of these exercises, nothing gave him ease or comfort but the smiles of God upon his soul."¹ His inward exercises and enjoyments being of a very peculiar nature, made him take little comfort in any of the religious societies then known to him. He was as one alone, for he saw so little evidence of life among religious professors, that he longed for a more full and satisfactory knowledge of God, which he believed had been experienced in former times, as was testified in the Scriptures.² "This," he says, "made me sick at heart indeed, and set me upon deep crying

¹ Preface to Pennington's letters, and W. Penn's testimony, in Pennington's Works.

² W. Penn's and T. Elwood's testimony, in Pennington's Works.

to God, close searching the Scriptures, and waiting on God, that I might receive the pure sense and understanding of them, from and in the light and by the help of his Spirit."

In the year 1648, he married Mary, the widow of Sir William Springett, a pious woman, who entered fully into sympathy with him in his religious exercises; but they both continued, for some years after their marriage, in a seeking state of mind, earnestly longing for a nearer acquaintance, and a closer union, with the Author of their being. At length he met with some of the writings of the people called Quakers, which he then slighted, because they seemed to him to fall very far short of that wisdom and power for which he had long been seeking. He afterwards met with some of the Friends, which was probably in the year 1657. When they spoke to him, under a feeling of divine life, "at the very first," he says, "they reached to the life of God in me, which life answered their voice, and caused a great love in me to spring towards them; but still in my reasonings with them, and disputes alone, in my mind, concerning them, I was very far from owning them, as so knowing the Lord, or so appearing in his life and power, as my condition needed and my soul waited for."¹ He had not then come into that simplicity of heart, in which alone the gospel can be received. Being strong in intellect, and affluent in language, he despised the apparent weakness of those humble instruments, who had little of the world's erudition, but were deeply instructed in the school of Christ.

Alexander Parker, who travelled much with George

¹ I. Pennington's relation in Elwood's testimony.

Fox, and was probably with him at the memorable meeting in Bedfordshire, has left a testimony concerning Isaac Pennington, in which he says, "He did not hastily join in society with us, but for some time did reason about many things. Though he owned the principal doctrines of Truth, yet the instruments that declared it, and their way and manner, seemed very contemptible to him, until he heard that faithful servant of God, George Fox, at a meeting at John Crooks, in Bedfordshire, at the time called Whitsuntide, in the year 1658." At which meeting the mystery of iniquity was so opened, and the mystery of the gospel of peace so plainly manifested, that he was fully satisfied, and from that time gave himself up to the obedience of Truth, and took up the cross and became a disciple and follower of Christ, suffering with us for the name and testimony of Jesus." Isaac Pennington thus writes concerning the same meeting: "When I came, I felt the presence and power of the Most High among them, and words of truth from the Spirit of Truth reaching my heart and conscience, opening my state as in the presence of the Lord. Yea, I did not only feel words and demonstrations from without, but I felt the dead quickened, the seed raised; insomuch that my heart, in the certainty of light and clearness, said, "This is he, this is he, there is no other; this is he whom I have waited for and sought after from my childhood; who was always near me and had often begotten life in my heart;" but I knew him not distinctly, nor how to receive him or dwell with him. And then was I given up to the Lord to become his, both in waiting for the further revealing of his seed in me, and to serve him in the life and power of his seed." . . . "But some may

desire to know what I have at last met with? I answer, I have met with the Seed. Understand that word and thou wilt be satisfied, and inquire no further. I have met with my God; I have met with my Saviour, and he hath not been present with me without his salvation; but I have felt the healing drop upon my soul from under his wings.”¹

Being united in religious fellowship with Friends, Isaac Pennington became a diligent attendant of their meetings, and a faithful supporter of their principles. He wrote much and wisely on religious subjects, and became an able minister of the gospel. He was remarkable for the tenderness of his feelings, the depth of his knowledge in heavenly mysteries, and his patience in enduring severe persecution. His labors and sufferings will again be adverted to in the progress of this work.

The services and sufferings of James Nayler, up to the time of his release from imprisonment at Appleby, in the summer of 1653, were related in the second chapter of this work. He remained in the north of England engaged in religious services until the year 1654, when he went to London.²

On reaching that great city, he says, “I entered it with the greatest fear that ever into any place I came, in spirit foreseeing somewhat to befall me therein, but not knowing what it might be.”³

Prior to his arrival in the metropolis, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough had been holding meetings there with remarkable success, and many proselytes

¹ Pennington's Works, Vol. I., p. xxxviii.

² J. Nayler's Works, Cincinnati Edition, p. 61.

³ Ibid, xxxii.

were gathered by their ministry, as already related. A letter of James Nayler's to Margaret Fell, dated 3d of Ninth month [Eleventh month], 1654, speaks of a meeting he attended at Lady Darcy's, which was attended by many of the court and some of the nobility, and several officers of the army. He adds, that some of the most eminent priests of the city were present, but he knew not how many, for they got behind a partition.

In a letter of Alexander Parker's, dated London, 28th of Fifth month, 1655, he says, "James Nayler, on Fourth-day, had a great dispute with some of the chief of the separated congregations, and it being public, a great meeting there was; it was in one of their own meeting-houses, and truly it was much for the advancement of the Truth." "James is very serviceable here, and his fame begins to spread in the city, seeing that he hath had public disputes with many."¹

Among many in London who were convinced of the principles of Friends by the ministry of James Nayler, was Rebecca Travers, who had been a zealous professor with the Baptists. Being invited to a discussion between James Nayler and some ministers of her own society, held in 1654, she went, and would have been glad to see the Baptists gain the victory. It proved, however, quite the contrary, for when the plain county-man stood up to argue with the more learned clergy of the city, they could not withstand the power that attended his discourse. After one or two of them had relinquished the discussion, another came forward with much confidence; but the passages

¹ Letters of Early Friends, Nos. XIV. and XV.

of Scripture he cited were turned against him, and Rebecca Travers being deeply interested in the views held forth by James Nayler, desired to hear him again. She soon after attended Friends' meeting, called the Bull and Mouth, where she heard him in gospel ministry, and on returning home she said if she had lived in the Apostles' days, she could not have heard Truth more plainly, nor in greater demonstration of the Spirit, than she had that day.

She was afterwards invited to dine with James Nayler and others, at the house of a Friend. There was a person of rank among the company, who asked James Nayler many questions, which he answered with great wisdom, but not so plainly as she would have desired, for she coveted to know things that have been hidden from human researches. James Nayler, putting his hand over the table and taking her by the hand, said, "Feed not on knowledge, it is as truly forbidden to thee as ever it was to Eve. It is good to look upon, but not to feed on; for who feeds on knowledge dies to the innocent Life." She found this to be true in her own experience, for the more she came to be divested of all self-sufficiency, the more did she grow in the root of divine life. Having been washed in the "laver of regeneration," she was called to the gospel ministry, and preserved in the Truth to the end of her days.¹

There were, however, some other women who became so infatuated with admiration for the eloquence of James Nayler, that they undervalued the services of Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, and one of them, Martha Simmonds, was so bold as to oppose

¹ John Whiting's Memoirs, p. 176.

them openly in their public ministry. This disorderly behavior being very properly reprov'd by Howgill and Burrough, gave so much displeasure to Martha that she and another woman went and complain'd to James Nayler, endeavoring to incense him against them. But he did not seem dispos'd to condemn his brethren; upon which Martha fell into a kind of passionate grief, exclaiming in a shrill but mournful voice: "I looked for judgment, but behold a cry." Her piercing lamentations so wrought upon the feelings of James Nayler, that he became dejected and suffer'd doubts to take possession of his mind, by which his spiritual vision was clouded.¹

About the same time, Hannah Stranger, another deluded enthusiast, address'd to him several very extravagant letters, calling him the everlasting Son of Righteousness, the Prince of Peace, and the only begotten son of God. Letters were also written to him by Jane Woodcock, John Stranger, and others, in a similar strain of adulation. It does not appear at what time James Nayler left London, but it was probably in the year 1656.² George Fox was then in prison at Launceston, and Nayler, while on his way to pay him a visit, was imprison'd at Exeter. There is reason to believe that his frantic companions were imprison'd with him; for while there, three of them, Hannah Stranger, Martha Simmonds, and Dorcas Erbury, were so infatuated as to kneel down and kiss his feet. Besides Nayler and his company, there were other Friends in prison at Exeter, and after the release of George Fox, he went to visit them. Per-

¹ G. Whitehead's Epistle in James Nayler's Works, and Sewel's History.

² Bevan's Life of Nayler.

ceiving that James Nayler was under a mournful delusion, he spoke to him on the subject. On the morrow, being First-day, George went again to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them; but Nayler did not continue with them till it was ended. Next day, he again spoke to Nayler, but his mind was so much darkened that he slighted the admonition. He offered to kiss George Fox, but the latter said to him: "Since thou hast turned against the power of God, I cannot receive thy show of kindness."

After the release of Nayler and his companions from Exeter prison, they went to Bristol, and while he rode through the suburbs of that city, Thomas Woodcock went bareheaded before him, one of the women led his horse, three others spread their scarfs and handkerchiefs before him, and the company cried: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts, hosannah in the highest."

It is astonishing that persons, not entirely bereft of reason, should have committed the absurdity of ascribing to a mere man the glory that pertains only to the Saviour of men, in whom dwells the fulness of divine life and power; and that Nayler, who had once been so highly enlightened, should suffer such homage to be offered him, affords a striking evidence of human frailty.

A procession so extraordinary could not fail to attract public attention, and the police of the city having apprehended the company, brought them before the magistrates, who committed them to prison. On Nayler's examination, a letter was found in his possession from George Fox, severely censuring him for allowing such conduct on the part of his worshippers, and for not bearing a testimony against their iniquity.

Although there was no evidence that Nayler had uttered any expressions claiming homage or divine honors for himself, yet the absurd conduct of his admirers being imputed to him, a charge of blasphemy was preferred against him, and the case was taken up in Parliament. It is singular that the National Legislature should have undertaken to examine and pass judgment in such a case; thus depriving the accused of a trial by jury, the benefit of counsel, and the safeguards of law. Nor is it less remarkable that the companions of Nayler, who committed the offence, should have been suffered to go almost unpunished, while he was selected as the victim of public vengeance. To account for this unusual proceeding, it has been conjectured that the object aimed at in Parliament was to crush the rising Society of Friends, among whom Nayler had been an eminent minister; whereas his companions were persons of little influence, and owed their notoriety only to the extravagance of their conduct.¹

The case was taken up by the House on the 30th of November, 1656, and being referred to a committee, they examined the prisoner with his associates, and made their report on the 5th of December. The facts, as to kneeling before him, strewing garments in his way, walking in procession, and singing, were proved, as well by other witnesses, as by the actors themselves, who gloried in their conduct. One of the charges was, "his having assumed the name and the incommunicable attributes and titles of our blessed Saviour; as the fairest of ten thousand; the only begotten son of God." James Nayler, being asked

¹ Bevan's Life of James Nayler.

whether he reproved the persons who gave him such titles, replied: "If they had it from the Lord, what am I that I should judge it?" "If attributed to the creature, then it is reprovably. If they did it to the Lord (whom he believed to be in him), then I dare not reprove it." At the close of his examination before the committee, he said: "I do abhor that any of that honor which is due to God, should be given to me, as I am a creature; but it pleased the Lord to set me up as a sign of the coming of the righteous one; and what hath been done in my passing through the towns, I was commanded of the Lord to suffer such things to be done to the outward as a sign. I abhor any honor as a creature."

The next day after the committee had reported, J. Nayler was brought before the House and ordered *to kneel*; which he refused. This requisition, on the part of those highly professing Puritans, was strangely inconsistent; for one of the charges against the prisoner was, that he suffered others to kneel before him. Two days subsequently, the Parliament resolved "That James Nayler, upon the whole matter of fact, is guilty of horrid blasphemy;" also, "That James Naylor is a grand impostor and seducer of the people." Having passed these resolutions, a long debate ensued in relation to the penalty that should be inflicted. After the subject had been before the House twelve days, a motion was made that the punishment should be death, which was lost by a vote of ninety-six against it, to eighty-two in favor of it. The next day, being the 17th of the month, the punishment was resolved upon, and was in substance as follows: viz. He was sentenced to stand two hours with his head in the pillory, at the Palace-yard Westminster,

to be whipped through the streets of London from Westminster to the Old Exchange, (*i. e.* the top of Cheapside,) to be there set in the pillory two hours more; to have his tongue bored through with a hot iron, and his forehead branded with the letter B. Then to be taken to Bristol, carried through the streets on horseback, with his face backward, whipped again, and then committed to Bridewell prison, London, placed at hard labor, secluded from all society, denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, and allowed no relief but what he should earn by his daily labor, until released by Parliament.

James Nayler was brought to the House to hear his sentence, but was not allowed to speak. After the sentence was pronounced, he said, "He that hath prepared the body will enable me to suffer, and I pray that he may not lay it to your charge."

On the day appointed he suffered the first part of his sentence. Having stood with his head in the pillory two hours, he was stripped and whipped at a cart through the streets nearly two miles, until he received three hundred and ten stripes, lacerating his body from his shoulders to his waist, which he bore with great patience. He was left with his wounds undressed above an hour, when a woman,¹ well esteemed in the Society of Friends, not one of his deluded companions, came and washed his stripes. Being much exhausted with his sufferings, the public sympathy was excited, and several persons not in membership with Friends, petitioned Parliament that he might have some respite. The House accordingly granted a week's respite before the remainder of the sentence should be executed.

¹ Rebecca Travers.

Encouraged by this, several other persons in the cities of London and Westminster petitioned Parliament that the remainder of the sentence might be remitted. The petitioners, alluding to the respite granted to Nayler, proceed to say that this clemency 'hath refreshed the hearts of many thousands in these cities altogether unconcerned in his practice; and hath opened their eyes to see *something more than the terrors of Mount Sinai to dwell upon your honorable House*, and hath likewise given them some hopes to see you come forth in the spirit of our Lord Jesus yet more and more, to the conviction of those that err and are out of the way.' They then request that the remaining part of the sentence against James Nayler may be remitted, "leaving him to the Lord and to such gospel remedies as he hath sanctified."

It has been remarked that the language of this petition, "which would seem to erect the Parliament *into a second Sinai*," might, if interpreted in a malevolent spirit, be construed into blasphemy; but it should be regarded as a specimen of the manners of the times.¹

The petition being read in the House and debated on, without any favorable result, the same persons petitioned Cromwell on behalf of Nayler. The Protector sent a message to the house, desiring to know the grounds on which they had proceeded; but this only led to further debate, and the time drawing nigh when the remainder of the sentence was to be executed, they again applied to the Protector. It was thought that the clergy who surrounded him prevented Cromwell from interposing to arrest further proceedings.

¹ Bevan's Life of Nayler.

Prior to the date of the Protector's message, the House had delegated four Independent ministers to confer with Nayler in prison. They refused to allow any witness to be present at the interview, and Nayler, believing that their intentions were not good, refused to answer, unless what passed between them was written down, and a copy, signed by them, given to him, or left with the jailer. This being agreed to, they proceeded to question him, and took his answers in writing. They asked him if he was sorry for those blasphemies that he was guilty of? He answered, "What blasphemies? name them." They, not being able to cite any particular instance, he added, "Would you have me recant and renounce you know not what?" They then asked him whether he believed there was a Jesus Christ? to which he answered, he believed there was, and that Jesus had taken up his abode in his heart. One of the preachers said: "I believe in a Jesus that never was in any man's heart." Nayler replied, "I know no such Christ, for the Christ I witness fills heaven and earth, and dwells in the hearts of believers." They next asked him, why he suffered those women to worship and adore him? to which he replied, "Bowing to the creature I deny; but if they beheld the power of Christ, wherever it is, and bow to it, I have nothing by which I may resist or gainsay it." He added, "What think you of the Shunamite's falling down at the feet of Elisha, and bowing before him? as also that of Abigail to David, and Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel?" They paused awhile, and then replied, "That was but a civil act or acknowledgment;" to which he rejoined, "So you might interpret the act of those women also, if your eye was not evil, seeing the outward action is the

same." He added, "How soon have you forgotten the works of the bishops, who are now seeking to ensnare the innocent." On hearing this, the clergymen rose up in displeasure, burnt what they had written, and left him. As they were going, he expressed his desire that the Parliament would send in writing the questions they wished him to answer, and he would reply in the same manner.

It is observable that, during this interview, the mind of James Nayler was still so much clouded that he could not condemn the homage he received from his deluded followers. The instances he cited from the Old Testament must be attributed to the customs of Oriental nations, where respect for superiors was expressed by kneeling or prostration; but they are not recorded as examples for our imitation. We find in the Apocalypse that when John fell at the angel's feet to worship him, he was told, "See thou do it not, I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus; worship God."¹

On the 27th of December, Nayler was conveyed from Newgate to the Old Exchange, where, after standing two hours with his head in the pillory, his tongue was bored through with a red-hot iron, and his forehead branded with the letter B.

Robert Rich, a merchant of London, who had made great efforts to obtain a remission of the sentence, went on the pillory, held Nayler by the hand, and licked his wounds. Thousands of spectators were present, and so great was the sympathy for the poor sufferer, that with one accord they uncovered their heads while the red-hot irons were applied, until the smoke arose from his burning flesh.²

¹ Rev. xix. 10.

² Sewel, and Bevan's Life of Nayler,

About three weeks afterwards, he was taken to Bristol to undergo the remainder of the penalty. There he was dragged through the streets, and publicly whipped, after which he was returned to London, and committed to Bridewell.

His frantic companions were suffered to go at liberty, and by appointing meetings at those public places in the city where Nayler had suffered, they brought odium upon the Society of Friends, with which they were generally supposed to be connected. Richard Hubberthorne, in a letter written in the early part of the year 1657, alluding to these disorderly persons, says: "They are a great offence to the way of Truth here for the present, but the Truth will work through it all. Though the waters of strife are up in floods at present, yet sweetly doth the water of life flow, and pleasant streams are drunk of by those who keep patient in the will of God; and life, power, and glory, are more manifest than ever from the Father." In another letter, soon after, he says: "As for James Nayler, he remains in Bridewell, and is kept close; they will not suffer any Friends to come at him, but his wife gets to him sometimes. He is still in the separation from Truth and from Friends; but the work of God goes on and prospers."¹

In the latter part of the same year, it appears that James Nayler became humbled in mind, and loving towards Friends.² In the summer of 1658, Richard Hubberthorne wrote to Margaret Fell, saying, he had been with James Nayler, in prison, three times, and found "that true love and life were springing up in him." He was willing to make a public recantation

¹ Letters of Early Friends, XIX.

² Ibid, XXI.

of his error, or to do any thing to remove the offence which Friends might deem suitable. He desired to be reconciled to his friends, and said that George Fox was dearer to him than ever. About the same time, James Nayler wrote to Margaret Fell, as follows :

“DEARLY BELOVED SISTER : — Thou art often in my remembrance, and my heart is to see thee, when God wills ; in whose counsel and life I desire to walk, to his praise alone, who hath thus far redeemed me out of deep adversity ; and doth still work with me and for me — as I abide in his patience and obedience, making way through many oppositions and trials. In his will I desire to rest and be still ; who in the needful time hath still appeared ; praises to his name for ever.”

It seems that the rigor of his confinement in Bridewell was much relaxed, for in this letter he speaks of having gone to visit George Fox, who was then sick at Reading ; but he was not permitted to have access to him. Richard Hubberthorne, in a letter dated 22d of Eighth month, [Tenth mo.] 1658, says, “James Nayler was at two meetings ; and, in the afternoon, he had a great meeting, where many were convinced that had not come before, as there is in every meeting a coming in daily.”¹ It is supposed that Cromwell intended to release him, but, on the 3d of September, 1658, the Protector died, and was succeeded by his son, Richard Cromwell, who continued in office only about six months.

James Nayler was liberated by Parliament, on the 9th of September, 1659, having been a prisoner about

¹ Letters of Early Friends, XXVI.

two years and a half.¹ Both before and after his liberation, he issued several papers by way of acknowledgment for his transgression, and in thanksgiving to God for his restoration. From one of these the following passages are selected, viz:—

“To the Lord Jesus Christ be everlasting dominion upon earth, and His kingdom above all the powers of darkness; even that Christ of whom the Scriptures declare, which was, and is, and is to come, the Light of the world to all generations; who hath been the rock of my salvation; and his spirit hath given quietness and patience to my soul in deep affliction, even for his name sake, praises forever!

“But condemned forever be all those false worships with which any have idolized my person in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkness was above. All their casting off their clothes in the way, their bowings and singings, and all the rest of those wild actions which did any way tend to dishonor the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the measure of Christ Jesus in themselves, to look at flesh which is grass, or to ascribe that to the visible which belongs to Christ Jesus: all *that*, I condemn by which the pure name of the Lord hath any way been blasphemed through me in that time of temptation; or, the spirits of any people grieved that truly love the Lord Jesus throughout the whole world, of what sort soever.”²

After his liberation, James Nayler went to Bristol, where in a public meeting he acknowledged his errors, and spoke so feelingly as to bring the whole audience to tears.

¹ Bevan's Life of James Nayler, p. 86.

² James Nayler's Works, and Life of Nayler, by J. G. Bevan.

In the time of his estrangement, the Society of Friends having labored in vain for his restoration, publicly testified their disunity with him; but, when he came to himself, acknowledged his errors, and walked in Christian humility, they could do no less than receive him again into their communion.

They, doubtless, rejoiced that the lost sheep had returned to the fold; and when they saw that he was owned by the great Shepherd of the flock, and restored to his place, they united with him in ascribing praises to the gracious Redeemer.

George Whitehead, who lodged with him in London after his restoration, says, "We had innocent, loving, and comfortable conversation together, he being revived by the Lord's power, and in measure restored into his ancient testimony, and to bear the same publicly in divers parts of the nation as the Lord enabled him, both in his ministry and writings. And he walked in much brotherly love and simplicity among us until his end came; and near his departure, he expressed his great care for the lambs of Christ's fold, according as was intimated to me by a dear friend and brother, and ended his day like an innocent lamb, in peace and quietness."

He was on his way homeward when he was taken ill, and died at Kings-Rippon, Huntingdonshire, in the autumn of 1660, aged about forty-four years.

About two hours before his death, he spoke to several Friends who were attending him, in the following beautiful and pathetic language, viz:—

"There is a spirit which I feel that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end.

Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or, whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thoughts to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it, for its ground and spring are the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings, for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone, being forsaken. I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places of the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life."¹

¹ Bevan's Life of James Nayler, and Sewel's Hist.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW ENGLAND AND NEW NETHERLANDS.

1656-7.

IN the summer of 1656, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin arrived at Boston, being the first ministers of the Society of Friends, of whom we have any record, that visited the continent of America on a religious mission. Some account of their previous history may not be inappropriate in this place.

Mary Fisher was born in the north of England about the year 1623, and joined in profession with Friends soon after the rise of the Society. Her residence at that time was at Pontefract, in Yorkshire. In 1652, she appeared in the gospel ministry, and soon after was imprisoned sixteen months in York Castle for speaking in a house of worship after the public services were ended. In the following year, accompanied by Elizabeth Williams, she went to Cambridge, where they preached, and conversed with some of the students "concerning matters of religion," reproving them for their ignorance of the true God and of that worship which he requires. Being summoned before the mayor, they were sentenced "to be whipped at the market-cross till the blood ran down their bodies," which cruel order was literally executed. While subjected to this barbarous infliction, they rejoiced in spirit, saying, "The Lord be blessed, the

Lord be praised, who hath thus honored us and strengthened us to suffer for his name's sake." As they were led back to the town, they exhorted the people to fear God, not man; telling them, "this was but the beginning of the sufferings of the people of God." It was the first instance of a Friend being publicly scourged, although several had been imprisoned for their religious testimony.¹

Mary Fisher was imprisoned at Pontefract in the year 1653, and in Buckinghamshire in the year 1655, "for giving Christian exhortations to priest and people" in places of public worship.

Under an impression of religious duty, she visited the West Indies; and from Barbadoes she addressed a letter to George Fox, from which the following passage is extracted:

"MY DEAR FATHER,

. . . . Let me not be forgotten of thee; but let thy prayers be for me, that I may continue faithful to the end. If any of our Friends be free to come over, they may be serviceable; here are many convinced, and many desire to know the way. So I rest,

MARY FISHER."²

From the Barbadoes, the 30th day of the month, called January, [Eleventh month, O. S.] 1655.

From Barbadoes she embarked in the ship Swallow of Boston, and arrived at that port in the early part of summer.

Her companion, Anne Austin, is described as a married woman, "stricken in years," and the mother

¹ Bowden's Hist. of Friends in Am., I. 38.

² Ibid.

of five children ; but very few particulars concerning her have been preserved. Her residence was in the city of London.

The arrival of these gospel messengers in the harbor of Boston seems to have been productive of much alarm to the public authorities. The governor, John Endicott, being absent, an order was issued by the deputy-governor, Richard Bellingham, to have them detained on board, and he sent officers to search their trunks, who took from them about one hundred books.

The town council was then assembled, and an order passed that the books taken from them should be burnt by the common executioner ; that they should be kept close prisoners ; no intercourse to be allowed with them unless by permission of the governor or magistrates ; and that Simon Kempthorn, master of the vessel that brought them, should speedily transport them to Barbadoes, defraying all the charges of their imprisonment, and giving bond and security to perform the same under a penalty of one hundred pounds sterling.

In accordance with this order their books were burnt by the hangman, in the market-place, the Friends were committed to prison, their pens, ink, and paper taken from them, no candle allowed them at night, and, without regard to decency or humanity, they were stripped under pretence of being searched for signs of witchcraft.¹ At that time, and for some years previous, a mournful delusion prevailed in New England in relation to witchcraft, and several persons

¹ New England Judged, 12. Besse, II. 178. Bowden's History, I. 35.

had been put to death for this pretended crime. "Two had been executed at Boston, one in 1648, and another, Bellingham's own sister-in-law, but a few months before the arrival of the two strangers."¹ It was seriously believed that persons guilty of witchcraft could be detected by peculiar tokens found upon their bodies, and doubtless many innocent persons having moles or other natural marks upon their persons, were subjected to an ignominious death.

Mary Fisher and Anna Austin being subjected to a rigid scrutiny, no such tokens could be found upon them; but the bigoted rulers did not relent in their cruel persecution. The window of the jail being closed with boards to prevent access of the citizens, and no food being supplied by the public authorities, the prisoners were in danger of starvation, until Nicholas Upshall, a humane inhabitant of Boston, agreed to pay the jailer five shillings a week to supply them with provisions.

After about five weeks' imprisonment, and the loss of their beds and bibles, which the jailer kept for his fees, these innocent sufferers were put on board a vessel bound for Barbadoes, the master being required, under a penalty of one hundred pounds, to convey them thither, and not to suffer them to hold any intercourse with the people of New England.

In order to obtain a clear view of the spirit of intolerance and bigotry that actuated the ministers and magistrates of Massachusetts, it is necessary to advert to some transactions in the early history of that colony.

The landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, took place the 11th of December (then the Tenth

¹ Bowden's History of Friends in America, I. 35.

month), 1620. They were few in number and for some years struggled with many difficulties, enduring much hardship from the severity of the winter, scarcity of food, and general sickness.

The adjoining colony of Massachusetts Bay was founded in the year 1629. The charter granted by Charles I. established a corporation, of which the governor, deputy, and eighteen assistants, were to be annually elected by the stockholders, whose meetings were then held in England. The rights of English subjects were conferred on the colonists, and they were strictly forbidden to make laws or ordinances repugnant to the laws of England. The first colonists were nearly all Puritans, whose chief motive for emigrating was to escape the oppression of the English hierarchy, and to establish for themselves an asylum in the wilderness, where they might enjoy, without molestation, the privilege of worshipping God according to their convictions of duty. They were, however, by no means disposed to accord to others that religious freedom which they claimed for themselves. On the contrary, they insisted upon uniformity in religious faith and worship; and their ministers inculcated the doctrine that none but the members of their church were entitled to the privileges of freemen.

This intolerant spirit was manifested soon after their landing; for two of the most respectable citizens, members of the colonial council, being in favor of using the English liturgy, were accused as seditious persons, and expelled from the colony.¹ By a resolution of the company of stockholders in England, the charter was transferred to the freemen who should

¹ Bancroft, I. 349. Tyson's Dis. on Colonial Hist. in Mem. of Hist. Soc. of Pa., Vol. IV., Part II, page 19.

themselves inhabit the colony, and John Winthrop being appointed governor, embarked, in the year 1630, for Massachusetts Bay, with fifteen hundred colonists, where they established the seat of government at Boston. The following year a law was enacted, which declared that "no man should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were members of some of the churches within the same." This was a restriction of the elective franchise to the members of the Puritan or Independent church, for no other churches were tolerated.

A few months after the landing of Winthrop, there arrived in the colony a young man, who was described as a minister, "godly and zealous, having precious gifts;" but he was soon found to entertain sentiments in relation to government widely different from the rigid Puritans, who held the reins of power. This young minister was Roger Williams, since widely known as the able and unflinching advocate of religious freedom. He, too, was a Puritan, and a fugitive from English persecution; but his benevolent heart and clear intellect, enlightened by divine grace, had taught him to respect in others that freedom of thought which he claimed for himself. His distinguishing tenet was the "sanctity of conscience," and he maintained that "the civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul." The public authorities required the attendance of every man at public worship; Williams reprobated the law, and compared it to the worst statute of the English code, which enforced attendance at the parish church.¹

¹ Bancroft, I. 367.

The people of Salem chose the young apostle of liberty for their pastor, and listened with delight to his instructions; but the rulers of the colony could not tolerate his liberal sentiments, and with inexorable severity they required him to quit the colony, which he was compelled to do in the depth of winter.

During many weeks he was exposed to great hardships; a homeless exile in the solitudes of the forest, often destitute of food, and seeking in a hollow tree a shelter from the storms. He was kindly received by Canonicus, the chief of the Narragansetts, and being permitted by the Indians to settle in their territory, he founded, in the year 1636, a colony at Providence, where he was enabled to carry out in practice his benevolent principles. Two years afterwards there was an accession to his colony, by the expulsion of Anne Hutchinson and her adherents from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, on account of their religious opinions. Among these exiles were John Clarke and William Coddington, who were welcomed by Roger Williams, and having obtained from the Indians a grant of Rhode Island, they settled on that beautiful spot, established there a government on the most liberal basis, and being united to the adjoining settlement at Providence, the colony of Rhode Island was founded.

Thus we see that from the first settlement of Massachusetts, the rulers of that colony evinced towards all who dissented from their religious system, the most unrelenting hostility. They banished from their jurisdiction Episcopalians, Baptists, and Antinomians; being instigated in their intolerant proceedings by the counsels of the Puritan clergy.

Among the earliest laws of the colony, those for

the punishment of heretics were more rigorous and severe than any that existed in England, and the penalties for non-conformity in the mother country have been pronounced "great lenity," compared with those inflicted in Massachusetts.¹

1656. A few days after the expulsion of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, eight other Friends arrived in the harbor of Boston, in a ship from London. Information being given to the governor, John Endicott, he sent an officer on board to search the baggage, and to bring before the court, then sitting, the unwelcome visitors, whose names were Christopher Holder, Thomas Thurston, William Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh. After some examination, they were sentenced to banishment, and to be kept in prison, until they could be sent back whence they came in the same ship. The master of the vessel being required to carry them back at his own charge, refused, and was sent to prison; but after some days' confinement, fearing the loss of his voyage, he complied with the unrighteous demand. Richard Smith, of Long Island, was examined by the court at the same time, and after some weeks' imprisonment, was sent by sea to the province from whence he came.

During the imprisonment of these Friends, on the 14th of the 10th month, (October,) 1656, a law was enacted by the General Court at Boston, that any master of a vessel bringing a Quaker into the colony should be fined one hundred pounds; that any Quaker so arriving should be severely whipped and committed to the house of correction; that any person importing

¹ Tyson's Discourse, Mem. Pa. Hist. Society, Vol. IV., Part II. 23.

or circulating Quaker books should be fined five pounds; and that any person defending the heretical opinions of the Quakers, should, for the first offence, be fined forty shillings; for the second offence, four pounds; and for the third offence, should be sentenced to banishment.¹

This inhuman law being published at the door of Nicholas Upshall, the good old man expressed his disapprobation of it, for which he was summoned before the General Court, where he declared that "The execution of that law would be a forerunner of a judgment upon their country, and therefore in love and tenderness which he bore to the people and place, he desired them to take heed lest they were found fighters against God." For this, although he was one of their church members, and of blameless life, a fine of twenty pounds was imposed upon him; and being prevented by a sense of their wickedness from attending church, he was fined three pounds more. The court also banished him from their jurisdiction, allowing but one month for his departure, although it was then the winter season, and he was known to be aged and infirm. When Endicott the governor was applied to for a mitigation of the sentence, he harshly answered, "I will not bate him a groat." Being thus banished from his home and country, he went to Rhode Island, where he met with an Indian prince, who kindly entertained him, saying, "If you will live with me I will make you a warm house; and he added, "What a God have the English, who deal so cruelly with one another about their God!"²

1657. In the following year, (1657,) Anne Burden,

¹ Besse, II. 179.

² Ibid. II. 181.

a widow, who had formerly lived in Massachusetts, came to Boston to collect some debts due to her husband's estate. She was not a preacher, but Bellingham, the deputy-governor, told her, "She was a plain Quaker, and must abide their law." About the same time, Mary Dyer came from Rhode Island, and they were both sent to prison. The husband of Mary Dyer was not a Friend, and having bound himself under a penalty not to lodge her in that colony, nor to allow any one to speak to her, he obtained her liberty.

Anne Burden was detained in prison about three months, and then compelled to embark for England, her passage being paid by distraint out of her own property, and the remainder of her goods, being prohibited from exportation by the public authorities of Boston, she was obliged to abandon.

Some of the Friends who, in the year 1656, had been sent away from Massachusetts, and conveyed to England in the same ship that brought them, not feeling their minds clear of religious service in that colony, and being willing to suffer for the gospel of Christ, were meditating upon the means of returning in the following year. These were William Brend, Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh. There were also five other Friends in England whose minds were impressed with a similar concern; viz. Robert Hodgson, Humphrey Norton, Richard Doudney, William Robinson, and Mary Clark. It was found, however, that masters of vessels, being informed of the persecuting laws enacted in Massachusetts, were unwilling to subject themselves to the penalties that would be incurred by conveying Friends thither. At this junc-

ture, an opportunity for their embarkation was offered that appeared providential.

Robert Fowler, a ministering Friend of Burlington, in Yorkshire, a mariner by profession, had just completed a small vessel, which, while building, he was led to believe he must devote to some purpose that would promote the cause of truth.¹

He sailed in his new vessel to London, and while there, communicated to Gerard Roberts, a merchant in that city, the impression that rested on his mind concerning her destination. Gerard, being one of the Friends most active in providing for the passage of ministers visiting foreign countries, immediately perceived that here was a way opened for the gospel messengers called to labor in New England. Although the vessel was apparently too small to venture with safety across the Atlantic, the Friends looked upon it as a providential opening, and they embarked with entire reliance upon that Almighty Protector, who can command the winds and control the raging billows of the ocean.

From a narrative of the voyage, written by Robert Fowler, a copy of which, endorsed by George Fox, is preserved among the archives of the Society in London, the following particulars are taken:—²

The vessel, called the Woodhouse, Robert Fowler master, sailed from London the first of the Fourth month, 1657, and reached the Downs on the following day. Here William Dewsbury and Michael Thompson paid a visit to the Friends on board, administering a word of encouragement, and com-

¹ Bowden's Hist. of Friends in America, I. 57.

² See the narrative in Bowden's Hist. of Friends in America, I. 63.

mending them to the Divine protection. As they sailed down the Channel, the wind being high, they put into Portsmouth harbor, where some of the ministers went ashore, and were engaged in religious service, which is thus described in the narrative. "Certain days we lay there, wherein the ministers of Christ were not idle, but went forth and gathered sticks, and kindled a fire, and left it burning; also several Friends came aboard and visited us, in which we were refreshed. Again we launched forth from thence, about the 11th day of the Fourth month, and were put back again into South Yarmouth, where we went ashore, and there in some measure did the like."

After leaving Yarmouth, they were accompanied some days by three large ships; but the captains of these, fearing men of war, took to the northward, while the Woodhouse steered a straight course. The Friends met together every day to wait upon their Heavenly Guide, and they experienced the consoling evidence of his presence in the midst of them.

On the last day of the Fifth month, 1657, they made land, which proved to be a part of Long Island, and "their mouths were opened in prayer and thanksgiving." They passed up the East-river, "between the Dutch Plantation and Long Island." The next day, part of the company being drawn to labor there in gospel ministry, were put on shore at New Amsterdam, now called New York. These were Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh. It being First-day, Captain Fowler, accompanied by Robert Hodgson, waited on the governor, who, he says, "was moderate both in words and actions."

On the 3d of the Sixth month, leaving the five

Friends just named, Captain Fowler set sail, and passing through Long Island Sound, they arrived safely at Rhode Island.

The Friends left at New Amsterdan, proceeded on their way preaching the gospel of Christ; but they met with an ill requital for their labor of love. Mary Weatherhead and Dorothy Waugh, for preaching in the streets of New Amsterdam, were arrested and cast into miry dungeons apart from each other.¹ After an imprisonment of eight days, they were brought out, and having their hands tied behind them, were put on board a boat bound for Rhode Island.²

Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, and Sarah Gibbons visited the inhabitants of Long Island, who were mostly English. At Gravesend, Jamaica, and Hampstead, they met with a favorable reception, and preached the gospel with acceptance. Richard Doudney and Sarah Gibbons, after travelling through the eastern division of Long Island, proceeded to the colony of New Haven, and thence to Rhode Island.

At Hampstead, Robert Hodgson, while walking in an orchard, and waiting for a religious meeting to assemble, was arrested and brought before an Englishman, who was a magistrate under the Dutch government. Two women who had entertained him were also arrested and placed in a cart. Robert Hodgson was then pinioned, and being tied to the hinder part of the cart, he was drawn through the woods in the night to New Amsterdam.

He was there brought before the court, and after examination, his sentence was read in Dutch, which was interpreted as follows, viz: "It is the General's

¹ Besse, II. 182.

² Bowden's Hist., I. 312.

pleasure that you work two years at the wheel-barrow with a negro, or pay, or cause to be paid, 600 guilders." He endeavored to make a defence, but was not suffered to speak, being hurried away, and cast into a noisome dungeon, where he was kept several days.

The Dutch governor Stuyvesant was believed to be instigated to this cruelty, by the malicious calumnies of Captain Willet, a Puritan, from Plymouth, (now in Massachusetts.) We have seen that on Robert Hodgson's first arrival, he was favorably impressed by the governor's conduct; and, it is well known that the laws of Holland, as well as the instructions of the States General, were favorable to liberty of conscience. Governor Stuyvesant, who was called hard-headed, proved himself to be hard-hearted; for, being prejudiced against the Friends through the misrepresentations of their enemies, he proceeded for awhile in a course of brutal severity.

Robert Hodgson, being taken from prison, was chained to a wheel-barrow, and required to work; but in the consciousness of his innocence, he declined to comply. His refusal exasperated the sheriff, who directed a stout negro to beat him with a tarred rope. The blows were laid on with unmerciful severity until Robert fell down in a swoon. The sheriff directed him to be lifted up, and the beating was continued until he fell a second time, having received about one hundred blows. He was then taken, with the wheel-barrow, to the house of the governor, who was informed that they could not make him work. The governor resided at the fort, and there Robert Hodgson was left all day chained to the wheel-barrow, and exposed to the heat of the sun. At night he was put into the dungeon, and the next day again brought

forth, chained as before, a sentinel being placed over him to prevent any one from speaking to him. The third day, he was brought before the governor, who demanded that he should work, and threatened that he should be whipped every day. After several days of great suffering, he was, by the governor's order, taken into a private room, and stripped to the waist; he was then suspended by his hands, a heavy log of wood tied to his feet, and a strong negro beat him with rods until the flesh was much lacerated, and the blood flowed copiously. Two days afterwards, the same barbarous treatment was repeated.¹

During these severe and protracted sufferings, his mind, he says, "was stayed upon the Lord," and he was sweetly refreshed and strengthened by His living power.²

Being faint and exhausted with intense suffering, he requested that some of the English inhabitants might be permitted to see him, which was granted, and he was visited by a humane English woman, who washed his stripes. She found his body so lacerated, and his strength so reduced, that she told her husband she thought he could not live another day. This recital so greatly excited his commiseration, that he went and offered the authorities a fat ox for the release of the prisoner; but it was refused by the governor, unless the whole fine of 600 guilders were paid. The sufferings of Robert Hodgson becoming generally known through the city, there were many persons, both English and Dutch, whose sympathies were enlisted, and a willingness was manifested to raise the sum required for his release, but he was not easy

¹ New England Judged, 214 to 218.

² Bowden's History, I. 315.

to accept his liberation on such terms. At length Captain Willet, who had instigated this inhuman persecution, having received from the citizens a plain intimation of their displeasure, came forward and petitioned the governor for his release. This request being seconded by the governor's sister, Robert Hodgson was liberated without paying any portion of the fine, and allowed to pursue his religious labors. He was released about the middle of the seventh month, 1657, and soon after went to Rhode Island.¹

Some of the inhabitants of Long Island, who had removed from Massachusetts in order to enjoy religious liberty, having embraced the principles of Friends, were subjected to sufferings on account of their religion. Among these were John Tilton, Jane Chatterton, Henry Townsend, Tobias Feak, and Edward Hart.²

Governor Stuyvesant and some of his council, having abandoned the tolerant policy of the Dutch, and imbibed the persecuting spirit of the Puritans, passed an ordinance imposing a fine of fifty pounds on any person who should entertain or lodge a Friend, even for one night; and subjecting to confiscation any vessel in which a Friend should be brought within their jurisdiction. This intolerant law produced much dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of Long Island, and a meeting of the citizens of Flushing and its vicinity being called, they adopted a remonstrance, addressed to the governor, which was signed by the town clerk and two of the magistrates. Governor Stuyvesant was highly indignant at this proceeding, which he pronounced mutinous conduct,

¹ Bowden's History, I. 315.

² Besse, II. 183.

and orders were issued for the arrest of the sheriff, who presented the remonstrance, as well as warrants requiring the appearance of the clerk and magistrates who had signed it.

Edward Farrington and William Noble, the two magistrates, were committed to prison. After a week's imprisonment, they addressed a letter to the governor and council, pleading for the rights and privileges guaranteed to them by the colonial charter, which, in their view, embraced "liberty of conscience without modification." Stuyvesant being, as usual, inflexible, they consented to address a short petition to the court, praying for freedom, on which they were released.¹

The governor and council being much displeased with the Flushing remonstrance, after they had punished by imprisonment some of those concerned in it, drew up a minute expressive of their disapprobation. In this document, after referring to the remonstrance as a measure of the most dangerous tendency, "treading the authority of the director-general and council under their feet," they proceed to state, that being actuated "more by mercy than the extreme rigor of justice," they remit and forgive this transgression, and they conclude by advising the inhabitants of Flushing "to look out for a good pious and orthodox minister," and to provide for him a "decent maintenance."

It appears that the Dutch governor and his council, after trying for a while to repress dissent by persecution, relented, and pursued a more lenient policy. John Bound had been treated with great severity; he

¹ Bowden's History, I. 318.

was imprisoned in a cold dungeon, almost famished, and then banished to Holland. There he was liberated by the States General, and returned home again. After his return, the governor, meeting him in the street, said, "I am glad to see you safe home again;" adding, "I hope I shall never do so any more to any of your friends."

The rulers of the Puritan colonies in New England, far from relenting in their feelings towards Friends, became more and more hardened as they found their measures ineffectual.

The Friends who were landed at Rhode Island by Captain Fowler, of the *Woodhouse*, proceeded in various directions, as they believed themselves led in the fulfilment of their religious mission. William Robinson was engaged for some time in Rhode Island; he then travelled to Maryland and Virginia, and after an absence of two years, returned to New England.¹

Mary Clark, having left her husband and children in London, and come to America, under a sense of religious duty, felt bound to go to Boston, in order "to warn those persecutors to desist from their iniquity." Having delivered her message, she was arrested by order of the public authorities, and after her back had been sorely lacerated by twenty stripes with a three-corded whip, she was committed to prison, where she remained twelve weeks in the winter season, suffering much from cold.²

John Copeland and Christopher Holder, soon after their arrival in Rhode Island, went to visit the Island of Martha's Vineyard. Most of the inhabitants were

¹ Bowden's Hist., I. 69. Gough, I. 410.

² New England Judged, 50, and Besse, II. 281.

Indians of the Algonquin tribe, among whom a mission had been established by the Puritans of New England. The two Friends believing themselves called to some religious service among the English settlers, attended their meeting for public worship, and after waiting until Mayhew, the preacher, had concluded, they spoke a few words to the company. This gave much offence, and they were forthwith "thrust out of doors" by the constable. In the afternoon they again attended the meeting, and after having "some dispute on doctrinal points, they were allowed quietly to withdraw."

The governor of the island, attended by a constable, waited on them the next morning, and ordered them to leave the island without delay. But the Friends having come under an apprehension of religious duty, replied, that "in the will of God they stood, as He made way." "It is the will of God," rejoined the governor, "that you shall go to-day." He hired an Indian to convey them to the main land, and required them to pay their passage, which they declined to do until they should be satisfied that their religious service on the island was ended. The governor then directed the constable to take from them by force a sufficient sum to pay for their conveyance, and ordered the natives to take them away forthwith. The Indians, however, seeing that the Friends were not inclined to go, and that the weather was stormy, made no effort to execute the order, but entertained them three days very hospitably, which afforded an opportunity for religious service among these kind-hearted people. When the storm subsided, the Friends feeling free to depart, offered to remunerate the Indians for their kindness, but they declined

to receive any compensation, saying, "You are strangers, and Jehovah has taught us to love strangers." Thus it appeared that these simple-hearted Algonquins manifested more of the Christian spirit than the missionary who pretended to instruct them in the doctrines of Christ.¹

John Copeland and Christopher Holder landed on the coast of Massachusetts on the 20th of the Sixth month, 1657, and proceeded to the town of Sandwich. Here they were welcomed by many sincere seekers after heavenly truth, "who had long been burthened with a lifeless ministry and dead forms of religion." There were, however, other inhabitants of the town who adhered to the Puritan ministers, and could tolerate no doctrines different from their own. These were greatly excited when it was reported that two English Quakers had arrived. "Great was the stir and noise of the tumultuous town," they remark; "yea, all in an uproar, hearing that we, who are called by such a name as Quakers, were come into these parts. A great fire was kindled, and the hearts of many did burn within them, so that in the heat thereof some said one thing, and some another; but the most part knew not what was the matter."²

After a short stay at Sandwich, they proceeded to Plymouth, where their presence was no less alarming to the ministers and rulers. Some of the magistrates informed them, that "they could not be permitted to remain within the limits of the colony." The Friends replied, that "they could not leave the colony until they had again visited the town of Sandwich." The

¹ Bowden's History, I. 70.

² Norton's Ensign, in Bowden's History.

next morning they were arrested and taken before the magistrates for examination; but no ground for imprisonment being found against them, they were ordered by the court "to begone out of their colony."

On the following day they started towards Sandwich, but were overtaken by a constable who had orders to prevent their travelling in that direction. He conveyed them six miles toward Rhode Island, and then left them. Being released from constraint, they again turned towards Sandwich, where they arrived and remained some days.

Their ministry was instrumental in convincing many of the principles of Friends, which incensed the Puritan ministers, and through their instigation the two strangers were arrested by the magistrates and sent back to Plymouth.

Being again required to depart from the colony, "they intimated to the governor that they could not accede to his request, and that it was their intention to return to Sandwich." The clergy of Plymouth being alarmed at the spreading of Friends' principles, exerted themselves to obtain an order for their banishment, and the governor, to satisfy them, issued a warrant for the arrest of John Copeland and Christopher Holder "as extravagant persons and vagabonds." Being arraigned before the court, a warrant for their expulsion was issued, accompanied with a threat that if they returned they should be whipped as vagabonds.

The under-marshal, in pursuance of the warrant, conducted them fifty miles towards Rhode Island, and they took shelter for a while in that "asylum for the persecuted."¹

¹ Bowden's History, I. 73.

About the middle of the Seventh month, 1657, they again entered Massachusetts, being impelled by a sense of religious duty to preach the gospel at Salem. In that town and its vicinity, they made proselytes. Referring to it afterwards, they said, "Having obtained mercy from God, and being baptized into his covenant Jesus Christ, we preached freely unto them the things that we had seen and heard and our hands had handled, which as an engrafted word took place in them, such as never can be rooted out, so that our hearers in a short time became our fellow-sufferers."¹

On the First-day of the week, Christopher Holder and John Copeland, being at a place of public worship in Salem, Christopher spoke a few words after the clergyman had done; but he was not allowed to proceed, for one of the commissioners hauled him back by the hair of his head and stopped his mouth with a glove and handkerchief. The two Friends were then thrust out of the house and placed in confinement until next day, when they were taken to Boston. Being there arraigned before the Governor and Commissioners, they were sentenced to receive each thirty lashes. This punishment was inflicted by the hangman by means of a three-corded knotted whip, lacerating the flesh with barbarous severity. They were then committed to prison, where, during three days and nights, they were not allowed bedding, food, or drink. Their imprisonment was continued nine weeks, being the greater part of winter, in a dismal cell without fire. This inhuman treatment was well calculated to endanger their lives, but through divine mercy they

¹ Norton's Ensign, in Bowden's History, I. 88.

were preserved and enabled to rejoice in their sufferings for Christ's sake.¹

The intolerant spirit of the clergy and magistrates of New England was exhibited not only against Friends, but towards all who manifested compassion for their sufferings. At the time when Christopher Holder was gagged in a meeting-house at Salem, Samuel Shattock, a respectable inhabitant of that town, fearing that Christopher would be choked by the glove and handkerchief thrust into his mouth, endeavored to prevent it by taking hold of the commissioner's hand and drawing it away. For this interference he was sent to Boston and imprisoned as "a friend of the Quakers." He was released, on his giving bond under penalty of twenty pounds, to appear at the next court, and not to attend any of the meetings of the people called Quakers.²

Lawrence and Cassandra Southick, an aged couple who lived at Salem, and were members of the Congregational church, having entertained Christopher Holder and John Copeland at their house, were imprisoned for this act of Christian charity.

Such intolerance and cruelty, far from suppressing the rising society of Friends, had the contrary effect of increasing their numbers. Many of the inhabitants of Salem, becoming disgusted with the hollow profession of their priests and rulers, who thus "mingled blood with their sacrifices," withdrew from their communion, and met together at each other's houses to wait upon the Lord in silent adoration.³

These humble and devout worshippers did not long

¹ New England Judged.

² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³ *Ibid.* Besse, II. 184.

remain unmolested ; being summoned before the commissioner, they were fined for non-attendance at church, and three of them, Lawrence and Cassandra Southick, with their son Josiah, were subjected to severe scourging and imprisonment.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW ENGLAND.

1657-9.

ALTHOUGH a regard for historical accuracy requires an impartial account of the severe persecution endured by the Early Friends in New England, the narrative cannot be continued without reluctance ; especially, when we reflect that among no people on earth is religious liberty, in this age, more highly appreciated, or more fully secured, than by the descendants of the Pilgrims. There is reason to believe that, even at the time when those intolerant laws were enacted and enforced, a large proportion of the people were opposed to them ; but so great was the influence of the Puritan clergy, that they were enabled to control the legislation of the colonies, and even to disfranchise or banish all who were inimical to their measures.

The clergy and rulers of Massachusetts took the lead in this crusade against non-conformity ; but in the other colonies of New England, with the exception

of Rhode Island, the same spirit of intolerance was, in some measure, exhibited.

In order to promote their security and prosperity, the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, had formed a league or confederation under the title of the United Colonies of New England. This compact left to each colony its respective local jurisdiction, and entrusted to a Board, consisting of two Commissioners from each colony, all that related to the general affairs of the confederacy.¹ These Commissioners, like the local authorities of the several colonies, were required to be church members, for, in the Puritan governments, a profession of the orthodox faith, and a due deference to the clergy, were considered indispensable in those who exercised civil authority.

In the year 1657, the Commissioners of the United Colonies, being actuated by a spirit of bigotry and intolerance, were greatly annoyed by the conduct of the public authorities of Rhode Island, in affording to the persecuted and banished Friends a quiet asylum within their jurisdiction. In order to put an end to this liberal policy, the Commissioners addressed to the governor of Rhode Island a remonstrance, setting forth that a company of Quakers had last year "arrived at Boston upon no other account than to disperse their pernicious opinions, had they not been prevented by the prudent care of the government;" that, at the request of the Commissioners, provision had been made "by the general courts of all the United Colonies, that all Quakers, Ranters, and such notorious heretics, might be prohibited from coming among

¹ Bancroft, I. 420, 421.

them;" and that these provisions would fall short of their design while such persons were allowed to reside in Rhode Island; they therefore desire that the Quakers may be removed, and, for the future, prohibited from coming thither.

The governor of Rhode Island laid the communication before the "Court of Trials," and that body, "acting in unison with the law of their colony, 'that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine,' resolved that no settler or stranger, within the limits of their jurisdiction, should be persecuted for whatever opinions in religion he might either hold or teach."¹ The court being desirous, however, to avoid any collision with the United Colonies, returned a cautious answer, stating that the matter would be laid before the General Assembly, which was to meet early in the following year.

The General Assembly of Rhode Island, which met in the First month, 1658, having taken into consideration the remonstrance from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, returned a temperate and conciliatory answer; maintaining, however, that "freedom of different consciences, to be protected from enforcements, was the principal ground of their charter; which freedom," they say, "we still prize as the greatest happiness that man can possess in this world." They promise, in case the Quakers shall not perform the duties required of them as members of civil society, that they will, through their agent, present the case to the supreme authority in England; and they add: "We also are so much the more encouraged to make our address unto the Lord Protector for

¹ Bowden's History of Friends in America, I. 83.

his highness and government aforesaid, for that we understand there are, or have been, many of the aforesaid people suffered to live in England; yea, even in the heart of the nation.”¹

This decisive answer manifested the prevalence of a noble and liberal spirit in Rhode Island; but it seems to have had no effect upon the policy pursued in the other colonies. The General Court at Boston passed an order, dated 14th of October, 1657, directing that whosoever should bring any known Quaker into that jurisdiction, should forfeit one hundred pounds; whosoever should entertain a Quaker, should forfeit forty shillings for every hour's entertainment or concealment; and, moreover, if any Quaker, after having once suffered what the law requires, shall return, every such male Quaker shall, for the first offence, have one ear cut off, and for the second offence, shall lose the other ear, and every woman Quaker shall be severely whipped, and kept in the house of correction until sent away at her own charge.²

It is not deemed necessary to give a detailed account of all the sufferings endured by Friends in New England; but, rather to narrate concisely the most remarkable cases, in order to show the oppression that results from ecclesiastical domination, and the fidelity of those meek confessors and martyrs, who were willing to lay down their lives “for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.”

Among the Friends who arrived in the Woodhouse, in the year 1657, the name of William Brend has been mentioned. He was the eldest of that devoted band, being then about seventy years of age. His residence

¹ Bowden, I. 85.

² Besse, II. 183.

was in the city of London, and there is reason to believe that he was called to the gospel ministry soon after the rise of the Society of Friends in that city.¹ He is spoken of by Francis Howgill as "a man fearing God, a sober man, known to many of the inhabitants of the city of London to be a just man in his generation."²

After landing in Rhode Island, he remained some time in that colony, engaged in religious services; and then, near the close of the year 1657, being joined by John Copeland, who had recently been banished from Boston, he set out to visit the colony of Plymouth. At Scituate, (now Pembroke,) they met with Sarah Gibbons, who had lately come from New Netherlands: and the three Friends found a cordial reception at the house of James Cudworth, a magistrate of Scituate. The civil authorities at Plymouth, hearing of their arrival, and being disturbed at the spreading of Friends' principles, sent an officer to arrest them. The attempt, however, was frustrated by the generous interposition of Timothy Hartley, another magistrate of Scituate, who refused to permit the warrant to be executed.

After completing their religious labors at Scituate, William Brend and John Copeland set out on their return to Rhode Island, intending to pass through Plymouth. Here the magistrates caused them to be arrested and arraigned before the court. "They were required to enter into an engagement to leave that jurisdiction within forty-eight hours. They replied, that it was with the intention of proceeding elsewhere that they were pursuing their journey, but they felt

¹ Bowden's History, I. 130.

² Howgill's Works, 257.

restrained from making a promise to do so." The court attributing this refusal to "contemptuous perverseness," ordered them to be severely scourged, and paid no regard to their just plea, that they had a right as Englishmen to travel through any part of the dominions of their country.¹

About the middle of the Fourth month, 1658, William Brend, Thomas Harris, and William Leddra leaving Rhode Island, set out for Massachusetts.² Thomas Harris went to Boston, and soon after his arrival, it being lecture-day, he attended the meeting for public worship. After the lecture was finished, he spoke a few words to the people, but was immediately stopped, hauled out by the hair of his head and sent to prison. Next day he was cruelly whipped and remanded to prison, where he was confined eleven days, five of which he was kept without bread, because he refused to work for the jailer. In all probability he would have starved, had not some humane citizens of Boston conveyed food to him secretly. On the sixth day of his confinement, Thomas Harris, still refusing to comply with the jailer's unreasonable demand, was beaten with a pitched rope until his body, already exhausted by fasting, was sorely bruised and lacerated.³

In the mean time his companions, William Brend and William Leddra, having come to Salem, were cordially welcomed by those who had embraced the doctrines of Friends, and with this small company they "held several meetings to their mutual refreshment and comfort."⁴

¹ Bowden's History, I. 97.

² Ibid.

³ New England Judged, 62.

⁴ Bowden, I. 108.

Leaving Salem, they proceeded to Newburyport, where, at the house of Robert Adams, they had a conference with a clergyman, in the presence of Captain Gerish, who promised that they should not suffer; but when the conference was over, he required them to depart from the town immediately. This order not being complied with, he arrested them and sent them to Salem. Being brought before the magistrates, they were asked "Whether they were Quakers?" They answered, "We are in scorn called so." Then they were charged with holding dangerous errors. They asked "What those errors were?" They were told that "They denied Christ that suffered on the cross at Jerusalem, and that they also denied the Scriptures." They boldly contradicted these charges, asserting that "They owned Jesus Christ who suffered death at Jerusalem, and that they also owned the Scriptures."

Although manifestly guiltless, they were ordered to the House of Correction, and some days after, conveyed to Boston, where they were imprisoned in the House of Correction and ordered to work. Being unwilling to comply with this unrighteous demand, the jailer would allow them no food although they offered to pay for it. After being kept five days without food they received thirty stripes with a three-corded whip, and were then told "They might go out if they would pay the Marshal who was to conduct them out of the colony." They declined to pay for their own banishment, but said, "If the prison door was set open, they would go out."

Next day, William Brend, who was far advanced in years, was put in irons, "neck and heels so close together that there was no more room left between

each than for the lock that fastened them.”¹ In this painful position he was kept sixteen hours. The next morning he was required to work at the mill, but again refusing, the jailer gave him twenty severe blows with a tarred rope about an inch thick, saying, that “He would cause him to bow to the law of the country, and make him work.” William Brend, in the consciousness of his innocence, still declined to comply. The inhuman jailer, greatly exasperated, brought another tarred rope, and with all his strength laid on ninety-seven blows, not desisting until compelled by fatigue.

Next morning this cruel hypocrite was stout enough to go through his usual morning prayer, for he was a professor of religion; but, like the sanctimonious rulers of Boston, his heart was hardened by bigotry and superstitious zeal.

William Brend was in a most deplorable condition: “His back and arms were bruised and black, and the blood hanging, as it were, in bags under his arms, and so into one was his flesh beaten, that the sign of a particular blow could not be seen.”² He lay upon the boards completely exhausted; his body became cold; for a while he could neither see, feel, nor hear, and there seemed to be a struggle between life and death; but at length, through divine aid, the vital powers revived, and consciousness returned.

The report of this inhuman treatment spreading through the city, a cry of indignation arose among the people, insomuch that the governor was induced to send a surgeon to examine the wounds of the sufferer. The surgeon found him so bruised and

¹ Besse, II. 186.

² *Ibid.*

mangled that he despaired of his life, and said, "The flesh would rot off his bones before the bruised parts could be brought to digest." This report so exasperated the people that, to prevent a tumult, the magistrates posted a hand-bill at the meeting-house door, and circulated it through the streets, stating that the "jailer should be dealt with at the next court." The cruel jailer found an advocate in John Norton, an influential clergyman in Boston, who had been the instigator of much vindictive persecution. He did not hesitate to say "William Brend has endeavored to beat our gospel ordinances black and blue; if he then be beaten black and blue, it is but just upon him, and I will appear in his behalf that did so."¹ Contrary to all expectation, the wounds of William Brend soon began to heal, and he rapidly recovered.²

On the same day that he suffered such agonizing torture, Humphrey Norton and John Rous arrived in Boston; being drawn in the love of the gospel to labor and to suffer for the cause of Truth.

Of Humphrey Norton's previous life but little is known. In the year 1655 he was a resident of London, and travelled in the gospel ministry in the north of England. The following year he was engaged in the same service in Ireland, travelling through Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, and was subjected to much suffering at the instigation of an intolerant hierarchy. In 1657 he came to America in the Woodhouse, as already related, and having landed at Rhode Island, he was engaged there about two months in religious service, after which he proceeded to Sandwich, in Plymouth Colony. In that town he sojourned for a

¹ Besse, I. 186.

² Bowden, I. 111.

short time among his fellow-professors; and was then arrested, taken to Plymouth, and from thence banished, being conducted by the officers fifty miles towards Rhode Island. He proceeded to that colony and was engaged in religious labor about two months, when he went to Long Island.

On passing through Southhold, on his way to the Dutch plantations, he was arrested and conveyed to New Haven, in Connecticut, "where he was heavily ironed and imprisoned twenty-one days, and, notwithstanding the severity of the season, denied the use of both fire and candle."¹ Being arraigned before the court, a clergyman undertook to examine him on doctrinal grounds, in order to convict him of heresy. Humphrey endeavored to make a reply, but he was prevented by a great iron key being tied across his mouth. The pretended examination being ended, he was remanded to prison for ten days more, and then brought before the court to receive his sentence, which was, "that he should be severely whipped, then burnt in the hand with the letter H for heresy, and afterwards banished from the colony, not to return, under pain of the utmost penalty the law could inflict." In the afternoon of the same day, this cruel sentence was executed. The people being gathered by beat of drum, the prisoner was stripped to the waist, set in the stocks, with his back to the magistrates, and thirty-six severe stripes inflicted. He was then turned round, and his hand, being made fast in the stocks, "was burned very deep with a red-hot iron." When he was released from the stocks he knelt down, and to the astonishment of all, he lifted up his voice in prayer to the Lord.

¹ Bowden, I. 96, and New England Judged, 204.

After this cruel infliction he was again sent to prison, and tendered his liberty on the payment of a fine and prison fees. He declined to purchase his release on such terms; but a Dutch settler, touched with compassion, came forward and paid the money for his discharge, no one else offering to assist.¹

Humphrey Norton being banished from New Haven, proceeded to Rhode Island, and after remaining there some weeks he went, under an apprehension of religious duty, to attend the general court for the colony of Plymouth, in order to plead with the authorities on account of their intolerant proceedings towards Friends. With a view to apprise the governor of his object in coming, he forwarded a statement of the sufferings of Friends in that colony.

In this journey he was accompanied by John Rous, a young minister from Barbadoes.² In a letter still extant, of which the following is a copy, he gives some interesting particulars of the labors and sufferings of Friends in New England.³

JOHN ROUS TO MARGARET FELL.

“DEARLY BELOVED SISTER M. F.:—About the last of the Sixth month, 1657, I came from Barbadoes with another Friend, an inhabitant of the island; and according to the appointment of the Father, landed on Rhode Island in the beginning of the Eighth month, on an outer part of the island; and being come thither I heard of the arrival of Friends from England, which was no small refreshment to me. After I had been there a little while I passed out of

¹ Bowden, I. 96, and New England Judged, 205.

² Bowden's History, I. 138.

³ Ibid, I. 118.

the island into Plymouth Patent, to Sandwich, and several other towns thereabouts; where in the winter time more service was done than was expected. Some time after, I was in Connecticut with John Copeland, where the Lord gave us no small dominion, for there we met with one of the greatest disputers of New England, who is priest at Hartford, who was much confounded, to the glory of truth and to his shame. After some stay there, we returned to Rhode Island, where Humphrey Norton was, and after some time, he and I went into Plymouth Patent, and they having a court while we were there, we went to the place where it was, having set before the governor the grounds of our coming; but we were straightway put in prison, and after twice being before them, where we were much railed at, they judged us to be whipped. Humphrey Norton received twenty-three stripes, and I fifteen, with rods, which did prove much for the advantage of truth and their disadvantage; for Friends did with much boldness own us openly in it, and it did work deeply with many. After we were let forth thence, we returned to Rhode Island, and after some stay there, we went to Providence, and from thence to Boston, to bear witness in a few words in their meeting-house against their worship, till they hauled us forth and had us to their house of correction, and that evening we were examined and committed to prison. On the Seventh-day, in the evening, they whipped us with ten stripes each, with a three-fold whip, to conclude a wicked week's work, which was this: on Second-day they whipped six Friends; on Third-day, the jailer laid William Brend (a Friend that came from London) neck and heels, as they call it, for sixteen hours; on Fourth-day, the jailer gave

William Brend one hundred and seventeen strokes with a pitched rope; on Fifth-day, they imprisoned us; and on Seventh-day we suffered. The beating of William Brend did work much in the town, and for a time much liberty was granted, for several people came to see us in the prison; but the enemies seeing the forwardness and love in the people towards us, plotted, and a warrant was given forth, that if we would not work, we should be whipped once in every three days, and the first time have fifteen stripes, the second eighteen, and the third time twenty-one.

“So on the Second-day after our first whipping, four of us received fifteen stripes each; which did so work with the people, that on the Fourth-day after, we were released.

“We returned to Rhode Island, and continued there awhile, and after some time, Humphrey Norton went into Plymouth Patent to Friends there, and I was moved to come to Boston; so that day five weeks [after] I was released, at night I was put in again. There were Christopher Holder and John Copeland, two of the Friends which came from England, and we do lie here, according to their law, to have each of us an ear cut off; but we are kept in the dominion of God, and our enemies are under our feet. It is reported that we shall be tried at a court that is to be held next week, and if the ship do not go away from hence before then, thou shalt hear further how it is ordered for us, (if God permit). There was a great lamenting for me by many when I came again, but they were not minded by me; I was much tempted to say I came to the town to take shipping to go to Barbadoes, but I could not deny Him who moved me to come hither, nor his service to avoid sufferings.

“This relation, in short, I have given thee, that thou might know how it hath fared with me since I came into this land. About five weeks since, six Friends, having done their service here, took shipping for Barbadoes; two whereof were to go to Virginia and Maryland, two for London, and the other two were inhabitants of Barbadoes; so that there are only four of us in the land.

“Dear sister, truth is spread here above two hundred miles, and many are in fine conditions, and very sensible of the power of God, and walk honestly in their measures. Some of the inhabitants of the land who are Friends have been forth in the service, and they do more grieve the enemy than we; for they have hoped to be rid of us, but they have no hope to be rid of them. We keep the burden of the service off from them at present, for no sooner is there need in a place, but straightway some or other of us step to it; but when it is the will of the Father to clear us of this land, then will the burden fall on them. The seed in Boston and Plymouth Patent is ripe, and the weight very much lies on this town, which, being brought into subjection to the truth, the others will not stand out long. The seed in Connecticut and New Haven is not as yet ripe, but there is a hopeful appearance, the gathering of which, in its time, will much redound to the glory of God. We have two strong places in this land, the one at Newport in Rhode Island, and the other at Sandwich, which the enemy will never get dominion over, and at Salem there are several pretty Friends in their measures; but being very young, and the enemy exercising his cruelty much against them, they have been something scattered, but there are some of them grown pretty

bold through their sufferings. Humphrey Norton, we hear, hath been with them this week, and had a fine large meeting among them, and they received much strength by it. One of the inhabitants of Salem was whipped three times in five days, once to fulfil their law, and twice for refusing to work; after eleven days' imprisonment, he was let forth, and hath gotten much strength by his sufferings. Great have been the sufferings of Friends in this land, but generally they suffer with much boldness and courage, both the spoiling of their goods, and the abusing of their bodies. There are Friends, few or more, almost from one end of the land to the other, that is inhabited by the English. A firm foundation there is laid in this land, such an one as the devil will never get broken up. If thou art free to write to me, thou mayst direct thy letter to be sent to Barbadoes for me; so in that which is eternal, do I remain,

“Thy brother, in my measure, who suffers for the seed's sake, earnestly thirsting for the prosperity and peace of Zion, the city of the living God.

JOHN ROUS.”

From a Lion's Den called Boston Prison, the
3d day of the Seventh month, 1658.

“My dear fellow-prisoners, John Copeland and Christopher Holder, do dearly salute thee. Salute me dearly in the Lord to thy children, and the rest of thy family who are in the truth.”

The six Friends mentioned in this letter as having embarked for Barbadoes, “were, doubtless, William Leddra and Thomas Harris of Barbadoes, and William Brend, Richard Hodgson, Dorothy Waugh, and Sarah Gibbons. The four left in New England being Hum-

phrey Norton, John Copeland, Christopher Holder, and John Rous.”¹

The release of John Rous from his first imprisonment at Boston was effected through the commiseration of the citizens, many of whom, being disgusted with the cruelties inflicted on William Brend, opened a subscription for defraying the prison fees of that aged sufferer, and of the other Friends then in Boston jail, who were Humphrey Norton, William Leddra, Thomas Harris, and John Rous. The citizens also paid their passage to Rhode Island. John Rous soon after returned to Boston, as related in his letter, and being committed to prison, found there Christopher Holder and John Copeland, who, in the Sixth month, had been arrested at Dedham. These three Friends were, on the 7th of the Seventh month, arraigned before the “court of assistants,” consisting of the governor, deputy governor, and magistrates. After they had been harshly questioned concerning the object of their coming, they were remanded to prison, and three days afterwards, being again brought before the court, they were sentenced by Endicott to have their right ear cut off by the hangman. On their attempting to speak in their own defence, claiming the right of an appeal to Cromwell, they were threatened with being gagged if they did not keep silence.

On the 16th of the month, the barbarous sentence was privately executed in the jail, by the hangman, in the presence of the deputy-marshal.

On submitting to this ignominious mutilation, the prisoners said: “Those that do it ignorantly, we desire, from our hearts, the Lord to forgive them, but

¹ Bowden's History, I. 120.

for them that do it maliciously, let our blood be upon their heads, and such shall know in the day of account that every drop of our blood shall be as heavy upon them as a mill-stone." On the 7th of the Eighth month, they were released; Christopher Holder and John Copeland having been confined nine weeks, and John Rous six weeks.¹

There is a remarkable contrast between the persecuting measures of the New England Puritans, and the cordial reception given to the Friends by the North American Indians. The gospel laborers sent forth by the great Husbandman to gather souls to his kingdom, did not forget or neglect the untutored and simple-hearted natives.

Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, having been engaged in gospel labor among the Indians in Virginia, felt a religious concern to visit New England, and travelled thither on foot, some hundreds of miles, through the wilderness. This was considered, in that day, a most perilous journey, on account of the natural obstacles to be encountered, and the danger generally apprehended from the Indians.²

After a short stay in the province of Rhode Island, Josiah Cole, under an impression of religious duty, visited the Indians on the island of Martha's Vineyard. "I had a meeting amongst them," he writes, "and they were very loving, and told me they much desired to know God." From thence he crossed over to the colony of Plymouth, and was engaged in religious service among the aboriginal inhabitants of that province. "Some of them," he says, "had true

¹ New England Judged, 92. Besse, II. 189, and Bowden, I. 122.

² New England Judged, 29, and Besse, II. 196.

breathings after the knowledge of God." He was there joined by John Copeland, and "they proceeded from tribe to tribe among the natives of Massachusetts, sounding the day of the Lord, being received with courtesy and kindness."

On reaching the town of Sandwich, they went to a Friend's house; but the authorities being informed of their arrival, sent an officer, by whom they "were hauled out with violence" and committed to prison.¹

On being liberated, they resumed their gospel labors among the Algonquins, "preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ, and inviting them to Him as the Leader, the Comforter, and all-sufficient Saviour of his people." The Indians were aware of the animosity manifested towards Friends by the rulers of Massachusetts. One of the chiefs said to Josiah Cole, "The Englishmen do not love Quakers; but the Quakers are honest men, and do no harm, and this is no Englishman's sea or land, and Quakers shall come here and welcome." Josiah Cole was deeply impressed with their kindness. "I do confess," he wrote, "this to be the Lord's hand of love towards me; through the goodness of the Lord we found these Indians more sober and Christian-like towards us than the Christians, so called."²

This faithful minister of the gospel, having accomplished his mission in America, embarked for England; and Thomas Thurston, after a short stay in Rhode Island, returned to Virginia.

Hitherto we have seen that the burden of suffering rested chiefly on the messengers of the gospel coming

¹ New England Jugged, 180. Bowden's History, I. 125.

² Josiah Cole's Letter, quoted by Bowden.

from abroad, but as the number of proselytes increased in New England, and meetings were held among them after the manner of Friends, they were made to feel the weight of persecution, by the spoiling of their goods, imprisonment, scourging, and banishment.

A meeting being held at the house of Nicholas Phelps, in the woods, about five miles from Salem, a commissioner named Butler attended and caused to be arrested, Samuel Shattock, Lawrence Southwick, Cassandra, his wife, Josiah, their son, Samuel Gaskin, and Joshua Buffum. When brought before the magistrates, one of the prisoners asked "How a Quaker might be known?" Simon Broadstreet, one of the magistrates, answered, "Thou art one for coming in with thy hat on." To which the prisoner rejoined, "It is a horrible thing to make such cruel laws, to whip, and cut off ears, and bore through the tongue, for not putting off the hat. They were sent to Boston and committed to the House of Correction, where, after some weeks, Samuel Shattock and Joshua Buffum were released; but the Southwicks were still detained in prison. Nicholas Phelps being arraigned before the court, and appearing with his hat on, was sent to Ipswich jail, and several times cruelly whipped.¹

Katherine Scott, of Providence, Rhode Island, an aged woman, of good education and respectable standing, was at Boston when Christopher Holder, John Copeland, and John Rous, suffered the loss of their ears, and she believed it her duty to remonstrate with the rulers on account of this cruel mutilation. Her faithful admonition being resented, she was com-

¹ Besse, II. 188.

mitted to prison and "subjected to the ignominious torture of the lash."

During her examination she was told that "they were likely to have a law to hang her if she came thither again;" to which she answered, "If God call us, wo be to us if we come not; and I question not but he whom we love, will make us not to count our lives dear unto ourselves for the sake of his name." The unfeeling Endicott replied, "And we shall be as ready to take away your lives as ye shall be to lay them down."¹ This courageous and intelligent woman was the sister of Anne Hutchinson, the celebrated leader of the Antinomians, and of John Wheelwright, both of whom were banished from Massachusetts, in 1637, for their religious opinions. Her husband, Richard Scott, and eight or nine of her children, embraced the principles of Friends. "The power of God," writes John Rous, "took place in all her children." "One of her daughters spoke as a minister in the following year, although but eleven years of age."²

In the town of Sandwich, there were many convinced of Friends' principles, who absented themselves from the established worship, and held meetings among themselves. The oath of fidelity being tendered to them in order to ensnare them, they conscientiously refused to take it, and for these offences they suffered by distraint of their goods, property being taken from nineteen individuals to the value of six hundred and sixty pounds.³

In other parts of Plymouth and Massachusetts, Friends, and those who sympathized with them, were

¹ New England Judged, 95.

² Bowden's History, II. 143.

³ Besse, II. 195.

subjected to severe penalties. Samuel Shattock, of Salem, for attending a meeting, was imprisoned and scourged, and had "half of his house, and the ground belonging to it, seized for the fines imposed;" and three of the inhabitants of Sandwich were placed in the stocks, merely for taking John Rous by the hand when he suffered for his religious principles.

In proportion as the doctrines of Friends took root and spread in the colonies, the clergy and rulers of Massachusetts resorted to more sanguinary measures, manifesting the cruelty of intolerant zeal, which proved, however, to be utterly powerless, when opposed to the meekness and firmness of a Christian spirit.

On the 20th of the Tenth month, 1658, an act was passed by the General Court at Boston for the banishment of Friends on pain of death. In this law it is declared, that any of "the cursed sect of the Quakers," not an inhabitant, but found within this jurisdiction, may be arrested without a warrant when no magistrate is at hand, by any constable, commissioner or select-man, and committed to prison, there to remain till the next court of assistants; and being convicted by the court "to be of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to be banished upon pain of death." And "every inhabitant of this jurisdiction convicted to be of the aforesaid sect," or "defending the horrid opinions of the Quakers," "*denying civil respect to equals or superiors*, and withdrawing from our church assemblies, and instead thereof frequenting meetings of their own," shall be committed to close prison one month, and then, unless they voluntarily depart this jurisdiction, shall give bond for their good behavior, and appear at the next court, when, continuing

obstinate, and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions, they shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death.”¹

This sanguinary law, which passed by a majority of one, was made at the instigation of the clergy, and bears on its face the evidence of their arrogance and bigotry.² There can be no doubt that in charging Friends with “denying civil respect to equals or superiors,” they allude to the practice of keeping on their hats, and refusing to give titles of honor. On such frivolous grounds did those sanctimonious Pharisees proceed to inflict on an innocent and peaceable people the extreme penalty of banishment or death.

The first person on whom the recent law was made to operate was William Brend. This aged minister of the gospel, who bore on his body the scars produced by his former scourgings in Boston, being again in that city in the Third month, 1659, was arrested and sentenced to banishment on pain of death, two days only being allowed for his departure. There appears to be no evidence of his being then on a religious mission, and from the fact that he withdrew to Rhode Island, we may reasonably conclude that he felt no religious obligation to remain in Boston; for on a former occasion his fidelity to the cause of truth had been abundantly manifested.³

The next victims subjected to the operation of this inhuman law, were Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps, Joshua Buffum, Lawrence Southwick, Cassandra his wife, and their son Josiah, all inhabitants of Salem.

¹ Besse, II. 190.

² Ibid, Bowden, I. 157. New England judged, 101.

³ Bowden's Hist., I. 161.

They had before been sufferers for conscience' sake; some having been prisoners for ten, and others for twenty weeks; three had been once subjected to scourging; two others twice; and one no less than four times, besides being plundered of their property to a large amount. In the Third month, 1659, they were arraigned before the court, when one of the prisoners asked the governor "what was the cause of these proceedings against them?" He answered, "It is for contemning authority in not coming to the ordinances of God;" and he added, "You have rebelled against the authority of the country in not departing according to our order." The Friends replied, "We have no other place to go to; our wives, and children, and estates are here; we have done nothing worthy of death, banishment, or bonds; and as for keeping meetings of our own, we have already suffered the penalty, by having upwards of a hundred pounds taken from us." The governor being silent, major-general Denison told them that "They stood against the authority of the country in not submitting to their laws;" and he added, "You and we are not able to live together, and at present the power is in our hands, therefore the strongest must fend off."¹ The six Friends were taken out of court for a short time, and then brought back, when sentence of banishment on pain of death was pronounced upon them, only two weeks being allowed for their preparation and departure.

Four days afterwards, Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps, and Josiah Southwick, embarked in a vessel bound for Barbadoes, intending to go from thence to England. Joshua Buffum went to Rhode Island; and

¹ New England Judged, 106. Besse, II. 198.

the aged couple, Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, passed over to Shelter Island, which lies near the eastern end of Long Island, and at that time belonged to Nathaniel Silvester, a Friend. Soon after reaching this hospitable retreat, and within three days of each other, the venerable exiles were released by death from the trials of time, and doubtless admitted to the rest reserved for the righteous.

The rulers of Massachusetts, not satisfied with banishing the parents, now directed their unrelenting hostility against the children. The only members of the Southwick family left in the colony were a son, Daniel, and a daughter named Provided. These two young persons were not deterred from following in the footsteps of their worthy parents. They absented themselves from the congregation of their persecutors; and for this offence were fined ten pounds, although it was well known that they had no estate, their parents having been reduced to poverty by repeated exactions.

In order to satisfy this unjust penalty, an order was issued by the General Court at Boston, authorizing the Treasurer to sell Daniel and Provided Southwick "to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes."¹ An attempt was made by Edmund Batter, the Treasurer, to carry into effect this nefarious scheme. He endeavored to transport them to Barbadoes for sale; but the masters of vessels to whom he applied refused to take them. One of the captains, in order to try him, objected, that "They would spoil

¹ In Whittier's beautiful poem on this subject, he has availed himself of a poet's license by substituting for "Provided," the name of "Cassandra Southwick."

his ship's company." "No," said the Treasurer, "you need not fear that, for they are poor harmless creatures, and will not hurt anybody." "Will you, then," rejoined the captain, "offer to make slaves of such harmless creatures?" Thus, the self-righteous ministers and rulers of Boston were rebuked by the sympathizing mariners, and the brother and sister were set at liberty to provide for themselves.¹

The intolerant zeal of the persecutors having reached its climax, they were prepared to execute on their next victims the extreme penalty of their sanguinary law.

William Robinson, a merchant of London, was one of the company who came over with Capt. Fowler, in the *Woodhouse*. He had for some time been engaged in religious service in Virginia, and came to Rhode Island in the early part of the year 1659. Here he met with Marmaduke Stevenson, a countryman of Yorkshire, who had recently come from Barbadoes. While in Rhode Island, William Robinson came under deep religious exercise, which he subsequently described in the following language: "On the eighth day of the Fourth month, 1659, in the after part of the day, in travelling betwixt Newport, in Rhode Island, and Daniel Gould's house, with my dear brother Christopher Holder, the word of the Lord came expressly to me, which did fill me immediately with life, and power, and heavenly love, by which he constrained me and commanded me to pass to the town of Boston, my life to lay down in his will, for the accomplishing of his service, that he had there

¹ Besse, II. 197. *New England Judged*, 107.

to perform at the day appointed. To which heavenly voice I presently yielded obedience.”¹ . . .

Marmaduke Stevenson, while in Barbadoes engaged in religious services, conceived it to be his religious duty to visit New England, and soon after his arrival in Rhode Island, his mind was impressed with a command, which he believed to be from the Lord, saying, “Go to Boston, with thy brother William Robinson.” These two devoted servants of the Most High, yielding without hesitation to their impressions of duty, proceeded towards Boston, which they reached about the middle of the Fourth month, on a day of public fasting. They went to one of the meetings, where, after waiting till the minister had done, they attempted to address the congregation. Their presence produced great excitement, and they were forthwith sent to prison. At the same time, Nicholas Davis, of Sandwich, and Patience Scott, a young Friend of Providence, being in Boston, were committed to prison under the same warrant.

The business which called Nicholas Davis to Boston was of a temporal nature; but the object of Patience Scott’s visit was “to bear witness against the persecuting spirit” of the clergy and rulers of Massachusetts.² Her extreme youthfulness imparts additional interest to her extraordinary journey. Her parents were Richard and Katherine Scott, of Providence, already mentioned, and, at the time of her visit to Boston, she was only eleven years old, but endued with a wisdom much beyond her age, and called by the Most High to bear witness to his truth.

¹ Besse, II. 199. N. Eng. Judged, 127. Bowden’s Hist., I. 167.

² *Ibid.*

Hers is not the only case of very young persons in the Society of Friends, being called to the ministry of the gospel, as may be seen in the course of this work. During her examination before the magistrates, "she spoke so well to the purpose, that she confounded her enemies, some of whom confessed that they had many children who had been well educated, and that it were well if they could say half as much for God as she could for the devil."¹

William Robinson, writing to George Fox, about a month after her imprisonment, thus alludes to her: "Here is a daughter of Katherine Scott, who is a prisoner in the jailer's house: she is a fine child, and is finely kept: she is about eleven or twelve years of age, and is of good understanding."

This youthful confessor placed the court in a dilemma; for it seemed absurd to banish, on pain of death, a mere child; and, therefore, they placed on record the following singular minute:

"The court, duly considering the malice of Satan and his instruments, by all means and ways to propagate error and disturb the truth, and being in confusion among us; that Satan is put to his shifts, to make use of such a child, not being of the years of discretion, nor understanding the principles of religion, judge meet so far to slight her as a Quaker, as only to admonish and instruct her according to her capacity; and so discharge her; Captain Hutchinson undertaking to send her home."²

William Robinson, while imprisoned at Boston, wrote a letter to George Fox, in which he says, "I

¹ New England Judged, 114, and Sewel, I. 279.

² Bowden's History, II. 169.

am now a prisoner, with my brother, Marmaduke Stevenson, for the testimony of Jesus. Soon after I came to Rhode Island, the Lord commanded me to pass to Boston, to bear my testimony against their persecution, and to try their bloody law which they have made, with the laying down of my life, if they have power to take it from me; for truly I am given up in my spirit into the hand of the Lord to do with me as he sees meet; for verily my life is laid down and my spirit is freely given up for the service of God, whereunto he hath called me.”¹

While these devoted disciples of Christ were awaiting their trial, another was added to their number. Mary Dyer was an inhabitant of Rhode Island, and the mother of several children. Her husband was one of the original settlers of that Island, and held the office of secretary. It appears that in early life she had been one of Anne Hutchinson's adherents, who were expelled from Massachusetts on account of their religious opinions.² After she became a Friend, she was imprisoned in Boston, in 1657, and in New Haven, in 1658, which places she visited as a minister of the gospel. In 1659, hearing of the imprisonment of four Friends in Boston, she believed it her duty to visit them; and soon after her arrival in that city she was likewise committed to prison.

At the Court of Assistants, held the 12th of the Seventh month (September), sentence of banishment on pain of death was passed upon William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Dyer, and Nicholas Davis, on the simple ground that they were Quakers, and they were allowed but two days to depart the jurisdiction.

¹ Bowden's History, I. 171.

² Ibid, I. 202.

Being discharged from prison, Nicholas Davis proceeded to his house at Sandwich, and Mary Dyer returned to her family in Rhode Island; but William Robinson, and Marmaduke Stevenson, went to Salem, where, among their fellow-believers, they were engaged in religious labor.

Daniel Gould, of Rhode Island, joined them at Salem from a sense of duty. "Here," he remarks, "the people were much exercised in their minds concerning them, and some were willing to hear; but by reason of their cruel law, were afraid to have meetings at their houses. They had a meeting in the woods, not far from Salem, and great flocking there was to hear; the Lord was mightily with them, and they spoke of the things of God boldly, to the affecting and tendering of the hearts of many."¹

They travelled northward as far as Piscataway, and "found the people tender and loving." "Divers," says Peter Pearson, "were convinced, the power of the Lord accompanying them; and with astonishment confounded their enemies before them, great was their service in that jurisdiction for four weeks and upwards."²

In the mean time, Mary Dyer, accompanied by Hope Clifton, a Friend, of Rhode Island, returned to Boston, under an apprehension of religious duty. They went to the prison to visit Christopher Holder, who, about three weeks previously, had come to Boston to seek a passage for England, but was apprehended and imprisoned. Mary Dyer, being recognised by an officer, was imprisoned in the House of Correction, together

¹ D. Gould's Narrative, quoted by Bowden.

² P. Pearson's Letter, quoted by Bowden.

with her friend Hope Clifton. On the same day, Mary Scott, of Providence, daughter of Richard and Katherine Scott, having come to visit Christopher Holder, to whom she was under engagement of marriage, was likewise arrested and imprisoned.

Robert Harper, of Sandwich, about the same time, came to Boston on business, and being arrested as a Quaker, was imprisoned with them. In addition to these, the good old Nicholas Upshall, having returned to visit his family, after three years' banishment, was again incarcerated by his relentless persecutors.

In less than a week after the return of Mary Dyer to Boston, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson made their appearance in that city, with the full expectation of laying down their lives as a testimony for the Truth. They were accompanied by Daniel Gould, Hannah, the wife of the exiled Nicholas Phelps, William King, Mary Trask, Margaret Smith, and Alice Cowland, the latter of whom "brought linen to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer."¹ "This mournful little company, as they left Salem, bearing with them the habiliments for the dead, partook much of the character of a funeral procession; and as they drew towards the persecuting city, they felt that they were approaching the spot where they were to witness the martyrdom of two beloved servants of Christ."² It was a manifestation of fidelity and fortitude that has seldom been equalled in any age of the Christian church.

On their arrival at Boston, they were promptly arrested, and, "after a mocking and scoffing examination by the magistrates," they were all committed

¹ New England Judged, 119.

² Bowden's History, I. 177.

to prison, the jailer being directed to place William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson in chains, and to keep them in a separate cell.¹

About the same time, Provided Southwick coming to the jail to see a relative, was met by the deputy-governor and committed to prison.

On the 19th of October (then the Eighth month, O. S.), 1659, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer, were arraigned before the court, and asked, "Why they came into that jurisdiction after being banished on pain of death?" To which they answered, that "they came in obedience to a divine call." The governor said, "he desired not their deaths, and that they had liberty to speak for themselves;" yet he commanded the jailer to take them away, and they were returned to prison.

The next day there was a meeting for worship, at which the officiating minister endeavored to stir up the persecuting zeal of his audience. "After the worship was ended," says Bishop, "being heated by the priests and prepared to shed the blood of the innocent," the three Friends were again brought before the court.² Endicott, the governor, said to them, "We have made many laws, and endeavored by several ways to keep you from us, and neither whipping nor imprisonment, cutting off ears nor banishment upon pain of death, will keep you from among us; I desire not your death." Yet presently he added, "Give ear, and hearken to your sentence of death." Here he paused, as if hesitating to pronounce the dreadful penalty. William Robinson then desired

¹ Bowden's History, I. 177.

² G. Bishop's New England Judged, 120.

that he might be permitted to read to the court a paper explanatory of his motives for remaining in the colony. Endicott replied, in an angry tone, "You shall not read it, nor will the court hear it read." The paper being laid on the table, was handed to the governor, who read it to himself; after which, addressing William Robinson, he proceeded to pronounce the horrible sentence, "You shall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead."¹

Marmaduke Stevenson being next called, the governor said to him, "If you have anything to say, you may speak." But he, seeing how his friend had been treated, made no reply. The governor then pronounced the sentence of death upon him in the usual form, after which Marmaduke Stevenson spoke as follows: "Give ear, ye magistrates, and all who are guilty, for the Lord hath said concerning you, who will perform his word upon you, that the same day ye put his servants to death shall the day of your visitation pass over your heads, and you shall be cursed forevermore; the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it. Therefore, in love to you all, I exhort you to take warning before it be too late, that so the curse may be removed. For, assuredly, if you put us to death you will bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and swift destruction will come upon you."² Mary Dyer was then called, and the same awful sentence pronounced upon her. She meekly replied, "The will of the Lord be done;" and when

¹ G. Bishop's *New England Judged*, 120.

² *Ibid*, 121. Sewel, I. 284.

the marshal was told to take her away, she said, "Yea, joyfully shall I go." On her way to the prison she evinced the peace and consolation that she experienced, by expressions of praise to the Most High that he counted her worthy to suffer for his cause.

While in prison she wrote a letter to the General court in Boston, expostulating with them for their cruel laws and persecuting spirit. It concludes in these words: "Let the time past suffice for such a profession as brings forth such fruits as these laws are. In love and in the spirit of meekness, I again beseech you, for I have no enmity to the persons of any; but ye shall know that God will not be mocked; but what ye sow that shall ye reap from him that will render to every one according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil."

It had been the practice of the court, from the beginning of this persecution, to prohibit the citizens from having any intercourse with the imprisoned Friends; but now, the feelings of the people being deeply moved, they flocked to the prison windows to evince their sympathy, and hear exhortations from within.¹

The time appointed for the execution was the 27th of the Eighth month, being a week after the condemnation. On the morning of that day, "there came," says Daniel Gould, "a multitude of people about the prison, and we, being in an upper room, William Robinson put forth his hand at a window, and spoke to the people concerning the things of God; at which the people flocked about, earnest to hear, and gave serious attention."² This being noised abroad, Cap-

¹ New England Judget, 122.

² Gould's Narrative, quoted by Bowden.

tain James Oliver, and a company with him, came to disperse the crowd; but not being able to effect it, he entered the prison, and in an abusive manner, thrust the Friends into a narrow cell, where they could not see the people. "As we sat together, waiting upon the Lord," writes one of them, "it was a time of love; for as the world hated us, and despitefully used us, so the Lord was pleased in a wonderful manner to manifest his supporting love and kindness to us in our innocent sufferings, especially to the worthies who had now nearly finished their course, for God had given them a sure word that their souls should rest in eternal peace. God was with them, and many sweet and heavenly sayings they gave unto us, being themselves filled with comfort."

While the Friends were thus engaged in humble prayer and devout thanksgiving, there was a public meeting held in the city, at which the magistrates and others were assembled. Here the minister was engaged, as he had been the week previous, in blowing up the fiery zeal of his followers against those whom he was pleased to term "the cursed sect of Quakers," charging them with holding "diabolical doctrines."¹

The lecture being ended, the drums were beaten, and the marshal, Michaelson, attended by Captain James Oliver, with about two hundred men, besides many horsemen, proceeded to the prison. "While we were yet embracing each other, and taking leave with full hearts," writes one of the prisoners, "the officers came in and took the two from us, as sheep for the slaughter."² These two were William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, who were in a sepa-

¹ Gould's Narrative, quoted by Bowden.

² Ibid.

rate prison from Mary Dyer, she being in the House of Correction.

The three martyrs being placed together, preceded by the drummers, and guarded by soldiers, the procession began its march to Boston Common, the place of execution. The authorities, fearing the people would be touched with compassion by the mournful spectacle, directed the officer to proceed by a back way, avoiding the public thoroughfare.

The marshal evinced his unfeeling levity by saying to Mary Dyer, as she walked between her two fellow-prisoners, "Are you not ashamed to walk thus, hand-in-hand, between two young men?" "No," replied she, "this is an hour of the greatest joy I could partake of in this world. No eye can see, no ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand the sweet incomes and the refreshings of the spirit of the Lord which I now feel." William Robinson said, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness," and Marmaduke Stevenson added, "This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you." They said more, but the drums being beaten, their words could not be distinguished.

Wilson, a clergyman of Boston, who had urged the court to hang the Quakers, now joined the procession, and manifested his ruthless malevolence by saying to William Robinson, in a taunting manner, "Shall such jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on?" To which Robinson replied, "Mind you, mind you, it is for not putting off the hat, that we are put to death."

Having arrived at the gallows, William Robinson

¹ New England Jugged, 124. Sewel, I. 288.

went cheerfully up the ladder, and said to the people, "We suffer not as evil-doers, but as those who have testified and manifested the truth. This is the day of your visitation, therefore mind the light that is in you — the light of Christ — of which I have testified, and am now going to seal my testimony with my blood." This so incensed the implacable Wilson, that he replied, "Hold thy tongue; be silent; thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth." The rope being now around his neck, the executioner bound his hands and legs, and tied his neckcloth about his face; which being done, Robinson said, "Now, ye are made manifest." His last words were, "I suffer for Christ, in whom I live and for whom I die."

Marmaduke Stevenson was the next to suffer. As he ascended the ladder, he said, "Be it known unto all this day, that we suffer not as evil-doers, but for conscience' sake:" and when about to be turned off, he added, "This day shall we be at rest with the Lord."

Mary Dyer, having witnessed the execution of her companions, and seeing their dead bodies hanging before her, firmly ascended the ladder. The halter being adjusted, her clothes tied about her feet, and her face covered with a handkerchief, which Wilson lent for the purpose, she was just about to be turned off, when a cry was heard, "Stop, she is reprieved."

The reprieve, which had been granted at the intercession of her son, being read, the halter was taken off, and she was requested to come down. This was a joyful announcement to many of the spectators, but it brought no joy to her, for she felt assured she had been standing on the threshold of eternal bliss; but now she must return to the trials of time. "I am willing," she said, "to suffer as my brethren have

done, unless you will annul your wicked law.”¹ Little attention was paid to her words: the marshal and others took her down, and carried her back to the prison, where she was detained forty-eight hours, and then conveyed to Rhode Island.

The bodies of the two martyrs were treated with shocking indignity, being cut loose and suffered to fall, then stripped of their clothing, thrown into a pit, and left uncovered. Their friends were denied the privilege of giving them decent burial, or even of fencing around the pit; which being soon filled with water, alone prevented the wild beasts from preying upon them.

Many of the people who witnessed the executions returned sad and discontented; for they could not but perceive that malice, as well as bigotry, was evinced by the conduct of their ministers and rulers.

About two weeks after these executions, the other Friends remaining in prison were brought before the court, and sentence passed upon them. Christopher Holder was banished on pain of death; Alice Cowland, Hannah Phelps, Mary Scott, and Hope Clifton, were admonished by the governor; and all the others, after being stripped to the waist, were severely scourged in the public street—Daniel Gould receiving thirty stripes, William King fifteen, and Margaret Smith, Mary Trask, and Provided Southwick, each ten stripes. They were then remanded to prison until the jailer’s fees should be paid; but this they could not conscientiously do, and therefore they remained prisoners until some sympathizing citizens agreed to pay the amount.

¹ Sewel, I. 288.

The cruelties inflicted upon the Friends, caused much excitement, and so many of the citizens crowded around the jail during these proceedings, that a guard was set to prevent their access.

There can be but one opinion, among all reflecting minds, concerning the bloody tragedy enacted at Boston; it should be remembered, however, that a large proportion of the colonists were opposed to the course pursued, and the infamy must rest upon a few, who were enabled, by the ecclesiastical feature of their government, to hold the reins of power.

CHAPTER XV.

NEW ENGLAND.

1659-61.

So great was the abhorrence excited among many of the inhabitants of Massachusetts by the cruelties inflicted on the unresisting Friends, that the persecuting governor and magistrates found it necessary to make some effort to appease the growing discontent.

They issued a "declaration" of the grounds on which they had acted, asserting that their proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer, were "supported by the authority of the court, the laws of the country, and the law of God." In this document, they accuse the Friends of having

exhibited "impetuous and frantic fury," in their "insolent obtrusions" upon the colony, after being banished; and they conclude as follows: "The consideration of our gradual proceedings will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of severity, our own just and necessary defence calling upon us, other means failing, to offer the point which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become *felones de se*, which, might it have been prevented, and the sovereign law, *salus populi*, been preserved, our former proceedings, as well as the sparing Mary Dyer upon an inconsiderable intercession, will manifestly evince that we desire their lives absent rather than their deaths present."¹

In answer to the charge, "that the Quakers rushed on the sword, and so were suicides," it has been remarked by a distinguished historian, that, "If it were so, the men who held the sword were accessories to the crime."² It should, moreover, be remembered, that the Friends from England had a legal right to travel any where in the British dominions, and that the dependent colonies had no authority to make laws inconsistent with the laws of Parliament or the English Constitution. Many of those who were banished on pain of death, were inhabitants of Massachusetts, and the mere fact of their being Quakers was the only ground on which they were condemned.

No justification can be found for such inhuman proceedings, nor were they satisfactory to the people of Massachusetts, save those only whose passions had been inflamed by the denunciations of the clergy.

¹ New England Judged, and Sewel's History.

² Bancroft's United States, I. 454.

Colonel Temple, a respectable colonist, feeling a sympathy for the persecuted Friends, said to the court: "If, according to your declaration, ye desire 'their lives absent rather than their deaths present;' I will beg them of you, and carry them away at my own charge, and furnish them a house to live in, corn to eat, and land to cultivate; and if any of them come among you again, I will remove them at my own charge."¹ John Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, was opposed to persecution, and he earnestly entreated the authorities of Boston not to put the Quakers to death. John Chamberlain of Boston, and Edward Wharton of Salem, on witnessing the meekness and resignation of the suffering Friends, were led to inquire into their principles, which being found in accordance with their own convictions of duty, they cordially embraced them, and patiently endured the penalties that ensued.² In like manner, large numbers in the several colonies of New England were induced to examine and embrace the pure and peaceable principles of Friends, showing that their sufferings were eminently instrumental in promoting the cause they had espoused.

Mary Dyer, after her reprieve and expulsion from Massachusetts, went to her home in Rhode Island, and having made some stay there, she passed over to Long Island, where she spent most of the winter. She then went to Shelter Island, and from thence to her home; but she was not permitted long to enjoy the society of her family and friends, for she believed a necessity was laid upon her again to visit the scene of her former sufferings.³ On the 21st of the Third

¹ New England Judged, 157.

² Ibid.

³ Besse, II. 206, and Bowden's Hist. I. 197.

month, 1660, she came to Boston, and during ten days remained unmolested, being engaged, as we may reasonably suppose, in inculcating the principles of her faith.

On the 31st, she was arraigned before the court, and interrogated as follows:—

Endicott.—“Are you the same Mary Dyer that was here before?”

M. Dyer.—“I am the same Mary Dyer that was here the last General Court.”

Endicott.—“You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not?”

M. Dyer.—“I own myself to be reproachfully called so.”

Endicott.—“The sentence was passed upon her the last General Court, and now likewise. You must return to the prison and there remain till to-morrow at nine o'clock; then from there you must go to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead.”

M. Dyer.—“This is no more than what thou saidst before.”

Endicott.—“But now it is to be executed; therefore prepare yourself to-morrow at nine o'clock.”

M. Dyer.—“I came in obedience to the will of God, to the last General Court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws for banishment on pain of death; and that same is my work now, and earnest request; although I told you that if you refused to repeal them, the Lord would send others of his servants to witness against them.”

Endicott.—“Are you a prophetess?”

M. Dyer.—“I spoke the words that the Lord spoke to me, and now the thing is come to pass.”¹

¹ Besse, II. 206.

She then proceeded to speak further of her religious mission; but Endicott cried, "Away with her, away with her;" and she was forthwith conducted to prison.

The family of Mary Dyer being involved in deep distress, her husband, who was not a Friend, addressed to governor Endicott a letter, beseeching him in the most moving terms, to extend mercy to her, who, as a wife and a mother, was dearly beloved.² This appeal seems to have had no effect upon the governor's obdurate heart.

About the time appointed, Michaelson, the Marshal, came to the prison to lead forth Mary Dyer to execution. He called her to come without delay. She desired him "to stay a little, and she would be ready presently." He replied harshly, "I cannot wait upon you, but you shall wait upon me." She was guarded to the place of execution by a band of soldiers, and drums were beaten before and behind her to prevent the people from hearing, if she should attempt to speak. Being come to the gallows, she ascended the ladder, when she was told, "If she would return, she might come down and save her life." She answered, "Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to death." Captain John Webb then charged her with being "guilty of her own blood," in coming thither after being banished on pain of death. "Nay," she replied, "I came to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of banishment on pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord; therefore my blood will be required at your hands who wilfully do it; but

¹ Bowden's Hist., I. 200.

for those that do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to his will I stand even to death." Then cried Wilson, the persecuting minister of Boston, "O! repent, repent, and be not so deluded and carried away by the deceit of the devil." Mary Dyer answered, "Nay, man, I am not now to repent;" and being asked "whether she would have the elders to pray for her?" she said, "I know never an elder here." Being further questioned, "whether she would have any of the people to pray for her?" she said, "I desire the prayers of all the people of God." A by-stander scoffingly remarked, "It may be she thinks there are none here." She answered, "I know but few here." It was again suggested "that one of the elders might pray for her." She replied, "First a child, then a young man, then a strong man, before an elder in Christ Jesus." One of her persecutors reproached her with having said she had been in Paradise. She unhesitatingly answered, "Yea, I have been in Paradise these several days;" and with full assurance of divine favor she spoke of the eternal happiness into which she was now to enter.¹ In this happy frame of mind she died a martyr for "the testimony of Jesus Christ," and doubtless her purified spirit entered into a mansion of bliss.

Among the manifold sufferings of the Early Friends, none produced a more deep and lasting impression than the execution of Mary Dyer. The gravity of her deportment, the purity of her life, the ability and refinement of her mind, as well as the spiritual gifts

¹ Besse, II. 207. Sewel, I. 292.

with which she was endowed, gave her a strong hold on the affections of her friends, and, doubtless, induced many to embrace those Christian principles which shone forth in her example.

At the time of Mary Dyer's execution, several Friends were in prison at Boston, among whom were Joseph Nicholson, and Jane his wife, from Cumberland, in England. It appears that they came with the intention of making their residence in Massachusetts; but, were arrested, and on the 7th of the First month, 1660, brought before the court in Boston. After examination, by Endicott, they were remanded to prison. The next day, being again arraigned, they were sentenced to banishment on pain of death, and allowed only till the 16th of the same month for their departure. Jane Nicholson was not able to travel until the last day of their limited time, when they went to Salem, and remained there four days. On the twentieth, two constables came and conducted them to Boston, where they were again imprisoned, having, according to the law of Massachusetts, forfeited their lives by remaining in the colony. While lying in prison, Joseph Nicholson wrote a remonstrance to the rulers of the province, entitled "The Standard of the Lord, lifted up in New England, in opposition to the man of Sin."¹

On the day that Mary Dyer was executed, Joseph and Jane Nicholson were arraigned before the court, and again manifested their fidelity to their Lord and Master, by avowing their principles at the hazard of their lives. The sanguinary tribunal was brought to a pause; the judges, probably fearing the indignation

¹ Whiting's Catalogue, and Bowden's Hist.

of the people, durst not pronounce the awful sentence of death, and the prisoners were set at liberty. Leaving Boston, they proceeded to the colony of Plymouth, but there the authorities would not suffer them to remain; and they sought a resting-place in Rhode Island, the asylum of the persecuted.¹

William Leddra, an inhabitant of Barbadoes, has already been mentioned as having been imprisoned at Boston.² After his release he went to Barbadoes, but, subsequently returned to New England, and visited Massachusetts, where he was arrested, severely scourged, and banished on pain of death. Under a sense of religious duty, he returned to Boston, towards the close of the year 1660; and, on going to the jail to visit the Friends confined there, he was arrested and imprisoned. Having, according to their law, forfeited his life by returning, he was treated with great barbarity; being placed in irons, and chained to a log of wood, he was kept without fire in an open prison, exposed to the severity of a New England winter.

On the 9th of the First month, 1661, he was arraigned before the court of assistants, together with his fellow-prisoners, Edward Wharton of Salem, John Chamberlain of Boston, and Robert Harper and his wife of Sandwich. William Leddra being brought to the bar with his irons upon him, and still chained to the log, was told, that "having returned after sentence of banishment, he had incurred the penalty of death by the law." He inquired "what evil he had done?" The court answered, "he had owned those that were put to death, and said they were innocent; had refused to put off his hat in court, and said thee and thou."

¹ New England Judged, 223.

² See Chap. XIV.

He replied, "Will you put me to death for speaking English, and for not putting off my clothes?" Major-General Denison made the irrelevant and absurd remark, "A man may speak treason in English." "Is it treason," replied William Leddra, "to say thee and thou to a single person?" Simon Broadstreet, a persecuting magistrate, inquired, "Will you go for England?" William answered, "I have no business there." "Then you shall go that way," said Broadstreet, pointing to the gallows. "What," said the prisoner, "will you put me to death for breathing the air in your jurisdiction? What have you against me? I appeal to the laws of England for my trial; if by them I am guilty, I refuse not to die." The court would not accept his appeal, but endeavored to persuade him to recant and renounce his alleged errors. With unwavering fidelity he answered, "What! to join with such murderers as you are; then let every man that meets me say, 'Lo! this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his salvation.'"

At this juncture, Edward Wharton, and some of his fellow-prisoners in court, began to manifest their abhorrence of the attempt to condemn an innocent man on such frivolous pretences. One of the magistrates cried out, "gag Edward Wharton:" others called to the jailer to take them away; and, accordingly, they were all, except William Leddra, remanded to prison.¹ But another interruption of a most extraordinary kind now took place. Wenlock Christison, a Friend, who had at a former term been banished on pain of death, deliberately walked into court with his hat on his head. His sudden appear-

¹ New England Jugged, 318.

ance struck a damp upon the court, and for some time there was a profound silence. At length one of the magistrates, recovering from his surprise, said: "Here is another, fetch him up to the bar." The marshal brought him up, and told him to take off his hat.¹

Wenlock.—No, I shall not.

Secretary Rawson.—Is not your name Wenlock Christison?

Wenlock.—Yes.

Governor Endicott.—Wast thou not banished upon pain of death?

Wenlock.—Yea, I was.

Endicott.—What dost thou here, then?

Wenlock.—I came to warn you that you shed no more innocent blood; for the blood that you have shed already cries to the Lord for vengeance to come upon you.

The court then ordered him to be taken into custody, and he was committed to jail.

After this the court adjourned, and sat again on the 11th of the same month, when William Leddra, Edward Wharton, John Chamberlain, Robert Harper, and his wife, were arraigned.

Bellingham, the deputy-governor, seeing among the prisoners Edward Wharton, with whom he was well acquainted, exclaimed, "Who is that, Edward Wharton? Surely, it is not Edward Wharton." On which William Leddra remarked, "Thou shouldst not lie; for thou knowest it is Edward Wharton."

This blunt reproof produced much excitement in the court, and some of the magistrates said William

¹ New England Judged, 319.

Leddra ought to be carried out and whipped. One of them remarked, that the deputy-governor did but jest, and that jesting was lawful, for Eliás jested with Baal's priests.

Order being restored, the examination proceeded.

Edward Wharton being called, said to the governor, "What hast thou to lay to my charge?"

Endicott.—You have not taken off your hat. I pity your delusion.

E. Wharton.—To take off my hat would do thee but little good, and as for my being deluded, the truth never deludes any man; but by it I am made to see and know that the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men. By the power of this grace I am made willing to suffer for His name, accounting it greater riches to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; and this, through his grace, in my measure, I can bear witness.

Endicott [*scoffingly*].—"In my measure!" This is right the Quaker's words. Hast thou grace?

E. Wharton.—Yes.

Endicott.—How dost thou know thou hast grace?

E. Wharton.—He that believeth in the Son of God needs not go to others, for he hath the witness in himself, as said John, and this witness is the Spirit.

The examination being for a while suspended, and again resumed, Edward Wharton said, "Wherefore have I been fetched from my habitation, where I was following my honest calling, and here laid up as an evil-doer?"

The Court.—Your hair is too long, and you are disobedient to the commandment which saith, "Honor thy father and thy mother."

E. Wharton.—Wherein?

The Court.—In that you will not put off your hat before the magistrates.

E. Wharton.—I love and own all magistrates and rulers, who are for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.

Secretary Rawson.—Edward Wharton, come to the bar.

E. Wharton.—Yea, and to the bench too, for thou hast no evil justly to lay to my charge.

Rawson.—Hold up your hand.

E. Wharton.—I will not. Thou hast no evil to charge me with.

Rawson.—Hear your sentence of banishment.

E. Wharton.—Have a care what you do; for if you murder me, my blood will lie upon you.

Rawson.—Edward Wharton, attend to your sentence of banishment. You are to depart this jurisdiction, it being the eleventh of this instant, March, by the one and twentieth of the same, on pain of death.

E. Wharton.—Friends, I am a single man, and have dealings with some people; it were good I had time to make clear with all, and then, if you have power to murder me, you may.

Endicott [after consulting with *Rawson*].—If we should give him an hundred days, it is all one.

E. Wharton.—Nay, I shall not go away; therefore be careful what you do.

There being in the court-house a great concourse of people, the prisoner thus addressed them: “All people take notice, what horrible wicked and unjust men these are. They have kept me almost a year close prisoner, night and day; they have banished

me, on pain of death; and, for aught I know, they will murder me; and yet they have nothing to charge me with, but my hat and my hair."

Rawson, then, taking the book of records, read from it, that the prisoner had travelled up and down with William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson. Edward Wharton answered, "What readest thou that for? Have you not ploughed furrows on my back for that already, although you had no law for it?" Rawson being silenced, the deputy-governor, Bellingham, proposed that Edward Wharton should be whipped and returned to jail; but this counsel not prevailing, he was released, and went to his home at Salem. He did not depart from the colony; but attended the execution of his friend, William Leddra, and bore open testimony against that atrocious deed.

The court proceeded to pass sentence upon the other prisoners. John Chamberlain and Robert Harper were banished on pain of death, and the wife of Robert Harper, on pain of imprisonment. William Leddra received sentence of death, and the 14th of the same month was appointed for his execution.¹

Being returned to prison, his heart was filled with the sweet influence of divine love, and his fortitude strengthened with the assurance of faith that he was soon to exchange the trials of time for the joys of eternity. While awaiting his execution he wrote an epistle addressed "To the Society of the Little Flock of Christ," from which the following passages are taken:

"Oh! my Beloved! I have waited like a dove at the windows of the ark; and have stood still in that

¹ New England Judged, 320-6.

watch which the Master, without whom I could do nothing, did at his coming reward with the fulness of his love; wherein my heart did rejoice that I might, in the love and life of God, speak a few words to you, sealed with the spirit of promise, that the taste thereof might be a savor of life to your life, and a testimony in you of my innocent death." "As the flowing of the ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and [as it] then retires again towards its own being and fulness, and leaves a savor behind it, so doth the life and virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom he hath made partakers of his divine nature; and when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a sweet savor behind it, that many can say they are made clean through the word that he hath spoken to them; in which innocent condition you may see what you are in the presence of God, and what you are without Him." "Stand in the watch within, in the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom—the state wherein you are ready to receive the secrets of the Lord. Hunger and thirst patiently, be not weary, neither doubt, stand still and cease from thine own working, and in due time thou shalt enter into the rest, and thy eyes shall behold his salvation whose testimonies are sure and righteous altogether."¹

On the morning of the day set for the execution, as on similar occasions before, a meeting, professedly for divine worship, was held by the persecuting ministers of Boston, in which they prostituted their high office to the vile purpose of inciting in their audience a fanatical zeal, that prepared them to imbrue their

¹ Besse, II. 218.

hands in the blood of the innocent. The lecture being ended, the governor, with a guard of soldiers, proceeded to the jail and knocked off the irons which William Leddra had worn during his imprisonment. He then took a solemn farewell of his fellow-prisoners, and was led forth as a lamb to the slaughter.

On reaching the street he was immediately surrounded by the guard, to prevent him from speaking with his friends. Edward Wharton being present, exclaimed, "What, will ye show yourselves worse than Bonner's bloody brood? Will you not let me come near my suffering friend before you kill him?" One of the company replied, "It will be your turn next;" and an officer threatened to stop his mouth, if he spoke another word.

Being come to the place of execution, William Leddra took leave of his friend Edward Wharton, to whom he said, "All that will be Christ's disciples, must take up his cross." Then, turning towards the people, he said: "For bearing my testimony for the Lord against the deceivers and the deceived, am I brought here to suffer." The people being much affected, an old persecuting clergyman named Allen, said to them, "People, I would not have you think it strange to see a man so willing to die, for it is no new thing. And you may read how the Apostle saith that some should be given up to strong delusions, and even dare to die for it." This passage, not being found in the Scriptures, shows that the old Pharisee could forge a text when required to sanction their cruel proceedings.

William Leddra, having ascended the ladder, stood while the executioner adjusted the halter around his neck, and then he meekly said, "I commit my right-

eous cause unto thee, O God." His last words were, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."¹ Thus died, in a serene and composed state of mind, conscious of divine support, the fourth victim of fanatic zeal and clerical intolerance. In no age of the Christian church have the martyrs who sealed their testimony with their blood, given stronger evidence of love to God, and fidelity to their convictions of duty.

The body being cut down, Edward Wharton and three of his friends, John Chamberlain, Robert Harper, and Philip Verin, received it in their arms, placed it in a coffin, and gave it decent burial. This privilege would, probably, not have been granted, but for the general expression of abhorrence at the indignities to which the corpses of the other three martyrs had been subjected. It is worthy of note that of the four Friends who performed the obsequies of William Leddra, three were then under sentence of banishment on pain of death.

Neither threats nor sufferings could shake the fidelity of that devoted band, who were called by their Lord and master to preach the gospel of peace, and to exemplify the meekness and purity of the Christian character, among a people deceived and controlled by a bigoted priesthood, making high professions of sanctity, but strangers to the spirit of Christ.

We have seen that Wenlock Christison, having come into court during the examination of William Leddra, was committed to prison. He was again brought before the court on the day that William Leddra was executed, and efforts were made by En-

¹ New England Judged, 329.

dicott and others, to intimidate him. "Except you will renounce your religion," they said, "you shall surely die." "Nay," replied Wenlock, "I shall not renounce my religion, nor seek to save my life, neither do I intend to deny my master; but if I lose my life for Christ's sake, and the preaching of the gospel, I shall save it." This undaunted reply induced the court to pause in their course, and he was remanded to prison.

At the next General Court, being about the beginning of the Fourth month, 1661, he was again placed at the bar, and the Governor asked him what he had to say for himself why he should not die.

Wenlock.—"I have done nothing worthy of death; if I had, I refuse not to die.

Endicott. — "Thou art come in among us in rebellion, which is as the sin of witchcraft, and ought to be punished."

Wenlock.—"I came not in among you in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of Heaven; not in contempt to any of you, but in love to your souls and bodies; and that you shall know one day, when you and all men must give an account of your deeds done in the body. Take heed, for you cannot escape the righteous judgments of God."

Major-General Alderton. — "You pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord God are not come upon us yet."

Wenlock. — "Be not proud, neither let your spirits be lifted up; God doth but wait till the measure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your ungodly race; then will the wrath of God come upon you to the uttermost. And as for thy part, it hangs

over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and shall come as a thief in the night, suddenly, when thou thinkest not of it. By what law will you put me to death?"

Court.—"We have a law, and, by our law, you are to die."

Wenlock.—"So said the Jews of Christ, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Who empowered you to make that law?"

Court.—"We have a patent, and are patentees; judge whether we have not power to make laws."

Wenlock.—"How! Have you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of England?"

Endicott.—"Nay."

Wenlock.—"Then you are gone beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your patent, and this is more than you can answer. Are you subjects to the King, yea or nay?"

Secretary Rawson.—"What will you infer from that? What good will that do you?"

Wenlock.—"If you are, say so; for in your petition to the King, you desire that he will protect you, and that you may be worthy to kneel among his loyal subjects."

Court.—"Yes."

Wenlock.—"So am I, and for anything I know am as good as you, if not better; for if the King did but know your hearts, as God knows them, he would see that your hearts are as rotten towards him as they are towards God. Therefore seeing that you and I are subjects to the King, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation."

Court.—"You shall be tried by a bench and a jury."

Wenlock. — “That is not the law, but the manner of it; for if you will be as good as your word, you must set me at liberty; for I never heard or read of any law that was in England to hang Quakers.”

Endicott. — “There is a law to hang Jesuits.”

Wenlock. — “If you put me to death, it is not because I go under the name of a Jesuit, but a Quaker; therefore I do appeal to the laws of my own nation.”

Court. — “You are in our hand, and have broken our laws, and we will try you.”

Wenlock. — “Your will is your law, and what you have power to do, that you will do. And seeing that the jury must go forth on my life, this I have to say to you in the fear of the living God: Jury, take heed what you do; for you swear by the living God, that you will true trial make, and just verdict give, according to the evidence. What have I done to deserve death? Keep your hands out of innocent blood.”

A Juryman. — “It is good counsel.”

The jury went out, but having received instructions from the bench, brought in their verdict, guilty.

• *Wenlock.* — “I deny all guilt, for my conscience is clear in the sight of God.”

Endicott. — “The jury hath condemned thee.”

Wenlock. — “The Lord doth justify me; who art thou that condemnest?”

Then the court proceeded to vote as to the sentence of death, to which several of them, viz., Richard Russel and others, would not consent, the innocence and steadfastness of the prisoner having prevailed upon them in his favor. There happened also a circumstance during this trial, which could not but affect men of any tenderness or consideration, which was,

that a letter was sent to the court from Edward Wharton, signifying, That whereas they had banished him on pain of death, yet he was at home in his own house at Salem, and therefore proposing, that they would take off their wicked sentence from him, that he might go about his occasions out of their jurisdiction. This circumstance, however affecting to others, only enraged Endicott, the governor, who was very much displeas'd, and, in much anger, cried out, "I could find in my heart to go home."

Wenlock. — "It were better for thee to be at home than here, for thou art about a bloody piece of work."

Endicott. — "You that will not consent, record it. I thank God I am not afraid to give judgment. Wenlock Christison, hearken to your sentence. You must return unto the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you must be hanged until you are dead, dead, dead, upon the 13th day of June, being the Fifth-day of the week."

Wenlock. — "The will of the Lord be done, in whose will I came amongst you, and in his counsel I stand, feeling his eternal power, that will uphold me unto the last gasp, I do not question it. Known be it unto you all, that if you have power to take my life from me, my soul shall enter into everlasting rest and peace with God, where you, yourselves, shall never come; and if you have power to take my life from me, which I question, I believe you shall never more take Quakers' lives from them; note my words. Do not think to weary out the living God by taking away the lives of his servants. What do you gain by it? For the last man you put to death, here are five come in his

room.¹ And if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of Life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your portion. For there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God.”

Endicott. — “Take him away.”

Wenlock Christison being remanded to prison to await the execution of his sentence, enjoyed sweet peace of mind, resting in the full assurance of faith as expressed by the apostle: “Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death; for to me, to live is Christ, and to die is gain.”

It appeared, however, that in his last address to the court, he had spoken under the influence of that wisdom which is from above, for the authorities found it necessary to annul his sentence, and to modify their law. This result was probably owing to the pressure of public opinion in the colony, and to intelligence from England, indicating that their proceedings were disapproved by the government. Before the day appointed for the execution, the marshal came to the prison with an order from the court for the liberation of Wenlock Christison and twenty-seven other Friends incarcerated there.²

¹ Those five were Elizabeth Hooten, Joan Brokesop, Mary Malins, Katharine Chattam, and John Burstow.

² New England Judged, 340. The names of most of the other Friends liberated, were John Chamberlain, John Smith, and Margaret his wife, Mary Trask, Judith Brown, Peter Pearson, George Wilson, John Burstow, Elizabeth Hooten, Joan Brokesop, Mary Malins, Katharine Chattam, Mary Wright, Hannah Wright, Ralph Allen, William Allen, Richard Kerby, Sarah Coleman, and three or four of her children.

The prisoners were informed that they were liberated in consequence of a new law being made. "What means this?" said Wenlock, "have you a new law?" "Yes," they answered. "Then," rejoined he, "you have deceived the people, for they thought the gallows had been your last weapon, your magistrates said it was a good and wholesome law, made for your peace, and the safeguard of your country. What! are your hands now become weak? The power of God is over you all."

Peter Pearson and Judith Brown, two of the Friends liberated, were tied behind a cart, dragged through the streets of Boston, and being stripped to the waist, were each whipped with twenty stripes. During the time of this cruel infliction, many of the other Friends, just liberated, were engaged in preaching to the people, which so exasperated the rulers, that a guard of armed soldiers was sent to drive them all beyond their jurisdiction into the wilderness. John Smith and his wife returned to their home at Salem; but were soon arrested, and again imprisoned. John Chamberlain and George Wilson, inhabitants of Boston, returned thither, and, in conformity with the new law, were tied behind a cart, dragged through the streets of Boston, then through three towns into the wilderness, being unmercifully scourged at each place with an instrument ingeniously contrived to lacerate the flesh. Josiah Southwick, having returned from England, underwent a similar infliction, during which he was, through divine aid, wonderfully supported, saying: "They that know God to be their strength, cannot fear what man can do?"

We have seen, that during the trial of Wenlock Christison, Major General Adderton taunted him with

the remark, that the woes and judgments pronounced by the Quakers had not come; and that Wenlock, in reply, said: "As for thy part, it hangs over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and shall come as a thief in the night, suddenly, when thou thinkest not of it. This prediction was remarkably fulfilled; for, soon after, Adderton, being on horse-back, returning from a military parade, when he came near the place where the Friends were usually loosed from the cart after being whipped, was thrown from his horse, and dreadfully mangled so that he died on the spot.

It was fully believed by the Early Friends, that in this instance, as well as in many other cases well authenticated, there was an evidence that the martyrs and confessors who suffered at Boston, were divinely authorized to predict that woes and judgments from the Lord would come upon their persecutors, *unless they repented*. This condition, expressed or implied, has generally been attached to genuine prophecies; a remarkable instance of which may be seen in the prophecy of Jonah concerning the Ninevites. It would be easy to show from the writings of Cotton Mather, one of the most learned clergymen of Boston, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century, that many calamities of an extraordinary kind were experienced by the colonists of Massachusetts. In his *History of New England*, he says: "For now more than twenty years, the blasting strokes of heaven upon the secular affairs of this country have been such as rather to abate than enlarge the growth of it."¹ After alluding to the loss of their crops year

¹ Book I. p. 27.

after year, and the grievous famine that ensued, he gives a long catalogue of calamities; such as the wasting of their people by pestilence, their capture, tortures, and massacre by the Indians; the loss of their property by fires and shipwrecks; and the divisions in their churches from "inordinate passions." He then observes, "That God hath a controversy with his New England people, is undeniable, the Lord having written his displeasure in dismal characters against us; though personal afflictions do oftentimes come only or chiefly for probation; yet as for public judgments, it is not wont so to be, especially when, by a continued series of providence, the Lord doth appear and plead against his people, as with us it hath been from year to year."¹

But the most remarkable of the calamities described by Cotton Mather, were the terrors inspired by a belief in witchcraft, from which the historian himself was not exempted. In his work, entitled "The Wonders of the Invisible World," printed in 1693, he says, "An army of devils has horribly broken in upon the place, which is the centre, and, after a sort, the first of our English settlements; and the houses of the good people there are filled with doleful shrieks of their children and servants, tormented with invisible hands, with tortures altogether preternatural." He adds this acknowledgment, "The shake which the devil is now giving us fetches up the dirt which before lay still at the bottom of our sinful hearts."²

This wonderful delusion, which attained its climax in 1692, was greatly stimulated by the clergy, and one

¹ Book V. p. 88. Quoted by Besse II. 271-3.

² Quoted by Bishop, 494.

of the earliest cases occurred in the family of Samuel Parris, calvinistic minister at Salem. His daughter and niece being affected with spasms, and singular contortions, an old Indian woman, living in the family as a servant, was accused of being the instrument of Satan in producing these effects. The poor friendless native, being tried by a superstitious court, was condemned and executed.

Other cases of supposed witchcraft soon occurred; convictions and executions followed in quick succession, and the accusations increased in number until alarm and dismay spread through the colony.

Nineteen men and women were executed, besides a stout-hearted man named Cory, who refused to plead, and was pressed to death according to the old law.

Besides those who suffered, eight more persons were condemned, fifty-five escaped death by confessing themselves guilty, one hundred and fifty were in prison, and two hundred others accused. Several dogs were also accused of witchcraft, and two of them suffered the penalty of death; one at Salem, and the other at Andover.

At first the victims were poor and friendless, but as the panic increased, respectable persons of both sexes were arraigned and condemned, until at length one of the judges, and the wife of an influential clergyman, being accused, a sudden check was given to the prevailing mania.

A remarkable feature of this delusion was that some of those who confessed themselves guilty and obtained pardon, declared afterwards, that at the time of their confession, their minds being clouded or

diseased, they really believed they were possessed of demons.¹

When the prosecutions were discontinued, and those who were imprisoned for trial were liberated, the manifestations of suffering from witchcraft suddenly ceased.

As the dispensations of Providence are often mysterious and inscrutable to man, it becomes us to be careful how we attribute public disasters to divine displeasure; but this we know, that the world is not governed by chance, and that national crimes, by a law of divine appointment, are followed by national calamities. It has been remarked by Sir Walter Scott, that the Calvinists who settled Massachusetts, "entertained a proneness to believe in supernatural and direct personal intercourse between the devil and his vassals—an error to which their brethren in Europe had from the beginning been peculiarly subject."² The same fanatic zeal and sternness of character which induced them to persecute the Friends, led also to the lamentable executions for witchcraft, and in both these works of darkness the clergy were zealously engaged.

The progress of the Society of Friends in New England now claims our attention. That devoted band of gospel messengers who, in 1657, came over with Captain Robert Fowler, in the Woodhouse, were instrumental in planting the principles of Friends in many parts of the American provinces, and especially in Rhode Island. Very soon after their arrival, meetings were established and regularly kept up at Providence.

¹ Charles W. Upham's Lectures on Witchcraft.

² Scott's Dæmonology and Witchcraft.

Among the proselytes several received a gift in the ministry, who travelled into the neighboring colonies of New England.

William Coddington and Nicholas Easton, both of whom had filled the office of governor, inclined towards the principles of Friends, and afterwards openly professed with them.¹ "Meetings for worship, and also the yearly meeting, were held at the house of the former at Newport, until the time of his decease in 1683."²

Not only in Rhode Island, where they were freely tolerated, did their principles spread; but in the other colonies, where they were persecuted, the cruel measures adopted for their suppression seemed only to promote their increase. James Cudworth, a magistrate of Plymouth, who refused to join in the persecution, wrote, in the year 1658, that their patience under suffering "hath sometimes been the occasion of gaining more adherents than if they had suffered them openly to have preached a sermon." He adds, "They have many meetings and many adherents; almost the whole town of Sandwich is adhering towards them."³

We have seen, by the letter of J. Rous to Margaret Fell, that, in the year 1658,⁴ "there were Friends, few or more, almost from one end of the land to the other that was inhabited by the English." He speaks of Sandwich and Newport as "strong places," where the truth was in dominion, and remarks that several were convinced at Salem. There was, soon after, a large meeting gathered at Salem: meetings were also held

¹ Bowden, I. 153.

² Morse and Parish's Hist. of New England, cited by Bowden.

³ Besse, II. 192-3.

⁴ See letter, Chap. XIV.

at Duxbury, and some other places. From that time to the year 1660, the progress of the Society was considerable, and meetings for church discipline were established.

The first monthly meeting instituted in America was at Sandwich; and prior to the year 1660, one was also established at Scituate, now known as Pembroke Monthly Meeting.¹

It is remarked by an English historian,² that "the circumstance of monthly meetings having been thus set up in America, before they had been generally established in England, is an interesting feature in the progress of the Society in the new country, and deserving of particular notice. There does not appear to have been any systematic organization at this early period. The new association consisted of pious individuals, who, forsaking the lifeless forms and ceremonies of the day, and a dependence upon man in spiritual things, found in the principles of the gospel, enunciated by George Fox and his associates, that rest and peace which their souls desired. As a gathered church, they acknowledged Christ only as its living and ever-present Head. He was felt to be 'their all in all,' 'their Teacher to instruct them, their Counsellor to direct them, their Shepherd to feed them, their Bishop to oversee them, and their Prophet to open divine mysteries unto them;'³ and remarkably indeed did the Chief Shepherd condescend to visit and 'appear in the midst of them,' refreshing and comforting their spirits, and cementing them in a precious feeling of unity and love."

¹ "Brief account of the yearly meetings in New England," quoted by Bowden.

² Bowden, I. 208

³ Journal of G. Fox.

CHAPTER XVI.

RISE OF THE SOCIETY IN VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, AND
THE WEST INDIES.

1656-60.

As in New England, the first ministers of the Society of Friends, who came on a religious mission, were females; so likewise in Virginia, the doctrines of Friends were first proclaimed by a woman.

Elizabeth Harris, a married woman, whose residence was in the city of London, visited the colony of Virginia, about the year 1656; but there appears to be no record of the precise date, and very few particulars of her visit have been preserved.

She left the colony in the Fifth month, 1657, having, during her sojourn there, been instrumental in making a number of proselytes. After her return to England, she corresponded with some of the colonists, who had embraced her views, and she supplied them with books relating to the doctrines of Friends.¹

Among her converts was Robert Clarkson, a respectable and influential colonist, who wrote her a letter, dated Severn, the 14th of the Eleventh month, 1657, from which the following passages are selected:

“ELIZABETH HARRIS—*Dear Heart*:—I salute thee in the tender love of the Father, which moved thee towards us, and do own thee to have been a minister,

¹ Bowden's History of Friends in America, I. 339.

by the good will of God, to bear outward testimony to the inward word of truth in me and others; even as many as the Lord, in tender love and mercy, did give an ear to hear. Praises to his name for ever." "The two messengers thou spoke of in thy letters, are not yet come to this place; we heard of two come to Virginia in the fore part of the winter, but we heard that they were soon put in prison, and not suffered to pass; we heard further that they desired liberty to pass to this place, but it was denied them, whereupon one of them answered, that though they might not be suffered, yet he must come another time. We have heard that they are to be kept in prison till the ship that brought them be ready to depart the country again, and then to be sent out of the country. We have disposed of most of the books which were sent, so that all parts are furnished, and every one that desires it may have benefit by them; at Herring Creek, Roade River, South River, all about Severn, the Brand Neck and thereabout, the seven mountains, and Kent."

At the date of this letter, a Friends' meeting was settled at Severn, which is situated near the Chesapeake bay, between the Rappahannock and York rivers.

The "two messengers" referred to by Robert Clarkson, as being imprisoned in Virginia, were most probably Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, who sailed from Bristol and reached that province towards the close of the year 1657.¹ They were engaged in religious labors until the following summer, when

¹ Bowden's History, I. 342.

they proceeded afoot to Maryland, and thence to New England, being accompanied by Thomas Chapman, of Virginia. This was a most fatiguing and perilous journey, through a wilderness that had seldom been travelled by white men. The travellers were, however, most hospitably entertained by the Indians, some of whom accompanied them as guides until they came to the Dutch settlements. Thomas Thurston being taken sick on the way was detained some weeks, during which he received kind attentions from the natives.¹

Some account of this journey is given in a letter from which the following extract is taken.

JOSIAH COLE TO GEORGE BISHOP.²

“ We went from Virginia [on the] 2d of Sixth month, 1658, and after about one hundred miles travel by land and water, we came amongst the Susquehanna Indians, who courteously received us and entertained us in their huts with much respect. After being there two or three days, several of them accompanied us about two hundred miles further through the wilderness or woods, for there was no inhabitant so far, neither knew we any part of the way through which the Lord had required us to travel. For outward sustenance we knew not how to supply ourselves; but, without questioning or doubting, we gave up freely to the Lord, knowing assuredly that his presence was (and should be continued) with us; and according to our faith, so it was; for his presence and love we found with us daily, carrying us on in his strength, and also opening the hearts of those poor

¹ New England Judged, 29.

² Bowden's History, I. 123.

Indians, so that in all times of need they were made helpful, both to carry us through rivers and also to supply us with food sufficient. After this travel we came to the place where more of them inhabited, and they also very kindly entertained us in their houses, where we remained about sixteen days, my fellow-traveller [Thomas Thurston] being weak of body through sickness and lameness, in which time these Indians showed very much respect to us, for they gave us freely of the best they could get. Being something recovered after this stay, we passed on towards the Dutch plantation, to which one of them accompanied us, which was about one hundred miles further.

“I am thy friend in the Truth,

“JOSIAH COLE.”

Thomas Thurston, after a short stay in Rhode Island, returned to Virginia. In a letter from Josiah Cole to Margaret Fell, written about this period, the following passage occurs, viz.: “As concerning our dear brother, Thomas Thurston, when I parted from him at Rhode Island, he was very well; and since I hear he is returned to Virginia, where he has been imprisoned, but is now at liberty again, and the governor of that place hath promised that he shall have his liberty in the country; where there is like to be a great gathering, and the living power of the Lord goes along with him.”¹

William Robinson, while imprisoned at Boston, in the year 1659, wrote a letter to George Fox, in which he mentions a visit he made to Virginia, with two other ministers. “I was refreshed,” he says, “when

¹ MS. Letters of Early Friends, quoted by Bowden,

I was constrained to write to give thee an account of our travels and labors in these countries. I who am one of the least among my brethren, have been for some time in Virginia, with Robert Hodgson and Christopher Holder, where there are many people convinced, and some that are brought into the sense and feeling of Truth in several places. We left Thomas Thurston a prisoner in a place called Maryland; his sentence was to be kept a year and a day.”¹

It is well known that the policy adopted by Lord Baltimore, the founder of Maryland, was remarkably liberal and tolerant; but it appears that Friends in that colony were subjected to suffering on account of their religious testimonies. A considerable number of them were fined for non-compliance with military requisitions, and for refusing to swear. These fines they did not feel at liberty to pay, and their property was distrained to a large amount.²

But these were not the only causes of suffering. There seems to have been a strong prejudice excited against the Society of Friends, and a disposition at one time to deny them the religious privileges accorded to other persuasions. We have no account of the charges against Thomas Thurston, which led to his imprisonment; but as he was at that time engaged in the gospel ministry with the approbation of his friends, there can be no doubt he was persecuted for his religious testimony. Three persons were fined for entertaining him, one was cruelly whipped for refusing to assist the sheriff in apprehending him, and several were fined under a pretext of levying money for charges incurred by his imprisonment.³

¹ Bowden's History, I. 171.

² Besse, II, 378-9.

³ Ibid, 379-80.

William Robinson, Robert Hodgson, and Christopher Holder visited Maryland in the year 1659, where they were instrumental in convincing many of the doctrines of Friends. There is no evidence that they were molested in the prosecution of their religious labors.

The persecution of Friends in Maryland probably arose in part from the unsettled state of the government, which was claimed by two parties, the adherents of Lord Baltimore, and the Puritans headed by Clayborne. In 1649, the Catholics being in power, a law was enacted that no person believing in Jesus Christ should be molested on account of religion; but, this enlightened measure was impaired by the proviso, that "whatsoever person shall blaspheme God, or shall deny or reproach the Holy Trinity, or any of the three persons thereof, shall be punished with death."¹ "The disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in the Roman Catholic province of Maryland." During the protectorate of Cromwell, the Puritans gained the ascendancy in the province, and evinced their usual intolerance by disfranchising the Catholics, who, in the day of their power, had generously afforded them an asylum. A law was then enacted confirming freedom of conscience, provided the liberty were not extended to "popery, prelacy, or licentiousness of opinions." Under this proviso, they not only excluded Catholics and Episcopalians from the protection of law, but, doubtless, found a pretext for persecuting the Friends.²

¹ Bancroft, I. 256.

² *Ibid.*, I. 257, 261.

In Virginia, during the reign of Charles I., the Anglican Church was the established religion, and non-conformity was punished by disfranchisement and exile. In the times of the commonwealth, the Episcopal Church still maintained her ascendancy in the colony; but, the people claimed for themselves a larger share in ecclesiastical affairs. A law was then enacted for the banishment of Quakers, and declaring their return a felony.¹ We have seen that some were imprisoned, but there appears to be no evidence that any were banished or treated with extreme severity until after the restoration of Charles II.

There is reason to believe that in some of the West India Islands, many were convinced of Friends' principles, prior to the year 1660, and that some meetings had been established. In Mary Fisher's letter to George Fox, written from Barbadoes, in 1655, she says, "Here are many convinced, and many desire to know the way." John Rous, who visited New England, in 1658, was the son of a sugar-planter in Barbadoes; and both father and son were among the early converts to the principles of Friends in that Island. When imprisoned at Boston, he was a young man, and a zealous minister of the gospel. He afterwards settled in London, and, in 1662, married Margaret, the oldest daughter of Judge Fell. He died about the year 1695.²

Thomas Harris, who was imprisoned in Boston, in 1658, was an inhabitant of Barbadoes, and was there on a religious visit; but nothing further is known of his history. William Leddra, whose trial and execu-

¹ Bancroft, I. 231.

² Bowden, I. 138.

tion at Boston have already been related, was an inhabitant of the same island.

From these facts we may conclude that meetings of Friends were established at Barbadoes, but there appears to be very little information concerning them left on record. They were subjected to sufferings on account of their conscientiously refusing to bear arms, to take oaths, and to comply with ecclesiastical demands.¹

The island of Nevis was visited by Mary Fisher, John Rous, and Peter Head, previous to the year 1658, and some impression made by their religious labors. They were kindly received at the house of Humphrey Highwood, who afterwards embraced the principles of Friends, and was imprisoned for refusing to bear arms.²

¹ Besse, II. 278.

² Ibid, 352.

CHAPTER XVII.

TRAVELS IN FRANCE, HOLLAND, GERMANY, ITALY,
AND TURKEY.

1655-60.

THE travels of Friends, engaged in the gospel ministry, were not confined to the British dominions; but some of them were employed in foreign lands in bearing witness to the spirituality of the Christian dispensation.

About midsummer in the year 1655, William Caton, being at Dover, crossed the channel to Calais in France, and entering a place of worship, he was much grieved and burdened with the idolatry he witnessed, but not understanding the French language, he could not give expression to his feelings. Having walked about the streets for some time, he returned on board the vessel; but some persons of distinction sent for him to meet them at a large house in the city, where a Scotch lord became his interpreter, and he had a full opportunity to declare the truths of the gospel. He returned to England, and being joined by John Stubbs, they soon after embarked for Holland. They landed at Flushing, and on the First-day of the week went to the congregation of the English and Scotch, where they attempted to speak, but were soon hurried out. On the afternoon of the same day they were at Middleburg; and having gone to a place of worship, they attempted to speak after the minister had done,

but he stopped them. He afterwards sent for them to his house, and conversed with them, but they made little impression on him. They next went to Rotterdam, and had a meeting at an English merchant's house, but they had to speak through an interpreter, and he not rendering their words truly, the meeting was unsatisfactory. They soon after returned to England without having seen much fruit from their labors.¹

In the year 1656, John Stubbs and William Caton were again in Holland, and preached at Amsterdam. William Caton proceeded to Rotterdam, where, for want of an interpreter that understood English, he discoursed in Latin. Here he was exceedingly grieved to meet with some persons claiming to be Quakers, whose pernicious and absurd conduct was calculated to bring reproach upon their profession. These persons, under pretence of plainness, caused books to be printed, in which not one capital letter could be found; even proper names being denied this distinction. Isaac Furnier, who was a preacher among them, lived like another Diogenes, disregarding the common conveniences of life, and in his intercourse with society, affecting bluntness of speech and rudeness of behavior. He afterwards threw off this assumed character, turned Papist, and led a dissolute life.²

Leaving Rotterdam, William Caton came to Amsterdam, where he had but little satisfaction, and after a short stay, proceeded to Zealand. At Middleburg he was arrested, placed under a guard of soldiers, and conducted on board a ship of war bound for England. He suffered much hardship on board, from ill usage

¹ Sewel, I. 138.

² Ibid, 176.

and exposure to cold; but was enabled to rejoice in a sense of divine mercy and goodness. After landing in England, he travelled in Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent. In the same year, George Baily, having gone to France, testified boldly against the worship of images, for which he was taken into custody, and died in prison.¹

One of the most efficient ministers that visited Holland and Germany was William Ames, who was instrumental in proselyting many to the doctrines of Friends. There appears to be no account extant of his birth and parentage, but he is mentioned by John Whiting as being of Somersetshire.² In youth he was of a cheerful temper, and fond of society; but the indulgence of a disposition to gayety and mirth often disquieted his mind, which led him to seek relief by a closer attention to the ministrations of the clergy. He was also diligent in reading the Scriptures, a practice excellent in itself; but, at that time, not being in possession of the "Key of David," which can unlock those sacred treasures, he did not find that true peace of mind which he earnestly desired.

He entered into religious communion with the Baptists, and became a teacher among them. At this period he became more strict in his conduct, and endeavored to avoid the committing of sin; but he found the root of the corrupt tree was still alive, and the passion of anger sometimes prevailed over him.

"He could speak of justification, sanctification, and cleansing by the blood of Jesus, but was sensible he had not attained that pure washing; and even perceived that he was no true member of Christ, because

¹ Sewel, I. 212.

² Whiting's Catalogue.

he had not experienced regeneration. Thus he learned that a high profession was of no avail, and that something beyond it was essential to enable him to attain a happy condition.¹ He was an officer in the army stationed in Ireland, and kept his soldiers under severe discipline. When they were guilty of immorality on a First-day of the week, he caused them to be bound neck and heels together.²

In the year 1655, when Francis Howgill and Edward Borrough were at Cork, in Ireland, William Ames heard them preach the doctrine of Friends, showing that man is convinced of sin by the *Light of Christ*, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. "This doctrine entered so deeply into his heart, that he embraced it from a firm conviction of its being the Truth; and walking with great circumspection and fear before the Lord, he found that by diligent attention to that Divine principle which inwardly reprov'd and condemned him for evil, he came to be delivered from the power of sin and to witness sanctification."³ Having entered into religious communion with Friends, and continuing steadfast, he became a zealous and able minister of the gospel.

In the year 1657, he went to Amsterdam, accompanied by a person named Humble Thatcher, who does not appear to have been in membership with Friends. They were arrested on suspicion of having placed a paper on the door of the English meeting-house in that city; but William Ames declared himself innocent of the charge, and that he knew not

¹ Life of William Ames, Friends' Library, Vol. XI., p. 475

² Sewel, I. 143.

³ Life of William Ames, Friends' Library, Vol. XI.

who was the author of the paper. They were, however, ordered by the magistrates to depart from the town in twenty-four hours.

Conscious of their own innocence they did not obey the command. The next day, being again brought before the magistrates, and, from a conscientious scruple, not putting off their hats, they were erroneously regarded as persons not acknowledging subjection to the civil authority, and after being imprisoned some days, were, at night, led through one of the gates and banished from the town.

William Ames, being a man of extraordinary courage, and knowing that he had committed no evil, returned the following day into the city and passed the great market-place called the Dam. One of the magistrates, looking from a window of the Town House, saw him in the street, and remarked, "Lo! there is the Quaker; if we had a mind now to make martyrs, here would be an opportunity for it."¹ He staid some time in the city without being molested, and the doctrines he preached found some entrance among the collegians and others.

At this time he was instrumental in convincing of Friends' principles Jacob Williamson Sewel, of Utrecht, free citizen and surgeon, resident at Amsterdam, and Judith Zinspenning, his wife, who were the parents of William Sewel, the historian and lexicographer.

"They, with two or three more," says W. Sewel, "were the first orthodox Quakers in Amsterdam; orthodox I say, because I very well remember what a strange and odd sort of people, about that time, did

¹ Life of W. Ames, Friends' Library, Vol. XI.; and Sewel, I. 212.

flock to the Quakers in this country. But these whimsical people, not being sincere in heart, but more inclined to novelties than to true godliness, perceived in time that they were not regarded by them, and they were also contradicted by Ames and others, so that at length, after many exorbitancies, they left the Quakers."¹

During the sojourn of William Ames in Amsterdam, he was joined in his religious labors by William Caton, recently arrived from England. They visited Zutphen, in Guelderland, where, meeting with much opposition, they returned to Amsterdam.

William Caton visited Leyden, Rotterdam, and the Hague; he then went to Zealand, where he wrote a book both in Latin and English, called "The Moderate Enquirer Resolved," after which he returned to England.

In the early part of the year 1659, William Ames, being at Rotterdam, went from thence to a village called Moordrecht, where dwelt a cooper named Martin Martinson, who, being convinced of Friends' principles, held meetings at his house, which were attended by some of his serious neighbors.

William Ames held a meeting there which was disturbed by a disorderly rabble, and as he passed from thence to another village, he was followed by a multitude of riotous people, who shouted after him and pelted him with clubs and stones. A clergyman seeing the commotion, asked what was the matter; on which William Ames remarked, "It seems the people are not taught better." "They are not used to make such ado against honest people," answered

¹ Sewel's History of Quakers, I. 213.

the clergyman; "but I believe you to be a deceiving wolf that comes among the sheep to seduce them." "Prove it," said Ames. "I do not know you," replied the other. "Learn then," rejoined Ames, "better manners than to call one thou knowest not, a wolf and a deceiver."

On his return to Rotterdam, William Ames wrote to Martinson, requesting him to go to the clergyman and desire him to appoint a time to prove his accusation. After some delay the appointment was made, and William Ames went accordingly to Moordrecht to meet his accuser; but the clergyman proved himself to be the wolf, for at his instigation, the civil authorities arrested Ames and sent him back to Rotterdam, where he was confined in Bedlam. About a week after, Martin Martinson, for having kept meetings at his house, was imprisoned in the same place.

After about three weeks' confinement, the deputy-governor of the house came and suggested to the prisoners, that if they would go out he should not hinder them. William Ames answered, "I will not be reported as one that broke prison." The deputy said, "You may go out freely; all is unlocked, and the door will stand open for you." William replied, "Well, I intend to go out to-morrow."

The two Friends accordingly went out the next day, but concluded to report themselves to a magistrate called the dikegrave. They told him in what manner they obtained their liberty, adding, "We would not have it said that we broke out." "That name," said the dikegrave, "you would have had if you had departed the town, for the deputy hath told me that you got out by breaking a window." "I have heard nothing concerning you but a good report,

neither do I seek to persecute you; but would you be willing to return to Bedlam?" William Ames replied, that they would return if he desired it. He signified his wish to that effect; they returned accordingly, and after being detained some time longer were set at liberty.

During the same year, William Ames travelled in Germany, and at Heidelberg, in the Palatinate, he visited the Prince Elector, Charles Lodowick, who treated him kindly, entered into conversation with him, and seemed to take no offence at his hat being kept on, though the lords and others present were uncovered. On one occasion the prince had his chaplain and William Ames both to dine with him in order that Ames, whom he knew to be a bold man, might find an opportunity to reprove the chaplain. With this view, it seems, a jester was brought in, who amused the company with buffoonery. The chaplain was silent, but William Ames did not hesitate to show his disapprobation of such vain exhibitions, and directing his discourse to the chaplain, he called him a "dumb dog," for allowing such lewd behavior in his presence without reproof.

This evidence of his fidelity in the performance of his duty, was satisfactory to the prince, and doubtless raised William Ames in his estimation.

This intrepid advocate of truth, while travelling in the Palatinate, met with a settlement of Baptists at Kriesheim, a town not far from Worms. To these simple-hearted people he preached the doctrine of the inward and spiritual life, which was so well received, that some families embraced, and openly professed, the principles of Friends. They continued steadfast in their profession until the settlement of Pennsyl-

vania, when they unanimously emigrated thither, and thus providentially escaped the calamities that soon after ensued in the Palatinate from a desolating war.¹

When the doctrines preached by William Ames began to take root in the Palatinate, a fine was imposed on those who gave him entertainment; but the Elector, when informed of it, remitted the penalty; and the Ecclesiastical Court, having summoned Ames before them, the prince gave an order that they should not interfere with him.

In the following year, accompanied by John Higgins, he again travelled in the Palatinate, and they visited the Prince Elector. Soon after, Higgins obtained another audience with the prince, in order to deliver him a book written by George Fox, and a letter from William Ames; both of which were well received. The prince desired him to thank William Ames, saying he took their visit to him and his family very kindly, and believed that what they spoke was in love to their souls.²

William Ames subsequently visited Hamburg, and from thence travelling through Bohemia to Dantzic, he went to Poland. In Hamburg and Dantzic he made some proselytes; but in Poland he found no entrance for the doctrines he preached. He returned to England, and afterwards settled in Amsterdam, where he died in peace in the year 1662.

It appears that some parts of the Netherlands were visited by Samuel Fisher; but the date of his travels there is not certainly known.

At Middleburg, in Zealand, he was permitted to address the congregation in a house of public wor-

¹ Sewel, I. 253.

² *Ibid.*, I. 254.

ship, and afterwards, at the minister's house, he conversed with some persons of rank on religious subjects, being treated with courtesy.¹

He accompanied Edward Burrough to Dunkirk in the year 1659. The city and fortress were then in possession of the English, and the two Friends had much religious discourse with the officers and soldiers of the garrison. They visited likewise the Capuchin Friars and the Jesuits at their monasteries, and reasoned with them against the doctrines and practices of their church. After these conferences, they wrote in Latin a number of queries addressed to the Priests, Friars, and Nuns, in relation to the monastic life, the ceremonies of their church, and its persecuting spirit.

One of the English chaplains at the garrison having spoken against them, they sought an interview to discourse with him, but he declined; and then they wrote him a letter containing the following propositions, viz.:—

1. "That Christ hath enlightened all men with a light sufficient in itself to bring them to salvation, if they follow it."

2. "That God hath given Christ to be the Saviour of all men."

3. "That none are justified by Christ and his righteousness without them, but as they have received Christ and his righteousness, and witness them revealed in themselves."

4. "That the saints of God may be perfectly freed from sin in this life, so as no more to commit it."

5. "That the national ministers and churches, not only of Papists but of Protestants also, as they now

¹ New England Judged, 18.

stand, are not the true ministers and churches of Christ.”

6. “That the Scriptures are a true declaration, given forth from the Spirit of God, by holy men of God, moved by it to write them, and are profitable; but are not the foundation, nor the most perfect rule of faith and life to the saints.”¹

Samuel Fisher and John Stubbs went to Rome about the year 1659, where they testified publicly against the superstitions prevailing there, and had conferences with some of the cardinals. A peculiar providence seemed to attend them, for they came away from that persecuting city unmolested.²

William Salt, having travelled to Morlaix, in France, preached against the masquerades, which were there tolerated by law, and for his Christian testimony was subjected to a grievous imprisonment, during which he became so emaciated as to appear almost like a skeleton. Through the intercession of Lockhart, the English ambassador, he was released.³

Christopher Birkhead was imprisoned at Rochelle, in France, for having spoken against the Roman Catholic religion. He afterwards went to Middleburg, in Zealand, where he attempted to preach to the English congregation, but was taken into custody. Being examined by the magistrates, he was sentenced to be confined in the Rasp-house, or house of correction, where he was kept two years, and suffered much hardship. The keeper would have detained him longer for fees, but he was released through the intervention of Heer Newport, ambassador of the States General in England.⁴

¹ E. Burrough's Works, London, 1672, p. 541.

² Besse, II. 395.

³ Ibid, II. 395.

⁴ Ibid, II. 395-7.

Near the close of the summer, in the year 1657, George Robinson, a young man of London, was impelled by a sense of religious duty to travel to Jerusalem. He embarked for Leghorn, and from thence took passage in a ship for St. John d'Acre; where, having staid about eight days in a French merchant's house, he sailed for Jaffa, or Joppa. From that port he travelled to Ramoth; but, the friars at Jerusalem, having heard of his coming, gave orders to arrest him, which was done accordingly. After he had been in confinement about twenty-four hours, an aged Turk, a man of reputation in the place, came and took him to his house, where he courteously entertained him several days. At length an Irish friar came from Jerusalem, and told him he was sent by the fraternity there to propose to him three questions, viz: "1st. Whether he would promise, when he came to Jerusalem, to visit the holy places as other pilgrims did?" "2d. Whether he would pay such sums of money as was customary with other pilgrims to pay?" "3d. Whether he would wear such a habit as other pilgrims wore?" They also enjoined upon him, "Not to speak anything against the Turkish laws; and, when he should come to Jerusalem, not to speak anything about religion." He steadily refused to answer their queries, or to submit to their injunctions; on which the Irish friar, who had brought with him a guard of horse and foot, took him by force back to Joppa, and there embarked him on a vessel, which landed him at St. John d'Acre, where a French merchant, named Surrubi, took him into his house and lodged him about three weeks. At length, by the aid of this merchant, he found an opportunity to return by sea to Joppa, and from thence he went on foot to Ramoth.

On his way thither, he met two men riding on asses, and a third on foot, one of whom held a gun to his breast, while another rifled his pockets. His meek deportment seemed to soften their hearts, for they restored his property, and, taking him by the hand, led him a short distance on his way in a friendly manner.

When he was come to Ramoth, two men connected with the friars laid hold on him; but, two of the Turks took him from them, and led him into one of their mosques. A law or custom then existed among the Turks, that whosoever entered a mosque must either become a Mahometan or suffer death. When Robinson entered, some of the Mahometan priests asked him whether he would embrace their religion? And on his refusing, they pressed him, saying, that he had nothing to fear from what the Christians could do to him. He told them he could not join them for all the world. They still insisted, and at length becoming angry, said to him, "If he would not turn to their religion, he should die." He answered, "that he would rather die than comply with their demand." They told him he should die then; and by their order the executioner dragged him away with the evident intention of burning him to death. His mind was stayed upon the Lord, and Divine Providence interposed for his deliverance. Some of the Turks had observed that his entrance into the mosque was not voluntary, but by a stratagem contrived by the friars. They began to differ in their opinions concerning him, and a venerable Turk said, "Whether he embraced their religion or not, he should not die." The Turks observing the enmity evinced towards him by the friars, concluded he could not be a

Roman Catholic, although he professed himself a Christian.

After a few days a mounted guard, hired by the Friars, carried him to Gaza, they having incensed the Bashaw of that place against him; but on Robinson's arrival, the Bashaw being informed of the malice evinced by the Friars against him, required them to pay a considerable fine, and to carry him safely to Jerusalem. Being come thither, he was taken to the convent, and the Friars asked him, "Whether he would become an obedient child, and go to visit the holy places, according to their custom?" He answered, "No." They said to him, "Whereas, others give large sums of money to see them, you shall see them for nothing." He replied, "I shall not visit them in your manner, for in so doing I should sin against God." The Friars still insisted, and one of them said to him, "How can you be a servant of God, and not go to visit the places where the holy men of God dwelt?" "Under a pretence of doing God service," he rejoined, "in visiting the places where the holy men of God dwelt, you oppose that way and resist that life which the holy men of God walked and lived in." Then one of the Friars said, "What do you preach to us for?" He answered, "I would have you to turn from those evil practices you live in, lest the wrath of the Almighty be kindled against you."

Being taken before one of the Turkish authorities, he was asked several questions in relation to divine worship, to which he gave suitable answers. The Turk then queried, "Why he came to Jerusalem?" He replied, that "he came at the command of the Lord, whose tender love was manifest in visiting

them; his compassion being such that he would gather them all to himself."

Having borne his testimony against the superstitions of the Friars, and discharged the duty that he believed was required of him, he felt great peace of mind, and gratitude for divine protection. The Friars were compelled, by the Turkish authorities, to conduct him back to Ramoth, and he returned safely to his native country.¹

Mary Fisher, who has already been mentioned as one of the first Friends who suffered persecution in New England, performed, about the year 1660, a most extraordinary journey into Turkey. Being in London after her return from America, her mind became impressed with a sense of religious duty to go with a message from the Lord to Sultan Mahomet the Fourth, then encamped with his army near Adrianople. She embarked for Smyrna; but on her arrival there, the English consul sent her back to Venice.

With undaunted courage she proceeded alone and on foot from the sea-coast of the Morea to Adrianople, a distance of five or six hundred miles, through a country replete with dangers; and yet, throughout that long journey, she was preserved from insult and injury.

On her arrival, she desired some of the citizens to go with her; but they, fearing the Sultan's displeasure, declined, and she went alone to the camp. She sent information to the Grand Vizier's tent, that "an English woman was there, who had something to declare from the great God to the Sultan." He re-

¹ Besse, II. 392.

turned for answer, that "she should speak with him the next morning."

She returned to the city that night, and on the morrow went back to the camp, when the Sultan, being surrounded by his great men, caused her to be invited in, and asked her, "Whether it was, as he had heard, that she had a message from the Lord?" She answered, "Yes." Then he bade her "speak on," there being three interpreters present. She remained silent awhile, waiting on the Lord for his guidance; but the Sultan, supposing she was afraid to open her mind before them all, asked, "Whether she wished that any of them should withdraw before she spoke." She answered, "Nay." He again bade her, "Speak the word of the Lord to them, and not to fear, for they had good hearts, and could hear it." She expressed what she believed she was divinely authorized to say, and they all listened with attention and becoming gravity. She then asked the Sultan, "Whether he understood what she had said." He answered, "Yea, every word;" adding, that "it was truth," and he desired her to stay in that country, saying "that they could not but respect such an one as had come to them so far as from England, with a message from the Lord." He offered her a guard to Constantinople, which she declined, for she trusted in the arm of the Lord, who had conducted her thither, and she doubted not that he would protect her on her return. The Sultan remarked that it was dangerous travelling, especially for such an one as she; and he assured her that his offer was made in kindness; for he would not, on any account, that she should suffer the least injury in his dominions. They asked her, "What she thought of their prophet, Mahomet?" She re-

plied, that "she knew him not; but that she knew Christ, the true prophet, the Son of God, who was the light of the world, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." Adding, "If the word that the prophet speaks comes to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord hath sent that prophet; but if it come not to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord never sent him." They acknowledged that this was truth; and she, having accomplished her mission, departed, passing through the great army towards Constantinople, where she safely arrived, and from thence she passed to her own country.¹

CHAPTER XVIII.

RETROSPECT OF THE VOLUME.

1660.

THE progress of Friends' principles, during the supremacy of Parliament, and the Protectorate of Cromwell, was remarkably rapid, but there are no statistics to show the number of proselytes. In the year 1660, being about thirteen years after George Fox began his *public* ministry, we can trace the existence of Friends, by the records of their sufferings, in thirty-nine of the counties of England, as also in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany, New

¹ Besse, II. 394.

England, New York, Virginia, Maryland, and the West Indies.¹

A large number, both men and women, being called to the gospel ministry, and endowed with spiritual gifts adapted to the work assigned them, were indefatigable in their efforts to promote the growth of vital piety and practical righteousness. Their labors extended, not only to Protestant countries, but in France, Poland, Italy, and other foreign lands, some of these gospel messengers were engaged in proclaiming the inward or spiritual appearance of Christ, as the light and life of the regenerate soul. It was found, however, that in Catholic countries, the soil was not yet prepared for the seed they were sent forth to sow, and, accordingly, their attention was chiefly directed to those nations where the ground had already been broken by the Protestant reformers.

Wherever they went persecution attended them, and often they were subjected to the most severe sufferings; but they cheerfully endured scorn and contumely, loss of goods, and long imprisonments, cruel scourgings, and even death on the gallows, for the love of the gospel and the testimony of their Lord. Their growth may be attributed, in part, to the persecutions they so patiently endured, and to them might be applied the language of Moses concerning the Israelites in Egypt; the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew. "For Religion, next to her own light and energy in the minds of men, has not a more popular argument in her

¹ See Besse's *Sufferings of Friends*, and *Bishop's New England Judged*.

favor than the patience and constancy of her afflicted confessors.”¹

Up to this period, their most severe sufferings were instigated by the clergy of the sect called Independents, who, in the time of the Protectorate, were most influential in England, and bore sway in Massachusetts. This is the more remarkable when we consider that the original principles of this sect were more liberal than some others, and that Cromwell professed to be the patron of religious liberty. When they came into possession of power, they forgot their first love, and being intoxicated with worldly honor, they were rigid in exacting from all a subserviency to ecclesiastical domination, which, at an earlier day, they denied to human authority in matters of conscience.

It is supposed that Cromwell consented to the persecution of the Friends in order to gratify the rigid Puritans of his party, who desired that every neck should bend under their yoke. Being intent on his own aggrandizement, he paid little attention to the sufferings of an inoffensive people that could not be made subservient to his ambitious designs. George Fox, Edward Burrough, and others of the most influential Friends, laid before him, both in person and by writing, the sufferings of their imprisoned brethren, and faithfully admonished him of his duty to exert his authority to protect the innocent.

Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson went through all, or most of the prisons of England, and having obtained from the jailers copies of the Friends' commitments, they laid the account before Cromwell; but he, being unwilling to give orders for their release,

¹ Besse's Preface to Sufferings of Friends.

Thomas Aldam took off his cap, and tearing it in pieces, said: "So shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house." Several of the Friends were led by a sense of duty to warn him against the consequences that would ensue from the abuse of power, and from lending his countenance to the persecuting clergy and magistrates. At a time when it was thought he was disposed to assume the crown, which some of his partisans wished to confer upon him, George Fox cautioned him against accepting the regal title, telling him, that "if he did not avoid these things, he would bring shame and ruin upon himself and his posterity." A proclamation being issued by the Protector for a day of fasting and humiliation on account of the Waldenses, who were then persecuted by the Catholics, George Fox wrote a letter to Cromwell and the principal officers of government, showing the nature of the true fast which God requires, and pointing out their inconsistency and self-condemnation, in blaming the Catholics for persecuting the Protestants, when they themselves were guilty of the same.

"Divers times," says George Fox, "both in the time of the Long Parliament, and of the Protector (so called) and of the Committee of Safety, when they proclaimed fasts, there was some mischief contrived against us. I knew their fasts were for strife and debate, to smite with the fist of wickedness; as the New England professors soon after did; who, before they put our friends to death, proclaimed a fast also." "I had a sight and sense of the king's return a good while before, and so had some others. I wrote to Oliver several times, and let him know that while he was persecuting God's people, they

whom he accounted his enemies were preparing to come upon him. When some forward spirits that came amongst us would have bought Somerset house, that we might have meetings in it, I forbade them to do so, for I then foresaw the king's coming in again."

On the death of Oliver Cromwell, the 3d of the Seventh month, 1658, he was succeeded by his son Richard, a man of easy and amiable temper, who held the reins of power but a short time, and then retired to private life. Near the close of his protectorate, on the 6th of the Second month, 1659, an address was presented on behalf of Friends, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, entitled, "To the Parliament and Commonwealth of England, being a declaration of the names, places, and sufferings of such as are now in prison for speaking the truth in several places; for not paying tithes, for meeting together in the fear of God, for not swearing, for wearing their hats, for being accounted as vagrants, for visiting Friends, and for things of the like nature—in all about 144: besides, imprisoned and persecuted till death, twenty-one. Also a brief narrative of their sufferings within the last six years or thereabouts, of about one thousand nine hundred and sixty persons already returned; being but part of many more, whose names and sufferings are not yet returned: all which it is desired may be read and considered of by this Parliament, that right may be done." Then follows a list of cases of sufferings, arranged under the several counties, and comprised in many pages.¹

This declaration being disregarded by the Parliament, a very large number of Friends from different

¹ Letters of Early Friends, No. XXVII.

parts of the nation, came to London and waited on the House of Commons with another address signed by 164 persons, offering to take the place of their imprisoned brethren. In this document they aver that many of their Friends are immured in dungeons—some in irons—others, who are sick and weak, are lying on straw; and that some have died in prison. The petitioners being willing to lay down their lives for their brethren, offer themselves, body for body, to be immured in the same dungeons in order that the sufferers may come forth and not die from imprisonment.

Their noble and generous offer received little favor; the Parliament, after some debate, resolved as follows, viz.: “That the answer to be given to the persons that presented this paper is, that this House hath read their paper, and the paper thereby referred to; and doth declare their *dislike of the scandal thereby cast upon magistracy and ministry*; and doth therefore order that they, and other persons concerned, do forthwith resort to their respective habitations, and there apply themselves to their callings, and submit themselves to the laws of the nation, and the magistracy they live under.”

From the Journals of the House, date “16th of April,” it appears that Thomas Moor, John Crook, and Edward Byllyng were brought to the bar, and the serjeant having taken off their hats, the aforesaid answer was declared to them by the speaker.”¹ Although little effect was produced at that time, the Journals of the House show that in the following month a committee was appointed “to consider of

¹ Letters of Early Friends, No. XXVII.

the imprisonment of such persons who continued committed for conscience' sake, and how and in what manner they are and continue committed, together with the whole cause thereof, and how they may be discharged, and to report the same to the Parliament."

A letter from Robert Benbrick to Margaret Fell, dated London, 21st of Fourth month [Sixth month], 1659, says, "Friends' sufferings were yesterday taken into consideration at Westminster, and grievous things were declared against the priests, and did enter into the hearts of some of the committee; we made them shake their heads and grieved them; they said they would have some of the priests up to London, and examine them about these things." A letter of Alexander Parker's to M. Fell, dated 22d of same month, says, "The committee of Parliament are most of them very moderate, and examine things very fully; and whether they do anything or nothing as to the enlargement of Friends, it is serviceable that the wickedness of greedy and covetous men is brought to light. Much cannot be expected of men in that nature; for though there be a change of name, yet the old nature is still standing; earth enough there is to make another mountain, but whatever the consequence be, this I know and feel, that Truth hath great advantage, and an open door is further made for spreading the Truth abroad. The Lord prosper his work, and carry it on to his own praise and glory."¹

In the Eighth month [October, O. S.], 1659, the officers of the army, having expelled the Parliament, appointed twenty-three persons of their own party to

¹ Letters of Early Friends, No. XXVIII.

execute supreme authority under the title of "The Committee of Safety." Two of the members of this body, Sir Henry Vane, and Colonel Rich, showed a disposition to redress the grievances of Friends,¹ but the nation being in a state of commotion, no permanent relief could be secured. The Committee of Safety, being informed that General Monk was advancing with an army from Scotland, resigned their authority and restored the Parliament, which met again in the Tenth month [December, O. S.], 1659. This remnant of the Long Parliament was induced by General Monk and others to restore the "secluded members" ejected by Cromwell in 1648; and the House, thus augmented, having a decided majority of Presbyterians, returned to its former policy.

A day of thanksgiving was kept, after which the city ministers petitioned for a redress of sundry grievances: as First, "That a more effectual course be taken against the Papists." Secondly, "That the Quakers be prohibited opening their shops on the Sabbath-day." Thirdly, "That the public ministers may not be disturbed in their public services." They also requested the House to establish the Westminster Assembly's Confession of Faith, Directory, and Catechism. In accordance with this recommendation, the House re-established the Presbyterian Confession of Faith and Directory; and, doubtless, the ministers of that persuasion would have obtained possession of all the benefices in England, if the party then in power had continued to rule.² But the term of its dominion was brief, for the Parliament, at the demand of

¹ Letter of R. Hubberthorn to M. Fell.

² Neal's Hist. of Pur., II. 192.

General Monk, decreed its own dissolution and the election of a new Parliament, which met in 1660, and entirely changed the face of affairs.

During these successive mutations in the English government, the country was kept in a state of continual agitation, and each of the contending parties endeavored to gain adherents by arousing the fears or exciting the hopes of the public. While the Committee of Safety was in power, places of profit and honor were offered to Friends, if they would take up arms for the Commonwealth; but, they declined all such offers, and maintained their peaceable principles. Some who frequented their meetings, and were partially convinced of their doctrines, were disposed to accept the flattering invitations of men in power; but George Fox exerted his influence with good effect in restraining their inclinations. In his epistle written on this occasion, he says, "All that pretend to fight for Christ, are deceived, for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight. Fighters are not of Christ's kingdom, but are without Christ's kingdom; for his kingdom stands in peace and righteousness, but fighters are in the lust: and all that would destroy men's lives are not of Christ's mind, who came to save men's lives."¹

There can be no doubt that a testimony against war and military services of every kind was then an established tenet of the Society of Friends. They believed that they were called to exalt the standard of pure primitive Christianity, and to engage in no warfare, save that of the Lamb, which is not against flesh and blood, but against the principles of evil. In

¹ Journal, I. 382.

them the carnal nature which leads to strife and bloodshed was subdued, and the lamb-like nature of Christ prevailed, so that they witnessed the kingdom of God to be within them, consisting of righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. They believed the spirit of Christ would ultimately lead all people to this peaceable kingdom in which nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; but, they knew that the work was progressive, and they did not expect outward wars to cease until the world should more generally yield obedience to the "law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which makes free from the law of sin and death."

It must be admitted, however, that there are in the writings of some of the Early Friends, many passages which clearly demonstrate that they did not consider all who were engaged in outward war as being, on this account, transgressors in the divine sight. They looked upon them as not having attained to the full light and glory of the Christian dispensation; nevertheless, they believed if such persons led pure lives, and fought only in defence of their country and its liberties, they would be participants of divine mercy, as having been faithful according to their knowledge. Some of the writers of that day, among Friends, went even farther than this, maintaining that warriors are sometimes employed by divine Providence as instruments to effect his beneficent purposes; for, the "Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will."¹ They did not hesitate to assert that the army of the Parliament,

¹ Daniel, IV. 17.

while engaged in asserting civil and religious liberty, was aided by divine power, and led on to victory.

George Fox, the younger, in an address to the army, dated Third month, 1659, says, "The Lord appeared with you in the field, giving you mighty victories over your enemies, that so he might make way for his living truth to be spread, which was then stirring in his people." . . . "O army! in which was I several years together, in which time I saw the mighty appearance of God with thee, even in the time of the outward war, and when the war was ended I left thee in obedience to the appearance of the living God unto me, *who called me out of thee* by his powerful word in my heart, through which he had sanctified me, and hath brought me into the life of that Truth which I, and many of you in the army, professed in words."¹

Francis Howgill, in a paper dated 1654, addressed to Oliver Cromwell, tells him that the Lord had chosen him out of the nation when he was little in his own eyes, and had thrown down the mountains and powers of the earth before him, and had broken the yokes and bands of the oppressors, and made them to stoop before him, so that he had trod upon their necks; but he admonishes him that his heart was not upright before the Lord, because he was building again that which he had destroyed, and upholding laws by which the innocent were oppressed.²

Edward Burrough, while at Dunkirk in the year 1659, addressed to the officers and soldiers of the

¹ Writings of G. F. the younger, London, 1665, p. 12, and 68 to 70.

² Howgill's Works, London, 1676, p. 7.

English army an epistle from which the following passages are selected: viz. "This I know, that the Lord hath honored our English army, and done good things for them and by them, in these nations in our age; and the Lord once armed them with the spirit of courage and zeal against many abominations; and he was with them in many things he called them to, and gave them victory and dominion over much injustice and oppression, and cruel laws; and he went with them till a spirit of vain-glory, and self-seeking, and the honor of the world, entered into some, and defiled the whole body, and made it deformed and void of its former beauty, and of its valor and nobleness." In this strain he proceeds to exhort them to search their own hearts that they may be purged, 'and may return to the old spirit of righteousness, which will reach after the liberty of the people and the freedom of the nation,' that there be no more looking back for rest and ease until they shall have "visited Rome, and inquired after and sought out the innocent blood that is buried therein, and avenged the blood of the guiltless through all the dominions of the Pope;" for the blood of the just cries through Italy and Spain.

After alluding to the superstition and cruelty of the Roman Catholic hierarchy which ought to be rooted out, he adds, "It is the Lord's work, I know, to make men truly religious, but yet the Lord may work by you to break down the briars, and thorns, and rocks, and hills, that have set themselves against the Lord, and which keep people under the chains of idolatry." "And so this is a warning unto you all, both officers and soldiers, that you may mind what the work of the Lord is in the nations; your work hath been and may be honorable in its day and season;

but he *hath a work more honorable* to work after you ; that is to *destroy the kingdom of the devil and the ground of wars*. And your victory hath been of the Lord, but there is a more honorable victory to be waited for, even the victory over sin ; and so we are the friends of the creation that do preach this victory and this kingdom and peace which is endless and everlasting, and which many are come into.”¹

Isaac Pennington, in a paper “Concerning the Magistrates’ Protection of the Innocent,” writes as follows, viz: “It is not for a nation (coming into the gospel life and principle) to take care beforehand how they shall be preserved ; but the gospel will teach a nation, if they hearken to it, as well as a particular person, to trust the Lord, and to wait on him for preservation. Israel of old stood not by their strength and wisdom, and preparations against their enemies, but in quietness and confidence, waiting on the Lord for direction.” . . . “I speak not this against any magistrates or peoples defending themselves against foreign invasion, or making use of the sword to suppress the violent and evil-doers within their borders, for this the present estate of things may and doth require, and a great blessing will attend the sword when it is borne rightly to that end, and its use will be honorable ; and while there is need of a sword, the Lord will not suffer that government, or those governors, to want fitting instruments under them for the managing thereof, to wait on him in his fear to nave the edge of it rightly directed ; but yet there is a better state, which the Lord hath already brought some into, and which nations are to expect and travel

¹ E. Burrough’s Works, London, 1672, p. 537, 540.

towards. Yea, it is better to know the Lord to be the defender, and to wait on Him daily, and see the need of his strength, wisdom, and preservation, than to be ever so strong and skilful in weapons of war." "Will he not preserve and defend that nation whom he first teacheth to leave off war, that they shall not be made a prey of, while he is teaching other nations the same lesson?" "Whenever such a thing shall be brought forth in the world, it must have a beginning, before it can grow and be perfected. And where should it begin, but in some particulars in a nation, and so spread by degrees until it hath overspread the nation, and then from nation to nation until the whole earth be leavened? Therefore, whoever desires to see this lovely state brought forth in the general, if he would favor his own desire, must cherish it in the particular."¹

From these passages it appears that the authors, while maintaining that Friends had come up to the purity of the Christian dispensation, which puts an end to all strife and bloodshed, nevertheless believed that others, who still remained in a lower dispensation, comparable to that of the law given to the Jews, might be permitted to draw the sword, in a good cause, and even be assisted by Divine Providence to overcome their enemies. On this point there may have been some diversity of sentiment among the Early Friends; but they were all united in regard to the peaceable nature of Christ's kingdom, and earnest in their efforts to bring all men under the influence of that pure, lamb-like spirit, which "delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong;" "which

¹ I. Pennington's Works, London, 1761, Vol. II., p. 447-8.

takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind.”

It is the unquestionable duty of the historian to give an impartial account of the characters and events embraced in his work, and with this view the sentiments of Edward Burrough and others have been brought forward; but it should be remembered that the writings of George Fox bear the most emphatic testimony against war, as being totally at variance with the Christian dispensation.

At a later period in the history of Friends, we find that Robert Barclay, in his Apology, declares that it is not lawful for Christians to resist evil, or to war or fight in any case.¹ The peaceable principles of Friends were afterwards carried into practice with remarkable success in some of the American colonies, and particularly in Pennsylvania, as will be seen in the further progress of this work.

The sufferings of the Early Friends on account of tithes, and other ecclesiastical demands, were very great. They were exposed to the restraint of their goods to a large amount, treble damages being levied and property taken far beyond the sums adjudged. A very large number of Friends were imprisoned on account of tithes, and some detained for many years. They wrote and published several books, showing that the Mosaic law, and the priesthood that took tithes, were abolished by the coming of Christ, he being “the end of the law for righteousness to them that believe.” “All the tithes, offerings, and oblations, which were a shadow of things to come, were ended in Christ, the substance of them all.”

¹ Prop. 15, § 11.

Francis Howgill, in an able and learned treatise, traced the rise of the tithe system to the papacy, and proved that a compulsory payment of ecclesiastical demands was one of the fruits of the apostasy. He refers to an argument in favor of tithes, which, he says, is accounted the strongest, viz: "That being established by a law of the King and Parliament, those who own the benefice have as good a right to the tithe or tenth as the possessor of the land has to the other nine tenths." To this he answers, that the law does not confer on any one a property either in land or tithes, but, only protects him in the possession of what he has derived from gift, purchase, or inheritance. The original institution of tithes in England, was during the domination of the Roman clergy, the consideration proposed being the remission of sins and the good of souls. The poor were then supported by the church revenues; but, when Henry VIII. made himself head of the English church, he seized a large proportion of the church property, which he sold or bestowed on his favorites. The tithes were then diverted from one of their original purposes, — the support of the poor, — and this burden fell on the country at large. By a law of Henry VIII., it is declared that "tithes are due to *God and Holy Church.*" "Here," says Francis Howgill, "is the ground of their tithes, not any property or civil rights in priests or others; for, the law requires them as due by "divine right," and, accordingly, they are placed under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. This "divine right," the Friends could not acknowledge, for they knew that the whole system was founded in usurpation."¹

¹ Howgill's Works, 382-3

The defenders of the tithe system, referred for their justification to these passages of Scripture:—“Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.” “Who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk thereof?” “If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?” To this argument Francis Howgill answers, “If they might not be muzzled that tread out the corn, yet they may be muzzled that *tread out no corn*, but run rambling through the Lord’s fields and spoil the corn.” Again, they that watch over a flock, though they may eat of the milk of the flock, yet should they not “worry the lambs.” “These passages of Scripture,” he says, “make nothing at all for tithes,” they “grant that every man is the owner of his own labor and possession; yet, ought every one freely to glorify God with his substance, and to communicate to him that teacheth in all good things needful, and such sacrifice God doth well accept.”¹

Although it was an acknowledged principle among the Early Friends, that nothing in the nature of a compensation or salary for preaching should be accepted by ministers of the gospel; yet, those who went forth in that service, with the approbation of the meeting to which they belonged, if not able to defray their own expenses without injury to their families, were supplied with funds sufficient for their wants. There being at that time many ministers travelling in foreign countries, considerable sums were required to aid them in the work. By direction of a general meeting, held at Skipton, in 1658, a subscription for this purpose was opened among Friends, which re-

¹ Howgill’s Works, 587.

sulted in the collection of £443, 5s. 5d.¹ When we consider the value of money at that day, and the circumstances of Friends, many of whom were impoverished by persecution, this collection indicates great liberality. It must be borne in mind that even those ministers who were in indigent circumstances, when at home and able to pursue their temporal vocations, maintained themselves by the labor of their own hands, in accordance with the example of the apostles and primitive Christians.

One of the most remarkable features of the religious system adopted by Friends was the privilege accorded to women to appear in the ministry. It was the result of faithful adherence to their fundamental principle,—the immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit, which is the same in both male and female. They believed the prophecy of Joel, quoted by Peter on the day of Pentecost, was fulfilled, not only in the primitive Christian church, but also in their own experience. “And it shall come to pass in the last days,” saith God, “I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy.” This anointing of the Holy Spirit is an essential qualification of true gospel ministry, and the only ground of a proper call to that service.

In reviewing the characteristics of the Early Friends, their doctrine and practice in regard to holy-days must not be omitted. It was a frequent practice among the Puritans, during the time of the commonwealth, to set apart days for general fasting, humiliation, and prayer; they were also rigid in their Sabbath observances. The Friends did not recognise

¹ Bowden's Hist. of Friends in America, I. 59.

the right of any man, or body of men, to interfere in matters of conscience, by proclaiming a fast or appointing a holy-day. They claimed the observance of the apostolic injunction; "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath-days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ."¹

By refusing to shut up their shops and suspend business on fast-days, they subjected themselves to odium, and they were frequently arrested on the charge of Sabbath-breaking, when, on the First-day of the week, they travelled to their religious meetings. They believed that the Jewish Sabbath was abrogated by the coming of Christ, who gives to the obedient soul that rest which the seven-day Sabbath was intended to prefigure. "There remaineth, therefore, a rest to the people of God, for he that is entered into his rest hath ceased from his own works as God did from his."² In a work published in 1659, George Fox maintained, that "in the beginning it was not a command to men to keep the Sabbath," but "when the children of Israel came out of Egypt, then, to them, the Lord gave the Sabbath as a sign." And, moreover, that those who attain to the gospel dispensation "need not have a shadow, nor a sign, nor change, who are come to the body, Christ, the substance."³

There is reason to believe that some of the Friends, at that early period, carried this doctrine to such an extent as to give much offence to their Puritan neighbors, and hence the petition to Parliament from the Presbyterian ministers of London, praying "that the

¹ Col. II., 16, 17.

² Heb. iv. 9.

³ Great Mysterv, Works of George Fox III. 315.

Quakers be prohibited from opening their shops on the Sabbath-day.”¹ At a later period, when the Society became more fully organized and settled, they saw the propriety of conforming to the civil law when it did not contravene their duty to God. We find in the writings of Penn and Barclay, cogent reasons for the general intermission of secular business on the First-day of the week, “according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of creation,” “in order that parents, children and servants may the better dispose themselves to read the Scriptures of Truth at home, or to frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad, as may best suit their respective persuasions.”²

In dress, furniture, and equipage, the Friends aimed at simplicity and utility, avoiding expensive superfluities and gaudy apparel. There was no particular mode of dress prescribed by the Society, but by adhering to plain and useful apparel, and avoiding the changing fashions of the world, they became peculiar, because others changed, and they, in this particular, remained nearly stationary, adopting only such changes as comfort or utility required.

Their abstaining from uncovering the head in honor to man, and from the use of flattering titles, as well as their adherence to the singular pronoun in addressing a single person, have frequently been mentioned in the course of this narrative. Their conduct in these particulars sprang from a sense of religious duty, and corresponded with the practice of the holy men of old. It was, however, the occasion of much

¹ Neal, History of the Puritans, II. 191.

² Laws of Pennsylvania; Janney's Life of Penn, 222, and Barclay's Apology, Prop. XL., Sec. IV.

persecution; showing, as George Fox affirmed, that the high professors of that day were not true believers, for "How can ye believe," said Christ, "who receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only."

The moral courage they evinced in living up to their convictions of duty in these particulars, must command the respect of every reflecting mind. When we are called to make a sacrifice for some principle which the world acknowledges to be of great importance, we are sustained by a consciousness of public approbation; but when required by a sense of religious duty to adopt a course of life generally contemned and derided, great fidelity is requisite to persevere in defiance of the "world's dread laugh," and the pointing finger of scorn. Yet it has been by this kind of training that some of the purest minds have been disciplined to bear the cross and despise the shame. May we not then conclude that it was the intention of Infinite Wisdom, in leading the Early Friends into these humbling testimonies, to wean them from the world, to inclose them as with a thorny hedge from the intrusions of evil, and to exercise them by a discipline severe and mortifying, but calculated to invigorate their religious principles.

It has been observed by a pious writer, "That almost invariably when it pleases the Most High to manifest his mighty power, and to 'make bare his arm in the midst of the nations,' He does it in a way to confound the pride of reason. 'I will overturn — overturn — overturn' — this is his language, and this his mode of action. What could exceed in strangeness to human apprehension the requirements that were laid upon Abraham, Moses, the prophets, and many others too numerous to mention?"

“*The submission of the heart* was what these holy men concerned themselves with ; not the strangeness of the mode in which that noble and God-glorifying principle of obedience was outwardly exhibited. They were used to strange things, to terrible things to flesh and blood, when they came to deal with the Father of Spirits.”¹

It may not be inappropriate to notice in this place, the charge of fanaticism so frequently urged against the Early Friends. Those who are well versed in the history of England during the times of the civil war and the Protectorate of Cromwell, are fully aware that it was an age of enthusiasm and deep religious excitement. To persons thus informed it would appear extraordinary indeed, if the rising Society of Friends, or some who professed to hold their principles, did not in any degree partake of the general enthusiasm, or in any instance give way to fanaticism. They were not exempt from the frailties incident to humanity, and though many of them were favored with clear views on religious duty, there were, doubtless, some who mistook the suggestions of the imagination for the promptings of the Spirit of Truth.

Such was the character of those fanatical men and women who accompanied James Nayler at the time of his delusion ; and of those enthusiasts in Holland whose conduct for a while brought reproach upon the doctrines they professed to espouse. But the Society should not be held responsible for the errors of a few whose conduct it publicly condemned. There were also a few instances of persons professing with Friends who thought it their religious duty to appear as

¹ M. A. Kelty's *Memoirs of Primitive Quakers*, Preface, xvii.

“*signs*” to the people, in a manner which would now be condemned as indecorous. One of these persons, Solomon Eccles, passed through the city of Galloway, in Ireland, stripped from his waist upwards, and a pan of fire and brimstone burning on his head. Such singular exhibitions were probably suggested by the examples recorded in the Old Testament, where the prophets are described as sometimes performing, from a sense of duty, actions no less repugnant to modern notions of propriety.

It would be extremely unjust to apply to all the actions of former generations the standard of propriety now adopted in enlightened nations; for, although the cardinal principles of morality have been nearly the same among good people in all ages, there has been a vast difference in their manners and their ideas of decorum. The few instances of indecorum among the Early Friends may well be pardoned, when we reflect that they lived in an age when, by order of the public authorities, and for no other offence than religious dissent, worthy men and virtuous women were stripped to the waist, and cruelly scourged in the public streets, both in England and America.

The trembling which was sometimes, and perhaps frequently, manifested among the Early Friends, when under deep religious exercise, exposed them to the scoffs of their adversaries; but cannot with justice be considered an evidence of fanaticism. It was the result of profound emotion, proceeding, either from a mental conflict, in which the physical powers were shaken, or from an awful sense of the Divine Majesty, when they believed themselves called to declare His word to the people.

The practice of going into the “steeple-houses,”

and sometimes speaking to the priest and people, after the services were ended, has already been noticed, and shown to be not peculiar to Friends, nor reprehensible under the circumstances then existing.¹ The term, "steeple-houses," was applied to the edifices for public worship erected for the established church. After the subversion of that church in the times of the Commonwealth, they were considered the property of the nation. The Friends, with strict propriety of language, applied the term church only to the assembly of believers, as it is used in the Scriptures, and the term, "steeple-house," they applied by way of distinction to the edifice in which the congregation assembled. When the Society became settled, and had meeting-houses of its own sufficient for the accommodation of all who chose to attend its meetings, the practice of speaking in steeple-houses became less frequent, and at length ceased almost entirely.

We find in the writings of the Early Friends frequent mention of meetings being held in the open air; sometimes in market-places or in the streets, at other times in orchards or in the fields. This was, doubtless, owing to the want of suitable houses to contain the great numbers who often attended their meetings. At Bristol, even in the depth of winter, from two to four thousand persons stood for hours in a field near the city, listening to the powerful ministry of John Camm and John Audland, or of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill.

The meetings at Pardshaw Crag, where George Fox addressed the assembled multitudes, have already

¹ See Chapter III.

been mentioned.¹ George Whitehead attended meetings at the same place, of which he has left the following account: "I remember in those days, Friends in the west part of Cumberland kept their meetings without doors, at a place on the common called Pardshaw Crag, not then having convenient house-room to contain the meetings. It was very cold, stormy, snowy, and sleety weather, at one of the meetings which I had there; but as there are several sides of it under the wind where sheep may shelter, so Friends commonly took the same advantage to meet on the calmest side. And truly, several good and blessed meetings I had at Pardshaw Crag without doors, both in winter and summer, and several within doors, since our Friends got a meeting-house built there. Likewise our Friends of Strickland and Shapp, and that side of Westmoreland, kept their meetings for some years on the common, both winter and summer, until they got a meeting-house built at Great Strickland. Our Friends in those northern counties were greatly enabled to bear the cold and all sorts of weather, when they had their meetings on the commons and mountainous places, for several years, at first. I remember when it rained most of the time at some meetings, where we have been very much wetted, and yet I do not remember that ever I got any hurt thereby; the Lord so preserved and defended us by his power! Blessed be His name who enabled me and many others to stand and to bear divers kinds of storms and winds."²

At this early stage in its history, no regular code of discipline had been adopted by the Society of Friends,

¹ See Chapter V.

² G. Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 124

and it is believed there was no complete record of its members. All who were in the habit of attending their meetings, and who professed with them, were considered as members; and, in cases of immorality, or breaches of their Christian testimonies, the delinquents were admonished by those whose religious experience and weight of character qualified them for such services. This view is corroborated by the investigations made by William Tanner, among the early records of Friends' meetings in Bristol and Somersetshire.

* After alluding to the two acceptations of the word Church, as used in the Scriptures, one of which "takes in all generations, and is made up of the regenerated, be they in Heaven or on earth," and the other applies to "particular assemblies or places," he proceeds as follows:

"There were doubtless some practical inconveniences connected with this state of things, and the line of distinction to which I have alluded, as having been judged needful, was gradually drawn between the Society of Friends and other sects of Christians, and resulted at length in the separation of the attenders of our meetings into the two classes of members and non-members: but the belief that such membership merely implies a connexion with the professing Church, has continued to be manifested by the children of members being recognised in that capacity until they formally withdraw, or prove themselves unworthy by their conduct. It may be said, that although the distinction between the professing and the true Church is scriptural, this mode of recognizing it is not so: but I am not aware that any portion of the New Testament could be referred to,

to show that it is unscriptural. Have we any good reason for supposing, that the children of those who were admitted into the Apostolic Church, on the ground of their professed faith in Christ, would be excluded from any of the privileges which membership in the congregation conferred, until they proved themselves unworthy of them? And was there anything more implied in the original idea of Church membership, than the right to participate in those privileges?"

"I would further observe, that the practice of the Early Church, as set forth in the New Testament, appears to me to have been to admit into membership those who made profession of faith in Christ, and afterwards to disown all such as by their conduct, and by their rejection of the means used to reclaim them, proved themselves insincere; such I find to have been the early practice of the Society of Friends. Those who attended their meetings even occasionally, were watched over as members of the flock, remonstrated with when their conduct was disorderly, and testified against when they refused subjection to the discipline. Inquiry was made as to the orderly conduct of those applying for relief, for leave to be married at meeting, or (according to the practice introduced towards the close of the seventeenth century, and ever since continued) for certificates of membership on their removal from one meeting to another: but I do not find in the minutes of the monthly meetings which I have examined, any mention made of a formal admission into membership, for more than a hundred years after the establishment of our meetings for discipline."

In the further prosecution of this history, special attention will be given, under the proper date, to the

establishment of meetings for discipline, and to the true principles of church government.

As there seems to have been no regular record of members, it becomes a matter of interest to inquire who were the persons that composed the meetings of discipline then established? In one of his published papers, George Fox speaks of "the substantial men and elders in the Truth, who came to the yearly meeting at Skipton, both from Bristol and London, and other places." As the official appointment of elders did not take place till long afterwards, it is obvious that the persons here spoken of were Friends whose age or religious experience qualified them for service in the church; and we may reasonably infer, that of such were the meetings for discipline chiefly composed.

Edward Burrough has left a paper concerning "the beginning of the work of the Lord" in London, and the establishment of a meeting for discipline at "the Bull and Mouth," in which he advises: "That the meeting do consist of just and righteous men, all believing in the truth and walking in the same, men of sound principles and judgment in the truth of Christ, of good and blameless conversation amongst men, and such that have kept their integrity and first principles, and abide in love and unity in the Lord among themselves; the meeting not limited to a number of persons, but freedom for all Friends in the truth (none excepted), as they are moved to come for the service of truth, to assist in counsel and advice for the good of the body, and carrying on the work of 'the Lord. But if any person out of the truth, and of another spirit contrary to the faith of Christ, professed and practised by Friends, come to the meeting, such are not members thereof, but are excluded from

having their advice and judgment taken in matters of truth, pertaining to the service of the Lord.”

William Tanner, in his Lectures, speaks of a paper issued by one of the Somersetshire General Meetings, which “contains lists of Friends, by whom the business of the different meetings was to be transacted.” There appears to be no clear account of the manner in which the selection of members for this purpose was made. It is most probable that the ministers who were instrumental in gathering the several meetings, in the first place invited such as they deemed suitable to take the oversight of the flock, and that general consent was given by others in attendance. In such cases of recently-gathered churches there will generally be found some whose wisdom and meekness are acknowledged by all; but such persons not being forward to exercise authority, would not act without the general concurrence of the body.

An interesting document is yet extant, supposed to have been issued by a General Meeting held at John Crook’s, in Bedfordshire, in the year 1657. Also, a paper issued by a General Meeting, held at Scalehouse, in Yorkshire, in 1658; and another by a General Meeting in Durham, in 1659.¹ These and other similar documents, containing advices to Friends in relation to the testimonies of truth, and the order of their meetings, show that the religious principles now held by the Society, were then in a great measure developed.

It is well known that “the Society of Friends has from the first steadfastly avoided the introduction of formal creeds.”² They acknowledged the authen-

¹ Barclay’s Letters of Early Friends, CXI. and CXII.

² Tanner’s Lectures.

ticity and divine authority of the sacred records, and when writing on controverted points of doctrine, they thought it safest to confine themselves to the language of Scripture. In a testimony concerning George Fox, signed by many Friends in London, they speak of "his frequent advice to Friends to keep to Scripture language, terms, words, and doctrines, as taught by the Holy Ghost, in matters of faith, religion, controversy, and conversation, and not to be imposed upon, and drawn into unscriptural terms, invented by men in their human wisdom."¹

Many of their most important doctrines having been mentioned in the course of this narrative, it is deemed unnecessary, at this stage of the work, to attempt a further exposition of them.

In concluding this volume, the author cannot withhold the expression of a brief tribute to the exalted virtues of the Early Friends. They were remarkable for the purity of their lives, the firmness of their faith, and their unwavering fidelity to their sense of duty. They counted nothing too dear to be sacrificed for the holy cause they had espoused, and were willing even to lay down their lives for the word of the Lord, and the testimony of Jesus Christ. Being thus faithful unto death, they received the crown of eternal life, and bequeathed to posterity examples of holiness and fidelity that have seldom been equalled in any age of the world.

¹ Works of George Fox, Vol. IV., p. 3.

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