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1792.



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PERSECUTION EXPOSED,
IN SOME
MEMOIRS
RELATING TO THE
SUFFERINGS
OF
JOHN WHITING,
AND
Many others of the People
CALLED
QUAKERS,

For Conscience sake, in the West of England, &c.

With Memoirs of many eminent Friends deceased, and other memorable Matters and Occurrences, concerning the Sufferings of the said People; and remarkable Providences attending him and them, during his long Imprisonment at Ivelchester, till the general Release, in 1686; and continued down to the Year 1696.

SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:
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LOMBARD-STREET.

M DCC XCI.



T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE following Memoirs being written, for the most part, several years since; primarily, For a memorial to myself, of the dealings of the Lord with me, and eminent preservations in many difficulties and dangers, in a thankful remembrance of his mercies, “ That I may publish with the voice of “ thanksgiving, and tell of his wondrous “ works,” Psal. xxvi. 7. Secondly, To give account of some of the persecutions which then raged in many places; and the sufferings we (the people called Quakers) underwent from cruel and merciless men, for our religious dissent and nonconformity. Thirdly, For a warning against persecution in time to come, that none may thereby presume to oppress tender consciences, to the ruin of many honest and industrious families, and themselves too in the end, as many of these men did. Fourthly, For the encouragement of all that may hereafter suffer for the testimony of truth and a good conscience, that they may never be discouraged; but trust in

the Lord in the greatest straits and hardships, who is able to deliver out of them all. And Lastly, To do justice to myself and my friends; and to commemorate the lives, and noble acts, of many renowned worthies, as well as the lamentable ends of many persecutors.

Which yet I should hardly have published at this time (having lain so long by me) or my letter to my adversary priest Ancketyl, who is long since in his grave (and the rest of my persecutors, the bishop, chancellor and gaol-keepers who pursued me with the utmost severity they could) dead and gone, and their places hardly to be found: at whose fall I never rejoiced, or desired that the evil day should hasten to come upon them; but in the innocency desired always to be kept, knowing “ their foot would slide in due time, (being
“ set in slippery places;) for the day of their
“ calamity was at hand, and the things which
“ should come upon them made haste,” Deut. xxxii. 35. Psal. lxxiii. 18. And the sufferings I, and many more underwent in those days, so long (through the mercy of God) survived by me, that I should hardly now have published it, had I not seen the same spirit of persecution still remaining and reviving in some, whose fingers itch to be at their old work again, endeavouring, in more instances than one, to break in upon the toleration which the government hath been pleased

pleased to grant us, and which hath been continued with such good success for more than twenty years, and the ill effects of persecution so obvious to the nation, that one could hardly have thought it could have revived again so soon, but that persecutors were always blind, and could never see their own interest; for the reprehension of which this is now published, and to record unto posterity the wonderful dealings and providences of the Lord towards me and others in relation thereunto, which were so remarkable, that its pity they should be buried in oblivion.

I say remarkable, inasmuch as few perhaps of latter times, have exceeded them in all respects, as I doubt not but will appear by the time I have done, if the reader will be at the pains and have the patience to read it through; in which I can assure him I have not aggravated any thing beyond the truth, but rather for brevity sake, omitted many things and circumstances that might be mentioned; though the nature of the relation and thread of my discourse, hath led me to speak of many other things and passages in relation to the persecutions of those times, besides what concerns myself; the whole being intended to expose persecution for conscience, a warning to persecutors, and to excite all to that noble principle of "Liberty of Conscience," Mat. vii. 12. which is every man's right, and that golden rule of "Doing to others as they
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“ would be done by;” Luke vi. 31. which is my desire might take place in all the kingdoms of the world: and then there would be an end of all the cruelty, violence and oppression that is in it, and the peaceable kingdom of Christ would come to be set up, wherein “ The wolf shall dwell with the
 “ lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with
 “ the kid, &c. They shall not hurt nor de-
 “ stroy in all the holy mountain,” Isaiah xi. 6, 7, 8, 9. However, I have done my duty to God and his truth, my native country, myself and my friends; especially such as suffered with me for the truth’s sake, which is dearer to me than all; and have nothing in my eye but the glory of God, the honour and promotion of his truth, encouragement to the faithful who may suffer for the testimony of a good conscience, and the admonition of such as would cause them to suffer in time to come, and that my soul may have the comfort of well-doing in the end; which is my sincere desire to the Lord.

Some may say, ‘ It is not usual for any to
 ‘ publish journals, or memoirs of their lives
 ‘ in their lifetime.’ To which I answer, Neither is this but in part; and it is usual to publish parts, so far as relate to some particular sufferings, trials or travels, as I could instance in several, known to men of books, and this is no more than a part at most, therefore called ‘ Some Memoirs:’ so
 that

that objection, I hope, is easily removed. I know all books are liable to censure, by some or other, and so perhaps may this; but that I must leave and take my lot, which I am not much solicitous about, "For Wisdom is, and will be justified of her children:" Mat. xi. 19. Truth will prevail at long-run and get the victory, though the witnesses of it may be suppressed for a time, and their testimony trampled upon, it will rise again and be heard hereafter, if not at the present, as it always was; what was persecuted as error in one age, has been received and owned as truth in another, and the sufferers for it commemorated, as it was said of Gad, "A troop shall overcome him, but he shall overcome at the last," Gen. xlix. 19.

Persecution was always exploded by the best of men, kings and princes as well as others, of which a cloud of witnesses might be produced, and only practised by the worst of tyrants, the Pharaohs, Nebuchadnezzars, Antiochuses, Herods, Neroes, Papists, Heldebrands, Lewises, Philips, &c. of Cain's generation, being instigated by the prince of darkness, Lucifer, the old serpent and his offspring, since the enmity was placed between the two seeds; but I could never find that any persecutors would be so dealt with, and so have excluded themselves from being Christians, in not "doing as they would be done by," and of being Christ's disciples in

not "loving one another," John xiii. 35. Wherefore, reader, if thou readest the scriptures, and turnest in thy mind to the light of Christ in thy own heart, which shews thee good and evil, that thou mayest chuse the one and eschew the other, thou wilt discern between truth and error, the true religion and church, and the false, with their fruits and effects; for the 'true church never persecuted any; she can suffer her blood to be shed, but never shed the blood of others;' as king James I, said, 'It is a pure rule in divinity, that God never loves to plant his church with violence and bloodshed; and that it was usually the condition of Christians to be persecuted, but not to persecute.' (Speech to the parliament, 1609.) And king Charles I, in his prayer to God, says, 'Thou seeest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of religion, as if we could not be Christians unless we crucify one another.—Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.' (Ikon Basilike, printed, 1648, pages 97. 120.) With much more. And it is never known that a lamb did worry a wolf, but are worried by them. (See also page 95, 96 of that book) So to God's faithful witness in the consciences of all that read it, I recommend it, to judge of; whether such proceedings and doings are consistent either with Christianity or humanity; and

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and whether any would be so done by, as many of our friends were in the following relation? Desiring the good and well-being of all people, “ That they may be saved, and “ come to the knowledge of the truth ; that “ their moderation may be known to all men, “ for the Lord is at hand:” 1 Tim. ii. 4. Phil. iv. 5. To whom, and to the word of his grace, I commit thee, reader, with my own soul, and rest,

A friend to truth and all men,

JOHN WHITING.

The 25th of the 4th
month, 1714.

THE



T H E

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE I proceed to give account of my imprisonment, &c. I think fit in the first place, for the reader's information, to premise a few words concerning my education, and how I came to the knowledge of the truth, through the infinite love of God to my soul, and for the encouragement of others to seek the Lord in their young days.

I was born at Naylsey, in the county of Somerset, seven miles from Bristol, and four from Wrington, where I afterwards dwelt, and may say I came of honest parents, and of good report in the country. My father John Whiting, and my grandfather also, being reputable yeomen, having a competent estate in the same parish, where my ancestors lived for many generations; and my mother, Mary, was daughter of John Evans, a man of good repute also, in the same parish, where his son Edward, my uncle, and mother's brother, lives to this day. My father and mother were both convinced of the blessed truth, in the first spreading

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spreading of it in our country, and received it in love, and the messengers of it, John Audland and John Camm, and their testimony, in peace; when they came first to Bristol and Somersetshire, in the year 1654, and kept meetings at their house (which were some of the first in that country) before I was born, in 1656, the fame of whom, and others of the first publishers of truth I can remember, though not the persons of some of them. And so meetings continued at their house till the time of my father's death, which was in the 4th month, 1658, while I was very young, so that I cannot remember him, but he was an honest upright man, and left a good favour behind him, leaving the tuition of me and my sister to our dear mother, who educated us according to truth, as much as in her lay; and also continued meetings at her house till the time of the great imprisonment, after the coming in of king Charles, 1660, when she, and above two hundred more were committed to Ivelchester prison, for meeting and refusing to take the oath of allegiance; so that she broke up house-keeping, leaving us with our grandfather that winter: but being freed, with many more, at the next Spring assizes at Chard, she returned and took us home; and some time after, in the year 1661, married again, to one Moses Bryant, a friend of the same parish, and kept meetings at their house as formerly, and brought us up according to the
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the way of truth they profest, till my mother died, in the 9th month, 1666, when I was about ten years old, which was a great trouble to me, she being a tender mother, and an honest charitable woman, much beloved and lamented: after which, though the estate was mine, I let my father-in-law continue in it, to bring up my three younger brothers which he had by my mother, and dwelt with him till the time of his decease.

But though I was educated under the profession of truth, yet the wild nature was apt to appear in me, till truth took hold of me and opened in my understanding; which through the great love and mercy of God in Christ Jesus to my poor soul, he was pleased to manifest to me in my early days, being as a swift witness in me against sin and evil; and by his light and grace, which brings salvation and appears to all men, 'teaching to deny ungodliness,' &c. Titus ii. v. shewed me good and evil, and set life and death before me, checking and reproofing me when I said or did any thing amiss, and speaking peace to me when I turned at its reproof; and if I was at any time light or wanton, I was reproofed and judged for it, so that inexpressible trouble would take hold of me, that I have gone under condemnation for several days, till through the merciful forgiveness of God, I have been restored into favour with him again: and by the secret re-

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proofs of it, I was taken off, at about twelve years old, from all my vain sports and pastimes; for having been on a time with other boys at play, when I came home at night, I was so exceedingly troubled and condemned in myself for my vanity, that I made a covenant with the Lord, 'That if he would forgive me, for Christ's sake, I would never go to such vain pastimes again:' and praised be his name, through his mercy I never did after, but became more sober and religiously inclined; and as I grew in years the witness of God grew more and more prevalent in me, so that no word or action could pass without due observation. But being sent to school to one that was not a friend, I was taught to put off my hat to men, which I was soon convicted in myself for, and saw the evil of, and was made to deny it again; and then I went to another who was more moderate, and left me to my liberty; after which I went to a friend, under whom I profited most every way; and in those days the Lord was near me, even when I was a school boy. And the plain language also cost me very dear, it was so hard to take up, that I could have gone miles about rather than have met some of my relations to speak to them; which how small a thing soever some may count it, I could have no peace till I gave up and took up the cross in that respect, and then it was made easy to me, and I had peace therein.

And

And the Lord was also pleased, by his light, to discover to me the hireling priests, their erroneous ways and worships, and begot a testimony in my heart against them; so that if at any time in my young years, before I was taken off from my vain ways, I went with other boys to hear them at burials, or the like, I could discern a difference between them and friends, and I had a testimony in my heart against paying them tithes, believing it not agreeable to the ministers of Christ, or gospel dispensation, observing from the scriptures of truth, which I diligently read as well as friends books, that the true ministers in former times, as well as now, were never sent, or came to people to seek their's, but them; so that the same divine light that convinced me of truth, discovered them and their maintenance by tithes to be wrong. And if at any time I saw a defect in any, as to their testimony, in that respect, I was troubled. And the Lord was near me in those days, in my early zeal for his name and truth's sake, that I have had no cause to repent of it, blessed be his name, though I have suffered much for my testimony since.

After my father-in-law's decease, which was in the 4th month, 1672, I chose Edmond Beaks, an eminent friend of Porthead, four miles off, for my guardian, and went thither
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to live; and while I dwelt there, the Lord was pleased, in his everlasting love in Christ Jesus, to appear to me, and manifest his blessed truth more fully to my understanding, through the ministry of dear George Coale (a kinsman of Josiah's) and Charles Marshall of Bristol, who used to come thither, and were as fathers in the truth to me, whom I dearly loved for its and their testimony's sake. So that I came to have a more clear discerning, and found I had many things, and idle words, yet to do away, which required great watchfulness: and as I was brought into a more inward acquaintance with the work of truth, and close walking in obedience to it, a secret joy arose in me, and I came more and more to feel and enjoy the Lord's presence with me, whom I had sought and longed for in my most serious seasons from my childhood, and now had 'found him whom my soul loved,' to my exceeding joy and comfort; glory to him for ever: to whose praise I can say, it was as a seal to me, which left a lasting impression upon my soul, never to be razed out; so that I never had any cause since to question it to this day, but am fully satisfied as to religion for ever, blessed be his holy name, saith my soul. Oh! the glory of that day, wherein the Lord so eminently appeared in his everlasting love, which he shed abroad abundantly through Jesus Christ our Lord; and many ran to and fro that knowledge might be encreased;

creased; and many were gathered in his love, to become sons and daughters of the Most High. And in those days, and afterwards, while I was at liberty, I frequented friends meetings in the city of Bristol, where the most eminent friends, of this and other nations, used to come, and many heavenly meetings there were, as well as in our country, which were a great help and strength to me, for which I praise and magnify the worthy name of the Lord, who is known by his goings in his sanctuary.

I dwelt at Portshead near three years, except the winter half-year, 1673, with my guardian's brother at Backwell, where I went through deep inward exercises, under the work of truth in myself, and eat my bread with fear and trembling; but had my spiritual support and comforts also, (the brook by the way) so that I was not faint or weary: and the Lord was wonderfully with me, and appeared to me in his great love, his presence was my delight: the Lord was become my God, and he was my fear: his fear was placed in my heart, which keepeth the heart clean: his image was renewed in me, and I was in measure made conformable to it. And the next spring I returned to Portshead again, and the Lord was still near me, to carry on his blessed work in me, which was not a work of a day, or a year, but gradually as I grew in the truth, and nothing was dear to me for

his sake who was with me; I could freely have suffered for the truth's sake, and remember when some persecuting justices came and broke up our meeting at Clareham, where Charles Marshal was, in the 10th month this year, and haled us out, Oh! how freely could I have gone to prison, and rejoiced that I was counted worthy to suffer for his sake, in whom I had believed.

In the 1st month, 1675, I returned to my house at Naylfey, and the Lord, I may say, went with me, and continued to extend the visitations of his love to me; so that my days were delightful, and my nights pleasant to me, because of his presence who was with me. And I often thought, if people knew what we enjoyed, they would never follow the blind guides, but come and partake with us. I could favour the things of God, and discern between things that differed; and not the least evil did appear, but I could feel his pure Spirit rising to judge and condemn it: and in his presence was, and is, 'life, and at his right hand pleasures for evermore.' His ways were, and are, ways of pleasantness, and all his paths peace. I dwelt there with my sister for some time; but she being raised in a testimony, before my return, travelled in it this summer, and in the 9th month I went, by Oxford, to her in Buckinghamshire, and from thence to London with her, where I got acquaintance with many friends, staying there
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till the beginning of the 11th month, and then returned home, she going northward. And next spring, at her desire, went after her into the North, by Northampton, when it lay in ashes, Leicester, Nottingham, &c. to Norton in the county of Durham; where she departed this life the 8th of the 2d month, which was a great exercise to me, but through Providence I came to her some time before she died. (See the account of her, intitled, 'Early Piety Exemplified,' &c.) After which I returned, lying ill by the way at Mansfield, and after at W. Wells's, near Leicester; but at last got to D. Wills's, at Northampton, and so by Aylesbury, Reading, &c. home, where I lived retired, till the priest began to trouble me. And the Lord was with me, blessed be his name; of whose love and mercy to me, in appearing and visiting me in such an extraordinary manner, I was willing to make this short memorial to his praise, though but an abstract of a larger account by me; which, with other memoirs, I hope, one time or other may see the light, as a first part to what follows.

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M E M O I R S, &c.

IN the year 1676, after my return out of the north from the death of my dear sister, (of whom and of which I have formerly given an account in a book intituled, Early Piety exemplified in the life and death of Mary Whiting,) being then in the 20th year of my age, and having some of my estate in my hands, I manured part of it, and sowed it with corn the latter end of this year, and the next spring some more of it, of which I had a small crop of about ten acres the summer following. But I could not for conscience sake, set forth the tenth part of my corn for the priest of the parish, Edward Ancketyll; for that Jesus Christ being come in the flesh, had put an end to the Levitical law and priesthood, which commanded and took tithes: “ For
“ the priesthood being changed, there is made
“ of necessity a change also of the law. For
“ he of whom these things are spoken, per-
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“ taineth to another tribe, of which no man
 “ gave attendance at the altar. For it is evi-
 “ dent that our Lord sprang out of Judah, of
 “ which tribe Moses spake nothing concern-
 “ ing priesthood. And it is yet far more evi-
 “ dent; for that after the similitude of Mel-
 “ chisedec, there ariseth another priest who
 “ is made, not after the law of a carnal com-
 “ mandment, but after the power of an end-
 “ less life. For there is verily a disannulling
 “ of the commandment going before, for
 “ the weakness and unprofitableness thereof.
 “ For the law made nothing perfect, but the
 “ bringing in of a better hope did; by the
 “ which we draw nigh unto God. Jesus being
 “ made a surety of a better testament; and be-
 “ cause he continueth ever, hath an unchange-
 “ able priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to
 “ save them to the uttermost that come unto
 “ God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make
 “ intercession for them. For such a High
 “ Priest became us, who is holy, harmless,
 “ undefiled, separate from sinners, &c. Who
 “ needeth not daily, as those high priests, to
 “ offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and
 “ then for the people’s, having once offered
 “ up himself; but now hath he obtained a
 “ more excellent ministry, being the media-
 “ tor of a better covenant, established upon
 “ better promises.” Heb. vii. 12, 13, 14, 15,
 16, 18, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27. chap. viii. 6.
 Having by his offering up himself once for all;
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he put an end to all the offerings, tithes, &c. and set up a better ministry. So that the priesthood being changed, and tithes abrogated by the coming and sufferings of Christ, the commandment is disannulled, the law superseded by the gospel, and the first covenant by the second. In which dispensation, they, (viz. tithes, offerings, &c.) belonging to the law and Levitical priesthood, are no ways agreeable or suitable to the gospel or ministers of Christ; but such as are called of God, fitted thereto, and sent forth into his vineyard, having freely received of Christ, are commanded by him, that they should “freely give,” Mat. x. 8. or administer again, and depend on him for a maintenance, being content with his appointment; “to eat such things as are set before them,” Luke x. 8. as the Lord shall open peoples hearts to receive them. For the labourer is worthy of his meat, and needs not tithes and forced maintenance to live on; for that would be, to bring the wages of the law to the work of the gospel; which would be, in effect, to deny Christ to be come in the flesh, and so mix law and gospel together; and so make the coming of Christ of none effect. But we are exhorted by the apostle, “stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage;” Gal. v. 1. which to be sure is intended of the Jewish rites and ceremonies.

And therefore because I could not for these reasons, which in short I thought fit in the first place to premise, pay tithes, or put into the priest's mouth, he soon began to prepare war against me, citing me to appear at the bishop's court at Wells, the 28th of the 3d month, 1678, which I did accordingly; and another friend, Christopher Sharp, of the same parish with me on the same account of tithes: where the chancellor or bishop's deputy, John Baylic, a proud imperious man, sat judge of the court, which was held in an angle of the cathedral; who commanded our hats to be taken off, which the other friend objected against, saying, he was an old man and might take cold in his head. The chancellor told him, it was no matter if his head was off too (i. e. as well as his hat). Then he asked me why I did not pay Mr. Ancketyll, as he called him, his tithes. I answered, that I could not for conscience sake pay tithes, because Jesus Christ being come in the flesh, had changed the law and priesthood, which commanded and took tithes, and put an end to the first covenant by establishing the second; in which he commanded his ministers, that as they had received freely, so they should administer freely again: and therefore to pay tithes under this gospel dispensation, was to deny Christ to be come in the flesh, and to uphold the Jewish rites and ceremonies which Christ had abolished; which I could not do whatever I suffered,

suffered, or to that purpose. To which the chancellor, instead of answering or offering any thing to convince me to the contrary, gave me very abusive language (being a very haughty, passionate, as well as envious man) ill becoming his place; threatening me what he would do if I did not submit and pay tithes; admonishing me in their formal way, once, twice, and thrice, to pay my tithes; and so dismissed me for that time, charging me to come again that day week, and bring him an account that I had agreed with Mr. Ancketyll, and paid him his tithes; but sent the other friend that came with me, to prison, by the assistance of Francis Paulet, of Wells, a persecuting justice of peace, fit for their turn, and always ready at their service to help them at the time of need; (the same, who in the 10th month, 1674, pulled down Charles Marshall, at a meeting at Clareham, when he was in prayer, griping him so by the side with his long hand, as caused him to spit blood, of which I heard him complain many years after, but the said Paulet was bereaved of his understanding, and became foolish before he died) sending the said Christopher Sharp to prison, at Ivelchester, because he spoke against their worship, calling it idolatry (because the organs and choristers played and sung while we were there) and he did not answer them so directly as they expected to the case in hand; but he was discharged again before I was carried

ried to prison. And there were two other friends at the bishop's court the same day, viz. John Coat of Lambrook, and Richard Counsell of the Marsh, on account of tithes; but how they came off, or what became of it, I do not now remember.

When I appeared the second time, they asked me if I had agreed with Mr. Ancketyll, as they called him, and paid him his tithes, &c. as they had admonished me; I said No; for the reasons aforesaid. Then they produced a libel, as they called it, against me, full of lies indeed; asking me if I would see a proctor to plead it; I bid the proctor read it, which he did, but was so ashamed of their own work, that instead of 500 bushels of wheat in an acre, &c. as they alledged in the libel, he read but 50, which yet I admired at, and when he had read it, I demanded a copy of it. They asked me if I would answer to it on oath, which I refused; because Christ said, Swear not at all: they threatened that they should go on to excommunication, if I did not; at which I was not terrified, but desiring a copy of the libel, the proctor asked me where I inned, and promised to bring me one, which he did; but when he brought it demanded ten groats for it, which I refused to give him, telling him I thought it every man's right to have a copy of his charge. He asked me whether I thought they could write for nothing, I told him, he that set them to work, must pay them:
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he said I might take it, but must pay for all at last. I told him, when I paid for the rest, I would for that, and so we parted.

The LIBEL in Latin, is as follows:

IN Dei nomine, Amen. *Coram vobis Venerabili Viro Johanne Baylie Legum Doctore Reverendi in Christo Patris ac Domini Domini Petri Permissione Divina Bathoniensis & Wellensis Episcopi Vicario in Spiritualibus Generali & Officiali Principali sufficienter & legitime constituto nostro Surrogato vel Deputato vel alio Judice in hac parte competente quocunque Pars probi & discreti Viri Magistri Edwardi Ancketyll Clerici Rectoris Ecclesie Parochialis de Wraxall, vestrarum Bathoniensis & Wellensis Diocesis & Jurisdictionis contra & adversus quendam Johannem Whiting de eadem & contra & adversus quemcunque alium seu alios quoscunque coram vobis pro eodem in Judicio legitime intervenientem seu intervenientes in quadam Causa subtractionis Decimarum sive aliorum Jurium Ecclesiasticorum per viam Querelæ ac vobis in hac parte querelando dicit allegat & in his scriptis in Jure proponit conjunctim divisim & articulatim prout sequitur.*

- i. **I**N primis videlicet, Quod præfatus Magister Edvardus Ancketyll Clericus fuit & est Ecclesiam Parochialem & Rectoriam de

Wraxall cum suis Juribus & Pertinentiis Universis legitime & Canonice affectus, ipsamque cum suis Juribus & Pertinentiis Universis Mensibus Martii Aprilis Maii Junii Julii Augusti Septembris Octobris Novembris Decembris Januarii Februarii Annis Domini 1676 & 1677 ultimo præteritis nec non Mensibus Martii Aprilis Maii Anno Domini 1678 jam currente eorum Mensium & Annorum quolibet & uno sive aliquo pacifice & quiete possidet prout salvis infra scriptis in præsentis possidet proque vero Rectore & legitimo Possessore ejusdem fuit per tempus prædictum & in præsentis est communiter dictus tentus habitus nominatus & reputatus palam publice & notorie ac ponit conjunctim divisim de quolibet.

2. Item, Quod tam de Jure communi ac de Statutis & Legibus hujus Regni Angliæ quam de & ex antiqua laudabili legitimeque præscripta consuetudine a tempore & per tempus cujus initii sive contrarii memoria hominum non existit hucusque inviolabiliter & inconcussa usitata ac observata ac incontradictorio judicio sæpius seu saltem semel obtentum jus percipiendi recipiendi & habendi omnes, & singulas Decimas Jura & Emolumenta Ecclesiastica quæcunque tam majores quam minores mixtas & minutas cujuscunque fuerunt generis aut quocunque nomine habeantur & censeantur & particulatim Decimas in quadam Scheda præsentibus annexa contentas & specificatas infra Parochiam de Wraxall prædicta finesque

finesque limites & loca decimabilia ejusdem quotiescunque quandocunque & qualitercunque respective provenientes crescentes renovantes & contingentes ad Rectorem ibidem pro tempore quemcunque existentem ejusve Firmarium & ad dictum Magistrum Ancketyll Rectorum ibidem modernum pertinuit pertinetque ac sic spectare & pertinere debuit & debet ac etiam in futurum debebit. Ac posuit ut supra.

3. Item, Quod a Decem Viginti Triginta Quadraginta Quinquaginta & Sexaginta Annis ultimo elapsis ultraque & citra nec non a Tempore & per Tempus cujus initii sive contrarii memoria hominum non existit Rectores dictæ Rectoriæ de Wraxall temporibus respective suis successive existentes dictusque Magister Ancketyll Clericus Rector ibidem modernus eorumque Præcessores & Prædecessores omnes & singuli suis temporibus successive existentes in eadem fuerunt prout esse debuerunt in quietâ & pacifica Possessione Juris seu quasi percipiendi recipiendi & habendi omnes & singulas decimas prædictas easque per se aut suos per idem tempus perceperunt receperunt & habuerunt ac de & cum eisdem libere disposuerunt sicque salvis infra scriptis fuit idem Magister Ancketyll Rector ante dictus ac percepit ac habuit toto omni tempore Incumbentiæ suæ in eadem usque ad tempus Gravaminum infra scriptorum. Ac ponit ut supra.

4. Item

4. Item, Quod præfatus Johannes Whiting Mensibus & Annis prædictis eorumve uno five aliquo omnes & singulas decimas Res Fructus Jura & Emolumenta Ecclesiastica in Scheda præsentibus annexa contenta & specificata infra Parochiam de Wraxall prædicta finesque limites & loca decimabilia ejusdem provenientia crescentia renovantia & contingentia prout in eadem Scheda narrantur & deducuntur quam quidem Schedulam pro his lectam & insertam haberi vult prædictus ista proponens quatenus sibi expedit & non aliter neque alio modo habuit tenuit possedit percepit recepit & ad usum suum proprium convertibat & applicuit ac ponit prædictus ista de quolibet alio numero rerum respectively decimabilium in Scheda prædicta præsentibus ut præfertur annexa contentarum & specificatarum majore medio vel minore nec non de tali ac tanto quales vel quantas per probationes legitimas in eventu Litis hujus plenius venit comprobandas. Ac ponit ut supra.

5. Item, Quod Johannes Whiting fuit & est Parochiæ de Wraxall Bathoniensis & Wellensis Diœcesis vestræque Jurisdictionis notorie subditus & subjectus.

6. Item. Quod præmissa omnia & singula fuerunt & sunt vera notoria publica manifesta pariter ac famosa ac de & super eisdem laborarunt ac in præsentem laborant publica Vox & Fama.

Unde facta Fide, &c.

The

*The LIBEL in
English, thus.*

“ **I**N the Name of
“ God Amen ^a
“ Before you the
“ Worshipful^b John
“ Baylie Doctor of
“ Laws Vicar general
“ in Spirituals,^c
“ of the Reverend
“ Father in Christ
“ and Lord the
“ Lord Peter ^d by
“ Divine permission
“ Bishop of Bath
“ and Wells and
“ principal Official
“ ^e sufficiently and
“ lawfully constituted
“ or our Surrogate^f
“ or Deputy,
“ or other competent
“ Judge in this
“ Cause whomsoever.
“ The Case
“ of Mr. ^g Edward
“ Ancketyll an honest^h
“ and discreet
“ Man Clerk and
“ Rector ⁱ of the
“ Parish Church^k of
“ Wraxall of your

REMARKS, by way of answer.

^a They begin in the name of God in words, but in works deny him, and go on in the name of him “ who was a liar from the beginning, and abode not in the “ truth.” John viii. 44.

^b Unscriptural titles to such as little deserve them, especially him who had little worship or reverence in him, being an irreverent man, as his words and actions shew, and will further in the sequel.

^c This is a Popish term.

^d What! and yet teach men to break Christ’s commands, in urging them to swear contrary to his command. If they shall be counted the least in the kingdom of heaven, who break the least of Christ’s commands and teach men so, what shall they be accounted, who would force men to break such a great command as that, of “ Swear not at all;” or send them to prison if they will not. Besides, the apostle Peter was not called the Lord Peter, (nor Paul neither) but it was the Gentiles that exercised lordship, which Christ expressly forbids; saying, “ It shall not be so among “ you,” Mark x. 43.

^e Another Popish term.

^f An unscriptural term.

^g Here they are out of the doctrine of Christ, Mat. xxiii. 10.

^h What! and yet send men to prison for conscience sake?

ⁱ I do not read of such titles in scripture.

^k Nor of such a church as Parish Church.

“ Diocess

The REMARKS.

¹ What scripture have ye for that, viz. Diocefs, &c.

^m He did not live in the fame parish.

ⁿ Which ye have no scripture for in the New Testament.

• Nor for fuch rights neither.

^p But not in the gospel, or according to it.

^q Not minister of Christ.

The LIBEL.

“ Diocefs ¹ and Ju-
 “ risdiction of Bath
 “ and Wells, againft
 “ one John Whiting
 “ of the fame ^m and
 “ againft whomfo-
 “ ever other or o-
 “ thers before you
 “ for him in Judg-
 “ ment lawfully in-
 “ tervening in a cer-
 “ tain Cause of sub-
 “ fraction of Tithes
 “ ⁿ or other Eccle-
 “ fiaftical Rights ^o
 “ by way of Com-
 “ plaint; and to you
 “ in this Cause com-
 “ plaining faith al-
 “ legeth and in thefe
 “ Writings in Law
 “ ^p fetts forth jointly
 “ feverally and Ar-
 “ ticle by Article as
 “ followeth.

“ I. **I**Mprimis, viz.
 “ That the a-
 “ forefaid Mr. Edward
 “ Ancketyll Clerk ^q
 “ hath Lawfully and
 “ Canon-

The LIBEL.

“ Canonically ^r ob-
 “ tained the Parish
 “ Church and Rectory
 “ of Wraxall^s with all
 “ its Rights and Ap-
 “ purtenances and so
 “ obtained with all its
 “ Rights and Appur-
 “ tenances in the
 “ Months of March
 “ April May June
 “ July August Sep-
 “ tember October No-
 “ vember December
 “ January February ^r
 “ in the Years of our
 “ Lord 1676 and 1677
 “ last past and in the
 “ Months of March
 “ April May in the
 “ Year of our Lord
 “ 1678 now running
 “ in every one or some
 “ of those Months and
 “ Years peaceably and
 “ quietly possessed as
 “ saving the hereaf-
 “ ter written he at
 “ present possesseth
 “ and as the true Rec-
 “ tor and Lawful Pos-

The REMARKS.

^r Not by the law of God, or commission from Christ.

^s Ay, that is the main matter and thing they aim at, desire, and seek after; to get a good fat benefice or parsonage, when they are out of their time, to live at ease in the flesh.

^t We read of no such months in scripture, but first, second, third, &c. Herein they follow the Heathens, (rather than the Christians) in calling the months after the names of the Heathen gods and goddesses (as well as the days of the week) contrary to scripture. “ Thus saith the Lord, learn not the way of the Heathen,” Jer. x. 2. “ For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people,” Isa. viii. 11.

The REMARKS.

▪ But the question is, by what authority he is so possessed; for as Christians and Protestants, we want scripture for these things. And whatever he hath been held called or reputed, there are many who never so accounted of him, as a true rector or ruler that rules well, and is worthy of double honour, or minister of Christ; for if he was, he would not receive tithes, however he came to be possessed of them.

• But not by the gospel or law of God: and all laws contrary to that are, ipso facto, null and void, says Doctor and Student.

* Custom without lawful authority, is no good ground for a minister of Christ to go upon or follow, “for the customs of the people and nations are commonly vain,” Jer. x. 3.

• Nay, the foundation of tithes is shaken in this nation since the reformation, and the more glorious light of truth lately broken forth; so that they will never settle on a gospel bottom; “and the Lord hath shaken his hand at your dishonest gain,” Ezek. xxii. 13.

The LIBEL.

“ fessor of the same ”
 “ was for the time a-
 “ foresaid and at the
 “ present is common-
 “ ly called held had
 “ named and reputed
 “ openly publicly
 “ and notoriously and
 “ sets forth jointly and
 “ severally of every
 “ one.

“ 2. Item, That as
 “ well by the common
 “ Law ” and Statutes
 “ and Laws of this
 “ Kingdom of Eng-
 “ land as of and by
 “ Antient Laudable
 “ and Lawfully pre-
 “ scribed Custom *
 “ from time and by
 “ time of whose be-
 “ ginning or the con-
 “ trary there is no me-
 “ mory of Men extant
 “ hitherto inviolably
 “ and unshakenly •
 “ used and observed
 “ and in uncontradic-
 “ tory Judgment often
 “ or at least once ob-
 “ tained

The LIBEL.

“ tained the Right^z of
 “ taking receiving and
 “ having all and sin-
 “ gular the Tithes
 “ Rights and Emolu-
 “ ments Ecclesiastical
 “ whatsoever as well
 “ greater as lesser mixt
 “ and minute^a of what
 “ kind soever they
 “ have been, or by
 “ whatsoever name
 “ they may be ac-
 “ counted and rec-
 “ koned^b and particu-
 “ larly the Tithes con-
 “ tained and specified
 “ in a certain Schedule
 “ to these Presents an-
 “ nexed^c within the
 “ Parish of Wraxall
 “ aforesaid and the
 “ Bounds Limits and
 “ Tithable Places of
 “ the same as often as
 “ ever whensoever and
 “ after what manner
 “ soever^d respectively
 “ arising growing re-
 “ newing and belong-
 “ ing to whatsoever

The REMARKS.

^z But by what right hath he ob-
 tained the receiving and having
 tithes, &c. there being no ground
 for it in the New Testament; and
 human authority is not sufficient
 for a minister of the gospel? but
 they will have it right or wrong.

^a Ay, great and small, all they
 can get, nothing comes amiss; all
 is fish that comes to net; like the
 parsonage barn, (and steeple-
 house too) receive all that
 comes.

^b Whether Jewish or Popish,
 all is one to them, so as they can
 have them.

^c But there were not all the
 tithes mentioned in the schedule,
 and how then could he receive or
 have them? For there are so ma-
 ny, and of such a value, as I be-
 lieve never any one had, much
 less John Whiting.

^d However they come by it,
 right or wrong, it is all a case to
 them, so they can but get them.

The REMARKS.

^e Here again they break the command of Christ, in calling men masters, when one is our master, even Christ. And we at best are but brethren.

^f How do they know that, that it shall belong and appertain to him for the future? did they think he would always remain there, and never die? O unheard of folly!

^g I never read of any such titles in scripture, as rectors or rectories, for ministers of Christ.

^h Nor of clerk: though I have read, that "every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a man that is an housholder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old," Mat. xiii. 52. But doubt you have not been so instructed, and have little to bring out of the true treasury.

The LIBEL.

“ Rector thereof for
 “ the time being or his
 “ Farmer and did and
 “ doth belong to the
 “ said Mr. Ancketyll ^e
 “ the present Rector
 “ thereof and ought
 “ and doth and also
 “ for the future shall
 “ belong and apper-
 “ tain to him ^f and he
 “ sets forth as above.

“ 3. Item, That
 “ from Ten Twenty
 “ Thirty Forty Fifty
 “ Sixty Years last past
 “ more or less and
 “ from time and by
 “ time of whose be-
 “ ginning there is no
 “ memory of Men ex-
 “ tant the Rectors of
 “ the said Rectory ^g
 “ of Wraxall in their
 “ times respectively
 “ and successively be-
 “ ing and the said Mr.
 “ Ancketyll Clerk ^h
 “ the present Rector
 “ thereof and all and
 “ singular their Pre-
 “ cessors

The LIBEL.

“ ccessors and Prede-
 “ ccessors in their times
 “ successively being in
 “ the same have been
 “ and ought to have
 “ been in quiet and
 “ peaceable Possession
 “ ⁱ of the Right or as
 “ of taking receiving
 “ and having all and
 “ singular the Tithes
 “ aforesaid and them
 “ by themselves or
 “ theirs for the said
 “ time have taken re-
 “ ceived and had and
 “ of and with the
 “ same, have freely
 “ disposed ^k and so
 “ saving the hereafter
 “ written hath been
 “ the same Mr. Anc-
 “ ketyll Rector aforesaid
 “ and took and
 “ had the whole and
 “ all the time of his
 “ Incumbency in the
 “ same unto the time
 “ of the Grievances
 “ hereafter written. ^l

The REMARKS.

ⁱ How ought all their prede-
 cessors to have been in the quiet
 and peaceable possession of the
 tithes? what? in the late turn of
 times, doth not this justify the late
 usurpation, when the church of
 England men were turned out,
 and others put in their places,
 except they turned with the times,
 to keep their places, as many of
 them did.

^k How have they freely dis-
 posed of them? Have they shared
 them among the poor according
 to their first institution? I doubt
 the poor have little enough of
 them: for among the Jews, the
 poor were to have a part as well
 as the priests; and after the pri-
 mitive times, they were counted
 pure alms, even in England; at
 first, they might give them to
 whom they would, and the poor
 were to be maintained out of them
 as well as the priests; but now, the
 priests go away with all; the
 poor must shift for themselves,
 and be maintained by the parish
 besides, or starve for them: so
 that I doubt, they have no more
 freely disposed of them than they
 have freely received them.

^l This is false, for several of
 the parish of Naylsey, refused to
 pay tithes before this time; and
 one of the defendant's relations
 (William Tucker of the same
 parish) died a prisoner at Ivel-
 chester, for refusing to pay tithes
 to one of priest Ancketyll's pre-
 decessors, Thomas George, in
 the year 1658.

The REMARKS.*The* LIBEL.

“ And he sets forth
 “ as above.

“ 4. Item, That the
 “ aforefaid J. Whiting
 “ in the Months and
 “ Years aforefaid or in
 “ one or fome of them
 “ hath had held pos-
 “ fessed taken received
 “ and converted and
 “ applied to his own
 “ proper use all and
 “ fingular the Tithes
 “ Things Fruits Rights
 “ and Emoluments
 “ Ecclesiastical con-
 “ tained and specified
 “ in a Schedule to
 “ these Presents an-
 “ nexed ^m within the
 “ Parish of Wraxall
 “ aforefaid and the
 “ Bounds Limits and
 “ Tithable Places of
 “ the same arising
 “ growing renewing
 “ and belonging as in
 “ the same Schedule
 “ they are related
 “ and deduced which
 “ Schedule the afore-
 “ faid

^m This is very false, for John Whiting can no more receive tithes than he can pay tithes, much less, all the tithes mentioned in the Schedule: a little before they said, that E. A. had possessed the same, and all the rights, &c. but now they say John Whiting possessed them all. This being contradictory, they cannot be both true. Besides, John Whiting had not all, nor a tenth part of the tithes mentioned in the Schedule, as his neighbours can witness; and how then could he have, hold, possess, and receive all the tithes, &c.

The LIBEL.*The* REMARKS.

" saidⁿ will have read
 " and inserted instead
 " of these proposing
 " them as far as is ex-
 " pedient for himself
 " and no otherwise
 " nor in any other
 " manner and the a-
 " foresaid^o proposing
 " them of every other
 " number of things
 " respectively Titha-
 " ble contained and
 " specified in the
 " Schedule to these
 " Presents annexed as
 " aforefaid of a greater
 " or lesser sort and of
 " such a Quality and
 " Quantity as and
 " how much by law-
 " ful Proofs in the Is-
 " sue of this Suit it
 " comes more fully to
 " be proved.^p And he
 " sets forth as above.

" 5. Item, That
 " John Whiting of the
 " Parish of Wraxall^q
 " hath been and is
 " known to be a Sub-

ⁿ Who they mean by the a-
 foresaid, I know not: if they
 mean John Whiting, being last
 mentioned, though I confess I
 desired them to read it when they
 produced it, and asked me if I
 would answer to it on oath; yet
 I deny that I desired or would
 have it inserted; as consenting to
 it, or allowing of it; and how
 they could add it after, if I had;
 I know not, when it was inserted
 before.

^o Here they seem to intend
 Edward Ancketyll, though he is
 not mentioned after the above
 [aforefaid] which renders it so
 confused, that there is no know-
 ing what they mean.

^p This ... proved in
 the issue as they say, nor ever
 can, to be true.

^q He was not of the parish of
 Wraxall, properly speaking, but
 of Naylfey, being (whatever it
 was formerly) now two distinct
 parishes.

The REMARKS.

‘ I never read of any such dioceses or jurisdiction in scripture; and if he was subject, why did they send him to prison? but he could not be subject to such unscriptural jurisdiction, (though he was a subject of the king’s) nor submit to their corrupt wills, and therefore they persecuted and imprisoned him.

‘ This is so infamous, that instead of all the premises being true, &c. they are known to be notoriously false.

‘ What nonsense is here, to tell of labouring, public voice and fame? But they may labour long enough, before they make it good.

‘ Faith is the gift of God, which none can give or make; and they are so far from making faith, that they are not to be believed.

The LIBEL.

“ subject of your Dioceses
“ and Jurisdiction’ of
“ Bath and Wells.

“ 6. Item, That all
“ and every the said
“ Premises have been
“ and are True Notori-
“ ous Publick Mani-
“ fest and Famous ‘
“ and of and concern-
“ ing the same have
“ laboured and at pre-
“ sent do labour pub-
“ lick Voice and
“ Fame ‘

“ Whereof Faith be-
“ ing made, &c. ”

The Schedule mention-
ed in the Libel.

“ **I**Mprimis, viz.
“ The said John
“ Whiting had held
“ and possessed in the
“ said Parish of Wax-
“ all and Tithable
“ Places thereof the
“ Years and Months
“ Libellate all or some
“ of

The LIBEL.*The* REMARKS.

“ of them 7 Acres of
 “ Ground which he
 “ Sowed or caused to
 “ Sown with Wheat
 “ each Acre yielding
 “ 500 Bushels each
 “ Bushel worth 8s.
 “ and the Tithes after
 “ that Rate. ^w

“ Item, The said
 “ John Whiting had in
 “ the said Parish 8
 “ Acres of Ground
 “ which he Sowed or
 “ caused to be Sown
 “ with Oats each A-
 “ cre yielding 800
 “ Bushels each Bushel
 “ worth 4s. 6d. and
 “ the Tithe after that
 “ Rate. ^x

“ Item, The said
 “ John Whiting had 5
 “ Acres of Ground
 “ which he Sowed
 “ with Barley each
 “ Acre yielding 400
 “ Bushels and each
 “ Bushel worth 5s. ^y

“ Item, The said
 “ John Whiting was

^w This is all false, for John Whiting had no wheat any of the said years or months mentioned in the libel, much less 500 bushels in an acre; which how impossible it is to have so much in an acre, I leave to any that know any thing of husbandry, to judge; so that the corn of this one article for one year, at this rate, comes to 1400l. (200l. per acre) and the tithe after that rate 140l.

^x This is false also, for he had but 5 acres of oats, and how incredible it is to have 800 bushels in an acre, let any husbandman judge, when there were but about 20 bushels in an acre; and the price they set is above treble the value: so that the oats according to this article for one year, came to 1440l. (180l. per acre) and the tithe after that rate 144l.

^y This is likewise false, for John Whiting had no barley, much less 400 bushels in an acre; the like I believe was never heard. The tenth part of it, and the twentieth of the wheat and oats being an extraordinary crop. So the barley for one year according to this, came to 500l. (100l. per acre) and the tithe after that rate, 50l.

The REMARKS.

^z He did not live in Wraxall, but Naylsey.

^a I do not read of sacraments in scripture.

^b Ought we to receive the Lord's supper no oftener than once a year? we ought to pray for daily bread, how else can we live thereby?

^c What? can they assign their power then? This the apostle Peter could not do to Simon Magus.

^d And why ought he to pay 6d? What law or gospel have they for this? The scripture says no such thing, but on the contrary: "Come ye, buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk without money and without price," Isa. lv. 1. See also John vii. 37. and Rev. xxii. 17.

The LIBEL.

" and is an Inhabitant
" and Parishioner of
" and in Wraxall a-
" foresaid ^z and ought
" to receive the Sacra-
" ment ^a of the Lord's
" Supper Yearly ^b at
" Easter and ought to
" pay the Parson or
" his Assigns ^c the Sum
" of 6d. in Money ^d
" at the Feast of Easter
" Yearly."

Thus ends the *Libel*
and *Schedule*.

If any question the truth of this, I have the original by me to shew.

So that the whole corn according to this libel for one year, came to -	} 3340l.
And the tithe after that rate for one year, to —————	} 334l.
But if for two years as they charge in the libel, and three months of another, then it came to double, (besides the three months and Easter offerings) viz.	} 6680l.
And the tithe after that rate —	668l.
	When

When all the corn I had, was worth	}	10 l.
but about _____		
And the tithes about _____		1 l.

Was ever the like heard of; that men who pretend to be ministers of Christ, should assert such notorious falsehoods? O ye priests, proctors, &c. who are guilty of these things, be ashamed of your lives, and repent of your injustice and oppression; and let people never believe or follow them more, till they condemn these things. Are these the fruits of the bishops spiritual courts, so called? surely it is his spirit, who is the father of lies, that is the author of such falsehoods; and he sits and rules there in the hearts of his children; and his works they will do, who will “deceive every one his neighbour, and will not speak the truth, but have taught their tongues to speak lies:” Jer. ix. 5. so that it may be said of them, as it was of him, who was a liar from the beginning, “that the truth is not in them;” John viii. 44. whose portion will be miserable except they repent.

And because in obedience to Christ’s command, who said, “Swear not at all,” Matth. v. 34. I could not answer upon oath to this libel, they (as if it was all true) proceeded to excommunication against me, for contempt and disobedience (as they called it) though I pleaded the command of Christ for my refusal to swear, although the tender of the said oath,

called *ex officio*, or any other oath, whereby any person may be charged or compelled to confess, or accuse, or purge himself; besides, its being contrary to Christ's command as abovesaid; and the apostle James's Exhortation chap. v. 12. is likewise contrary to the statute of 13 *Car.* 2. chap. 12. which repeals the said oath; of which, more hereafter.

Now seeing they were proceeding against me, to imprison me on the writ, *de excommunicato capiendo*, I prepared for it, by setting things in order; and while I was at liberty, I was pressed in mind to go and visit a dear friend in Leicestershire (with whom I had acquaintance as I returned out of the north, after the decease of my sister, in the year 1676) which I did the latter end of this summer, the 7th of the 8th month, by Bristol, to my cousin Gregory's, at Puckelchurch, in Gloucestershire; next day went to Gloucester, and so to Evesham, Warwick, Coventry, and Leicester; where, at a quarterly meeting, at the house of Samuel Wilson, the mayor and officers came and broke up the meeting, (which was pretty large, the men in one room, and the women in another) and turned us out into the street; and the mayor taking notice of me to be a stranger, asked me where I dwelt; I told him I did not dwell thereabouts; he bid me go to my home then; but after they were gone, the meeting gathered again, and held late; and after some time, I returned the same way I came; visit-
ing

ing in my way, going and coming, that ancient suffering servant of God and minister of Jesus Christ, William Dewsbury, prisoner at Warwick, for the testimony of Jesus; where he had been a prisoner for the most part since 1663, and was several years after; in all, 19 years from first to last, in this town of Warwick. Thomas Taylor, an ancient servant of the Lord, and likewise a minister of Jesus Christ, had also been imprisoned at Stafford on the same account of *præmunire*, though they were both freed on King Charles's declaration in 1672, yet soon after imprisoned again; but William Dewsbury then dwelt in his own hired house, with whom I had pretty much discourse (in his garden) of many things, to my great comfort and satisfaction; for he was very open and free to me beyond what I could expect, being a young man, and a stranger outwardly to him; and told me some things which I shall never forget. He was an extraordinary man many ways, and, I thought, as exact a pattern of a perfect man as ever I knew; and he gave me an epistle to carry to friends; and coming to the door with me, when I came away the last time, at taking leave of him, he told me, 'The blessing of the Lord would be with me if I was faithful;' which was an encouragement to me, and through the Lord's goodness I have found it so (beyond my desert) blessed be his holy name for ever. He lived to be discharged of his imprisonment, and died

died in peace with the Lord, in the year 1688, of which more in that year; of whom, I could not but make this short memorial here. So I returned home, and lived in great peace and quietness with my tenant that winter.

This year 1678, died that faithful servant of God, Stephen Smith, of Warpleston, in Surry, a man of account in the world. He was born the 19th of the 7th month, 1623, who in his younger years, travelled into several countries, and resided sometime at Scanderoon, in Syria, (Asia,) as a merchant; and afterwards writ a book, called, Wholsome Advice and Information, wherein he shews how much some of the Turks exceeded some Christians, in their dealings. He received the truth in the year 1665, and gave up to obey it, and walk therein; and truly loved the messengers and faithful (though despised and suffering) people of God; and suffered with them both in person and estate, by imprisonment and spoil of goods for his tender conscience and testimony, in behalf of Christ Jesus; an honest upright man, one that feared God and was of good report in his country, a preacher of righteousness in his conversation; kind and ready to do good in his day: and the Lord endued him with a gift of the ministry and experimental testimony, to tell of his goodness, and speak of his praise, to the comfort and encouragement of them that heard him,

him. He travelled in many parts of this nation, in the work of the Lord; especially in Surry, Suffex, and Hampshire, till this year, when he was taken sick, and had many comfortable expressions on his death bed; and at last laid down the body, dying in peace with the Lord at his own house near Guilford, in Surry, the 22d of the 7th month, 1678, entering into the 56th year of his age. He wrote some pretty serviceable books and papers, which are collected in 8vo. intituled, 'The True Light discovered to all who desire to walk in the Day.' Printed, 1679.

This year also died that faithful minister and labourer in the gospel Christopher Bacon of Venice Sutton, on Pollen Hill, in our county of Somersset. He was born about the year 1623: in his youth he was somewhat wild; and in the time of the civil wars, was a soldier in the king's army; but after he returned home, about the year 1656, it pleasing the Lord to send some of his servants into those parts to preach the everlasting gospel, he went to one of their meetings (to fetch home his wife, as I have heard, who was convinced before him) however not with an intent to receive the truth, but rather to scoff and deride the Lord's people; but through the Lord's mercy to him, he was reached in his conscience, and convinced of the truth, and received it in the love of it, and became a chosen vessel for the Lord's use, to turn many to righteousness.

ousness. And not long after, about 1657, going from his own house, with intent to go to Puddimoor meeting on a first day, and passing by Ivelchester, he had a mind to go in and see some of the Lord's servants who were prisoners there (particularly Thomas Salthouse) and putting up his horse in order thereto, he was taken up and brought to the constable William Pullen, who required ten shillings of him for travelling on that day (according to the custom of those hypocritical times) or else he would seize his horse. Christopher not being conscious to himself of the breach of any law, refused to pay it, so the constable let him go; and after he was gone to the meeting, seized his horse; and when he returned to Ivelchester for his horse, in order to return home, the constable required the watch to keep him prisoner, saying, he should go before a justice the next day; and after three days restraint, was committed to Ivelchester prison, by Robert Hunt, John Cary, and John Harrington, and was continued there several years, for refusing to take the oath of abjuration, which was then the snare to catch such as could not for conscience sake, swear at all. And during the time of his imprisonment, the power of the Lord broke forth in him, and a dispensation of the gospel was committed to him; and after his enlargement, he became a diligent labourer in the work of the ministry, especially in the western counties, from London to the land's end,

end, and divers other parts of England and Wales; and went several times into Ireland; and through the blessing of the Lord on his labour, many were convinced of the truth he declared and suffered greatly for. Being again imprisoned at Ivelchester, the 18th of the 1st month, 166 $\frac{1}{2}$, for keeping meetings at his house, but discharged at Wells' assizes, in the 6th month, 1662; and the same year at Exeter, where he wrote a book, called, 'A Trumpet sounding an Alarm from the Spirit of Life, through an Inhabitant of the City of God, to all the Inhabitants of the Earth,' &c. in the 9th month; and an 'Epistle to Friends' in the 10th: and was also imprisoned at Bridport, in Dorsetshire, for his testimony in 1666, and wrote an epistle there in the 9th month. He was an able minister of the gospel of CHRIST, in which he laboured much, and was instrumental in turning many to the Lord, 'and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just.' A valiant man for truth; and freely given up to suffer for it, and to spend and be spent for the gathering of people to it. He was afterwards taken up at a meeting at Glaffenbury, and had before bishop Mew, at Wells, who reproached him, calling him rebel, &c. for meeting contrary to the king's laws; Christopher thinking he did not deserve that treatment, having been a soldier for the king, said to him, 'Dost thou call me rebel? I would have thee to know, I have jeopard'd my life
' for

‘ for the king, in the high places of the field,
 ‘ when such as thou lay behind hedges;’ which
 stopped his mouth, and made him willing to
 be quit of him. He was after imprisoned in
 Bridgwater, for the tithe of three or four acres
 of arable land; the tithes whereof were claim-
 ed by the corporation of Bridgwater, which
 he for conscience sake could not pay, and there-
 fore was taken up and imprisoned four times
 in that town; once by Thomas Bickham, in the
 year 1669; and two other times, of which
 there is no certain account, but doubtless for
 some years. His last imprisonment was by
 William Macy, one of the magistrates of that
 town, about the 7th month, 1678, where he
 was kept close in a very cold room in the com-
 mon prison: Macy saying, ‘ He should abide
 ‘ there until he eat the boards of the loft;’ and
 through the extremity of cold he suffered
 much, and was taken very sick in a short
 time; and his wife could scarce have liberty to
 go in and out to him; but he grew so weak,
 that it was thought he would have died there,
 so they put him out of prison the same day
 month he was put in; and after some time he
 reached home, being so weak that he was like
 to die by the way, being about four miles;
 and after he came home, he kept his bed about
 two weeks, but never got over that weakness,
 which impaired his health so much, that he
 complained of it several times, that that im-
 prisonment in Bridgwater, was his bane,
 though

though he travelled abroad after in his testimony, and went westward into Cornwall, and was taken up at Truro for a popish recusant, but cleared, yet struck on the head by an envious man: he passed on, though weak, so far as Falmouth, where he had a meeting, and the next day took his bed, and in the time of his sickness, he bore a living testimony to the truth, to friends great satisfaction, who were very careful and tender of him; and in about ten days, he finished his course, and was gathered to his fathers, the spirits of just men made perfect, laying down his head in peace, and dying in the Lord the 29th of the 10th month 1678, about the 55th year of his age, being much spent with hard labour, travels, and sufferings for the gospel's sake and the testimony of it; but there was a fresh appearance of the Lord's power and presence with him to the last, so that he was a good favour to them that were about him. See R. Samble's testimony of him.

The next spring, I being chosen one of the overseers of the poor for the parish of Naylfey; when I went to the priest's house to collect the poor's rate, he asked me how I could come to demand money of him, and would not pay him his tithes which he was rated to the poor for; I told him, if he would compute how much he paid to the poor for my tithes, I would deduct so much of my rate as
that

that came to in proportion; which he not accepting of, it stopt his mouth as to that pretence.

About this time, in the 3d month, my tenant, George Allen, and another friend, Samuel Hipsley, of Cleve, in the parish of Yatton, were taken up and carried to prison, to Ivelchester, on process at common law, at the suit of the Lord Paulet, for tithes.

And now my adversary having proceeded against me in the bishop's court to excommunication for the said tithes, and refusing to answer the libel on oath, as aforesaid, on the 28th of the 4th month, 1679, as I was sitting in my hall, reading early in the morning, being but lately returned from the quarterly meeting at Ivelchester, and not thinking of going thither again so soon, there came in a bailiff and arrested me, on the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, at the suit of the said Edward Ancketyll; and had he not come when he did, I should perhaps have been out of his way, being upon removing to my uncle Jeffery Rumney's, at Walton, some four miles off by the sea side; not to avoid a prison, but for my convenience; but providence ordered it otherwise, which I have no cause to repent of, for the Lord can make all things to work together for good to them that fear him. So after I had provided myself with some necessaries, he carried me away by Wrington and Wells,

Wells, to Ivelcheſter, the ſame day, being near thirty miles from my own houſe.

“ For my contempt
 “ and diſobedience, as
 “ was alledged in the
 “ writ or ſheriff’s war-
 “ rant, in not obſerv-
 “ ing certain honeſt^a
 “ and moſt lawful
 “ commands^b of the
 “ biſhop or his depu-
 “ ty, in not taking his
 “ corporal oath^c upon
 “ the holy evangelists,
 “^d faithfully to answer
 “ to certain poſitions
 “ and articles, &c.^e
 “ exhibited in a libel^f
 “ on the part of
 “ Edward Ancketyll,
 “ prieſt of Wraxall,
 “ for not paying ti-
 “ thes, &c.^g

^a What! and yet contrary to Chriſt’s command?

^b What! more lawful than Chriſt’s command to the contrary! O unheard of preſumption!

^c That is bodily oath; and yet Chriſt commanded not to ſwear by the head, and conſequently, not with the hand or body.

^d This was denied by ſeveral of the martyrs.

^e But very falſe ones.

^f Full of lies indeed.

^g Which they have no ſcrip- ture for but the law of Moſes, which is aboliſhed by Chriſt; who commanded his diſciples, ſaying, “ Freely ye have received, freely “ give,” Matth. x. 8. And, “ Swear not at all,” Mat. v. 34.

And thus they wickedly preſume in their corrupt wills, to ſet up their antichriſtian commands in oppoſition to the commands of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who ſaith, “ Swear “ not at all;” Matth. v. 34. but they ſet up their contrary commands, above Chriſt’s; calling theirs ‘ honeſt and moſt lawful com-
 D ‘ mands:’

‘mands:’ what! more lawful than Christ’s? O unheard of blasphemy and presumption! Was ever the like heard of, that mortal man should exalt himself above the sovereign and immortal God? What are ye, that you should go to set yourselves against your Maker? Shall any contend with the Almighty, and prosper? Surely nay; yet they will arrogate to themselves a superiority above Christ, and entrench into his prerogative, to thrust him out of his throne, and rule over the consciences of men; so that if any in obedience to Christ, and not in contempt to any lawful authority, refuse to submit to their corrupt wills, and cannot obey their unjust commands, “who teach for doctrines the “commandments of men,” Matt. xv. 9. they excommunicate them, and would deliver them to Satan, if it was in their power, being indeed his ministers; and then send them to jail for their disobedience, and call their commands honest and most lawful, by which they render Christ’s not honest or lawful; for they being contrary one to the other, they cannot both be honest or lawful; and now whom we ought to obey, Christ or them, judge ye: if God commands one thing and men another, ought we not to obey God rather than man? And if “he that breaks the least of Christ’s “commands, and teaches men so, shall be counted the least in the kingdom of heaven,” Mat. v. 19. what shall they be that break such great commands? And not only teach men, but
would

would force men so to do, or punish them that refuse. Now Christ commands expressly, "but I say unto you, Swear not at all;" Mat. v. 34. and the apostle James who abode in his doctrine, says, "above all things my brethren, "swear not," &c. James v. 12. But the bishop or his deputy, who is gone from the doctrine of Christ and the apostle, says, you shall swear, or we'll send you to jail, and call their commands most lawful; as if more lawful than Christ's; and "thus they make the "commandments of God of none effect" by "their traditions." Mat. xv. 6. And suppose any should be drawn or compelled for fear of sufferings, to break the command of Christ, and do the contrary, will the bishop or his deputy undertake to excuse them, or answer for them at the day of judgment, when every man must answer for himself, and receive according to his works? O nay! they will not be able to deliver their own souls in that day, except they repent, much less, stand in the gap to answer for others, though the blood of those whom they have caused to err, shall lie at their doors. But in that day shall their "pride be brought down, and the Lord alone "exalted; and the haughtiness of man laid "low," Isa. ii. 11. who now rule in their corrupt wills over God's heritage, and usurp authority over men's faith and consciences, and would force men to break the commands of Christ, and yet would be accounted ministers of Christ, but shew by their works, whose minist-

ters and fervants they are, by doing his works. Though the tender of the said oath in this case, is also contrary to the law of the 13th year of king Charles II. Stat. 13. *Car. 2. cap. 12.* in these words: “ Provided also, and it is hereby further
 “ enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any
 “ Archbishop, Bishop, Vicar-General, Chan-
 “ cellor, Commissary, or any other spiritual
 “ or ecclesiastical Judge, Officer or Minister;
 “ or any other person, having or exercising
 “ spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to
 “ tender or administer unto any person what-
 “ soever, the oath usually called the oath *ex*
 “ *officio*, or any other oath whereby such per-
 “ son to whom the same is tendered or ad-
 “ ministered, may be charged or compelled
 “ to confess or accuse, or to purge him or her-
 “ self of any criminal matter or thing, where-
 “ by he or she may be liable to any censure
 “ or punishment; any thing in this statute, or
 “ any other law, custom or usage heretofore to
 “ the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.” Therefore it is not honest or most lawful, in respect to God or the king for the bishop or his deputy, to tender the said oath, or send men to prison for refusing it; and yet the said John Whiting must be censured for contempt and disobedience for refusing to take it, and suffer imprisonment accordingly.

Thus was I carried from my father's house, in the prime of my days, to be shut up in a prison for conscience sake, and never returned
 again

again to inhabit there; but the Lord was with me, and took care of me, that I had no cause to be discouraged. When I came to Ivelchester, I was put in the sberiff's ward, formerly a nunnery, by the river side, over against the common goal; where were several friends prisoners on truth's account, but more in the friary, at the other end of the town; in all, to the number of about thirty-three; some for not paying tithes, some for not coming to church, and some for not swearing.

A particular account of whom, and for what, by whom, and when committed, is as followeth:

John Sage, of Chewton Mendip, aged about 80, for tithes, at the suit of Anne Kinsmel, widow, impropria- trix. 8th month,	} 1666
Marmaduke Coat, of Hambridge, for tithes, at the suit of Robert Banbury, impropriator. 6th month,	} 1670
Arthur Jeffry, of South Brint, for tithes, at the suit of William Plumly, Thomas Brigham, and Willoby Leyne, spinster. 9th month,	} 1670
William Liddon, of Withell, for tithes, at the suit of John Hillacre, tithe- farmer. 11th month,	} 1670
Gregory Ceely, of North Curry, for tithes, at the suit of Robert Hill, tithe-farmer. 2d month,	} 1673

Thomas Browning, of Lymington, for tithes, at the suit of Matthew Brayn, priest of the same. 24th 1st month,	}	167 $\frac{3}{4}$
James Pople, of Stawel, for tithes, at the suit of Henry Bull, impropria- tor. 28th 1st month,		
John Denny, of Weston-Zoyland, on excommunication for tithes, at the suit of William Powel, impropria- tor. 10th month,	}	1674
Jeremiah Powel, of Michal Creech, on excommunication for tithes, at the suit of John Gale, priest. 11th month,		
William Ford, of Curry-Mallet, for tithes, at the suit of Thomas Beal, priest. 2d month,	}	1675
John Wride,		
Robert Tutton,	}	1675
John Brice,		
Robert Stert,		
Edward Silcocks, of Weston-super- Mare, on excommunication for tithes, at the suit of Samuel Willan, priest of Weston and Kewstoke. 2d month,		
		John

John Parsons, of Midlezoy, on excommunication for tithes, at the suit of William Powel, impropiator.	}	1675
John Anderdon, of Bridgwater, on præmunire, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, by Judge Rainsford. 3d 6th month,		
John Chappel, of Worle, on excommunication for tithes, at the suit of Samuel Willan, priest of Kewstoke. 11th month,	}	1675
Robert Wills, of Chiffelborough, for tithes, at the suit of priest Gauler. 25th 1st month,		
Thomas Powel, of Grenton, on excommunication for tithes, at the suit of William Powel, impropiator. 5th month,	}	1676
Eleanor Powel, his wife, for tithes, at the suit of priest Collier, of Grenton. 15th 6th month,		
William Goodridge,	}	1676
Samuel Sayer,		
Edmund Chappel, of Worle, for tithes, at the suit of priest Willan, aforesaid. 20th 11th month,	}	1676
John Pople, of Edington, for tithes, at the suit of Henry Bull, impropiator. 28th 1st month,		

Thomas Hurd, of Somerton, for tithes, at the suit of Henry Crane, tithe- farmer. 13 9ber,	}	1677
Thomas Martin, of Chilthorn Dormer, for tithes, at the suit of John Stuckey, priest. 4th 12th month,		
Henry Gundry, of Street, for tithes, on justice's warrant, for contempt, in not appearing at the bishop's court, at the suit of Joseph Glanvil, priest of Bath. 11th 7ber,	}	1678
George Allen, of } for tithes, on pro- Naylsey, } cess at common law,		
Samuel Hipsley, } at the suit of the lord of Yatton, } Pawlet. 3d month,	}	1679
Peter Hutchins, of Cheriton, in the parish of Horfington, for at the suit of I have forgot his case.		
Will. Beaton, of } on excommunication Puddimoor, } for not receiving the eucharist as alledged	}	1679
John Allen, of } in the writ, at the suit Bridginton, } of priest Sands. 26th 4th month, but 2 days before I came to jail.		

After I was brought to prison, I was kept close for some time in the ward, as aforesaid; but though under confinement, it was a fine refreshing time with me through the goodness of God, who was near us, and many friends came to visit us, which was a great comfort to

us; and glad I was when I could have the liberty to go to the meeting at the friary where most friends were, and where meetings were kept. But not long after I came to prison, I was taken ill of a fever, being confined from the fresh air in the heat of summer, so that my life was in danger, but the Lord was near me; and J. Anderson, a friend of the ministry, coming to see me, told me, ‘ He believed the Lord would raise me up again, for a further service for him,’ as accordingly in some time the Lord was pleased to do, for which my soul blessed and praised his holy name, for his love and mercy to me: and after I was somewhat recovered, I asked the keeper, Edward Davis, for a little liberty to go forth in the country, to take the fresh air for my health’s sake, which he crossly denied, saying, I should not stir a foot, such was the hardness of his heart, though he might have done it without the least injury; so I gave up myself to suffer, and the Lord was with me to support me in my innocent suffering for his name’s sake, under the wrath of man, so that none could hurt me as I kept my eye to him.

This Edward Davis, the keeper, formerly professed truth, but apostatizing from it through the corruption of his own heart, he became exceeding wicked; as the sequel will shew; inso-much, that a friend, John Dando, asking him, ‘ what he thought would become of him when he came to die;’ Edward Davis told him,

him,

him, that ‘ he knew what would become of
 ‘ him then, and therefore he would make the
 ‘ best of his time now,’ and that ‘ he knew
 ‘ where he went out,’ meaning from truth,
 ‘ and where he must come in again, if ever he
 ‘ was saved; and if he thought he should never
 ‘ return again, he would be as wicked as he
 ‘ could;’ but he never returned, but grew
 worse and worse, and at last died miserable,
 of which hereafter.

About this time, died Alice Curwin, wife
 of Thomas Curwin, of Lancashire, a faithful
 servant and handmaid of the Lord, who tra-
 velled much in the service of truth, and suf-
 fered for it. She was born about the year
 1620; and when she was in the highest form
 of profession, she was very zealous in her way;
 but when the truth came, she was ready to
 receive it, and did, with great joy and
 gladness of heart, saying, “ Now she had
 “ found him whom her soul loved,” Cant. iii.
 3. and desired, which the blind watchmen
 could not see: and when a measure of the
 Spirit of Grace was manifested to her, and
 poured out upon her, according to the pro-
 phesy of Joel, that “ the Lord would pour out
 “ his Spirit upon all flesh,” &c. Joel ii. 28. and
 felt the operation of it in her heart, she gave up
 to be led and guided by it, and did improve
 her talent, so that she received more, and had
 a testimony to bear for the Lord, and was not
 ashamed

ashamed to confess his name before men, being often brought before magistrates and rulers; and was cast into prison, and set in the stocks, and brought to the whipping-post, in New-England, for her testimony; and had great exercise with the priests of this and other nations and islands beyond the seas; and did go in the fear and dread of the Lord, to several priests and steeple-houses; and the Lord was with her in all her trials and exercises, and carried her through all her travels and sufferings.

In the year 1660, hearing of the great tribulations that the servants of the Lord did suffer at Boston in New-England, of cruel whippings, bonds and imprisonments; yea, to the laying down of their lives; four friends being put to death there, viz. William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, William Leddra, and Mary Dyer, for their testimony to God's blessed truth against that wicked generation: at the hearing of their patient sufferings, her heart was broken in a sense of the goodness of the Lord, in bearing up the spirits of them that truly fear him; and it was said, in the secret of her heart, that she should travel in that nation, and see that bloody town of Boston; at which her heart was exceedingly broken; and she cried to the Lord, what should become of her little children and her poor husband, who was then a prisoner for tithes, and mourned many days in a sense of her inability,
but

but kept it to herself, not knowing but the Lord might try her whether she would give up or not; and as she was made willing, it was made easy, and the burden taken away, so that she thought the Lord would accept her willingness; and it was hid from her for a season; and she hid the word of the Lord in her heart, until it was as a fire in her till she had declared it; and then she told it to her husband; and that the Lord would deliver him out of prison; and that they should travel thither together, to bear a testimony to God's blessed truth; so the thing rested with her many months and years, in which time, her children were grown up, except the youngest, which the Lord took from her; and her husband was freed out of prison: and then it opened in her, that the time was come that she might no longer hide it in her heart, but make it known to friends and laboured day and night with her husband who did not yet see it required of him, but gave her liberty, which was hard, because it was shewed her they should go together, but the Lord made her willing to leave all; so she went on her journey to London, and after some time, with friends there, made preparations to go to sea, and having gotten her things on shipboard, it pleased the Lord to send her husband to go with her; so they took shipping together in the year 1675, and were 13 weeks in their passage to Rhode Island, belonging to New-England,

England, where all were in an uproar; killing, burning, and murdering; and great distress was upon the people's minds; so they staid a few days there, and heard of a new law made at Boston, against friends, ' That every person found at a quaker's meeting, should be sent to the house of correction, and have the discipline of the house, and be kept to work with bread and water for three days, &c.' Then it opened in them that they must travel thither, and break in upon that law; so they travelled through the woods and places, where the devouring Indians had made great desolation; but the Lord preserved them: and on the first day, they had a meeting with friends at Boston, which was peaceable, their law not being yet published; and after, they travelled eastward near 100 miles, and visited friends, and sought them out where they were scattered, because of the Indian wars, as far as the Great Island, and Piscataway River and Dover, and several other places; and to a friend's house beyond the river, where many people were come for safety from the bloody Indians; and had several meetings with them, who gladly received their testimony, it being a time of distress. Then they returned, visiting friends all along till they came to Boston again, where their law being now published, the constable, &c. came and drove them out of their meeting, along the street, to the house of correction, and thrust them in, where they had good service

service with many that came to look on them; and some were convinced, it being a time of great tribulation; their hearts failing for fear, and God's witness was reached; and the third day they brought them to the whipping-post, but the presence of the Lord was with them, and they could not but magnify his name, and declare of his wondrous work at that time, at which the heathen were astonished and shook their heads; and next day they were set at liberty, and went to meeting again, and took their leave of friends, and went to Scituate, Dukesbury and Sandwich, visiting friends till they came to Rhode Island, Shelter Island, Long Island, Oysterbay, Westchester, and Eastchester; Gravesend, Jamaica, Matumock, New York, and some parts of New Jersey, so far as friends did inhabit; and at New London, Seabrook, and Milford, on the main land, and returned to the yearly meeting at Rhode Island; and would have gone to Bermudas, but could not, but got a passage to Barbadoes; and after some time there, returned to London in seven weeks, the beginning of the 3d month, 1677, and after some time there, travelled westward to the Land's-End, and after that, eastward; and at last she finished her course, and died sweetly at London the 7th of the 6th month, 1679, about 60 years of age; having been married 38, leaving behind her, a relation of her labour, travel and suffering, with many epistles and papers, 'for the encouragement,

ment,' as she says, 'of them that may hereafter trust in the Lord.' To which I refer.

Not long after, died that eminent friend and minister of Christ, Isaac Penington, of Buckinghamshire, who was well descended as to worldly parentage, being son to Isaac Penington, alderman of London; he was born about the year 1616, to a fair inheritance, and had all the advantages the schools and universities of his own country could afford him, joined with the conversation of some of the knowingest and considerablest men of his own time. His father's station in public business, gave him pretence enough to a share of the world's greatness; but with Moses, he refused the Egyptian glory of the world, and chose rather a life dedicated to an inquiry after God, and fellowship with him and his despised Israel: from his childhood he was religiously inclined, and sought the Lord in his tender years; and very early did the Lord visit him with a more than ordinary manifestation of his love. His inward exercises and enjoyments, being of a very peculiar nature, led him to separate from most religious societies, and walk as one alone; in which state he writ several notable books before he was called a Quaker; and though the way of truth was not then so cast up unto him as it was after, yet he had some touches and tastes of life, and great openings and sights of heavenly things; which was sometimes so high and
glorious,

glorious, as to overcome his natural spirits, that he besought the Lord to take that from him which he was not able to bear; and give him such a portion of his light and presence, as was suitable to his present state; whereupon it was presently removed from him; yet a favour remained with him; and albeit, at the first manifestation of truth unto him, he was not without doubts and jealousies concerning it, looking on it as a low appearance, and its followers, as despicable; yet when the Lord had broken in upon him, and shattered him as to his former profession and attainments, so that he came to suffer the loss of all, and was left in great poverty and distress; he then bowed down to receive the truth as his chiefest joy and crown, and went under great exercise inwardly, till the Lord was pleased to relieve him by the ministry of his despised people, about the year 1658, and renewed a fresh visitation of life in him, to his great comfort and confirmation in the truth; and as he grew in it, he came to receive a testimony to bear for it, in much zeal and tenderness for the good of others; and wrote many serious, solid and experimental treatises for promoting the truth, and informing the minds of people, especially professors, whom he was much drawn forth towards, for the opening their understandings, that they might come to the knowledge of the truth as he had done, and be saved. He dwelt at Peter's Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire; and

and kept meetings at his house in early times, and was very serviceable, and a help and strength to many; but his father having been one of king Charles's judges, his estate was taken from him, except what he had by his wife, who was Sir Wm. Springett's widow, and mother to Gulielma Penn. He afterwards dwelt at Amersham, and after that at Woodside, by Amersham common, in the same parish.

He suffered imprisonment for his testimony, six times. First, at Aylesbury, in 1661 and 62, for meeting to worship God in his own house; and was kept 17 weeks, most part in winter, in a cold and incommodious room without a chimney, so that he contracted so great a cold, that he could not turn in his bed for several weeks after. Second, in the year 1664, being taken out of a peaceable meeting, and sent to Aylesbury gaol, where he again remained between 17 and 18 weeks. Third, in the year 1665; being taken up with others in the street at Amersham, as they were carrying and accompanying the body of a deceased friend to the grave, and sent again to Aylesbury gaol; but this commitment, being in order to banishment, was but about a month. Fourth imprisonment about a month after his release: a rude soldier came to his house, without any warrant but his sword, and told him, he came to fetch him before Sir Philip Palmer, one of the deputy lieutenants of the county; he meekly went, and was by

E him

him sent with a guard of soldiers to Aylesbury gaol, to be kept in safe custody, during the pleasure of the Earl of Bridgwater, who had conceived such displeasure against him, that though the plague, it being the sickness year, was suspected to be in the gaol, he would not be prevailed with at the earnest desire of a person of quality and power in the county, to but permit Isaac to be at another house in the town, till the gaol was clear; but a prisoner dying in the gaol of the plague, the keeper's wife, in her husband's absence, permitted him to remove to another house, where he was shut up six weeks, till by the procurement of the Earl of Antrim, a release was sent from the said Philip Palmer, after he had suffered three quarters of a year with hazard of his life. Fifth, but by that time he had been at home about three weeks, a party of soldiers from the said Philip Palmer, by order of the Earl of Bridgwater, as reported, came to his house and seizing him in bed, carried him to Aylesbury gaol again, where without any cause shewn, he was kept in prison a year and a half, in rooms so cold, damp, and unhealthy, that it nearly cost him his life, getting so great a distemper, that he lay weak several months: at last, a relation of his wife's, by *habeas corpus*, removed him to the King's Bench-bar, where with wonder that he should be kept so long for nothing, he was discharged in 1668. Sixth, in the year 1670, in Reading gaol, whether he

he went to visit his friends who were prisoners there for the testimony of Jesus; of which William Armorer, justice, (so called) the great persecutor, having notice, forthwith sent for him, and sent him to gaol, whereby he became a sufferer with the sufferers whom he went to visit: here he continued prisoner a year and three quarters, and was brought under the sentence of *præmunire*; but at length the Lord delivered him.

Thus through many tribulations did he enter the kingdom, having been exercised, tried, proved and approved of the Lord. At last, going with his wife into Kent among her tenants, he was taken ill at one of her farms called Goodnestone Court, and there died the 8th of the 8th month, 1679, in the 63d year of his age. His body was conveyed to London, thence to his own house in Buckinghamshire, and so to the burying-place at Jordans, the meeting he belonged to, where he was interred; leaving behind him a sorrowful widow, but a serious solid woman, three sons, and one daughter, since married to Daniel Wharley: much might be said of him, but there being a large account given of him in the testimonies of several friends prefixed to his works in folio, pr. 1681, I refer thereto.

About this time friends were exercised with a dividing opposite spirit that appeared abroad in some libertine persons among them, to oppose and lay waste the good order of truth

established in the church; being unfaithful to the testimony of truth in themselves; which when friends dealt with them and censured them for, they for a colour cried out against forms and impositions, saying, 'What hast thou to do to judge me? Let me stand or fall by my own master.' It began in Westmoreland, but spread southward; particularly in Wiltshire, but not much in our country, only some of them would come among us sometimes, and prove an exercise to friends in meetings. Whereupon, the 1st of the 12th month this year, being the first day of the week at night, as I lay upon my bed, waiting on the Lord in my prison chamber, I had an opening in my mind concerning them, and the nature and tendency of that separate spirit which was entering among some professing truth, I wrote a sheet of paper about it, to shew the groundlessness of their pretences, called, 'A short Testimony to all whom it may concern,' &c. shewing, that some being departed from the spirit of truth in their own particulars, are found in opposition against the power thereof in them in whom it is made manifest; and so being gone from the judgment of truth in their own hearts, they are afraid to submit unto it in others, and therefore will not own or join with the judgment of the Spirit of God in his church, and among the faithful friends and brethren. And this is the cause of the opposition that hath of late happened

pened in some, because they are gone from the truth in their own particulars, in which the unity standeth; for they that keep to truth in their own hearts, will never oppose it in others; for they being in unity with the Spirit of truth in themselves, they can never oppose the work thereof, but will have unity with it, in whomsoever it is made manifest. And again, they that own the judgments of the Lord in their own hearts, and bring all their deeds to the light, that they may be approved in the sight of God, and hide nothing in their own particulars that is contrary to the truth, such will never be afraid to stand to the judgment which the Lord hath given to his church according to the Spirit of truth and discerning, that is therein among the faithful brethren; but will own it, and be ready to join with it, and submit unto it, whether it be in judgment, reproof, admonition, instruction or exhortation; for, 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets,' &c.—With much more, answering their objections against judging one another; and their plea for being left to their liberty, &c. which I shewed to Jo. Anderdon, a friend of the ministry, a prisoner at the Friary; and Wm. Gibson, of London, coming to visit us, I read it to him, who both approved of it; and I gave out some copies of it, but it never was printed.

About the 25th of the 1st month following, I was removed from the ward, or Old Nunnery, to the Friary, a great house at the other end of the town, where were many friends prisoners as aforesaid; and a very fine comfortable time we had together; and in the great hall there, used to keep our meetings, especially on first days: and many brave meetings we had there; many friends coming out of the country to it; and most publick friends that came that way, and some on purpose, coming to visit us. And after I had the liberty of the town, I used often, and delighted much to walk in the fields, (which I never knew the comfort of so much before, not having been debarred the liberty of them) to read and meditate, for some hours together, which I was pretty much given to, and much comforted in; and the Lord was pleased in his infinite love to my soul, often to appear in a wonderful manner to me, and overshadow me with his presence, to my exceeding joy and comfort; one time especially, which I shall never forget: as I was walking in the fields in a deep meditation, the influence of his divine presence so overshadowed me, as if the heavens had been open to me; that I was, as if I had been almost taken out of myself. To God's glory I speak it, and for the encouragement of others to seek the Lord, not to exalt self, but that all flesh may be abased, and the Lord alone exalted, whose name I extol and magnify for all his mercies and wondrous

wondrous dealings towards me, beyond my desert; who am not worthy of the least of all his mercies, which I cannot but commemorate; and whose power and goodness I desire for ever to adore and walk worthy of: and which extraordinary appearance, I took as a special favour, and token of his owning me in my innocent suffering for his cause and name's-sake; so that my imprisonment was made pleasant to me, because of his presence which was with me: and as it was a token to us of salvation, so to our adversaries of perdition; for as it was light in our dwellings, so it was dark in that of our enemies, that we had no cause of being discouraged, nor they of triumphing; and surely may I say, as it was of old, "Israel, was then holiness unto the Lord, and the first fruits of his increase;" as it was said of outward Israel, when the Lord remembered him, "the kindness of his youth, the love of his espousals, when he followed the Lord in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown." Jer. ii. 2.

We had also, belonging to the Friary, a large orchard of about four acres, walled about, where we used to walk, and where I had many a solitary, as well as comfortable season of retirement, by myself. And about this time came abroad George Keith's books of 'Immediate Revelation: The Universal Free Grace of the Gospel asserted: The Way to the City of God: The Way cast up,' &c.

and Robert Barclay's most excellent 'Apo-
 'logy for the true Christian Divinity,' &c.
 which I was often very much comforted in the
 reading of.

The beginning of the 3d month this year,
 1680, one George Ruffel, of Burlifcomb, in
 Devonshire, an honest innocent man, died a
 prisoner at Exeter, for his testimony against
 tithes, in the 80th year of his age. See the
 testimony concerning him, by Robert Welch
 another prisoner.

This year died our dear friend Richard
 Samble, that faithful servant of God, and
 minister of Jesus Christ, of whom I cannot but
 make honourable mention for his testimony's
 sake. He was born at Penhall, in the parish
 of Enoder, in Cornwall, and baptized accord-
 ing to the manner of the church of England,
 the 24th of the 5th month, 1644, and edu-
 cated according to his degree in the Protestant
 religion, in which he walked in the days of
 his youth, seeking the Lord with earnest
 breathings and cries to him, being sensible of
 something in him that manifested sin, and kept
 him from some evils; but knew not what it
 was, till the Lord was pleased to call him by
 his grace, and reveal his Son in him, and then
 he saw it was the 'light of Christ which shined
 'in darkness, though the darkness compre-
 'hended it not;' John i. 5. and came to the
 knowledge of the truth, about the year 1666,
 at which time the Lord sent some of his mes-
 sengers

ſengers into thoſe parts, to make known the way of ſalvation, and turn people from darkneſs to light, &c. whoſe teſtimony he received and cloſed with; and like Ephraim did lament his miſ-ſpent time, under a form of godlineſs, without the power of it, ſaying, ‘ what have I to do any more with idols?’ And did then join himſelf to the Lord and his people, as in a perpetual covenant never to be broken; and in humility ſat down in ſilence in the aſſemblies of God’s people for ſeveral years, in tenderneſs, fear and trembling; waiting upon the Lord for wiſdom, till his heart was filled with the power of the Lord, like a veſſel with new wine; he would break forth ſometimes with a few ſentences, which increaſed by degrees till he had a large and living teſtimony, improving his gift with great diligence: and for about ſix or ſeven years, he travelled much in England and Wales, and was well received from the evidence and demonſtration of the Spirit and power of God that attended his teſtimony, to the comfort and confirmation of many in the truth; and at his return, ſet diligently to his trade, being that of a taylor, for the ſupport of his family, though he was much drawn forth to travel; miſſing no opportunity, as he ſays, where he ſaw life’s way clearly open before him, knowing his time was but ſhort; giving up himſelf, though ſometimes in weakneſs, to ſpend and be ſpent for the goſpel’s ſake; and was as careful of his time,

as if he had seen the shadows of the evening stretched out.

He writ many sweet epistles to friends: in the first of which, he commemorates the goodness of the Lord in visiting them when they were in darkness, and in a state of separation from God; in a sense of which, they went mourning without the sun; their candle did not shine, their day was not dawned, they were shut up as in the night of apostacy, where God is forgotten, and his wondrous works not known. ‘ Can a remnant,’ says he, ‘ forget the Lord, who appeared to their ‘ comfort in the time of grief and desperate ‘ sorrow, who were like the doves of the val- ‘ ley, every one mourning for the loss of his ‘ beloved; crying out in the night, because of ‘ fears, and in the day time very heavy; and ‘ the countenance and beauty passed away; ‘ and the sun as it were went down at noon. ‘ And as we considered the blessed estate of the ‘ church in time past, and the soul satisfaction ‘ which they enjoyed, when they did eat ‘ their bread with joy and singleness of heart. ‘ They were like them of old, “that wept when “ they remembered Sion, hanging their harps “ upon the willows by the rivers of Babylon; “ and could not sing the Lord’s song in a “ strange land;” and ready to say, “ they “ should not see the goodness of the Lord in “ the land of the living.” Psal. cxxxvii. 1, 2, ‘ &c. xxvii. 13. But the Lord caused his day
to

‘ to dawn, and the Son of his eternal love to
‘ arise,’ &c.

I knew him from his first coming forth, and was affected with his ministry in my young days; having as sweet a testimony as any that ever came out of the west. He was often in our country, and came through Ivelchester once after I was a prisoner: and about the beginning of the 1st month, 1680, in his travels from meeting to meeting, he was taken sick at Pool, in Dorsetshire, from whence he wrote a consolatory epistle to friends in Cornwall, to comfort them in relation to his departure; being likely as to the outward, as he said, to see their faces no more, saying, ‘ I send
‘ this salutation as though it was my last unto
‘ you; wherein I take my leave of you in the
‘ Lord Jesus Christ, desiring you may all obey
‘ the truth, and live and die in it; and the
‘ many sweet and heavenly opportunities
‘ which my soul hath had with you, is fresh
‘ in my remembrance: and now dear friends,
‘ my body grows very weak, but my soul is
‘ strong in the Lord, who hath greatly re-
‘ newed the lasting seal of his love unto my
‘ soul this morning. O how could I sleep
‘ when my heart was so awakened into the
‘ blessed sense of my acquaintance with the
‘ Lord, who founded through my habitation,
‘ that “ my name should not be blotted out
“ of the book of life and of the holy city, the
“ heavenly Jerusalem, whose foundation is
“ full

“ full of precious stones, the river of water
 “ of life flows, where the gates are not shut
 “ at all by day, neither is any night there:”
 ‘ which when my soul heard, my heart was
 ‘ dissolved and broken within me; and my
 ‘ head was as it were turned into waters, and
 ‘ mine eyes gushed out with tears, in the con-
 ‘ sideration of the endless love of God to such
 ‘ a poor creature as I.—The Lord hath been
 ‘ pleased to make this sick bed unto me bet-
 ‘ ter than a king’s palace; and I have great
 ‘ fellowship with my last day, and do rejoice
 ‘ in the Lord, who doth so sweetly visit me
 ‘ with the glorious light of his countenance.
 ‘ It is with me as with one who has travelled
 ‘ many weary journies, and at last hath come
 ‘ to the sight of his desired end; which when
 ‘ he sees, greatly rejoices in a sense of a further
 ‘ satisfaction which he shall after enjoy.—I
 ‘ know when this comes to your hands, there
 ‘ will be no want of sorrow; but I trust in my
 ‘ God, that both my dear wife and you will
 ‘ be so endued with the power and presence of
 ‘ the Lord, that if you should hear of my go-
 ‘ ing hence, that you will conclude as be-
 ‘ comes true Christians, that you must come
 ‘ to me, and that I cannot come to you.’ With
 much more.

But after six or seven weeks, having re-
 covered a little strength, he was desirous to re-
 turn home to his wife and children, relations
 and friends in Cornwall; and in order thereto,
 travelled,

travelled, though weak, to Topsham, where he was kindly received and entertained; and after a few days rest there, travelled about ten miles further westward, to a place called Clam-pet, near Moreton, in Devonshire, where he fell into a relapse. His wife came to him, and the 15th of the 3d month, 1680, he finished his testimony, and slept with his fathers in the 36th year of his age, and is entered into rest from his labours, and his works follow him, having left a sweet favour behind him. His body was accompanied by many friends, about 24 miles through the country to Kingsbridge, and there buried the 18th of the same. He was a man worthy of commendation many ways; but my business is not so much to write encomiums, as to give account of matters of fact. See his works: ‘A Handful after the Harvest-man,’ &c. And the Testimonies concerning him, in 4to, 1684.

About this time, I happened into some discourse with one Walter Singer, a Presbyterian in the town, envious enough against truth, who opposed us in several points of principles and practice; and to confirm his opposition the more, produced John Faldo’s book, falsely called ‘Quakerism no Christianity;’ whereas it should have been, ‘Forgery no Christianity;’ which he offered to lend me, I having never seen it before: and though I answered all his objections, as it then arose in my mind according to the understanding the Lord was pleased

to give me, as the apostle advised, 1 Pet. iii. 15. yet afterwards in a sense of their opposition against the truth, I wrote my mind fuller on each head, in a book intitled, ‘ A Threefold ‘ Apology for the People of God, called ‘ Quakers, in vindication of their principles ‘ and practices, against all their opposers,’ directed to him the said W. S. The first part, an account of some particular things that passed in discourse between me and him, containing seven sections.

§. 1. Concerning Christianity; and morality, as being a part of it.

§. 2. Concerning the scriptures being the word of God and only rule.

§. 3. Concerning tithes under the law, and how they came to be introduced under the gospel.

§. 4. Concerning justification by Christ and his righteousness, &c.

§. 5. Concerning good works, and the necessity thereof to salvation, though not meritorious.

§. 6. Concerning the infallibility of the Spirit’s guidance, perfection, or freedom from sin in this life.

§. 7. The conclusion, ‘ concerning the light ‘ within, which enlightens every man that ‘ cometh into the world.’ John i. 9.

The second part, by occasion of John Faldo’s book, ‘ A testimony for the truth and ‘ and its followers, against all the opposers ‘ thereof,’

‘ thereof,’ wherein the priests and professors, particularly the Presbyterians and Independents deceit, apostacy, and persecutions are discovered; who fought for, and promised liberty of conscience, yet denied it to others, and broke their oaths and engagements; their enmity and opposition against the truth manifested, the sufferings of the people of God declared, and their innocency cleared from all their enemies, to their confusion, except they repent; in divers instances, &c.

The third part, A brief answer to the heads of John Faldo’s book, though William Penn had answered it before, in a book intitled, ‘ Quakerism a new nick-name for old Christianity;’ which I had not seen, that I remember at that time, to repel his charges, and refute his cavils: in which the principles of truth are briefly defended against its adversaries; whose injustice is therein shewn, and their enmity, against the prosperity thereof, reprov’d, and a judgment thereupon given, according to the understanding the Lord was pleas’d to give me.

To which is added an appendix, giving account of some other things which pass’d in some further discourse between me and the aforesaid person W. Singer, viz. ‘ Concerning persecution for conscience; the scriptures of truth, and the word of God; baptism; Christ, and his light and spirit in the inward parts; the resurrection,’ &c.

The

The third section of the first part concerning tithes, being suitable to the present subject, I should have desired to insert here, but that the substance of it is more at large in my letter to my adversary, Edward Ancketyll, hereafter.

This year, 1680, our friends Geo. Whitehead and Thomas Burr, being at a meeting at Norwich, in the 1st month, were taken out of the meeting, and committed to prison there till the sessions in the 2d month; then tried and the oath of allegiance tendered to them, and for refusing to take it, were committed to prison again till the sessions in the 5th month; and then none appearing against them, they were discharged. There is a large account of the proceedings against them, and arguings of law in the case, in a printed book intitled, ‘ Due order of law and justice pleaded, against irregular and arbitrary proceedings,’ &c.

Samuel Cater, of Littleport, in the isle of Ely, prosecuted in the bishop’s court for not conforming, was excommunicated and imprisoned at Ely, in the 3d month, for not taking the oath of allegiance, and the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* was afterwards brought against him.

John Gratton, of Moneyash, in Derbyshire, imprisoned at Darby, on a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, for not coming to the parish church, so called, the 16th of the 6th month, 1680.

Thomas

Thomas Camm, of Camfgill, in Westmoreland, was imprisoned at Appleby, with abundance more, to the number of near 190 prisoners, in the several gaols of England, about this time, on excommunications out of the bishop's courts, as by ' a particular account of the late
' and present great sufferings and oppressions
' of the people called Quakers, upon prosecutions against them in the bishop's court,' printed this year, may appear; besides, on other processes for tithes and the oath, and for meetings, besides the spoil and havock on the conventicle act, too numerous to recount.

In the 6th month this year, 1680, came down the duke of Monmouth, in his progress in the west, and came through Ivelchester, with some thousands on horseback attending him; the country flocking to him, and after him, the eyes of the nation being towards him, as the hopes and head of the protestant interest at that time, in opposition to the duke of York and the Popish party; so that the affections of the people run exceedingly after him. We stood in the Friary-gate as he rode through the town; and as he passed by, taking notice of so many Quakers together with their hats on, he stopped and put off his hat to us, and our friend John Anderdon had a mind to speak to him, and tell him that we were prisoners for conscience sake, but had a stop in his mind, lest there should be an ill use made of it, in applying to him, and making him

too popular; the court having a watchful eye over him: However, we could not but have a respect to him for his affability, and therefore were the more concerned for him when his fall came.

Our quarterly-meeting being usually held at the Friary, (where we were prisoners) the fifth day before each quarter-day; and now in the seventh month, against the time of it, came Henry Walrond, a persecuting justice of peace, so called, (though one of the greatest disturbers of it) of Elbrewers, about ten miles westward, (and captain of a troop of horse) with his troop to town, to prevent and break up our said meeting. So that when the time came, and friends were come to town, the keepers came and locked up the doors of the Friary, and so shut us up, that we could neither go out, nor friends come in to us; so that friends were forced to go to their inn, at the George, being the house of one Robert Abbot, an innkeeper in the town, (no friend, but a friendly man) and there held their meeting. In the mean time, Captain Walrond, having been exercising his men in the field, returned with his troop in great state into the town, by the walls of the Friary, as we beheld him out of the windows, and went and fell upon friends as they were met at the said inn, about the affairs of the poor, and other services of truth; the men in one room, and the women in another about their own affairs; for which he

he fined the said Robert Abbot 40l. for two meetings in his house, the one of men, the other of women, though there was neither preaching nor praying at that time; and gave forth a warrant to distrain his goods, which they did; but, to prevent the carrying them away, Robert Abbot paid down the money, and appealed to the quarter-sessions, but was cast according to the iniquity of those times, which cost him near 20l. more; and he being no friend, friends could not let him suffer for his kindness in entertaining them, but paid him again, so that it cost friends about 60l.

But behold what followed: Giles Bale, one of the officers of the town, who was thought to be the instigator of this injustice, being an envious man, and also an inn-keeper in the town, and so had a spleen against the said Robert Abbot, and assisted in distraining his goods for the said meeting. He had shut up a parcel of sheep in a house, (as we were in the Friary) and being so busied in this work to ruin his neighbour, that he had forgot his sheep for some days, as I remember; so that they eat up a parcel of reed sheaves as was said, and were most of them starved, and died. And this G. Bale, though he had a good estate, and was afterwards keeper of the gaol three years, yet he grew so poor, (nothing prospering with him) that when he fallowed his land to sow wheat, he hath let it lie again for want of seed to sow it, and ran

out of his estate, and his family came to little. Another officer in the town, R. Morris, who was concerned in this work, died soon after in a sad condition. And for Henry Walrond, the persecuting justice, we shall hear more of him hereafter.

In the eighth month, T. C. an eminent friend of the ministry formerly, but now joining with the separate party aforesaid, coming through Ivelchester out of the west, meeting with J. Anderdon, as he rode by, J. A. was shy of him, because his name was to a paper in opposition to friends; whereupon T. C. turned away in disgust, but I went after him to a friend's house, and spoke to him soberly about it, telling him the cause of it, but he was in a passion with me, and went away in a rage, which tended to manifest him and that party the more what spirit they were of.

This year (in the eighth month) was printed and presented to the king, lords and commons in parliament assembled, 'The case of the people called Quakers, stated in relation to the late and present suffering, especially upon old statutes made against Popish recusants.' At the end of which, is a general abridgment of sufferings (as to imprisonment, &c.) from 1660 to 1680, viz.

I. There

1. There have died of our friends in prison, and prisoners for the exercise of their faith and conscience in matters spiritual, some of whom have been beaten and bruised, being knocked down at their peaceable meetings, and died of their wounds, } —243
2. And there remains now in prison in the several goals in England and Wales, who suffer also for the testimony of a good conscience, many of which are prosecuted by writs of *excommunicato capiendo*, and have been divers of them closely confined upon that account for several years past, } —276
3. And there have suffered imprisonment for meeting and refusing for conscience sake to swear; some of whom have had the sentence of a *præmunire* past upon them; and divers of them have had their goods and chattels distrained, and taken from them, } —9437
4. The number of our friends excommunicated and imprisoned for not conforming to the public worship, } —624
5. And there have been sentenced for banishment, for meeting together to worship God, } —198

10778

6. And, besides the prosecution against us upon the aforesaid statutes, great have been, and still are, the sufferings we undergo by spoil and ruin made upon our goods and chattels, upon the last act made against conventicles, in the 22d Car. II. for our peaceable meetings to worship God, to the value of many thousands of pounds; which sufferings have been greatly encreased in several counties, in a way of revenge, since our friends have appeared in the late elections for such members of parliament, as they believed would most approve themselves just men for the general good of their country; which great oppressions have fallen heavy upon poor tradesmen, farmers, shop-keepers, and handicrafts; and the widows, and fatherless children, who have had their very beds taken from under them, and nothing left but the boards to lie on. The cry of which destructive proceedings is very loud in several counties of this nation at this very moment; and the land mourns, because of this oppression: and we hope this grievance will

will be also taken into your weighty consideration. And we pray that God may direct you, and make you sensible of the great afflictions and calamities we lie under, and that for no other cause but the exercise of our tender consciences, in the sight of God, towards our Lord JESUS CHRIST.

About this time also the following friends, viz. Richard Vickris, Edward Erbury, William Ithell, and Paul Moon, were imprisoned in Newgate, Bristol, in the eighth month, upon writs of *excommunicato capiendo*; though some of them, I think, were committed some time before.

Being now a prisoner for tithes, though I was satisfied in myself of the truth, from the sense which the Lord had been pleased to give me; and had a testimony in my heart against them and the priests, from my childhood; and saw that they were wrong in the ground, and not compatible with the gospel dispensation, but only with the law of Moses, which was abrogated by CHRIST, who, instead thereof, instituted a free ministry: Yet I was willing to inform myself further in the controversy about tithes, and in order thereto, furnished myself with books on that subject, viz. Selden's History of Tithes; Fran. How-

gill's Great Case of Tithes; and the Foundation of Tithes shaken, by Thomas Ellwood: with many more, by friends and others. By which I more fully perceived their Popish original in England, after the coming of Austin the monk, and how they were introduced and set up, in the night of apostacy, by Popish kings and councils, upon very impious grounds, and to superstitious and idolatrous ends and uses, as may be seen by what follows.

For not long after, I had a concern upon my mind to write a letter to my adversary, Edward Ancketyll, to shew him his injustice and cruelty towards me, and to leave him without excuse as to his pretence to tithes in this gospel day and dispensation, as, “ A testimony against the hireling priests and their tithing trade, who run, and the Lord never sent them, and therefore cannot profit the people at all; speaking a divination of their own brains, and not from the mouth of the Lord: Teaching for hire, and divining for money, who are become such brutish pastors, that they have not sought the Lord, but cause the people to err by their lies and by their lightness: seeking their gain from their quarter, (but never have enough) crying Peace, peace, to such as put into their mouths, but against them that refuse, they prepare war, whose end will be destruction except they repent.”

Jer.

Jer. xxiii. 21, 32. xiv. 14. xxiii. 16. Mic. iii. 11. Jer. x. 21. Isa. lvi. 11. Mic. iii. 5.

For "if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." Matt. xv. 14.

In a letter to Edward Ancketyll, priest of Wraxall and Naylsey, wherein his and his brethrens deceit is discovered, and their injustice reprov'd, by one who believes "that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh," 1 John iv. 2. and hath "put an end to the Levitical priesthood, tithes, and offerings;" Heb. vii. 10. and therefore cannot pay tithes to uphold a changeable priesthood, for which I suffer bonds at Ivelchester by a persecuting generation, whose "rod shall not always rest on the back of the righteous." Psal. cxxv. 3.

"Hear this, O ye priests, for judgment is towards you:" Hof. v. 1.—If they must "depart into everlasting fire," Matt. xxv. 46. that do not visit Christ's members in prison, what will be the portion of those that cast them in?

For it is written, "The devil shall cast some of you into prison that ye may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days; but be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," Rev. ii. 10.

"And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the word
" of

“ of God, and the testimony of Jesus,”
Rev. xii. 17.

“ And they overcame him by the blood of
“ the Lamb, and by the word of their testi-
“ mony, who loved not their lives unto the
death,” Rev. xii. 11.

“ For to us it is given in the behalf of
“ Christ, not only to believe in him, but also
“ to suffer for his sake. Yea, and all that
“ will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer
“ persecution.” Phil. i. 29. 2 Tim. iii. 12.

“ But they that suffer with Christ shall
“ reign with him; for the way to life is
“ through death, and without the cross there
“ is no crown,” 2 Tim. ii. 12.

To EDWARD ANCKETYLL, *senior, Priest of
Wrasall and Naylley; and whom else of his
Fraternity it may concern,*

EDWARD ANCKETYLL,

IT hath often been in my heart to write unto thee, but more especially within these few days it came upon me, and remains with me to expostulate a little with thee, concerning thy dealings towards me, and wherefore thou hast kept me in prison about 17 months, without any just cause, to my great suffering and loss many ways; of which I shall not say much at present, for thou wilt be rewarded according to thy works for the evil done to me, and I shall have my reward for my sufferings, if I continue faithful to the end; neither do I complain or murmur against the Lord, for he is abundantly “good to Israel
“his people, though the mercies of the
“wicked are cruel,” Prov. xii. 10.

But it may be thou mayst hope to weary me out by imprisonment, to make me submit to thy corrupt will; but I trust thou wilt fail in thy expectation, “for the hope of the hypocrite shall perish,” Job viii. 13. But if nothing will satisfy thee but my blood, though the Lord should permit that thou shouldest have thy desire, yet thou wilt not then be
satisfied,

satisfied, no more than the persecutors in former ages were, when they had “ slain the “ witnesses of Jesus,” Rev. xi.—And though the Lord may “ give them blood to drink,” who have loved it, yet it will not be for their advantage, for they shall be drunken therewith, and fall and never rise again.

But thou mayst say, I desire not thy blood but tithes; which if thou wouldest pay, thou mightest not lie in prison. To which I answer: That if thou canst make it appear by holy writ, that tithes are now due to the priests of ENGLAND, and that I have wronged thee, I will honestly confess my error, and satisfy thee; but till thou hast so done, I shall not count I have wronged thee, or make thee any satisfaction.

And therefore if there is any precept, example, or command, in the New Testament, wherein Christ, or any of his apostles, enjoined the payment of tithes, now under the dispensation of the gospel, I challenge thee, or any of thy brethren, to produce it and bring it forth, for I must have plain scripture for it, or nothing; and the rather, because ye pretend the scripture is your rule. And, therefore, I say again, if ye can find any precept or command in the New Testament, which requires the payment of tithes to you at this day, shew us where it is, or else confess that ye have no rule for what you do: And do not run back to the time of the law,
and

and tell how tithes were ordained to the Levitical priesthood, except ye can prove yourselves to be of that priesthood, and so deny Christ to be come in the flesh, and when that is done ye must prove that ye are of the tribe of Levi, and then you must have no part of the land, Numb. xviii. 20. Deut. x. 9. but only the tithes; and besides the poor, the fatherless, the widows, and the stranger, Deut. xiv. 29. xvi. 11, 14. xvi. 12. must be maintained out of them too as well as you; and then also you must be circumcised, and offer sacrifices to God for the sins of the people; and many other things ye must do, if you will plead the law of Moses in the case. For it is but a folly to tell that the services of the law are ended, and yet plead that the wages which belonged thereto remains; that is but for your own self-interest and advantage to maintain yourselves, that ye may live in pride and idleness, upon the sweat of other men's brows.

But you object, and say, "that they which preach the gospel, ought to live of the gospel," 1 Cor. ix. 14. But why do ye not then? Why do ye run to the law so much, as you do for tithes? which do not belong to the gospel, but to the law. We know, "they that preach the gospel, ought to live of the gospel," Matt. x. 10. and so they do (of gospel maintenance) but what is that to you, who neither "preach the gospel nor live of
" the

“ the gospel,” Luke x. 7. for you are not
 content with that, but are running to the law,
 and suing men at the law for tithes, and cast
 men into prison (some till death) for tithes,
 which are no part of the gospel, (nor belong-
 ing thereto) but of the ceremonial law, (and
 belonging wholly to it) which is ended and
 abolished; and the priesthood that took tithes
 is “ changed; and the commandment going
 “ before, is disannulled: For Christ is come
 “ in the flesh, and hath offered up himself
 “ once through the eternal spirit, the one of-
 “ fering for all the offerings, and hath per-
 “ fected for ever them that are sanctified:
 “ And he hath changed the Levitical priest-
 “ hood that took tithes, and abolished the
 “ first covenant, that he might establish the
 “ second: and blotted out the hand-writing
 “ of ordinances that was against us, which
 “ was contrary to us, and took it out of the
 “ way, nailing it to his cross: Having abo-
 “ lished in his flesh the enmity, even the law
 “ of commandments contained in ordinances,
 “ even the carnal ordinances, (which made
 “ not the comers thereunto perfect) but was
 “ imposed on them until the time of reform-
 “ ation, which was, when the seed Christ
 “ came in the flesh in the fulness of time,
 “ having slain the enmity which stood be-
 “ tween man and his Maker; who came
 “ not to destroy the law but to fulfil it.”
 Heb. vii. 12, 18. 1 John iv. 2. Heb. vii. 27.

ix. 14. x. 14. viii. 7. x. 9. Col. ii. 14.
 Eph. ii. 15. Heb. ix. 10. x. 1. Gal. iii. 19.
 iv. 4. Eph. ii. 16.

For though the Scribes and Pharisees “paid tithes of mint, annise and cummin,” but, at the same time, “neglected the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and truth,” Matt. xxiii. 23. (for which he cried wo against them) “for these things ought they to have done, and not to have left the other undone,” Luke xi. 42. The first law and priesthood yet standing, wherein the tithes were to be brought into the store-houses for the maintenance of the Levites, the poor, &c. and they who refused to pay or bring in their tithes in those days, “robbed God, and were cursed with a curse,” Mal. iii. 8, 9, 10. the outward ordinances remaining yet in force: which (with other things) “was such a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, as neither they nor their fathers were able to bear,” Acts xv. 10. I say, though the first priesthood, law, and ordinances, were yet standing in force, wherein tithes were commanded “for the office of the priesthood, for the service of the tabernacle,” Heb. vii. 5. and was to be kept and observed by them who were yet under it: yet Christ sending forth his twelve apostles in order to another dispensation;—even the dispensation of the gospel, to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation:—He said to them, “freely ye have
 “ received,

“ received, freely give,” Matt. x. viii. and though one jot or tittle of the law was not to pass unfulfilled, yet when Christ was offered up on the cross, he said, “ It is finished,” John xix. 30.

And therefore “ Christ being come in the “ flesh,” 1 John iv. 2. and offered up himself a most acceptable sacrifice to God, for the sins of the whole world, in the fulness of time appointed of the Father; and having put an end to all those offerings, and, according to the will of God, abolished and changed the law and priesthood which commanded and took tithes: He is become “ the end of the “ law for righteousness to every one that “ believeth” in him, Rom. x. iv. I say again: “ Christ being come in the flesh, “ and offered up himself through the eter- “ nal spirit, once for all,” 2 John vii. he hath put an end to the Levitical priesthood, tithes, and offerings, and is become an high-priest for ever, “ not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchisedec,” who is without beginning of days or end of life: not like those priests, who could “ not “ continue by reason of death,” but liveth and abideth a priest for ever, to make intercession for us; and “ such an high-priest be- “ cometh us, who is holy, harmless, unde- “ filed, and separate from sinners: who is “ made a priest, not after the law of a car- “ nal commandment, but after the power of
“ an

“ an endless life:” and is become the “ minister of the sanctuary and true tabernacle which God hath pitched, and not man: and dwells not in temples made with hands,” Heb. vii. 11, 16, 23, 25, 26. Heb. viii. 2. but is long since departed from them.—“ Who, when he ascended up on high, led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ;” Acts vii. 48. Eph. iv. 8, 12. who saith, “ freely ye have received, freely give,” Mat. x. 8. Of whom the Lord saith, “ this is my beloved son, hear ye him,” Mark ix. 7.

And therefore to plead for the payment of tithes now, (or to sue for them, pay them, or receive them) in these evangelical days, and under this gospel dispensation, is antichristian, and to deny Christ's being come in the flesh; and by the same rule, all the Jewish rites and ceremonies, as circumcision, purifications, sacrifices, and offerings, of the blood of bulls and goats, &c. may be brought in and set up as well as tithes, which would be to introduce Judaism instead of Christianity: Yea, Popery (as to tithes) in this gospel day, first hatched and brought forth in the apostatized church of Rome, about the time of Pope Gregory, called the Great (who is said to be the worst of all the Roman bishops that went before him, and the best of all that came after

G

him;

him; for they grew worse and worse) in or towards the midnight of darkness and ignorance; when Satan drew men from truth into error, then he set up tithes to uphold his ministers; and they were introduced into this nation, by popish and idolatrous kings, through occasion of murder and adultery. For Offa, king of Mercia, wrongfully killing Ethelbert, king of the East-angles, gave for the remission of his sins, the tenth of his revenue or goods to holy church, so called. And Ethelwolf, king of the West Saxons, because of the Danish invasion, to appease the wrath of God for the innocent blood he had shed, and to merit heaven, (as they thought to do in those superstitious times, by their good works, falsely so called) gave the tenths of his goods and lands to the church, in like manner. And Athelstan, king of England, to pacify the ghost of his murdered brother Edwin, (to whose death, it is said, he consented) did not only undergo seven years penance, but also built certain monasteries; and made a law, that people should pay tithes, hoping thereby to expiate his sins. And Edgar, king of England, a most vicious prince, being enamoured with Elfrida, wife of earl Ethelwood, to make way for the satisfaction of his insatiable lusts, joined with her in murdering her husband Ethelwood: for the satisfying of whose death, to remove the guilt, and save himself from the Pope's bull (which more in love to the gain, than

than hatred to the sin) began to roar against him, he confirmed the payment of tithes, and built several monasteries and nunneries. And Elfrida, his adulterous queen, to make satisfaction both for the death of her former husband, and for that heinous sin of making away her husband's son Edward, she built a nunnery at Almsbury in Wiltshire, &c.

And thus were tithes dedicated and confirmed (though not yet generally) upon such grounds, after such a manner, and to such impious ends and uses, (as ye may read in the Book of Martyrs) that it is a shame for any that pretend themselves Christians and Protestants too, to plead for or uphold them, viz. to expiate murders, adulteries, and other sins; for the health of their souls, and their fathers and mothers, and wives and childrens souls, and the rest of their relations alive and dead; (as the words are of many charters in Selden) to maintain idolatrous houses and priests, to say masses, and pray for them (out of purgatory) when they were dead; and to merit salvation by such superstitious deeds. And here is the foundation of tithes in England. O ye priests! for shame, never plead for tithes, except ye will own the church of Rome for your patron, and confess that ye are beholden to her for a maintenance.

But if ye object, and say, "Is it a great matter for us to reap your carnal things, to whom we have sown spiritual things?"

1 Cor. ix. 11. I say, nay; it is no great matter for them that have sown spiritual things, to reap of our carnal things; but we are free to administer of our carnal things to them that have sown spiritual to us, where there is occasion; and “the workman is worthy of his meat,” Matt. x. 10. But what is this to you? To whom have ye sown spiritual things? (not to me, I am sure). And where do the spiritual fruits appear which the apostle speaks of? which are “love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance;” (patience, humility, sobriety, holiness, &c.) “against which there is no law:” but, on the other hand, do not the contrary fruits appear, as “hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, envyings,” &c. Gal. v. 20, 21, 22, 23. high-mindedness, wantonness, pride, idleness, and fulness of bread? Are not many of your parish hearers more like heathens than sober christians? Do not drunkenness, whoredom, swearing, lying, cozening, and the like, abound amongst them? Do ye not see how the nations are become like a desolate wilderness as to the knowledge of God? Wherein have ye profited the people at all? And is it not because ye have “run, and the Lord never sent you?” Saying, “thus saith the Lord, when he hath not spoken to you; the prophets prophesying falsely, and the priests bearing rule by their means: committing
“ a hor-

“ a horrible and filthy thing in the land?
 “ preaching for hire, and divining for money,
 “ and the people loving to have it so,” Jer.
 xxiii. 15, 21, 31. Not like the apostles; for
 ye are not made ministers by the will of God,
 as Paul was, but by the will of man.—For
 the younger sons of gentlemen are commonly
 sent to the universities of Oxford or Cam-
 bridge, to be made priests: which are places
 of such looseness and prophaneness, as is be-
 yond the bounds of modesty to relate; (stink-
 ing fountains indeed) as I have in part seen
 with my eyes, and which may be read in
 many books; (and how can such as are carnal
 see spiritual things?) and when they have been
 there, it may be seven years, the time of an
 apprenticeship, and taken their degrees, &c.
 then they come abroad like locusts (as Luther
 called them) and make friends to seek for a
 parsonage; and if they cannot get one, to set
 up for themselves, then they must be journey-
 men for a while, till they can get a place; and
 then whatever becomes of the lesser, they will
 be sure to run to the greater benefice as soon
 as they can: And thus, like tradesmen, they
 truck from place to place to sell their wares
 where they can get most gain, and turn with
 the times, as they did in the late times. The
 same men, many of them, that were first for
 the king (Charles I.), when he could not up-
 hold them any longer then they turned to the
 parliament for their own ends, and called the

Common-prayer book, hell, and Egyptian bondage; and flocked to Oliver, that he might provide for them and protect them; and when he was dead, then they petitioned his son Richard, and flattered him, calling his father, the light of their eyes, and the breath of their nostrils; and that he had been their Moses to bring them out of the land of Egypt; and they hoped, that he (viz. his son Richard) would be their Joshua to lead them into the land of promise, which was but a good fat benefice of tithes and augmentations; and thus they have daubed the powers of the earth, that they might uphold their corrupt interest. And then when the king (Charles II.) came in, they generally turned to him, and swore to him: and Directory must down, and Common-prayer up again; and the surplice be put on, &c. And thus they have turned to and fro, hither and thither, according to the times, to keep their places and benefices, and enjoy their tithes, &c. who serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies: And if ever Popery should be brought in or set up again, (which God forbid) it is much if many of them do not join with it, if they could get any thing by it, if one may judge by what hath been; and people begin to see what they are, and which way they are affected, if time and opportunity did but serve; and yet they used to cry out against the Quakers, (as the Heathens and Papists did against the ancient

Christians,

Christians, Martyrs, and first Reformers) that they will not obey the king's laws, though we are subject, as the apostles were, and submit, as they did, to every ordinance of man, by doing or suffering, for conscience sake, Rom. xiii. 5. 1 Pet. ii. 13.

Ye priests would make people believe, if ye could, that ye watch for their souls; but why then are ye so much concerned about their corn, and hay, and other things? You watch when the corn is ripe, and grass cut; and when the cows do calve, the sheep yean, &c. And how many calves, lambs, and pigs they have: And how many hens and geese people do keep; how many eggs they have, &c. These are the things you watch and wait for, more than for their souls. And like Eli's sons, would take it by force, or cast men into prison for tithes; though you "cry peace, peace to them that put into your mouths," 1 Sam. ii. 16. but if any refuse, you prepare war against them: and except they give you somewhat to bite upon, you will bite them.

But you may say again; "Who goeth a warfare at his own charge? He that planteth a vineyard, may eat of the fruit thereof; and he that feedeth a flock, may eat of the milk of the flock," 1 Cor. ix. 7. all which we grant, that they who plant a vineyard, and feed a flock, may eat thereof. But what is this to you? What warfare do

you go? save from one parish or benefice to another, (that is, from the lesser to the greater) which you love so well, that you will never go far from it if you can help it. The Jews, Turks, and Indians, may do what they will for you, who love your ease too well to go far from home to convert them, if you could, except there was a better stipend settled. Yea, I say, what is your warfare? What are your weapons? Who is your captain? And what do you war against? Answer these things. And what vineyards have you planted? And where are they or their fruits? Are your hearers planted or grafted into the true vine? Are not the nations rather as a wilderness, than the vineyard or garden of God, overgrown with briars and thorns, scratching and tearing one another? Doth not the wild nature still appear by its fruits? And what flocks have you fed? (not us, for we are none of your flocks; and so by your own rule, you are not to eat of our milk, but of the flock you gather or feed). And where is the Lamb's nature to be seen among you? Are you not rather rough, more like the hands of Esau than Jacob, or a flock of goats than sheep? and more like wolves and lions, than lambs? rending and devouring one another; and persecuting the lambs of Christ. And do not your flocks rather feed you, than you them? And as for that of the apostle; "Do ye not know, that
 " they

“ they which minister about holy things,
 “ live of the things of the temple,” &c.
 1 Cor. ix. 13. all which we know as well
 as you, and grant it was so under the law:
 “ And they which waited at the altar, were
 “ partakers with the altar.” But what is that
 to you, who pretend to be ministers of the
 gospel, and not of the law, or temple, or
 altar? For it is plain, that as, under the law,
 the priests lived of the “ things of the tem-
 “ ple and altar,” even so, saith the apostle,
 “ hath the Lord ordained, that they which
 “ preach the gospel should live of the gos-
 “ pel,” ver. 14. a plain distinction between
 the law and gospel, and their maintenance.
 And besides, whatever liberty Paul, or any
 other minister of the gospel, had or have, who
 “ sow spiritual things, to reap carnal,” &c.
 yet Paul said, “ he had used none of these
 “ things,” ver. 15. And what holy things
 have you ministered about? Are not your holy
 duties defiled? Your best performances sin,
 according to your own confessions? And do
 you not plead for sin and imperfection all
 your days? (and so uphold the devil’s king-
 dom) and that there is no perfection or free-
 dom from sin on this side the grave? Tho’
 God and Christ says, “ Be ye holy, for I
 “ am holy;” and, “ be ye perfect, even as
 “ your Father which is in heaven is perfect,”
 Lev. xi. 44. xx. 7. Mat. v. 48. But that ye
 say is impossible, and so would make God a
 liar,

liar, and Christ a hard master; as if they commanded that which is impossible to be done, being ministers of sin and not of righteousness, which is not glad tidings to any weary soul.

And if ye say again, "The ox is not to be muzzled that treadeth out the corn," 1 Corin. ix. 9. I say so too. But what corn have ye trodden out? And where doth the seed appear? If ye had no more corn than what you tread out, you might starve for want of bread. It is fit that the ox should be fed by him that employs him, but not by another: But ye are not so honest as the poor ox or ass; for "the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib," Isa. i. 3. and are content to feed at it; but you are not, but would force them to feed you for whom you have not laboured; and expect wages from them that never hired you. And the most you can pretend to from these scriptures, is, when you go a warfare, not to go at your own charge: And when you plant a vineyard, to eat of the fruit thereof, and of the milk of the flock you feed; and not to be muzzled when you "tread out the corn:" and, "that he that ploweth should plow in hope; and that he that thresheth in hope, should be partaker of his hope:" and they that "sow spiritual things, to reap carnal things;" and they "that preach the gospel, to live of the gospel," 1 Cor. ix. 10. (that
is

is, of gospel maintenance) which is free; and as that opens peoples hearts to receive them, and not to force others to maintain them, for whom they do none of these things; and that is the sum of the matter.

But what have ye to do to tell of Christ, or Paul, who are not content with their appointment or allowance? For though Christ said, "the workman is worthy of his meat, and the labourer of his hire," Mat. x. 10. Luke x. 7. For whom have ye laboured or wrought? And what is the work ye have done? Have not others rather laboured and wrought hard for you, to maintain you in pride and idleness? Christ said to his disciples, "Into whatsoever city, town, or house, ye enter, and they receive you, there remain, eating and drinking such things as they give, and are set before you; till you go thence," Luke x. 5, 7, 8. But ye are not content with this, viz. what they give freely, for you will take away the tenth of people's estates (or rather, the tenths of their labours and fruits of their industry) by force, whether they receive you, or are worthy, or no: and sue men at the law, and take treble damages, and sometimes much more; which Christ and his apostles never did: and if you can find any precedent in all the scriptures, either in the time of the law or the gospel, for these things, shew us where it is. Besides, if you could prove yourselves to be such as the apostle

apostle Paul spoke of: (which you are never able to do). Yet Paul said, “ he had used “ none of these things, (but laboured and “ wrought with his hands, to minister to “ his necessities: remembering the words of “ the Lord Jesus, how he said, it is more “ blessed to give than to receive) that he “ might not be chargeable to any, and that “ he might make the gospel of Christ with- “ out charge. You are more like the Scribes “ and Pharisees, (whom Christ cried wo “ against) who laid heavy burdens upon “ other men’s shoulders, and devoured wi- “ dows houses, and for a pretence made “ long prayers; who wore long robes, stood “ praying in the synagogues, loved the up- “ permost rooms at feasts, the chief seats in “ the assemblies, greetings in the markets, “ and to be called of men, Rabbi, or master;” which Christ forbid, and said, “ the tree is “ known by his fruits, and by their fruits “ ye shall know them,” 1 Cor. ix. 15, 18. iv. 12. Acts xx. 33, 34. 1 Thes. ii. 9. 2 Thes. iii. 8. Mat. xxiii. 4, 14. vi. 7. Mark xii. 38. 39, 40. Luke xi. 43. xx. 46, 47. Prov. xxiii. 23. And more, like one of old, who offered to buy the gift of God; yea, worse in some respect; for ye not only pretend to buy it, or purchase your ministry at the university, but to sell it again; for it is better, if it was possible, to buy it, than to sell it; and if he was rejected for offering to buy

buy it, so ought they much more that pretend to sell it; and therefore repent of your deceit, in deceiving the poor people.

Another instance of your deceit is, in pretending to be ministers of Christ, and yet teach people to break his commands; else, why am I excommunicated and imprisoned through thy occasion, by the bishop and his proud chancellor, in their illegal court at Wells? and, as ye pretend, cursed out of the church, which I was never in, or of; and in your foolish conceits delivered to Satan? And, lastly, to the jailor; for no other cause, in the first place, than refusing to pay tithes and receive the sacrament (so called) for which ye have no scripture or example, from Christ or his apostles. And, secondly, for refusing to swear, contrary to the command of Christ and his apostle James, in answer to the libel, which is so false, that one's word is sufficient to deny without swearing, because I am charged with several acres of corn which I never had; and so many hundred bushels in an acre, that the like was hardly ever heard of. Are these the fruits of your ministry? O ye priests, &c. be ashamed of your lies and deceit! And yet I am imprisoned, as it is alledged in the writ, for my contempt and disobedience, in not observing certain honest and most lawful commands, of the bishop or his deputy, in not taking my corporal oath upon the holy evangelists,
faithfully

faithfully to answer to certain positions and articles exhibited in a libel on thy part; as if their commands were more lawful than Christ's, whose command is, "Swear not at all," Mat. v. 34. And whom ought we to obey, God or man? judge ye. O for shame! never pretend to be ministers of Christ till ye learn to keep his commands! "for whosoever shall break one of the least of Christ's commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven," Acts iv. 19. v. 29. Mat. v. 19. and yet ye not only teach, but would force men so to do: And after all, that the bishop should say in the Parliament-House, as I have understood, that there were none in prison, in his diocese, for conscience, seems to me to be the height of obdurateness; as if he went to set himself against God, and abuse his poor people.

O ye persecuting priests, &c. read the scriptures and ecclesiastical histories; particularly Eusebius, and Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Church: and see your image in the persecutors of God's people in all ages: and observe how many of the ancient Christians, and godly Protestant martyrs, have borne their testimony against those two great oppressions, of tithes and swearing; which, with many other things, have been a clog and a burthen upon the consciences of God's faithful witnesses, through many generations: and though
you

you may, “garnish the tombs of the righteous, and say, if ye had been in their days, ye would not have persecuted them,” Mat. xxiii. 29, 30. yet, if ye do the same things, ye are of the same spirit and generation, that have persecuted the just and righteous seed of God, in all ages; and are doing the same things to your power. “Mourn and weep” Jam. iv. 9. for the misery that is coming upon you: Your kingdom is shaken and falling apace, and your skirts shall be discovered more and more; and your deceit made manifest to all men; and people shall fly from you, as for their lives, in the day when the Lord shall smite the “idol shepherds, and all their flocks shall be scattered,” Jer. xiii. 26. x. 21. Zech. xi. 17.

You say, O ye priests, that “God hath ordained the tithes for you,” but how is it then that the Lord doth not put it into peoples hearts to pay you more freely than they do? Do ye not see how people begin to decline from you? And of whom could you assure yourselves of a maintenance, did not the laws of the nation force them to uphold you? And if tithes were but taken away, or the laws that uphold them, and you left to yourselves, then it would soon be seen how long you could stand of yourselves, and preach freely; surely, not long: for no penny, no pater noster. And were not people kept in bondage to you by a law, they would soon
come

come out from among you, if tithes were put down, as no doubt they will in the Lord's time, "For he hath smitten his hand against your dishonest gain," Ezek. xxii. 13. and put it into the hearts of many, to deny them as antichristian in these gospel days; and raised us up to bear a testimony against them; and we believe he will in his own time, ease his people of this oppression: And was but liberty of conscience once granted, for all to worship God as they are persuaded in their own minds, and left free to maintain their own teachers as they saw good, without compulsion, (which is so reasonable, that one would think none should be against it) then might the "merchants of Babylon lament, because no man buyeth their merchandize any more." Rev. xviii. 11. And were but people "valiant for the truth upon the earth," Jer. ix. 3. and not enslaved in their minds for fear of sufferings, they would have shook off this antichristian yoke of bondage long ago.

But are you not rather ordained for the tithes, than the tithes for you, by being sent to the university, to be made ministers for the sake of the tithes, to get a maintenance thereby? And were it not for the profit and advantage sake, to live at ease in the flesh, because of the tithes, the people might do what they would, and go whither they would
for

for them, or any love they have to, or concern for them. This love of money is the root of all evil, which while ye so much covet after, ye have erred from the faith, &c. 1 Tim. vi. 10. "For covetousness is idolatry: and they that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition: but the man of God ought to flee these things, and follow after righteousness," &c. Col. iii. 5. 1 Tim. vi. 9, 11. And Isaiah, that evangelical prophet, making proclamation of the gospel, said, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk without money, and without price," Isa. lv. 1. And Christ the great Prophet and High Priest of our profession, whom all are to hear, saith, "freely ye have received, freely give," Mat. x. 8. "And the Spirit and the Bride say, Come; and let him that heareth, say, Come: and let him that is athirst, come: and whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely," Rev. xxii. 17. "And if any man bring, or preach, any other doctrine than that we have received, we are not to receive him into our houses, or wish him God speed," &c. Gal. i. 9. 2 John 10.

O ye priests! take notice of these things, and leave off persecuting and casting men
H into

into prison for tithes. Is this a time for you, ye evil servants, to be eating and drinking to excess; and smiting your fellow-servants with the fist of wickedness? Your weapons are not spiritual, like the apostles, but carnal: wrestling with flesh and blood against the truth, and them that live in it, Mat. xxiv. 48. 2 Cor. x. 4. Eph. vi. 12. Know ye not, that the master of the house is returning to take an account of his servants, and give to every one his due reward? O take heed! lest he come upon you at unawares, and cast you into utter darkness, who have hated the "light, and loved darkness rather, because "your deeds are evil," John iii. 19. Behold, the Judge standeth at the door, who judgeth righteously, and will not acquit the guilty: and if he condemn you, his judgment is just: "Who will render to every "man according to his deeds," Rom. ii. 6.

Therefore be warned in your life-time, and repent ere it be too late, lest your latter end be like some of the former persecutors of God's people, recorded in the scriptures of truth, &c. And the Lord is the same that ever he was, and changeth not; who though he may bear long, yet "he "will not let the wicked go unpunished," Prov. xi. 21. And though judgment may not be speedily executed, and therefore the heart of the wicked are wholly set in them to do evil; yet, vengeance is the Lord's, and he
will

will repay it in due time, and reward all men according to their works: and it is a righteous thing with God, to recompence tribulation to them that trouble his people, and to them who are troubled, rest with him, Ecclef. viii. 11. Rom. xii. 19. 2 Thes. i. 6.

O ye persecuting tribe of men! how have ye made a prey of the people of God! “Feeding yourselves, but not the flock; eating the fat, and clothing with the wool: but he will deliver his flock from your mouths, that they may not be meat for you, and they shall no more be a prey,” Ezek. xxxiv. 1 to 22 verse. But ye have not turned the people from their evil ways, but rather encouraged them therein by your example: so that from you, is “prophaneness gone forth into all the land,” Jer. xxiii. 15. for like priest, like people,—nay, you are rather like the foolish prophets that follow their own spirits, and have seen nothing: seducing the people for handfuls of barley, and pieces of bread; causing people to err by your lies and by your lightness; making merchandize of souls for dishonest gain: looking to your own way, every one for his gain from his quarter, but never have enough, running greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, loving the wages of unrighteousness as he did, and will perish in the gainfaying of Core, except ye repent. Ezek. xiii. 3 to 19: Jer. xxiii. 32. 2 Pet. ii. 3. Jude 11.

Well, I have proved what I alledged in the beginning of this letter, that I am imprisoned unjustly, and have stript you from any pretence, to tithes in scripture, or seeming ground therefrom; and shewed the contrary in plain terms, that if tithes were now due, it is not to you; not seeking to shun or evade any argument that can be drawn from scripture: I matter not what can be urged otherwise, of which, if ye desire to be further satisfied, read ‘ F. Howgill’s Great Case of Tithes, T. Ellwood’s Foundation of Tithes shaken, R. Richardson’s Testimony against Tithing among ‘ Christians,’ &c. * which you have not, nor ever will be able to answer or refute: But when you are confuted as to any divine right, then you fly to your last refuge, saying, The law gives them us, and we will have them; which is but a poor shift for a gospel minister to run to the law for his defence, which originally gave them to Popish priests; and are claimed by a Popish law to this day, as due to God and holy church; but till you can prove them, and your practice in receiving them, by scripture or divine institution at this day, you must give us leave to refuse the payment of them, (though we suffer for it) and upon good ground, deny you to be ministers of Christ for receiving them, going to law for them, and persecuting such as cannot for conscience sake pay them.

* There is another book written on this subject, called ‘ The Great Case of Tithes,’ by Anthony Pearson, to which the reader is also referred.

And therefore, having acquitted myself of any obligation to pay tithes in this gospel-day, I do now as a Christian and Protestant demand my liberty from under this oppressive anti-christian yoke of bondage.

And this I have to advertise thee of, that since my imprisonment in this place, I have often been very ill as to my health, through close confinement, and want of common conveniences so far from home; not that I complain to thee, or expect any thing of thee but my liberty, which is my right in the sight of God and men; and if I do otherwise than well, my blood will lie at thy door, and thou wilt not be guiltless: But however it may be ordered as to me, I hope I shall be content in the will of God, and leave my cause to him if I perish through thy cruelty. O! why should thy hoary head go down to the grave stained with blood? Repent, repent, if thou canst find a place, and turn to the Lord with all thy heart, that he may shew thee mercy, before his fury break out and there be no remedy: For surely the Lord will visit for these things, and thy head will hardly go down to the grave in peace except thou repentest. O that thy soul might be saved! I wish well to thee, and desire thy salvation, whatever I suffer from thee. “ O that thou
 “ mayest know in this thy day the things
 “ that belong to thy peace, before they be hid
 “ from thine eyes,” Luke xix. 42. I am

concerned for thee, and can freely forgive thee what thou hast done to me: Thou art already old, and thy days will soon come to an end, and an account thou must give of thy deeds done in the body, and receive a reward according to thy works. I am loath to treat thee so harshly as thy dealing with me deserves: yet this I know, that if thou wilt be happy, and come to know "Peace with God" when time shall be no more," thou must come to the "light of Christ," which shines in thy dark heart, to shew thee thy evil deeds, even all that ever thou hast done, John i. 9. viii. 12. "The grace of God that brings salvation which appears to all men, teaching them (that learn of it) to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world," Tit. ii. 11, 12. Which light, grace, and spirit of God, will work the salvation of all that believe in it, receive it, and obey it, from sin here and wrath to come. And thou must repent from sin and dead works, even with that repentance which is never to be repented of, that thy sins may be blotted out before thou goest hence and seest man no more; else thou wilt "die in thy sins, and whither Christ is gone thou canst not come," Jo. viii. 21, 24. This is true, according to scripture; wherefore be wise, and consider thy latter end; and mind not the things

things of this world more than that which is to come.

And as for that ministry, religion, or worship, that cannot stand or subsist without force or violence, it cannot be the true ministry, for that can subsist without it. Yea, I believe, the Lord will never want true evangelists to preach the everlasting gospel of glad tidings and salvation to the sons and daughters of men: not like the Pope's dronish divines, who, under a pretence of serving Christ, have devoured the good of many lands in the service of their lusts and bellies; having their hearts "exercised with covetous practices," 2 Pet. ii. 14. minding not heavenly, but earthly things, and loving the creatures more than the Creator, whose minds are in the earth, "seeking those things which are here below," Col. iii. 1, 2. and not those which are above, where Christ sitteth, who have not first fought the "kingdom of God, and his righteousness," Mat. vi. 33. where the addition of other things are known in season; which if ye had, things would prosper better with you than they do; for it is evident, the blessing of God doth not attend your ill-gotten gain, but a curse follows it, insomuch that many men with small estates live far better than you do with some hundreds by the year; so that your great incomes do not make you rich, and there is little laid up in store for your children: For according to the

proverb, ill-gotten goods do not prosper. But I shall say little more of these things, for people see it plain enough, and are ready to judge accordingly.

Therefore, I say, “ Repent, that your sins
 “ may be blotted out,” Acts iii. 19. and turn
 to the Lord with all your hearts, and not only
 “ confess, but forsake your sins,” Prov. xxviii.
 13. that he may hear your prayers and have
 mercy upon you, which is the worst I desire
 for any of you, that ye may come to know
 peace with him, before ye go hence and be
 no more seen. However, I shall be satisfied
 in that I have warned you of these things, and
 borne my testimony to the truth in my day,
 both by doing and suffering; and having
 cleared my conscience to you, and thee in
 particular, I shall rest in the Lord, in whom
 I have peace, (glory to him for ever) which
 you cannot take away, being above the wrath
 of man;—and whether you hear or forbear
 I shall be clear in the sight of God: If you
 perish in your gainfaying, and if thou or any
 others, yet persist in your cruelty against me,
 and continue in hardness of heart against God
 and his people, despising instruction, and hat-
 ing to be reformed, I shall leave you to the
 Lord, and commit our cause to him who
 judgeth righteously, and will “ render to
 “ every man according to his deeds: To
 “ them who by patient continuance in well-
 “ doing seek for glory, honour, and immor-
 “ tality,

“tality; eternal life. But unto them that
 “are contentious, and do not obey the truth,
 “but obey unrighteousness; indignation and
 “wrath,” &c. Rom. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9. And what
 is here written shall stand as a witness
 against thee; and I expect thy answer here-
 unto, at my prison in Ivelchester, where I
 remain,

A sufferer under thee in out-
 ward bonds, for my testi-
 mony against that anti-
 christian oppression of
 tithes; the 29th of the
 9th month, 1680.

A friend to thy soul,
 and the souls of all men:
 and though an enemy
 to deceit, yet a friend
 to truth,

JOHN WHITING.

A copy of the aforesaid letter (for substance)
 was delivered by my kinsman, William Rum-
 ney, to Edward Ancketyll the younger, for
 the hands of his father, at the steeple-house
 at Naylsey, the 19th of the 10th month fol-
 lowing the date thereof, where it was read
 openly among the people by an eminent man
 of the parish, who was soon after convinced
 of the truth, the said Edward Ancketyll, jun.
 promising, on behalf of his father, that they
 would

would shew it to the clergy, and answer it; but never did, and afterwards said, they would not answer it, and so were worse than their words; my adversary being troubled that it was made so public, though his son when he was pressed not to conceal it, not only gave it to his hearers, and consented to the reading of it there, as aforesaid, but said, if I would, it should be read at the high-cross in Bristol, my desire being that it should be made public. And another time, at the sprinkling of a neighbour's child, discoursing about it, one of their chief hearers said, he did believe in his conscience, that it was true every word of it. Whereupon the old priest broke out in a rage, and said, I was a rogue, and so were they that did take my part; and called my letter railery: but I gave them no such names, for I treated them in scripture language; and to evade answering me, they said, it was written by John Anderdon, my fellow-prisoner, which is false: And, finally, for an excuse, said, It was not worth answering; verifying the old proverb, that A bad shift is better than none.

But worth or not worth, so it is like to remain for them, who seem resolved, as long as the law upholds them, to take no notice of whatever is urged against them and their practice, out of the gospel; and therefore, seeing it stands over their heads unanswered, I now leave it to the reader's judgment,

And

And I appeal to all, who have any measure of honesty, whether it was just or reasonable to persecute and abuse us at their pleasure, without giving account of their so doing according to scripture; though they pretend the scripture is their rule, but will not be ruled by it; and yet cry out of Popery, but live in the same spirit, and do the same things to their power, witness their delivering over to the secular power, to be gaoled, though not burnt; denying the Pope, but upholding Popery, as I could shew in many things, if they would stand the test. But if nothing will prevail with them “to do justly, love mercy,” &c. Mic. vi. 8. we must leave them to the judgment of the great day, when it will not be enough to plead they had a law for what they did, any more than it did excuse the Jews, who said, “They had a law, and by their law Christ ought to die,” John xix. 7. But, “Depart from me, I know ye not,” Luke xiii. 27. will be pronounced to all the workers of iniquity (who instead of “receiving, visiting, or ministering” unto him, Mat. xvi. 27. persecute him, and imprison his members, “When the Son of man shall come in the glory of his kingdom, with his holy angels, whom he will send forth, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity, &c. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun, in the kingdom of their father;” who

“ who hath ears to hear, let him hear.” Mat. xxv. 31. xiii. 41, 43.

Christ said, “ Freely ye have received, freely give,” Mat. x. 8. But the priests of England perhaps will say (as some have done) that they have not received freely (because it costs them money to be made ministers) and therefore cannot freely give. In which, though they speak truly, yet they thereby prove themselves to be no ministers of Christ; for they receive freely, and so minister freely again; but these do not, having not received freely, but are hirelings; for “ the gift of God is not to be bought and sold with money,” Acts viii. 20. if it had, then Simon Magus might have bought it, but he could not; and if he was rejected for offering to buy it, without doubt they are as reprobable who pretend to sell it: From which naturally arises this argument against the priests and tithes, on Matt. x. 8.

They who are ministers of Christ

Have received the gospel freely of Christ:

And therefore administer it freely again.

But they who do not preach the gospel freely,

Because they have not received it freely,

They have not received the gospel of Christ;

And therefore are no ministers of Christ.

The common English Protestants (so called) may be compared to king Saul and his army,
whom

whom the Lord commanded by the mouth of his prophet, saying, " Go, and destroy Amalek, and spare none alive, but they spared the best of the sheep and oxen, &c. under pretence of sacrifice to the Lord; but he rejected it, and Saul also from being king over Israel; and rent the kingdom out of his hands, and gave it to a neighbour of his who was better than he, because he obeyed not the word of the Lord, in executing his wrath upon his enemies, but did fly upon the spoil, and did evil in the sight of the Lord; for to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams; for rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness as iniquity and idolatry."

1 Sam. xv. 3, 9, 18, 19, 22, 23, 28. So those called Protestants, when they should have destroyed Popery, root and branch, only destroyed that which was vile and refuse as Saul did, but fled on the spoil, and spared the best, as tithes, and other things which were profitable to them. Like " Achan, who took the accursed thing, when he saw among the spoils (in the destruction of Jericho) a goodly Babylonish garment, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold, he coveted them and took them, and hid them in the earth in his tent; because of which, Israel could not stand in the day of battle, but fled before their enemies, till Achan was taken and stoned to death, and the silver,
" and

“ and the garment, and the wedge of gold,
 “ burnt with him in the valley of Achor,
 “ which is the door of hope.” Josh: vii. 1,
 21, 24, 25. Hof. ii. 15. O that all concerned
 herein, would lay these things to heart, and
 beware lest the same happen to them; for the
 Lord will not be mocked, the same cause will
 produce the like effect. It is in vain to pre-
 tend to hate the Pope and Papists; and love
 and uphold Popery; that is but like the pro-
 verb, To hate the traitor, and love the trea-
 son. Why should they hate the persons and
 love their practices? Cry out against Rome;
 and hug the rags and relicks of it, as if they
 had forgot whence they came? I say, let none
 deceive themselves, “ God will not be mock-
 “ ed; such as every one sows, that must they
 “ reap,” Gal. vi. 7. And let none think it
 enough, that they have denied part of Po-
 pery, and keep up the rest, because it suits
 their own interest; they “ cannot serve God
 “ and mammon, or be heirs of two king-
 “ doms,” Luke xvi. 13. If they will “ drink
 “ of the whore’s cup, and partake of her sins;
 “ they must also of her plagues;” Rev: xviii:
 4. The Lord will not be mocked, or served
 by halves: “ His servants ye are whom ye
 “ obey,” Rom. vi. 16. and to destroy some
 and keep the rest alive, is but like the children
 of Israel sparing that which should have been
 destroyed or given up. There must not be a
 hoof left behind; all the old leaven must be
 purged

purg'd out, and that which is for the sword, given up to the sword, &c. "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it." 1 Cor. v. 7. Jer. xv. 2. Mat. xvi. 25. Mark viii. 35. So that there must be a thorough reformation, before all will be well, and that is the conclusion of this matter.

Note, soon after this, the clerk of the parish, one George Gay, a young man, whose father was the priest's tithe-gatherer, was convinced of the truth, and lived and died an honest friend.

About this time died Hugh Tickell, an eminent friend of Cumberland, who had a public testimony. He was born about the year 1609, or 10; and was an honest man, even before he was convinced of the truth, which was in the year 1653, when G. Fox came first into Cumberland, and gave up his house for meetings, and was ready also to entertain the Lord's messengers, and to "do good to all, especially the household of faith," Gal. vi. 10. according to the apostles exhortation, "Forget not to entertain strangers," &c. Heb. xiii. 2. And the Lord blessed him in both spirituals and temporals. And as he grew in the truth, he came to receive a testimony to bear for it; and was often concerned to bear testimony against the hireling priests at steeple-houses, and in markets; to the people, as well as friends in meetings. And in the year 1656, he was
moved

moved of the Lord to go into Scotland, to Douglas, Heads, Hamilton, Glasgow, Edinburgh, &c. and had good service for the Lord and his truth; and was also drawn forth to visit friends in the West of England and divers other places. He was a man that bore a faithful testimony for the truth, and suffered much for it, both in the spoiling of his goods and imprisonment of his body for tithes: As in the year 1664, he, and four friends more, were cast into Carlisle gaol, by Henry Marshal, priest of Croftwhait; and though he kept him in prison about three years, yet he took tithes of his land. But afterwards, this priest Marshal fell down a pair of stairs, and broke his skull, upon which he died. He was afterwards imprisoned again in the said gaol of Carlisle, in his old age, (being about 68 years old) by Richard Lowry, another priest of the said Croftwhait, because he could not pay him tithes, who kept him prisoner about nine months, part of it in a cold winter, and in a cold nasty place, not fit for honest men to lie in, till Providence ordered his enlargement. And this priest Lowry was suddenly stricken, and had the use of one side of his tongue, and his understanding much taken from him, and so continued a long time,—a remarkable judgment. The said Hugh Tickell patiently bore all his sufferings, and willingly endured these for the testimony of Jesus and a good conscience. But in his last imprisonment

he

he contracted a distemper of body, which increasing upon him after he came home, he grew weak, but continued in great patience; and being sensible his departure drew nigh, he set his house in order, and taking his leave of friends and neighbours, sweetly departed this life, and laid down the body in peace with the Lord, being above 70 years of age, in the year 1680.

This year also died that faithful servant of God and minister of Christ, Giles Barnardiston, of Clare, in Suffolk; a man of account in the world, as descending of a great family. He was born about the year 1624, and was brought up at schools of learning, being six years at the university, his parents designing him for the ministry, but he had not freedom to take that office upon him, which was according to the will of man, though he had learning to render him accepted, and was promised preferment: but he saw a want in himself, of that pure and spiritual wisdom which the scripture testifies the Lord endued his ministers withal; so that a dread and fear came upon him, looking upon that work to be too weighty for him in the state he was then in; and saw that the national teachers did not walk as became the ministers of Christ; counting they had the more to answer for to God, in taking upon them such an office, and so little regarded to perform what they pretended to, &c. so that his friends

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could

could not persuade him to accept of the place provided for him, whereby he rather exposed himself to their displeasure. He had a commission in the late wars, but not having satisfaction in it, seeing such a deluge of wickedness, coming in like a flood upon the nation, he laid it down, and came to Wormingford-Lodge in Essex, applying his heart to wisdom, (which Solomon says is better than weapons of war) and betook himself to a more strict private life than formerly, which had been much in worldly pleasures and delights, (called pastime and recreation) in the midst of which he had no true content, finding a sting in the tail of them, and their latter-end bitter, &c. desiring of the Lord to shew him the way of life; resolving in his heart, if he could find out the people that were truly seeking the Lord, he would join with them; and being inclined to try and search into the principles of the people called Quakers, about the year 1661, he invited some of them to his house; and George Fox, jun. being then at Colchester, took George Wetherly with him, and went to give him a visit, whom, when he saw, he invited in; and G. Fox discoursing with him concerning the light of Christ Jesus, who had tasted death for all men, and lighted them that they might have life; which suiting with the scriptures, and Giles Barnardiston's own experience, he embraced the truth, and took up the cross forsaking his former lovers and companions;

nions; despising the shame, and frequented the meetings of the Lord's people; and became a companion to them that feared the Lord; abandoning the glory and friendship of the world for the love of Christ, and that at a time of very great danger and exercise, when truth was persecuted in the streets at Colchester, by two troops of armed soldiers, set on by some envious men to break up friends meetings twice a week, in 1663, and part of 64, to the hazard of their lives. He, like Moses, choosing rather to suffer with the people of God, than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season: And some years after, about 1669, the Lord opened his mouth, and made him an able minister of the New Testament, not of the letter but of the spirit, which service he faithfully performed till the day of his death. In the said year 1669, he removed to Clare, in Suffolk, the place of his birth, and had great desires that the Lord would raise up a people in that place; and the Lord answered his desire; and he was made instrumental to turn many from darkness to light, &c. So that though he had no children outwardly, yet in the spiritual relation, he had many sons and daughters, to his great rejoicing in the Lord. He travelled in many parts of England, and also beyond sea, in Holland, with Thomas Green and John Furdy; and came to Bristol with his countryman William Bennit, (of whom hereafter) about 1677, (the only time I saw him).

him). And at last, after all his trials, travels, and exercises, he was gathered to his fathers, being taken ill in his return from London to Chelmsford, in Essex, where he had been a prisoner many years (but the time of his commitment I do not find). His sickness was but short, in which he said the Lord was his portion, and he was freely given up to die, as he did the 11th of the 11th month, 1680, being about 56 years of age, and left a sweet favour behind him; a worthy example of contempt of the world's glory. Much might be said of him, but there are many testimonies of friends concerning him in a book intitled, *The Life of Christ magnified in his Minister*, 8vo. printed in 1681.

Samuel Scott, of Ivelchester, was committed to prison this year, on a *qui tam* writ, for not coming to church, so called.

In the 1st month following, I writ a letter of encouragement to my kinsman William Rumney, of which I think meet to insert part as follows:

— **A**ND my desire is, that we may all walk in the truth, and pass the time of our sojourning here in fear; that when our days, which are few and troublesome, may be expired, and our testimony finished, we may lay down our heads in peace, and die in the Lord; as we shall, if we live in his fear, that
in

In the end we may live with the Lord, and rest with the spirits of just men, made perfect, where the righteous shall meet together again at the General Assembly when time shall be no more: When they that now suffer with Christ, shall reign with him in glory for ever and ever, and partake of the riches of God's house for evermore, which will be a sufficient reward for all these light afflictions which are not worthy to be compared to that eternal weight of glory, which is laid up in store for them that have followed the Lamb in the regeneration, through the tribulation of their time, and continue faithful to the end, which glory shall be revealed in due time to, and in, all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and wait for his appearance, the which as thou dost covet after, bearing of his cross, thou shalt receive the crown;

As wisheth thy friend,

Ivelchester, where I remain a
prisoner of hope, the 28th
of the 1st month, 1681.

} And loving kinsman,
JOHN WHITING.

The latter end of the 2d month, having been out in the country a little, and returning towards Ivelchester, as I sat under an oak, in the heat of the day, with my mind turned inward to the Lord, and meditating in my heart the things of God, I felt him near me, and with me, in a more than ordinary man-

ner: and reflecting on our suffering condition, I had an opening in my mind concerning tithes in the ground of them, and how they came up in the night of apostacy, and were introduced into this land; and what a shame it was to Protestants to receive or uphold them, being of Popish original, somewhat beyond what is aforesaid, or than I can now express, and wished afterwards I had taken it down in writing, but was sufficient at that time for my own confirmation, and perhaps was only for myself. I went to a friend's house at Walton on Pollenhill that night, and next day to the burial of an honest young man, at Street, where I met dear John Anderson, and Thomas Powell, two fellow-prisoners: we had a fine opportunity, and afterwards returned to Ivelchester, it being an extraordinary time of love, for which reason I mention it.

This spring, Giles Bale aforesaid, being come in keeper of the prison, who was an angry peevish man, because I did not go out of the Friary (which belonged to Davis the former keeper, where I, with others, were prisoners) to his house at Bellispool, of my own accord, without any direction from him; he sent one day, about the beginning of the 4th month, and fetched me out, (against my will I confess, it being a pleasant prison to me) and put me down into the common-gaol, where several friends were before me on the
same

same account, saying, That was my place, and there I should be; though I told him, if he had sent the least child in his house to order me whither I should go, I had gone; but all was one, nothing would do, but thither I must go, and there I should lie, saying, I should never come out again while he was keeper (the usual threat). So down I was had, and put into a dark nasty hole called Doctors Commons, where they used to put the condemned men, where I lay upon straw on a damp earthen floor, which seemed somewhat hard, not having been used to such lodgings. But one day, as I was walking in the court of the prison, with my mind retired to the Lord, it arose in my heart, Give up, which took impression on my mind, so that I gave up to suffer patiently, and leave my cause to the Lord, being resigned to his will; and as I was freely given up, there was way made for my deliverance near about that very time, by means of the keeper's wife's sister, (a pretty friendly woman) who spoke in my behalf, and wrought my enlargement, either with him or her sister, (for which I hope she did not go without her reward) and so in about a week's time after I was put in, I came out again, notwithstanding the keeper's threatening. And, O the peace that I had in my bosom! surely, it was as a river, the glory of the Lord as a flowing stream: and I saw it was good to be faithful, which I mention for

the good encouragement for all that may come to suffer for the testimony of a good conscience, that they may never be dismayed, but trust in the Lord Jehovah, in whom is everlasting strength; and the Lord was wonderfully with me, and gave me, as it were, a song in the night, in my faithful suffering for his name's sake, that I could often even sing, though in the prison-house, as Paul and Silas did in the stocks; and could say with the psalmist, "His statutes were my songs in the house of my pilgrimage," Psa. cxix. 54.

But not long after, having been out of town at a meeting on a first day, it was noised about town at my return, that I should be put down into the lower gaol again, which seemed a little hard to look at; the enemy pursued so close, that I was ready to say with David, "I shall one day fall by the hand of mine enemy," 1 Sam. xxvii. 1. but as I retired in my mind to the Lord, and was given up to suffer for his sake, the thing passed over. And thus hath the Lord preserved me many a time, as I have stood faithful unto him.

About this time, being much retired, it arose in my heart to write a testimony concerning my dear sister, Mary Whiting, who travelled in the service of truth, and died in the 22d year of her age, at Norton, in the county of Durham, the 8th of the 2d month, in the year 1676; which was afterwards

printed

printed under the title of ‘Early Piety exemplified in the Life and Death of Mary Whiting,’ in 4to. and since in 8vo. And soon after, I began to write my own memoirs of the most material passages of my life, as to things both civil and religious, chiefly for a memorial to myself of the dealings of the Lord with me from my childhood, of which these (at least so far as relates to my prosecution and imprisonment, &c.) are a part.

The 10th of the 9th month this year, 1681, my adversary, Edward Ancketyll, sent another friend, Robert Bullock of Clapton, a pretty innocent man, to prison for tithes: for this Edw. Ancketyll had four parishes under him, viz. Wraxall, Naylfey, Burton, and Clapton, and the great tithes of them all; and yet all would not do, of which more anon: and at the same time he was proceeding against my kinsman, William Rumney, of Naylfey, (who lived in my house, and looked after my estate and affairs in my absence) for the tithes of his own estate at common-law, hoping perhaps to get more that way of him, than he had of me in the bishop’s court: but he was disappointed as to him also; for he dropt his suit, or some way or other missed his mark, that the prosecution fell and came to nothing, which indeed was very providential to me as well as to him; for had he been brought to prison also, as was expected, it would have been very prejudicial to me, especially at that time, I having
none

none else to confide in, as to the management of my affairs in the time of my imprisonment, but him, who was very serviceable to me: I pray God he may not miss of his reward. But our adversary the priest grew poor, though he had three or four benefices, worth 2 or 300l. per ann. he could hardly rub round, his corn being usually all sold and gone before more came, so that he was glad to buy again for his own use, long before harvest; so that I think the proverb was sufficiently verified in him (as I told him in my letter) that ill-gotten goods do not prosper; and at last he died poor, (of which, more in its place, 1685).

At this time, 1681, my house at Naylfey being vacant, my tenant G. A. having left my estate, only my kinsman William Rumney, above-mentioned, living in it, to look after it, I gave it up for friends' use to meet in as formerly; and many brave meetings there were in my absence; and some were convinced of the truth, particularly the clerk of the parish, and another eminent man as aforesaid. But persecution being like to rise upon it, for the word's sake, I not only gave up my house, but goods also in it to be spoiled on that account, if sufferings had come, as threatened and expected at that time, though I was preserved from it in that respect, being freely given up for the truth's sake, in doing or suffering according to the will of God.

Part of the letter I writ to my kinsman, Wm. Rumney, about it, is as follows:

— **A**S for the persecution that is rising, I am grieved to hear of it, but it is like to be generally so in most places; but let none be troubled, it will not last long: And as to my own part, I am not at all concerned, whatever may be the issue, not fearing the loss of any thing for the truth's sake; and let friends meet there as they used to do; and tell them from me, that they shall never want a house to meet in as long as I have one, whatever comes of it. I leave it to the Lord, whose will be done in heaven and earth, believing he will never fail them that put their trust in him, for his mercies endure for ever, and the righteous he will never forsake; but the just shall live by faith, and all things shall work together for good to them that fear the Lord, and wait upon him; and whatsoever such may lose for the truth's sake, and the exercise of a good conscience towards God, of him they shall receive an hundred fold, as they are kept faithful to the Lord, who is worthy to be feared and waited upon, faith my soul for evermore.

And seeing the day of great exercise is at hand, we had need be very careful and diligent, that we may be prepared to stand in the day of trial; that keeping the word of his patience, we also may be kept in the hour of temptation,

temptation, which is coming upon all the world, to try every man's work, that none may suffer as an evil doer, but truly for well-doing, and then shall we not miss of a reward in the end; that none, while they suffer outwardly by others, may cause the seed of God to suffer in themselves. O William! I truly desire thy prosperity in the truth, as I do my own, that above all things thou mayst come to feel and witness the work and operation of God's power in thy own heart, which will be a gladness to me, who am thy real friend in the truth: in which, with my true and unfeigned love to thee, and friends in general, as if I named them in particular,

I bid thee farewell,

Worcester, the 20th of the }
12th month, 1681.

JOHN WHITING.

But though, through the mercy and providence of God, sufferings were prevented there, as I said, (and which is remarkable, I do not remember that ever a meeting was troubled on the conventicle-act in that parish of Naylfey, where I was born) yet it fell severely elsewhere, as will appear by what follows:—

And first, to begin with BRISTOL:

The latter part of this year, 1681, there was a great persecution raised in Bristol, by John Knight, sheriff; Ralph Oliffe, alderman; John Helliar, attorney; and several constables and

and informers, their assistants; which being a neighbouring city in the confines of our county, I cannot but take some notice of it. There have been three great persecutions in this city: *First*, by the Presbyterians, in the year 1654 and 55, on the rise of the people called Quakers in that city, under the mayoralty of John Gunning; see ‘The Cry of Blood.’ *Second*, after the coming in of the King, in the year 1663 and 64, on the account of banishment, by old Sir John Knight; see the relation of ‘The Inhuman and Barbarous Sufferings of the People called Quakers, in the said city.’ And *Third*, this last, which, like the third blast of wind or wave of the sea, was the most violent of all. It began in the 10th month, by dismantling the meeting-houses, particularly that at the Friars, under pretence of a fine of 5l. imposed on the house, for not sending out a man in arms, though it was never assessed before, to the trained bands. They began by breaking the forms, benches, glass-windows, &c. tearing down the galleries, which with the forms, &c. they burnt or carried away. Then going up stairs, they rifled the widow Batho’s tenement, throwing down her goods into the meeting-house, even her very bed, which Ralph Oliffe would have burnt, if he had not been prevented; breaking down her closets, cupboards, wainscots, partitions, glass windows, &c. making great spoil, and carrying away her goods; seizing the
house

house for the king; closing up the doors, and set a watch to keep friends out: after which, they went and made the like spoil on the meeting-house in Temple-street, though there was no fine pretended there, (which shews that that was but a pretence to begin their work) insomuch, that a sober woman of their own church cried out upon them to leave off for shame, for these things would bring the plague of God upon them; and it had been well if they had took her advice. The damage done at those two meeting-houses amounted to 150l.

Then falling upon, and following friends meetings from time to time, sometimes taking names to make conventicles of them, and so dispersing them; for which they made great spoil of goods, particularly on Thomas Goldney, Thomas Jordan, Thomas Callowhill, Richard Marsh, Richard Snead, John Love, Charles Harford, Charles Jones, Richard Vickris, &c. to the value of some hundreds of pounds, taking commonly double the fines: Hannah Marshall being at prayer, they fined some, 20l. for her, which was conceived to be contrary to law. At other times, sending them to prison for pretending riots, or breach of the peace, thirty, forty, &c. at a time; (driving them sometimes like cattle, and saying, they were worse than beasts, because they would not go a drove) the men mostly to Newgate, and the women to Bridewell; as John Moon, on the Oxford act; Griffith Jones, a merchant of London, coming
thither

thither about his lawful occasions, and several others, to Newgate; and eighteen to Bridewell at one time, several whereof were women; as Katharine Evans, Joan Haly, Elizabeth Harford, Margaret Thomas, &c. till they were stowed so full, (sometimes eighty, ninety, or a hundred, and upwards, at a time) especially in Newgate, a close, nasty prison, that Sir Robert Cann said, he would not put a dog there he loved; and which, Sheriff Lane and others would have enlarged, but that Sheriff Knight obstructed it, with design, no doubt, to destroy the lives of the prisoners, they often complained to the mayor, Sir Thomas Earle, &c. of the straitness of the prison, and how they were crouded like the exchange at full time, that there was not room for them to lodge or lie down one by the other, but they were forced to sit up, (especially one night) or lie on the floor, table-board, and under the table, where the great dog used to lie, the frame serving for their pillow to take a little rest; and when they got in beds and mats to lie on, there was not room enough to spread them; but some lay on the floor, and some in hammocks over head; and in the morning were forced to take up their beds, and pile them up to make room to walk.

And, besides their thus committing and crouding them in prison, beating them with staves, and abusing friends at their meetings very much, even women, yea with child too,
 offering

offering incivilities to old and young, throwing down ancient men and women in the streets, like to spoil them; haling, dragging by the arms, and forcing along faster than they were well able to go to prison; punching in the back, and pinching their arms till they were black and blue; pulling off and throwing away hats; tearing the womens' hoods and scarfs, which Helliar used to give a signal for to the boys, by bidding the women have a care of their hoods and scarfs; so setting on the rude boys that generally followed him, and teaching them how to do it. Others encouraging them to throw dirt at them; threatening to thrust his cane down their throats, and offering to punch it in their faces; abusing not only women, but girls and children; beating, shaking, and pulling by the hair; and if any spoke to them by way of reproof, sending them to prison; as they did a young woman, as a rioter, for giving a rude boy a box on the ear (which he well deserved) for offering an incivility to her, endeavouring to wrench their arms and hands, as if they would break them off; and so roughly handled one young woman, tearing her scarf off her back, shaking, thrusting, and throwing her against others, as much disordered her; calling the women abusive names, and setting on the boys to abuse them, by tearing their scarfs, and throwing dirt at them, &c. Helliar, striking at John Dole, struck a woman in the face with his
cane,

cane, which hurt her much. It would be tedious to tell of all their abuses.

And, besides all their imprisonments and spoils of goods, they prosecuted fifty friends, on the statute made against Popish recusants for 20*l.* a month, and threatened others (knowing they could not swear) to tender them the oath of allegiance, to ruin them, as they did to some. And in the prison kept them so strait, that when some were dangerously ill, they would not let them go home, so much as to get a little health, though they promised to return, or to be returned, alive or dead: and one friend's wife was brought to bed, and they would not suffer him to go and see her. Another's father was sick, and died, and he could not be admitted to go and see him before he died, or go to his burial, though much desired; and would have paid one for going with him; so inhuman were they. And sheriff Knight, being about this time knighted for his services, was so imperious afterwards, both at meetings and in the prison, that there was no doing with him and his accomplices, who vaunted and boasted much of his encouragement, and that he was called at Newmarket the pillar of Bristol, (to the shame of the city) and that they should have a troop of horse and a company of foot down, to break the meetings,—of which more next year.

This year, 1681, died that ancient suffering servant of God, and faithful minister of Jesus

Christ, Thomas Taylor, whom I well knew, and therefore cannot but give some account of him. He was born at or near Skipton in Yorkshire, about the year 1616, and was brought up a scholar at the university of Oxford; and came to be a national teacher, and had a place in Westmoreland, where he used to let John Audland and Francis Howgill, sometimes preach in his pulpit before they were convinced. His hearers were called Round-heads and Puritans; and he was a lecturer at Richmond in Yorkshire. He refused to baptise children at the font, or sign them with the sign of the cross, before he was convinced; and had a dispute with the priests at Kendal, in 1650, about it, and was too hard for them: And in the year 1652, when G. Fox came into Lancashire, he and some other priests went to Swarthmore, and discoursed with him, and Thomas Taylor was convinced, but the rest opposed. Thomas went with G. F. to a meeting next day, where truth springing up in him, he declared it to the people, and so left his parish steeple-house and preaching for hire (though he had been a noted priest) and came to preach Christ freely, as he had received him; and travelled up and down in many parts of England; and not long after was imprisoned at Appleby in Westmoreland, in the 6th month, 1657, for speaking in the steeple-house there, where he continued till 1659: and was also imprisoned at York, Leicester, and Coventry; but the exact times,

or

or how long, I cannot set down; but about the year 1661, he was imprisoned at Stafford, and tried at the assizes there; and præmunired for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, in 1662, where he continued till king Charles the Second's Declaration of Indulgence; on which he and many more were released in 1672. But he was afterwards imprisoned there again for a time, and charged for a Jesuit, but finally cleared and discharged about 1679. He had a dispute with Dr. Owen, at Oxford, but the time when I am not certain, and the very scholars could say, that Thomas was too hard for him, for the Lord was with him, and upheld him by his mighty power, in all the sufferings, hardships, and opposition he met with for the truth's sake. He used to come to Bristol, and was once at Ivelchester after I was a prisoner there. And at last, after all his labours, travels, and sufferings, died in peace, at Stafford, the 18th of the 1st month, 1681, resting from his labours, being about sixty-five years of age, and was there buried; and left a good report and favour behind him in the town; his wife dying about a year before him. He wrote many serviceable books and papers, chiefly by way of warning to the rulers, priests, and people, and one book, in answer to Richard Baxter's Cure of Church Divisions, which are since collected in 4to.

The latter end of this year, 1681, there were ten friends sent to prison, viz.

Robert Bullock aforesaid, by my adversary
Edward Ancketyll, for tithes.

John Wride,
Robert Tutton,

} of Burnham, two old prisoners, imprisoned again for tithes, at the suit of Thos. Mumpesson, impropiator, 10th m. 1681.

Rufus Coram,
Elizabeth Smith,

} of Crewkerne, for meeting there the 8th of 1st m. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$, committed the 11th do. and Rufus Coram, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, was præmunired at Ivelchester sessions, in the 2d month, 1682.

Vincent Boldy,
Richard Grabham
Jof. Hemberry,
Gilbert Willicom,
George Godfry,

} for meeting at Gregory Stoke, were committed by Henry Walrond, in the said 1st month, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$. and Richard Grabham, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, was præmunired at the said sessions at Ivelchester, in the 2d mo. 1682.

Thomas Hymans, of Bridgwater, was committed to prison, for refusing to give evidence on oath against one that had robbed him on the high-way, by judge North, at the assizes, the 5th of the 2d month, 1682; and so the innocent suffered, and the guilty was let go free.

The last 1st day of the 2d month came Henry Walrond, justice, to Ilminster meeting, where was our friend Elias Osborn of Chard, who having been at the assizes the latter end of the last month, to assist Robert Abbot, the innkeeper of Ivelchester, in his trial on the appeal;

peal, upon his being fined 40l. by the said Henry Walrond, for two quakers meetings in his house, when indeed there was not one within the conventicle-act, only the quarterly meeting aforesaid; the said Walrond upbraided him, the said Elias Osborn, with it, and struck him several blows with his cane, and committed him and sixty-eight friends more to the constable, to have them before Colonel Edward Phillips, next day; and then committed six of them to prison, viz. Elias Osborn, John Alloway, Walter Bult, Thomas Smith, and two more, to Bridewell; leaving the rest till next month.

They were had to Bath sessions in the 8th month following, and there discharged, except Elias Osborn, who was returned to Ivelchester sessions in the 2d month, 1683, and then released by Sir Ed. Phillips, judge of the sessions.

Christopher Holder of Winterburn in Gloucestershire, who formerly suffered in New-England, and had his ears cut off there) coming over, and suffering the spoiling of his goods for meeting in Gloucestershire: and was committed to Ivelchester prison, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, the 22d of the 3d month, 1682.

The 28th of the 3d month, came Henry Walrond to Ilminster meeting again, and took the following friends, and next day committed them to prison, viz.

William Rock, of Ilminster,
 Water Giles, ditto,
 Robert Giles, ditto,
 John Cross, ditto,
 John Chozley, ditto,
 Alexander Key, ditto,
 John Mead, ditto,
 Jos. Paul, ditto,
 Francis Wilkins, of Chard,
 Matthew Page, ditto,
 William Waseby, of Buckland,
 Bartholomew Alford, ditto,
 Francis Wilkins, of Chillington,
 Jos. Garland, of Comb,
 John Tucker, ditto,
 John Lumbar, of Thorncomb,
 Josiah Limberry, ditto,
 John Porter, ditto,
 Jos. Hemberry, of G. Stoke,
 Nathaniel Blawden, ditto,
 Henry Alloway, of N. Curry,
 Gilbert Willicom, of Ling,
 John Voak, of Fifehead,
 Daniel Wyat, of Dumot,
 John Farthing ditto,
 Robert Wills, of Chiffelborough,
 Giles Knight, ditto,
 Richard Slade, of Limington,
 Jo. Forse, of Hasselborough,
 Ste. Harsford, of S. Petherton,
 Philip Paul, of Stoke-Linch.

Thirty-
 one for
 meeting
 at Ilmin-
 minster,
 on first
 day, the
 28th of
 the third
 month,
 1682,
 commit-
 ted by
 Henry
 Walrond
 the 29th
 ditto.

Of which seventeen were sent the 3d of the 4th month, and put into Bridewell-Chamber over the common-gaol.

And the 12th of the 4th month, there were nineteen friends more committed from Gregory-Stoke meeting, the 11th instant, by the said Henry Walrond, who beat and abused friends very much at the said meeting, particularly John Wall of Edington, (who some time after died a prisoner) detaining thirty, or upwards, prisoners all night; and next day, because they would not give him money, sent these following to prison, viz.

John Charley,
John Dinning,
Henry Chappel,
Nicholas Bidwell,
Isaac Small,
Thomas Burrow,
Jonathan Allen,
Elizabeth Shattock,
Thomas Stone,
Anne Ballam,
George Godfry,
John Wall,
Richard Pleas,
Robert Clark,
William Wastly,
And two more,

} In all 17.

There being now about 30 friends prisoners in Bridewell-Chamber, a large room that run all over the common gaol, friends used to meet there on first-days, and the 18th of the 4th month, there being a large meeting of prisoners, and other friends and relations of the prisoners that came out of the country to visit them, Giles Bale, the keeper, shut us all up prisoners for some hours after the meeting was done, about 100 in the room, though he had promised C. Holder that we should have the privilege of meeting there, not being suffered to meet elsewhere in the town, except apart by ourselves at our several lodgings; and the under-keeper came and took the names of some; and them that gave their names he let go out, and the rest he kept in, both men and women together, till the evening, and then we were all let out again, except those that lodged there, and suffered to go to our several lodgings; which is another instance of the said G. Bale's arbitrariness, contrary to law and justice.

This year, 1682, died that faithful servant and minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, William Wilson, of Langdal-Chappel-Steel, in Westmoreland, an honest and upright man. The time of his birth and convincement I do not find; but, before he was convinced of the truth, he fought the Lord to the utmost of his understanding; and for disputing about the things of God, and the scriptures, he was behind

behind few of the professors of those days: though his education was but mean, and he had little outward learning; being zealous in his way: yet something there was in him unsatisfied, which the Lord in his due time did satisfy, and, by his living and eternal power, raised him to bear a testimony, unto which he was obedient, and willing to be led and guided; which led him in the way of God, which is light, in which he came to see that a profession of the truth made not a Christian, but a possession of it; and also came to see the deceit of both priests and professors, and was often concerned to bear testimony against them, and was cruelly handled at steeple-houses: for, soon after his conversion, he was moved of the Lord to go to the steeple-house at Eshdal, in Cumberland, to exhort the people to mind that of God in their own consciences, &c. for which the priest, —— Parker, did beat and wound him, and with one of his crutches broke his head, which caused the blood to run down his shoulders; and being lame, caused his horse to be brought, and getting up, did in the sight of the people break his staff in three pieces on William's bare head, which made the people cry out against him; and when he had done, he rode away; but before he got home he met with a reproof for his cruelty, being struck sick, so that he never came more to the steeple-house; and during the time of his sickness was very loathsome,

loathsome, stinking above ground, and was made a sad example. A few weeks after, Wm. Wilson was moved to go to the said steeple-house again, and priest Fogo being there, when he had done, William spoke a few words to the people, which made the priest rage, and some of his hearers would have put him out; but the priest bid them let him alone, and coming to him, took him by the hair of his head and pulled him to the ground, and drew him out of the steeple-house; and his brother Michael bid the people mind the fruits of their priest, &c. which the priest hearing, came and cruelly abused him: in beholding of which cruelty done to them, many of the people were set against the priest, which he perceiving got away, and within a few months after met with a reproof also for his cruelty; for riding over some sands, with several others, he fell into a quick-sand, and was immediately drowned. One time, William being at work at a house, being a taylor, one Charles Crow, a priest, came into the room, and walked to and fro with a book in his hand, bigger than a pocket bible; William mildly said, Charles, Thou hast a great toil in getting thy lesson: at which the priest being in a rage, came and took him by the hair of his head, and pulled him off his seat down to the ground, punching him with his feet, and knocking him on the head with the book, that some women in another room hearing it, came in and prevented

vented the priest from doing him further mischief.

He travelled in the ministry in many parts of England, and several times in Scotland, as in 1673, &c. The last time, to the remotest parts of it; and also in Germany, (but I do not find the time) to bear a testimony against the wickedness of the wicked; for which he suffered great hardships in the city of Hamburgh, and in Germany and other places there-away, both by sea and land. He suffered imprisonment several times after the restoration of king Charles II. viz. in 1660. He was arrested, by warrant from justice Braithwait, of Ambleside, on the information of John Tomson, priest of Grafmire, for speaking some words to the people; and at the sessions he was fined by justice Fleming, &c. 100 marks, and committed to Kendal gaol till payment; and the next sessions the same justices sent for him, and tendered him the oath of allegiance; and because for conscience sake he could not swear, he was sent to prison again, to remain till he took the oath and paid the fine; (though, in 1648, he suffered the loss of all he had, but his life, for the king, as he made appear) yet he remained in prison above half a year, and then was set free by the king's Act of Indulgence. In the 10th month, 1662, he was committed to Lancaster castle, with many more, by warrant from justice Fleming and W. Kirby, for meet-
ing

ing together to worship God in spirit and truth; and at the next sessions had the oath tendered to him again by the said justice, and because he durst not swear, was re-committed, where he remained 20 weeks. In the year 1665, he was arrested again, by warrant from justices Fleming and Braithwait aforesaid, for meeting on the 5th of November; for which he was imprisoned a month in Kendal. In the year 1670, he was fined 20l. on the conventicle act, by justice Fleming and justice Phillipson, for speaking in a meeting; for which he had taken from him two cows, a horse, &c. worth 7l. 10s. And again, for speaking in a meeting at Fieldhead, he was fined 20l. for which his goods were spoiled by W. Satterthwait, constable, and others. And in the year 1673, for not paying 6d. or 7d. a year, to John Ambros, priest of Grafmire, for tithes, he was arrested on a commission of rebellion out of the Exchequer, and cast into prison at Kendal, where he continued 16 weeks, and then was set free by the gaoler, after the writ was out of date.

But these were but small matters to what he went through since he received the truth, before the king came in, viz. Mockings, stockings, stonings, buffetings, beatings, &c. by the hiring priests; and all for desiring the good of their souls, and that they might turn to the Lord, and from darkness to light, &c. And in the year 1682, priest Ambros aforesaid exhibited

exhibited a bill in the Exchequer against him and several other friends, because they could not give him tithes: but the Lord provided a better place for him, than the said priest intended for him; for having been a long journey, he returned from London very much spent, and died in peace with the Lord, the third day after he came home, the 10th of the 5th month, 1682, I suppose not less than 60 years of age, leaving behind him a widow and two daughters; and several epistles, letters, and papers, which are collected in a book in 4to, intitled, 'The Memorial of the Just;' with several testimonies concerning him. Printed 1684.

The friends abovesaid from Ilminster and Stoke meetings, were had to Bridgewater sessions in the 5th month following, and indicted for a riot, by the said H. Walrond, tried without a jury, and fined 6s. 8d. a-piece, and committed to gaol till payment; where they remained till the 12th month, 1683, (in which time John Wall died a prisoner) and then they were released, as hereafter in that year will appear.

Soon after the sessions, I writ the following letter to a friend in Bristol; which, because it gives a further account of some things, I think meet to insert.

Loving

Loving Friend, M. J.

MY love to thee in the truth: I have long waited an opportunity to write unto thee, in answer to thy desire, when thou wast last here, to give thee an account how things are with us; and the sessions being now ended, I thought fit to signify unto thee, that there were near 40 friends committed since the last sessions, for meetings, who went hence to Bridgewater sessions, where they were called; and some had the oath tendered to them, and an indictment drawn against them by their adversary, Henry Walrond, or by his order, for a riot, though he had committed them for a conventicle; and the council pleaded much against it in friends behalf, but it would not prevail; but they were fined a noble a-piece, and sent to prison again.—We long to hear how things go with friends there at your sessions: I desire thee to give me some account by letter, if thou hast an opportunity. We hear, to our grief, that some draw back among you in this time of trial. O that ever it should be said of any—that, like “ the children of Ephraim, they should carry bows, and turn back in the day of battle. Certainly, it is the willing and obedient that shall eat the good of the land; but
if

“ if any draw back, God’s soul will have no
 “ pleasure in them: and it is the willing in
 “ Israel that shall obtain the victory and the
 “ blessing; for the inhabitants of Meroz were
 “ cursed bitterly, because they came not up
 “ to the help of the Lord against the migh-
 “ ty;” Psa. lxxviii. 9. Isa. i. 19. Heb. x.
 38. Judg. v. 23. no, it is like they would lie
 behind, whilst others jeoparded their lives
 in the high places of the field, hoping to
 enjoy the benefit of Israel’s warfare, and
 partake of their peace and blessing; but in-
 stead thereof, they incurred a curse. O that
 all would consider the same! for, certainly,
 if any should draw back in the time of trial,
 and think to renew their diligence again
 when the storm is over, they may not then
 have an opportunity: but I hope better things
 of thee, and many more; and should be glad
 to hear from thee, how it is among you.
 Friends here are generally pretty well; and
 truth prospers over all, and gains a good re-
 port. Remember my kind love to thy fa-
 ther and mother, or any other friends, as if
 I named them: I hope you are all well, as I
 am at present, through the mercy of the Lord,
 who never fails them that put their trust in
 him.—I have little else to write at present,
 but that I am,

Ivelchester prison, the 16th }
 of the 5th month, 1682. }

Thy friend,
 JOHN WHITING.

Thomas

Thomas Comb, of Gregory Stoke, was committed to prison on a significavit out of the bishop's court, for tithes, by Sir Edward Phillips, and Henry Walrond, the 4th of the 6th month, 1682.

Sometime after this, having a little liberty, (at least by connivance) I went home to my house at Naylsey, to see how things were; and on the first day, I had a mind to go to Portshead meeting, and see my former guardian, Edmund Beaks: When I came there, friends were kept out of their meeting-house, it being persecution time almost every where: so I put up my horse, and went and stood with them in the street, and a constable sat on a stile, aloof off, either to see if any preached, or else to keep the peace if any disturbed them. But my friend, Edmund Beaks, was afraid of me, lest I should be taken up, being a prisoner; but I was not very apt to be fearful. After meeting, I went to his house, and lodged there that night; and next day I had a mind to go and see friends at Bristol, being but seven miles off, there being many in prison; but my friend Edmund, in his wonted care, being still tender of me, was fearful, lest my adversary, living but five miles from it, should have laid any snare to take me up, and keep me in prison there, and so the keeper of Ivelchester might come
to

to blame; but I was not apprehensive of any such thing, nor afraid of it, so went thither. But mark what followed! When I came to the brow of the hill, on Lye-down, above Ashton Park, in sight of the city, I had a weight came over my mind, and then I remembered what E. Beaks had said to me, yet could not think there was any danger; so I rode on very pensive and heavy all the way, pondering in my mind what the matter might be, till I came to the city; and riding along Redcliff-street, who should I meet with but G. Bale, the keeper, standing in a shop-door, so that there was no missing him; when I saw him I was somewhat surprized, and he as much admired to see me there, yet spoke pretty pleasantly to me; asked me whence I came; and whither I was riding; I told him I had been to see some of my friends in the country, but had kept myself pretty private, so that I hoped he would have no blame; and had a mind, when I was so near, to come and see my friends in Bristol. He asked me how long I intended to stay, and when I would return; I told him I intended to stay but a night or two, and should return speedily; he said well, and bid me make haste home, so turned away, and then my burden was gone. I went and saw friends in Newgate, which was very full; so returned to Ivelchester, where G. Bale had made a noise how he had been at Bristol: and who should

he meet there, but John Whiting, threatening what he would do when I came home; but I went quietly to my lodging, and so heard no more of it.

This Giles Bale, though often chained, that he could not do what he would or intended, was a very envious, peevish man, and apt to take occasion against me in discourse, in which we could seldom agree; and told a friend, John Dando, once, on occasion, when he spoke to him about me, that I had spoken words against the government, viz. That the laws of England were contrary to the laws of God; when I only put it by way of question, in discourse about tithes and swearing, as the apostle did: “ If God command one thing, “ and man another, whether we ought not “ to obey God rather than man?” Acts iv. 19. as I afterwards made it appear to his face. And another time happening into some discourse with one —— Clark, a Baptist teacher in the ward, at G. B’s house, who affirmed, That none were ever free from sin, though I gave him several instances out of scripture of such who were; and G. Bale coming in just at the time, took up the discourse, saying, It was impossible to live without sin. I told him; I did believe it was possible, by the grace of God, to live without sin, which he said was blasphemy; for if people could live without sin, what need was there of Christ? I told him, that it was through
Christ,

Christ, and by virtue of his death and sufferings, that we were enabled so to do: But he said, It was blasphemy, and the highest blasphemy that ever he heard; and that I deserved to be hanged for it; and that I was not fit to live; and that he did not desire I should trouble his house; which I told him I did not desire: and he said, He did believe he had the more to answer for, for giving the Quakers so much liberty as he had done; and that he would never do it again, if he was keeper ever so long. I told him, if he did make it matter of conscience, he might keep us as close as he would; for my part I hoped I should be content, put me where he would. He said, We might pray that he might not be keeper another year, for if he was, there should none of us be out of common-gaol, or Bridewell, while he was keeper, (but was not so bad as his word). I told him, I did hope we should be content in our places, wherever he did put us; and so left him in much bitterness and hardness of heart; but was not terrified at his threatening, knowing that the hearts of all men are in the hand of the Lord, and he could turn them at his pleasure, as I had experience. And yet not long after, though he had reviled me so, he commended me to a friend on some occasion, saying, I was a very civil young man: God's witness, no doubt, pleaded my cause in his conscience; convicting him of his abuse of

me, and answering to my innocency. Thus through good report and evil report we must pass; which, knowing my own innocence, was all alike to me: nor should I have mentioned it here, were it not to shew the inconsistency of this generation, and how like they are to some of old; Condemn to-day and magnify to-morrow.

But having been lately at Bristol, I shall give account how it was with friends in that city. The persecution continued and increased there this year. The prisoners were crowded, and more sent daily. Sheriff Knight's first salute to the women after he was knighted, as he met them coming from meeting, was, That the next time they were at meeting, he would lay them fast, and send them to their husbands, i. e. in gaol, boasting of his authority; and going into Newgate, as a friend was speaking, he threatened to fine the keeper 20l. and would have friends confined to their rooms. And at their meeting in the chapel-chamber, he (Helliard) and the keeper came in a rude manner, and laid violent hands on them to pull, hale, and thrust them out of their room; threatening to iron them if they did not depart: commanding one to be ironed, and put into the pit. Pulled off and threw away another friend's hat; and offered to punch the point of his cane in his face: Of which abuses they complained to the mayor, but he could not relieve them, being overborne.

borne. And at their meeting in the common-hall, being separated from the rest of friends, Knight came and demanded what they did there? and, without staying for their answer, began to be in a great rage; and because they did not presently depart, threatened to draw upon them; and laying hold of one, dragged him to the stairs, and threw him down head-long, to the endangering his life, but that, through Providence, he was preserved by lighting on another; and afterwards put him in the dungeon called the West-house; seized another, and had like to have thrown him all along against a wall. Pulled R. Vickris off a table, where he sat, and threw him on the floor. Helliar bid his company strike another's teeth out, which none doing, he offered to punch his cane in his face: of which abuses they once more complained to the magistrates not to suffer them to be thus inhumanly used in prison, to the danger of their lives; but instead of justice, behold oppression. At meeting they took D. Dole, and had her away to Bridewell, one by one arm, and another by another, as if they would have pulled her to pieces; punching her in the back to force her along; threatening to throw her over the bridge into the water, and, lifting her up, offered to do it. Knight got an order above, to reverse the order of sessions, for enlarging the gaol, which greatly heightened him in his insolences; following meetings, and sending

many to prison; violently punching and thrusting along to prison; among others, a tender woman with child, faster than she was well able to go, not regarding her tender intreaties to the contrary; threatening the women, that in a fortnight's time he would make them squeak; pretending, that he knew not but they were plotting to get their husbands out of prison.

And besides all their abuses at meetings, and in prison, laying extravagant fines on several friends; their manner being, when they came to the meeting, to ask friends what they did there, on purpose to ensnare them; and if they answered, to wait upon and worship God, which they were not backward to confess, then they made a conventicle of it; and when friends asked them, if that was a crime, i. e. to wait upon God; they said, Yes, it was, and fined them accordingly; and were as severe in levying of it, taking commonly double; breaking open chests, counters, &c. for money; and took one man's coat off his back, and 10l. odd money out of his pocket; searching and ransacking of houses, as they did a merchant's (C. Jones, jun.) in the Castle-Green, from top to bottom, after they had been rioting, on a first day, in the great meeting-house, and would have haled in some young women, who were soberly met, to dance with them, but that, fearing to be abused by so lewd a company,
they

they held by the ancient women, for which, they sent both elder and younger to prison; on which a woman friend said, Well, sheriff Knight, I see, though we cannot be suffered to serve God, these may, to serve the devil: Our peaceable meetings you seek to make riots, but here you are rioting and revelling to a great excess, &c. siddling, drinking, and carousing, till three in the afternoon: When their heads beginning to swim, they went up to the upper tenement, and from the top or turret of the house seeing the said merchant's house, they fancied a conventicle there; so away they went and beset the house, when he and his wife were not at home, but only their children and servants, who being afraid to open the gate to such a rude company, one of them got over the wall into the garden, and let in the rest, who ran over the house, searching every room, closet, and corner, for the spleen they had to him, he being one that went to Whitehall to complain of their former illegal proceedings; so that his family, father, and two brothers, fared the worse for his sake; taking from them, in a few days, to the value of 80*l.* and from C. Harford, J. Love, and W. Dawson, near as much more; and they had warrants for many hundreds. And so they did to Rich. Marsh, another considerable merchant in Small-street, for 10*l.* ransacking his house, (even his wife's chamber

where she then lay in) counters, closets, &c. carrying away his merchant books of accounts to the number of thirty; besides papers, of no use but to make spoil; seizing not only his household goods, but even provisions, which they either eat, (rioting there for three hours) or carried away, terrifying the servants, &c. asking them how they dared to touch any thing now they were there, so insolent were they; and a butcher and a butter-woman coming with provisions, were forced to carry it away again, and glad they could escape so. The said R. M. had taken from him before a tun of wine worth 20l. which they sold for 4l. and to make it up 10l. forced into his man's counting-house, and took from him in cash 6l. odd money.

At the sessions, in the 2d month, all things seemed prepared to ruin them; and though several were discharged out of prison, it was not through the favour of the court, which Knight, Oliffe, &c. over-ruled; for there they were indicted, and because they refused to submit to the favour of the court, were sent back to prison; others tried and convicted, and when the jury (though of their own packing) brought them in, not guilty, they were made to go out again, and bring them in guilty, and so were fined; and because they could not pay their fines, they were sent to prison again; but the mayor, a few days after, sent for all, except such as were fined,

fined, and taking their words for their appearance the next sessions, set them at liberty. And soon after Knight, &c. came and nailed up eighty-seven women, and fourteen men, in the meeting-house at Temple-street, five or six hours together, till three in the afternoon; having first sent seven men to Newgate. And in the afternoon the same day, at the Friars, they kept friends in the open court in the rain, till about five, without regard to age, sex, or condition, though some of them were considerable, as Sir Robert Cann's two sisters, one, viz. Martha, the widow of the late sheriff Lane, and Sarah Cann her sister, Mary Gouldney, Mary Wall, &c. A constable griped and pinched an ancient woman's (Hannah Jordan) arm, which made it black, (as sheriff Knight had done her other before) then had them to the Tolzey, but let them go home till next day; then impannelled a jury to find a riot; Patrick, the informer, and one more, swearing that about thirty of the women forced open the door, and would have rescued themselves; which the justices did not credit, but gave the women liberty to answer for themselves, which they did so handsomly, giving the justices the particulars of their confinement and usage, to so good effect, that the justices were divided, and some pleaded for them; and the jury brought in their verdict, No
Riot;

Riot; which so displeas'd sheriff Knight, that he threaten'd the jury to have them up to London, saying, If he could not have justice here, he would have it there. His and Helliar's inhumanity and baseness being much cried out against, particularly for bringing nails and a hammer, to nail up friends at the morning meeting-house, as aforesaid; continuing very rude and abusive at meetings, calling names, beating, pulling off hats, &c. arresting in the king's name, if friends would not depart at their command, and sending to prison at their pleasure.

At one meeting they sent ninety to prison, mostly women and maids, to Bridewell, saying, They would send them in dozens, thirteen to the dozen, driving them along like cattle, as they call'd them; or rather like sheep to the slaughter, where they were forced to sit or lie on the stones, floor, benches, and table, all night, (having but three beds) and next day were had before the mayor, where, after so ill a night's lodging, they were lock'd up in the council-house nine hours, till the magistrates could agree what to do with them; by which, with long standing, in the heat of summer, several were sick and faint: and at last they committed seventy-three, the men to Newgate, and the women to Bridewell, where they were sadly throng'd together; lying on the floor, seven,
eight,

eight, and nine beds in a room, by mittimus from Thomas Earl, mayor; Ralph Oliffe, Robert Yeamans, and Richard Crump, aldermen, on pretence of breach of the peace. Poor innocent lambs! being mostly young women, whose names for brevity I omit, though their first-fruits, as they were holiness to the Lord, and accepted of him, so were they a sweet favour to his people. Helliard at the said meetings abusing a child very much, by taking it violently from its mother, Rebecca Ithell, lifting it up by the arms, and letting it fall several times in a rough manner, which hurt and frightened it much, so that people cried, shame of him; and when the mother spoke to him, he threatened to thrust his cane down her throat, and sent her to prison with the rest. Thus continuing to send to prison, even children: making it a light matter to commit masters and mistresses, servants, and children; the husbands to one prison, and the wives to another, who were miserably thronged in both prisons, to the number of an hundred and fifty.

Sheriff Knight, J. Helliard, R. Oliffe, Lug, Tilly, and others, coming to the meeting in Temple-street, asked T. Callowhill, What was their business there? T. C. answered, To wait upon God, as it had been their accustomed manner: And going to take names to make a conventicle, one of their company said, T. Callowhill

Callowhill now, and T. Jordan at the former meeting, were great faints, that must pay for all. T. C. asking sheriff Knight, Whether it was a transgression of our law to wait upon the Lord? He answered, Yes, that it is. And advising Helliar not to extend the laws beyond the intent of them; he told him, He should go to the stocks for that; and laying hold of him, said, he arrested him, and that he should go to Bridewell; telling Mary Gouldney, that they should have been at home at their spindles and distaff a spinning; though it was first day, putting them out and dispersing the meeting, bidding his company take the boys and girls, and put them in the stocks. And, as he went on, observing a little girl about ten years of age, who had been at meeting, he bid them take her and put her in the stocks with the rest; and M. Gouldney telling her she need not fear the stocks, Helliar took hold of her also, and said he did arrest her, and that she should go to Bridewell, for encouraging the girl in her rebellion; so he had T. Callowhill and M. Gouldney to Bridewell. And in the way, at the high-cross stocks, he put in six lads which they brought from the meeting, not being of age, to come under the conventicle act, (under 16) viz. B. Wall, E. Osborn, J. Boucher, J. James, S. Gibbons—keeping them there an hour. When they came to Bridewell with T. Callowhill and M. Gouldney, supposing they heard somebody

somebody speaking, they ran up, and finding D. Dole at prayer, rudely haled her to pull her off her knees, and with such violence strained against a large table, as nearly overset it; and penned her up in a dark low pen, damp and noisome, until, with the dampness of it, she fainted; and when they took her out, she could not speak nor see, till sometime that she recovered.

And in the afternoon, friends being met near their meeting-place at the Friars, Helliar, Tilly, Lug, and others, came and commanded them to depart; taking hold of several, pulling off the boys hats, and hurling them away; particularly a good new hat of B. Wall's, and gave it to a poor boy, putting his old dirty hat on B. Wall's head; threatening to beat him because he would not accept of it: pulling off not only boys', but womens', and their head-cloaths too, and carrying them away by dozens; sending five women to Bridewell, and three men to Newgate; one of which, Richard Lindly, a poor blind man, of 83 years of age; and caused the boys to be penned up in the open court, bare-headed, five hours; so continued sending to prison: And Helliar going to London, gave the keeper charge to prevent preaching; on which D. Dole was taken out of the meeting in prison, and put into a dark place, and threatened to be gagged for speaking; and John Moon, though he was not speaking;

ing: there being now about eight score in both prisons, and one hundred threatened to be summoned to sessions, on 20l: a month's breach of peace, allegiance, Oxford act, &c.

At the sessions, friends were mostly brought forth, tried, and fined two or three times over; for several offences, as breach of the peace, &c: (as their peaceable meetings were accounted; though the witnesses said, they neither did or said any thing, only would not depart when commanded) and committed till payment; so that not many less than eight score remained; some sick, carried out in a fever like to die. In the hot season much thronged, especially in Bridewell, where several were sick also; and Margaret Thomas was had out very sick. And though most of them were young women, yet neither frowns nor flattery could draw them from their testimony in the time of trial, even before a bench of justices at Guildhall: They forced one woman into the steeple-house, but she would not stay there. [Force will never do.]

Now after the men and women were mostly taken up and imprisoned, the meetings were mostly kept up by children, their parents being in prison, whom they abused very much, often throwing away the boys hats; threatening to break their heads; putting them in the stocks several times. Helliar beating the children with a twisted whale-bone stick,
that

that cut almost through a new hat; beating them so on the head, back, and forehead, as raised bunches. A girl was so furiously beat on the neck, that it left a great scar as long as a man's finger: Another had several blows on the shoulders, which made them black and blue; and another on the head, that made it very sore: Another, on the shoulder, till it was very red: Another, by a blow on the neck and eye-lid, had like to have her eye struck out, and received a scar: Another beat so extremely about the head, as to make it very sore: (O inhuman!) In fine, most were beaten by him, but truth taught them to forgive. Another time, Tilly (inhuman wretch) beat them with a faggot-stick, which they bore patiently; the Lord, no doubt, supporting them, and accepting the kindness of their youth; another time with a whale-bone stick. He sent several to Bridewell, and, when discharged, threatened them if they did so (that is, go to meeting) any more, they should be whipped in Bridewell. Thus following meetings, taking names to fine for conventicles; abusing friends, particularly R. Vickris; sending to prison, beating the children; one, so extremely about the head, that almost made him swoon, and he continued bad some time; throwing in the kennel, calling names, sending several boys and girls to Bridewell; endeavouring to make them promise to go no more to meeting, but in vain; and noised about, as if they were preparing to
whip

whip them: Helliar charging the keeper of Bridewell to get a new cat-o'-nine tails against the morrow, to terrify them; and urged the justices to have them corrected. Sheriff Knight committing to prison at his pleasure, saying, Some did their business by halves, but he would have it done throughly. They kept friends at Bridewell more strait than usual, the poor being hindered from labour, and thrust into rooms on heaps, to make them pay fees. And next first-day meeting, R. Oliffe arrested R. Vickris, for breach of the peace, though he acknowledged the end of their meeting was to worship God, (to prevent it); so making their own wills the law, as they did to others, sending them to prison, without being suffered to appear before a magistrate to hear the information, or to speak for themselves; worse than they did by felons, halving and beating the children; they scoffed an old blind man, R. Lindly, near 90 years of age, and afterwards sent him to prison, where he was forced to sit up three nights in a chair, for want of a bed. A friend speaking at meeting, they made a conventicle of it, and fined five friends, viz. Robert Lux, Daniel Gibbons, C. Jones, sen. Edward Hackett, and Elizabeth Dowel, 9l. each, and took from them goods to the value of 101l. Another time sent thirty-one to prison, without having them before a magistrate. One hundred and forty now, in both prisons: One near

near his end, not suffered to be had out. James Pickton, coming out of Wales to the city about trade, going to see the prisoners, was kept a prisoner himself. L. Steel imprisoned for meeting; and soon after, on the Oxford act, for six months. R. Gibbons's wife was had out sick, and died. Thomas Lugg, at one meeting, calling for a pot of holy water, by force crossed several boys and girls in the forehead, and sent 19 to Bridewell; and when discharged, threatened to whip them if they came again. One hundred and sixty were prisoners, many children, of which a lad but eight years old: thus continuing their abuses, and sending to prison men, women, and children, till the 13th of the 11th month.

After which their sufferings were mostly in Newgate, (as they had partly been before) by the abuses of the keeper, Isaac Dennis, his wife, and servants, instigated by the persecutors; to which he added his own cruelty and wickedness; crowding them inhumanly together, in close nasty places, disturbing them in their meetings; haling and pulling them out of their rooms; calling J. Pinnell excommunicated rogue, and that he would break his neck down stairs, endeavouring to do it; and did throw down some in his rage and madness, bidding them complain; throwing their goods, beds, and victuals, down stairs in the
M dirt;

dirt; turning them out of their lodgings; thrusting fourteen, with seven debtors, into a dark dungeon, called the West-house, (where they used to put condemned criminals) and where they were forced to burn candles day and night, which the keeper also commanded his man to take away and break; and the place so little, being but 19 feet diameter, that they were forced to lie three, one over another, or else had not room to lie down; and when they complained, he said, if there was but room to shut the door, it was enough, and so locked them up: sometimes locking up friends upon the leads, so that they could not have up their meat and drink, but as they drew it up by a line over the gate. At other times, shutting them down from the leads, where poor friends used to work, and keeping their tools from them, not suffering any thing to be brought in but victuals; not any work, or working tools, to get a livelihood for themselves or families; and setting on the prisoners to abuse them, bidding the fellows beat Maria-bella Farmborough (being a prisoner) out of her room; threatening to send the women to Bridewell, from their husbands. The turnkey haling friends out of the meeting that did not lodge in the room; tearing J. Popes's coat; pulling J. Gainer by the heels, in danger of breaking his neck; throwing Jabez White down backwards, over the threshold of a door,

a door, and then taking him by the legs to turn him over headlong, which might have killed him; commanding one to be put into the West-house, for asking why they should not have the privilege of the common-hall, as other prisoners had. Charles Harford telling the keeper, on his putting his wife out of the room, the day of his torment was begun; he said, he did think the devil had sent them to be a torment to him, and locked them up asunder night and day, saying, the felons were honest men than they. A sober man coming to see how the poor men were used in the West-house, saying, it was hard for so many to lodge in such a place; the keeper replied, Hang them, there is room enough for more. Coming into the meeting with three constables, bidding them keep the peace, though nobody disturbed it but himself: the constables standing still, he haled several out of the room, threatening to keep them locked in their rooms, that they should not go forth for their natural easement; thrusting and abusing several; and struck some of them on the head with one of the constable's staves, none resisting them; and Margaret Heal speaking to him, he laid hands on her; and soon after being taken sick, and near her departure, L. Steel and P. Moon desired to go and visit her before she died, but could not be admitted (a barbarous piece of cruelty!) and behaved themselves so violent to friends in the West-house,

house, as if they would have murdered them; wickedly beating J. White, whose neck the turnkey had like to have broken once before, by throwing him down backwards, and said, It was not two farthings odds if he had, (so wicked were they): haling them out, locked the door, and would not let them have their victuals; and next day hurled them, with others, into the West-house, and locked them there eight hours, without conveniency to ease themselves (as friends in the chapel-chamber were also denied) or to have their food brought in, and two days after locked them in the dungeon called the West-house, from eight at night to twelve next day; and in the morning some of them desiring to go forth, as nature required, promising to come again, could not be admitted, but told them they must do it in the same room, (so inhuman were they) though nineteen lodged there, and but little air; of which cruelties of the keeper, friends complained to the justices at the sessions. 1. Of the deprivation of poor friends of their place of work, and taking away their work and materials, and denying work to be brought in, contrary to 19. Char. ii. chap. 4. 2. Of the want of conveniency of room for lodging, and air to breath in, being so thronged and crowded, as aforesaid, in danger of being stifled and smothered to death. 3. Of lodging several of them with felons, contrary to 22 Char. ii. chap. 20. 4. Under pretence of

keeping

keeping them from meeting, locked up in several rooms, for eight and sixteen hours at a time; not suffered to go out on any occasion, not so much as to see their fellow-prisoner, M. Heal, near her end, as aforesaid, to the endangering their lives. Desiring them to interpose their authority, and allow them necessary accommodation, &c. which had little effect, at least on the gaoler; who asked a friend after, if he would go home, and draw up another petition; continuing his cruelty; taking away friends work, and other things; breaking an iron screw-candlestick about the head and shoulders of T. Dimock, and threw him backwards against the corner of a chest.

The new sberiff coming to view the gaol, friends laid their complaint before him, and shewed him the statute, who promised them they should have what benefit the law prescribed; yet the gaoler went on, denying friends work. Friends then made their address to the recorder, Sir J. Churchill, hoping he would have redressed their abuses; but contrarywise, the gaoler returning from accompanying him out of town, began, according to his tyrannical custom, to threaten friends they should not work, saying, the recorder and mayor ordered him so to do; and soon after, he and his men, Welchman and Woluin, came into the West-house, and commanded friends out, though he had thrust

them in there; and because they did not come so soon as he expected, being then at their labour, he began to hale and pull them, and commanded the turnkey to fetch hand-bolts; and having haled out one, locked the door upon five others, and denied their food to be brought in. Thus he continued his cruelties, for which he had a sad account to give; of which next year. And thus were they stowed in prison, when I was there to visit them, as aforesaid, which taking notice of to them, how full they were; Margaret Heal (sitting by in a chair) answered me, Aye, said she, we are full fraught, ready to set sail the first fair wind: as she and some others did, into the ocean of eternity not long after, as aforesaid; finishing her testimony for God, and his truth, the 28th of the 11th month, being faithful unto death, and now enjoy the crown of life: and also four more, two men and two women, dying prisoners, being suffocated for want of air and room, and other conveniences.

This year, 1682, John Whitehead, an ancient and eminent friend of the ministry, late of Swine, in the east-riding of Yorkshire, was committed prisoner to Lincoln castle, by justice Burrell, the 22d of the 3d month, being accused as a Jesuit, for preaching at a meeting, and tried at the assizes at Lincoln, the latter end of the 5th, and beginning of the 6th

6th month, 1682, before baron Street, who tendered him the oath of allegiance; for refusing which, he was indicted; and though he pleaded excellently against it, he was returned to lie in gaol, being convicted of a *præmunire*, and tried at the assizes in the 1st month after, before baron Gregory: the oath was tendered to him again, and he returned as before *præmunired*. How long he continued in prison I am not certain, but suppose, till the general release, the beginning of 1686. He wrote an excellent apology to the king's justices, worthy to be read of all the justices of England.

This year also, 1682, our dear friend, Charles Marshall, of Tetherton, in Wiltshire, being prosecuted by John Townsend, the priest of the parish, for tithes, was taken up, and removed to London, before the barons of the exchequer, and committed to the Fleet prison, the 4th of the 10th month, 1682, so that I did not see him for several years, which was a great exercise to me, because of his absence at such a distance, that he could not come to see us, nor I go to see him whom I loved so well, and owed much to, as a father in the truth: but after two years, the priest went to the prison, and caused the doors to be opened, and brought him out, and some time after died; and then Charles Marshall settled with his family in London; but afterwards came to Bristol again,

and was frequent in meetings there, and countries adjacent, to our great satisfaction, as in times past.

This year, 1682, died that faithful servant of God, and minister of Jesus Christ, George Coale, son of Robert Coale, (brother to the famous Josiah Coale) of Winterburn in Gloucestershire, near Bristol, of whom I cannot but make honourable mention, in commemoration of him and his ministry; being very instrumental to me in my younger years. He descended of a family of good repute, as aforesaid, and was born about the year 1648; and his parents being friends, he was, no doubt, educated according to truth, in his youthful days: and as he grew up, and came to feel the work and operation of it in himself, he received a gift of the ministry, and power from on high, to preach the everlasting gospel, which he did in life and power, and in the evidence and demonstration of the spirit of God, (of which I was a living witness in my early days) though he was then but young in years; coming forth in a testimony about the 20th year of his age, or not long after. He used to come often to Portshhead meeting, in Somersetshire, when he was in England, and lodged at my guardian's, Edm. Beakes's, when I dwelt there in the years 1672, 73, and 74; by which means I had the more perfect knowledge of him, and acquaintance with him, though then but young, about the

16th

16th year of my age, and received much benefit by him and his testimony in meetings; not only there, but at Bristol, and Kingweston in Gloucestershire, he being instrumental to me, as I said, in opening my understanding, and bringing me to a nearer sense of truth in myself. He travelled much beyond sea into America, as his uncle Josiah did; particularly to Jamaica, where he mostly resided as a factor for some Bristol merchants at first, but was afterwards a merchant himself, and had pretty much substance there. He married in Bristol, one Cristable Jennings, daughter of Wm. Jennings of the same place, the beginning of 1673, but went over again to America, several times after he was married; particularly in 1674 or 75, as I remember, but returned to Bristol again afterwards, and fetched his wife, carrying her over with him to Jamaica, in 1678, where she died about a month after she came thither; but he continued there about four years, and then came over to England: and, in about three months after his arrival in London, he died there the 17th of the 10th month, 1682, about 34 years of age, one year younger than his uncle Josiah was when he died in London also, in 1668; laying down his head in peace with the Lord; receiving the fruit of his labours, and entering into his rest. He was buried at Bunhill-Fields, leaving a good favour and memorial behind him, I doubt not, in the hearts of many, as he

he did in mine. He had intended to have settled in England if he had lived; and glad should I have been to have seen him, if it had pleased God to lengthen his days; not seeing him, as I remember, after the year 1675, that I saw him at Portshead before he went beyond sea, and loved him so well, that I could have gone to America with him. He was a proper comely person, and had a very fine refreshing testimony, like the dew upon the tender grass, to the convincing, comforting, and confirming many in the truth; and was well accepted and received wherever he came in our country, both as a man and a minister; being pleasant in his life, and in his death. He was grave, solid, and weighty in his carriage and deportment; mixed with courtesy, love, and affability in his conversation, which carried both awe and respect. I could say much concerning him, but would not exceed through affection; knowing he is above my encomiums, and needs no applause; being stated in his eternal mansion in the heavenly kingdom, with the spirits of just men made perfect. He left one daughter behind him in Bristol, of his wife's name, since married to Robert Ingram, of London, merchant.

But now to return to Ivelchester: hearing that my friend, J. M. of Bristol (who was a prisoner in Newgate, with many more, for meeting)

meeting) had accepted of his liberty to go to Pennsylvania, I writ a letter to him, to dissuade him from it at that time, which I should not have taken notice of here, had it not been for a passage in it, which seems somewhat remarkable as to him: The letter is as follows, viz.

My anciently beloved friend, J. M.

MY dear love to thee in the truth, which never changes, but abides the same to all generations; neither do they that abide in it, in which I have often had, and still have, a reverend respect for thee, and many other servants of the Lord, as elders of the flock over which the Lord hath made you overseers, to walk before them in a holy and godly conversation, blameless before God, as good examples unto them; among whom they have laboured in the word and doctrine, to the strengthening and encouraging of the upright and faithful in the way of the Lord; and to the convincing and confounding of all opposers and gainfayers; and answering God's witness in all people, as a good favour in their places, even of life to them that are saved, and of death to them that perish.

O you ancients of Israel, how weighty is your calling! who are called to follow the
Lamb

Lamb in the regeneration, and through patience to overcome; as the Lord's worthies, who never turned their backs in the day of battle; neither did their swords return in vain, but their weapons and bows abode in strength, and were and are renewed in their hands, who are bold and valiant; and victory is with them. These are they that have followed the Lamb in the many tribulations; whose garments are washed and made white in his blood; who loved not their lives to the death, for his sake who is gone before; and was made perfect through sufferings, whom they are following through persecutions and reproaches; life and death, as seeing him who is invisible.

O my friend! what shall I say unto thee, that thou knowest not already, even much more than I can write or speak? yet my heart is stirred up to write unto thee, especially at this time, when I hear thou art even quitting the field in this day of battle and sore exercise, wherein many suffer deeply for the testimony of a good conscience. O that ever it should be said of thee, that thou shouldest turn thy back in the day of trial! I am grieved to hear thereof. Why wilt thou go away and leave thy friends in holes and prisons, in danger of their lives, behind thee? Many are apt to judge hardly of it, that thou shouldest offer to go away at such a time as this, when many
suffer

suffer fo deeply for the truth's fake. I hear thou haft obtained thy liberty out of prifon, upon that account, to go away.

O my ancient friend, why wilt thou leave us? My heart is fad, with many more, to hear thereof. I did not think thou wouldeft have accepted of thy liberty upon any fuch account. Remember how thou haft blamed John Perrot in times paff, for going out of prifon on that account, when fo many fuffered in Newgate, London, in the year 1662; and their perfecutors offered them, that if they would accept of their liberty, and go out of the nation of their own accord, [into voluntary exile*] they fhould have their liberty, which he accepted of, and never profpered after. And wilt thou do the fame? I hope and expect better things of thee, and many more. Why wilt thou go away, and leave a clog behind thee, to follow after thee as a burthen? I know thou waft formerly very much againft going to New-Jerfey, and ready to difcourage any that were inclined that way; and how is it that thou art now fo much for going to Pennsylvania at this time? Not that I am againft any one going thither, fo they go clearly, but only at fuch a time as this, for any to go to fhun perfecution, believing the bleffing of God will not attend any fuch therein; whatever pretence any may

* This was before the act of banifhment.

make, people will take it no otherwise; which will strengthen the hands of the evil-doers, and weaken them that are faithful; and therefore I could not be clear, but lay it before thee, as my ancient loving friend; and if thou goest, take this as my last farewell, if I see thee no more. Who am,

Thy true and

From my prison-house at
Ivelchester, the 13th of
the 8th month, 1682. }

Loving friend,

JOHN WHITING.

But he rejected it, telling a friend, that spoke to him about it, that I was a forward lad, and that he threw my letter into the fire; and so went away, (though not till next year—of which more in its place) but never prospered after, (nor several others that went away to shun persecution) but fell from truth, and so it was fulfilled on him.

John Cuff, of Aishill, was brought to prison for tithes, the 16th of the 10th month, at the suit of John Teep, vicar of the said parish: J. Cuff having been a very great sufferer for meetings before by Henry Walrond, being a plain innocent man, and having some substance about him, the said Henry Walrond had an eye upon him, to make a prey of him almost to his undoing.

Wm. Laurence, of Axbridge; was brought to prison the 16th of the 11th month, being cited to the archdeacon's court at Wells, for
absence

absence from church (so called) where he appeared before the archdeacon Thurlby, who treated him very scoffingly; not like a grave church man, but like a light vain man and proud prelate; threatening to send him to gaol; William reproving his scoffing behaviour, telling him, it did not become him that fat judge, to scoff and deride such as came before him: the proud priest was angry, and asked him when he received the sacrament. William asked, What was that; for he knew no such word in scripture: Thurlby said, it was the Lord's supper: William questioned whether he knew what the Lord's supper was: on which, Thurlby being enraged, said, What! had he been at the university, and studied the scriptures forty years, and should such a fellow as he question whether he knew the Lord's Supper? and bid call for a justice of peace: and Colonel Berkly, who was always ready to help them at a dead lift, (one, by the way, who, when he would pretend to pray with his troop, would curse or swear on any provocation, before he was off his knees) being present with others, came and violently thrust him out of the cathedral, and hurried him along to the house of J. Baylie, (bishop Mew's proud chancellor) who also treated him ill, and tendered him the oath of allegiance; which William refusing to take for conscience sake, they sent him to prison;

prison; where, though he was brought forth at Ivelchester sessions in the 2d month following, and also at Bridgwater sessions in the 5th month, yet he was continued prisoner till Bath sessions, the 2d of the 8th month, 1683, and then discharged.

Joan Comb, of Gregory Stoke, an ancient widow of 73 years of age, for not coming to church, (so called) was, by warrant from J. P. and Henry Sherburn, dated the 22d of the 11th month, committed to prison the 14th of the 1st month following, and had to Taunton assizes the 24th ditto; and died on her return the 1st of the 2d month, 1683, to which I am now arrived.

Richard Lincoln, of Crewkerne, was committed to prison the 4th of the 2d month, 1683, for being at a meeting in that town, (where were several public friends) by Sir Edward Phillips, of Montague, who, coming to the town that day, sent for the officers, and sent them to the meeting; ordering them to set a guard on it, and bring some of the friends before him: the said officers came, though unwilling, and desired friends to depart; which they not doing, the officers went away, and came again, desiring that two or three friends would go and speak with Sir Edward; whereupon R. Lincoln, being acquainted with him, went of his own accord to him, who, after some discourse, sent him
to

to prison, and so was made a sufferer for the meeting, which ended peaceably. He was brought forth to Ivelchester sessions the 19th of the 2d month, and without any thing said about the meeting; the oath tendered to him, and so continued prisoner till the next sessions at Bridgewater, in the fifth month, with William Lawrence aforesaid; and, without much said to them, continued till Bath sessions, the 2d of the 8th month; and then, there being no further proceedings against them, they were both discharged.

John Clothier of East Lidford, was sent to prison the 17th of the 5th month, by the Lord Stawell and Sir Edw. Phillips, justices, for refusing the oath of allegiance, at the instigation of priest Horsey, of Lidford, an old persecutor.

John Hopkins, of Ivelchester, was committed to prison the same day, for not going to church, so called, by Sir Edward Phillips, and had to Midsummer sessions at Bridgewater; where the oath was tendered to him, and he was remanded to prison.

The 12th of the 6th month, 1683, there were twelve more committed to prison, from Gregory Stoke meeting, by Henry Walrond, who with his assistants, whose names were Brooms, (who used to sweep all away) broke the windows, benches, gallery, &c. of the meeting-house; and carried out the materials, with the windows, leaves, doors, forms, &c. on the green, and there burnt them; carousing and drinking about the fire the mean-while:

and fined several friends for the said meeting, particularly William Calbreth of North Curry, whose house they broke open to seize his goods, contrary to law, and committed 12 friends.

And the fourteenth of the same, 1683, these seven of the twelve were brought to prison, viz.

John Nutt, of Michael Creech,	} Who were brought forth to Bath sessions, in the 8th mo. and the oath of allegiance was tendered to them, and they were remanded to prison.
John Shoobroke, ditto,	
Hugh Durborough, of N. Curry,	
Edward Warner, of Midlezoy,	
William Elliot, of Greg. Stoke,	
Robert Button, of Taunton,	
Thomas Parsons, of Middlefoy,	

The other five were discharged by Captain Walrond, upon some giving money for them without their consent, viz. George Fackrel, William Fowler, William Chaed, (father and son) and David Ballam.

Of which imprisonments and other abuses I gave a large account in a letter to a friend (then in London) the 21st of the 6th month; which being long, and in the record, the substance of it being before, is here omitted; but the conclusion I cannot well pass by, being somewhat remarkable, viz.

‘ What the end of these things will be we
‘ must leave to the Lord; but they at pre-
‘ sent

‘ sent seem resolved to be exceeding wicked,
 ‘ ed, if the Lord do not put a stop to them:
 ‘ My desire is, that in these days of trial,
 ‘ and deep exercise, the faith of none of his
 ‘ people may fail, but that, bold and valiant
 ‘ for the truth on earth, they may be made,
 ‘ and in the innocency may be kept, that an
 ‘ heart of unbelief may never enter any
 ‘ towards God; nor a spirit of revenge towards
 ‘ their enemies, but that they may be enabled
 ‘ to undergo the wrath of man, until the Lord
 ‘ is pleased to restrain it. Our keeper also
 ‘ hath been very wicked against friends lately,
 ‘ keeping a great many in the common-gaol,
 ‘ and even stirring up our adversaries to be
 ‘ worse against us than some of them would
 ‘ be,’ &c.

The 29th ditto, 1683, ten friends were sent to prison from Glastenbury meeting, by John Baylie, chancellor of the bishop's court at Wells, who, though called reverend, was so irreverend, as (like Walrond at Stoke) to set the boys to break the windows and forms not long before, (though in the abbey kitchen, which king Henry VIII. could not burn, being built all of stone) and the forms &c. were afterwards carried out and burnt on a thanksgiving day, above Chamgate. The said Baylie, and Col. Berkley of Pill, coming now to the meeting, turned out the women

and children; tendered the oath to the men; and, for their refusing to take it, sent these ten friends to prison, viz.

John Metford, of Glaston,	} Where they continued till Bath sessions, and then had the oath tendered to them again in court, and so continued till next sessions.
John Mabson, ditto,	
Richard Cooper, and	
Thomas, his brother, } ditto,	
Ab. Clothier, of Shepton Mallet,	
John Turner, of Mear,	
Rich. Grabham, of Edington,	
William Hewlet, of Street,	
Abraham Gundry, ditto,	}
James Clothier, ditto.	

From Glastenbury let us go to Chew Magna near Bristol: Where, for being at a meeting, twenty-seven friends were committed the 2d of September, by John Helliard, one of the great persecutors of Bristol, under-sheriff of the county: Captain Twyford, and William Higgins, of Bristol, who came to the meeting with a company of bailiffs, in a very rude manner; beating and abusing friends (as they used to do at Bristol) very much; Helliard charging the bailiffs to keep them while he went to priest Crosse's to dinner, after which he came again, and brought faggots with him, and throwing them down at the meeting-house door, bid them fire the house, which the neighbours seeing, cried out, for fear

fear their houses (being contiguous) should be burnt; whereupon he went into the meeting in a great rage, and commanded the friends to rise up, which they not presently doing, he bid his company cut off the legs of the forms: struck and pulled one friend by the hair of his head; struck another, and cut his coat; pulled another backward to the ground, and then carried out the forms, and burnt them with the priest's faggots; then went in, and made a mittimus for twenty-seven, (though he was no justice) and bid the officers drive them along like hogs. The names of the friends committed were as follows, viz.

John Hipsley,
 Joan, his wife,
 Joseph Taylor,
 Anne, his wife,
 John Spear,
 Nicholas Allen,
 Daniel Holbrook,
 Hugh Croad,
 John Watts,
 James Stirredge,
 Elizabeth, his wife,
 Joseph Wade,
 Richard Greethead,
 Margery, his wife,
 Joan, their daughter,
 Joseph Little,

James Little,
 Elizabeth, his wife,
 James Ford,
 Richard Walter,
 Mary Cotten,
 Mary Page,
 Elizabeth Harvey,
 Joan Hanham,
 Hester Vickris,*
 Elizabeth Vickris,
 Barbara Blagdon.

The sixteen who were brought to prison, were put into the common gaol among felons: the keeper, G. Bale, and his wife, being very wicked against them, (being pretty much under the influence of Helliar) his wife abusing them much in words, calling them ill names, and refusing them necessaries, not suffering them to have beds, nor hardly straw to lie on, but what was put in through the door; so that I heard Elizabeth Stirredge (who was a weakly tender woman) complain, that the worst night's lodging that ever she had in Newgate (Bristol) was not so bad as she had that night in the common gaol at Ivelch-

* The three last from Bristol, and some others, were not brought to prison nor sessions, the officers being more favourable to them than the priest and persecutors were; let them continue at home: So that there were but sixteen sent to prison.

ter:

ter: but afterwards the keeper, when his wrath was a little over, was more kind to them, and let them have the liberty of the town, to get lodgings elsewhere. They were had to Bath sessions in the 8th month (except Joseph Wade, who being taken sick, died about the beginning of the sessions, leaving his blood upon their heads) where they were indicted, and maliciously prosecuted by the said Helliar, for a riot (to excuse himself as was thought of his own riotous practices) and so returned to prison till next sessions.

Note, This priest Cross, of Chew, an old persecutor, who was the instigator of this persecution, and invited over the said Helliar to dinner, on purpose, as was thought, to break the meeting there, and send the said friends to prison; saying before, If he could but live to see Elizabeth Stirredge (who had a public testimony) and her husband ruined, he cared not if he died next day; so malicious was he. And when they came and told him what they had done, he put off his hat and thanked them, saying, He should live four years the longer for it: But soon after, (even before the friends were carried to prison) as he was walking in the steeple-house yard, looking on the boys at play, he fell down as dead; as he did once before in the pulpit, and was carried in and was never sensible after, but died in a sad condition. And Helliar, not long after, when he had filled up his measure of persecution

cution at Bristol, died in a frightful manner, under such terror of mind for the wickedness he had perpetrated, both here and at Bristol, that, as was reported, he kept candles burning, and men to watch with him night and day, lest the wicked one should fetch him away, and so died miserably. O that men would take warning, and fear the Lord, for our God is a consuming fire.

From Chew I must take a step to Bristol, on this occasion, being one of the weightiest that ever I went about, which I cannot omit mentioning, because of the connection it hath with the remaining part of these Memoirs, in relation to myself, which was this: I had drawings in my mind for some time towards a young woman of good repute, in relation to marriage, whose name was Sarah Hurd, of Long Sutton, daughter of Thomas Hurd, of Somerton, who was a prisoner with me, for tithes. It opened first in my heart, as I was waiting upon the Lord in great humility and lowliness of mind, according to what rose in my heart near six years before (in 1677, as I was walking, pondering in my heart the things of God, and something in relation to marriage) that I should not look out, but keep my eye to the Lord, and he would provide well enough for me; at which I was much broken, and tendered in my spirit before the Lord, in a sense of his love and mercy to me; often desiring of the Lord, when I
 have

have been alone, that I might rather never alter my condition, except it was for his glory and my good; and which yet I was not hasty in, but retained in my heart near half a year before I disclosed it to her. But now, in the 7th month, she having two sisters going to Pennsylvania, and accompanying them to Bristol, I, having acquainted her father with it, and had his consent, went after them, where I found my old friend J. M. to whom I writ the former letter, preparing to go, with several others, and had some discourse with him about it. I accompanied my friend and her sisters on ship-board, in King's-Road, where we took leave of them and the rest, and returned with her to the city; and next day went homeward with her, and by the way laid the thing before her, which she in due time received and closed with, (of which more in its place); and when I advised with John Anderdon about it, whom we counted as a seer, he told me, he did not see any thing in truth against it; which was a confirmation to me.

Before I leave Bristol, it is requisite I should give account of the remaining part of the persecution there; and here I must give account of the severe prosecution of Richard Vickris, of Bristol, whose case was unusual and extraordinary, being for his life, who, for the relation he bore to our county, I cannot but mention;

tion; he being a particular friend and neighbour of mine afterwards. He was son to Robert Vickris, merchant and alderman of Bristol, but afterwards of Chew-Magna, in the county of Somerset. He was well educated, and was convinced of the truth in his young years; to divert him from which, and from being a Quaker, his father sent him abroad to travel in France; where beholding the superstition and idolatry of the Papists, and seeing the errors of Popery, (reading Mallebranche's Search after Truth) he was the more confirmed in the belief of the truth, and when he came home embraced it openly. He married Elizabeth, daughter of George Bishop, of Bristol, where he dwelt, and followed merchandizing till he came to live at Chew; of whose sufferings, imprisonment, and abuse in Newgate, we have often touched before; being imprisoned there on excommunication, in the year 1680, and after the great persecution began there, in 1681, as aforesaid. He was often fined and distrained for meetings, imprisoned and abused, as before-mentioned: But, as if all that was not sufficient, he was brought under a severe prosecution for his life, on the statute of the 35th of Queen Elizabeth, at the sessions, the 28th of the 11th month, 1682. He pleaded against the jurisdiction of the court of sessions, on that statute; which plea being over-ruled, he was at the said session committed to prison
for

for refusing to plead the general issue, of guilty or not guilty, to the indictment. But in Easter sessions, in the 2d month, 1683, he was admitted to bail, obliging himself to plead and traverse with effect. Between that and midsummer, he procured an *habeas corpus* from the king's bench, to remove himself and cause out of the court of sessions. At Midsummer sessions he was continued upon his recognizance, to the 20th of the 5th month, being the adjournment of the sessions; at which time, after the gaol delivery, he appeared and presented his *habeas corpus*, desiring his recognizance might be discharged, which was done, and he delivered a prisoner into the custody of the sheriff, till the 23d; at which time, after the sessions was adjourned, and all the other business of the gaol delivery over, he was, by the instigation of Sir John Knight, sent for into court, and immediately forced to a trial. He desired the court would not surprize him, and precipitate him thus to a trial, and therefore desired time, his counsel being absent; which being refused, he craved the favour of the court to grant him a special *venire facias*, as is usual in such cases, and was lately granted to one under the like prosecution: But this being also refused, they went on to a trial, without requiring him to plead; but took it for granted that he had pleaded, though he had not; and a jury was immediately

immediately impannelled in court, mostly men of mean occupation, though he was a gentleman bred: after some time his counsel came into court. John Helliard undertook to open the case; but varying from the matter in the indictment, recourse was had to the file for the original: His counsel shewed, that the indictment did not bring him in guilty upon, or without, the statute; and then shewed, in particular, that the statute says, ‘ If a
 ‘ man obstinately refuse to come to some
 ‘ church, chapel, or usual place of common-
 ‘ prayer, to hear divine service, &c. and shall
 ‘ forbear so to do for the space of a month,
 ‘ next after his said obstinate refusal,’ &c. But the indictment charged him with forbearance a month before any obstinate refusal, which forbearance a month before is not the crime in law, but a month after; besides, this difference removes the reason in law of the severity, viz. the obstinacy of the fact. Now this obstinate refusal is the *tempus à quo*, and implies a day of assignment and admonition to that practice the law requires, which in the indictment is said to be the 30th of December, 1681, which was no red letter or festival day, on which the law should be supposed to oblige to that practice; neither was there any admonition given, nor could be proved, to render the refusal obstinate, which must be the legal sense of the word *obstinate*, viz. a refusal on a premonition, as is evident, being compared
 with

with the former statutes of recusancy, where the absence from church for eleven months exceeds not 20l. per mensem: Whereas, by this statute of the 35th of Elizabeth, the obstinate refusal and forbearance, though but for one month after, incurs so much heavier punishment. Besides, the censure and procedure in all ecclesiastical courts, manifest, that obstinacy is a refusal after admonition. These things were argued, and earnestly pressed by his counsel, and by himself, as evidence of his not being guilty within the statute, as to that part of the fact laid in the indictment; but were over-ruled.

And as to the other part of the fact, viz. joining in a conventicle, the witnesses swore that he was at a meeting the day mentioned in the indictment, at a place where they used to meet on the score of religious worship, in company of about a hundred and twenty persons; but gave no evidence of any preaching, praying, or the like overt act of religious worship performed at that time, neither is it mentioned in the commitment or record; only one of the witnesses seemed to say, that he used to ask what their (friends) business was there, and that unless some or other of them confessed they were there to worship God, or to the like effect, he did not use to swear the meeting a religious conventicle; and he believed he had that answer from some of that meeting,

meeting, but knew not from whom; nor did he say it was from R. Vickris; as certainly it was not. Upon which it was argued, this could not be a religious conventicle within the statute, contrary to the laws and statutes, &c. because no overt act was assigned to render it such; neither was there any distinction in this meeting, by any evidence that appeared from other meetings, which almost ever since have been rendered unlawful assemblies, at common law; and now to retrovert and make this meeting a religious conventicle, to bring him within this statute, was very hard and contradictory. They then insisted upon his being punished already by the conventicle act, for the same meeting laid in his indictment, and pleaded that clause in the statute of the 22d of king Charles II. where it is said, ‘ That no person punished for any offence, by virtue of this act, shall be punished for the same offence by virtue of any other law or statute whatsoever.’ Shewing, if this was not allowed, he was doubly punished for one and the same offence, viz. by the 22d of Charles II. and 35th of Elizabeth, according to counsellor Ward’s opinion in this case: but all was over-ruled, so arbitrary were they; the jury was sent for, who soon returned and brought him in guilty.

Then they moved for an arrest of judgment, but could not prevail; their motion being

being rejected by the court, (who were resolved in the case); so the recorder of the city, Sir John Churchill, of Churchill, two miles from Wrington, in Somersetsshire, (who died not long after, and his house became desolate) proceeded to read the judgment upon the statute against him, viz. That he should conform, or abjure the realm in three months, or suffer death as a felon, without benefit of clergy: And admonished him to conform. R. Vickris answered, He presumed he would not desire his conformity, unless he was satisfied in his conscience so to do; for to play the hypocrite with man was hateful, much more with God. He had opportunity to speak his mind fully in some points, and came away easy and satisfied; being carried to prison to Newgate, where he remained, for the testimony of truth, till next year under the said sentence, because he could not for conscience sake conform nor abjure; and the time of abjuring the realm, which he conscientiously refused to do, being elapsed, he lay liable to the execution of the law, which was death. Of which, and how he came to be delivered, I must refer the further account till next year.

And now, as to Bristol in general, the persecution still continued, though it was abated as to meetings; for at this time of my being at Bristol, as I remember, going to the meeting at the Friars, 6th day in the afternoon, there was William Bingley standing
on

on the floor, in the middle of the meeting, declaring to friends, there being a pretty full meeting for an evening meeting, the galleries being all broke down, and not then repaired: but the meeting was quiet at that time. Yet in the prison of Newgate, were forty-five remaining prisoners, and in Bridewell about seventy, the greatest part women, long and close confined, enduring great hardships; besides the great violence and abuses many underwent in the streets, as well as in prison; especially in Newgate, where friends suffered very much, through the wickedness of the keeper, Isaac Dennis, whose rage and fury growing higher and higher, friends thought it necessary once more to lay it before the magistrates, the 25th of the 2d month, viz. his thronging so many together in one room, that had not the mercy of God prevented, they might have been stifled: His keeping them from their lawful employments, for the maintenance of themselves and families, &c. A friend, C. Oliver, being very sick in the dungeon, came and sat by friends fire in the chapel-chamber, because of the dampness of the place, hoping to get a little succour by the fire; but such was the keeper's inhumanity, as to command him from thence, so he was forced to go (the first time that ever I saw him) into the noisome place again; and Jabez White bringing something for him, while in the chapel-chamber,

chamber, the keeper asked him, Whither he was going? He said, To the sick man; asking, if he might not go from one room to another; the keeper said, he should not: the friend said, the man was very ill, and that he should consider the sick, for he might be sick himself: for which saying, he and his man endeavoured to throw him down stairs; but not doing it there, he and his wife took hold of him by the hair of his head, and threw him down the other stairs below; and when he had so done, he and his man took him and put him in the West-house. After this, Thomas Hayes, a very innocent man, falling sick, desired some liberty to be out of the noise of the swearers and drunkards; upon which the new sheriff sent his man with an order to do it; but the keeper would not perform it, having an enmity against the friend, without any just cause, and so detained him till he died, the 3d of the 8th month, who ended his days sweetly in the love of God, who bore up his spirit over all his sufferings. After him, a friend, Thomas Arnold, being very ill, three or four days before his death, desired friends company in the room, to wait upon the Lord; and D. Dole speaking to friends by way of exhortation, Welchman, the under-keeper, came in a rude and wicked manner, and haled her out of the room; and after some time she came in again, and being in prayer to the Lord, on her knees, he came in
 O again,

again, and rudely haled her forth: And the keeper's wife, according to her former custom, abused friends, throwing them down, and haling them in a shameful manner;—kicked one woman, and made swellings in her flesh; haled another, and threw her down in such a violent manner over the threshold of a door, that she spit blood three days after: A friend, standing by, stopped some of her malicious endeavours, which was, to have thrown her down stairs, for which she haled him by the hair of his head: The keeper calling friends rogues, whores, cheats, papists, and the like. And to shew that his malice towards them lasted as long as he was able to act it, it pleased the Lord to visit some in the prison with the spotted fever, whereof three died, and two more fell sick; whereupon friends desired leave of Isaac Dennis that they might go forth in order to their recovery, and they would engage that they should be returned alive or dead. He pretended he was willing, only would have them write to the magistrates and sheriffs for their consent, promising he would further it; which accordingly they did, and were informed that some of the magistrates were willing; but Isaac Dennis, contrary to his promise, to hinder it, told them, there was no such distemper as the spotted fever in the prison: and whereas they complained that so many lodged in one room where one of the sick persons was, he told

told them, he had rooms enough in the prison for them, that they need not lodge above four in a room; which shewed the greater hardness and cruelty in him, not only to the sick, but to them that were confined, so many in a room, in pretending he had room enough, and yet would not let them have the benefit of it; and so by his means, their request to the magistrates was frustrated, to their no small detriment.

But now at length, he having filled up his measure, it pleased the Lord to visit this poor man, Isaac Dennis, the cruel keeper of Newgate, who had been so inhuman to friends, for though the Lord bears long, yet he will not let the wicked go unpunished, or suffer their rod always to rest on the back of the righteous; visiting him with his judgments in a very dreadful manner about the middle of the 8th month, which was so terrible to him, that he could eat and sleep but very little, and yet by day he would strive against it, by drinking, and keeping vain company, endeavouring to get ease to his troubled conscience; and while the strength of the liquor was in him by day, he would seem as if nothing was amiss; but at night was in a woful agony, so that he would shake and tremble, and sweat cold sweats: Then he would desire friends to pray for him, and wish he had never seen the inside of the

gaol, saying, It had undone him. He desired several friends to forgive him for what he had done. To which they answered, That he should ask forgiveness of God, for they did forgive him. But still his anguish and torment encreased, so that it was feared he would be distracted. Then doctors were sent for to let him blood; but he told them, no physic would do him good, his distemper being another thing; and that no man could do him good, his day was over, and there were no hopes of mercy from God for him. Friends seeing him in this sad condition, pitied him, and desired, if it was the will of God, he might find a place of repentance; and some spoke to him, and found he had his senses, and used such arguments as they thought best, to persuade him out of his hardness and unbelief, saying, they hoped his day was not over, because he had a sense of his condition. He thanked them for their good hope; but said, he had no faith to believe, and that faith was the gift of God. So nothing would enter him, but that his day was over, and there were no hopes of mercy for him; and in this miserable state he continued till the 30th of the 9th month, and then ended his miserable life. O that others would take warning while they have a day left! and fear the living God, who is a consuming fire to all the workers of iniquity, and not resist his re-
proofs

proofs in their consciences; or, to please and gratify others, do that which will bring misery upon themselves in the latter end.

And for the rest: As to Helliard, that wicked persecutor, we have heard of his dreadful end, as before-mentioned. And R. Oliffe, alderman, who committed so many to prison, and made such spoil on friends goods, the Lord met with him, and smote him in his conscience, that he could not escape, but cried out in his extremity, as I have heard, that he was not sick, but damned: and that they, viz. the persecutors, should make restitution; meaning, to such as he and they had wronged, which neither he nor they were ever able to do, and so died in a sad condition: and several of the underling persecutors, constables, and informers, as I have heard, came to ill ends, or some other judgments (as one broke his leg, another had his house burnt) though I cannot be positive in the particulars, yet have heard of several; and would only ask any persecutor now, what they got by it?

And as for Sir John Knight, that grand persecuting sheriff, though he survived most of the rest, and is yet living at the writing hereof; who though he hindered the enlarging of Newgate, while friends were prisoners there, lest they should have too much conveniency, and not be kept close enough; yet

he afterwards rebuilt it when he was mayor, before he went thither himself; for though he turned against king James, for dispensing with the penal laws, that they could not persecute as they had done, and joined with the prince of Orange; yet when he came to be king, and confirmed liberty of conscience, the said Knight turned mal-content; and afterwards, on some disgust or offence to the government, he was put in prison in Newgate himself, (where he had imprisoned so many friends) which was somewhat remarkable; and I was an eye-witness of his going thither with another person, and could not but take notice of it: and though he is yet living, he is reduced to a small estate (for a knight) at Congresbury in Somersetsshire, near the author's. Thus I have given a short account of this persecution, for the whole would fill a volume; [See 'The Distressed Case,' 'The further Account,' and 'The Narrative of the Cruelties and Abuses in Newgate,' &c.] in which I have not pretended to give an exact or full diary of all passages, only some brief hints; but have it, and much more, drawn up by me, to vouch every particular.

There were also in this city about 500 returned into the Exchequer, on the statute of the 31st of Elizabeth, for 20l. a month; and warrants in the officers hands to make distress
on

on 38 men, for eleven months, at 20l. a month,
which amounts to 8360l.

And for two of their wives, for
11 months, came to - - 440

And for 111 men for 3 months,
at 20l. a month - - 6660

And for 40 of their wives, for
three months - - 1200

Friends 191—which comes to,
in the whole, £.16660

Their names and fines are on record, and several were seized; but how many, or how much, I cannot give account.

And the distresses on sundry friends in this city, for meetings, (of which some are before-mentioned) came to, since 1681, as on record, - - - 619l.

But by my account it is
101l. more on five
friends - - 101

And for not bearing arms 150 14s. 6d.

Total £. 870 14s. 6d.

I cannot but observe, how Satan about this time prevailed to fill the hearts of his instruments with enmity, against all that could not fall down to worship his image, or receive his mark; and to stir up in them a general spirit of persecution, which reigned and raged almost every where, not only in our county

and Bristol, but London also, and most parts of England; and not only here in this nation, but about this time, or not long after, the persecution began (or was revived) in France also, on the Protestants there, by the French king's revoking the edict of Nantz; which shews, that persecution is the same in all countries, and acted by the same spirit, whether among Papists or Protestants, so called, though therein unworthy of that name; for, let them pretend what they will, a persecuting church can never be a true church of Christ, nor a persecutor a true christian: for it is a folly for any to pretend to be Christians and persecutors; forasmuch as the great Author of the Christian religion hath laid down this precept for the rule of our actions one towards another: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them:" Matt. vii. 12. And there is no man would, that another should persecute him for his religion or conscience, and therefore he ought not to persecute another for his: and to be sure, he that does, is the farthest from the divine Being, "Who causeth his sun to shine, and his rain to descend both on the evil and on the good;" Mat. v. 45. so that even the very sun in the firmament may teach that man wisdom: besides, the Lord hath commanded, to let the tares (if they were so) and "the wheat to grow together till the time of the harvest," Matt. xiii. 30. and

and then they are to be separated (not before) and they that are for “ calling for fire
 “ from heaven to consume them, that do not
 “ receive them,” Luke ix. 54. or join with
 them, “ know not what spirits they are of; for
 “ the Son of Man came not to destroy men’s
 “ lives, but to save them,” 55, 56. though
 they may “ think they do God service, in
 “ killing his servants,” John xvi. 2. but as then,
 “ He that was born after the flesh, persecuted
 “ him that was born after the spirit, even so
 “ it is now,” Gal. iv. 29. and it was the
 whore (the false church) that drank the blood
 of the saints and martyrs of Jesus, Rev. xvii.
 6. whereas, “ every man is to be fully per-
 “ suaded in his own mind; and whatsoever
 “ is not of faith, is sin,” Rom. xiv. 5, 23.
 and “ Faith is the gift of God,” Eph. ii. 8.
 not of man; and “ without faith it is impos-
 “ sible to please God,” Heb. xi. 6. so all
 force is excluded. And many such invincible
 arguments might be produced from scripture,
 reason, and authorities, against persecution,
 were it my present business, (which is mostly
 matter of fact). Persecution, oppression, and
 cruelty, being the characteristics of tyrants;
 as liberty, property, and tenderness, are of just
 governments.

Now to return to Ivelchester: I found several friends committed to prison in my absence, as also after my return, as follows, viz. Wm.
 Bond,

Bond, Henry Mattock, Chr. Devonshire, and Susannah, wife of William Alloway, all of Minehead, for absence from church (so called) who were had before Wm. Lacey, justice, who tendered them the oath of allegiance; and for their refusing to take it, sent them to prison, by warrant, dated the 27th of September; and being had to Bath sessions, in the 8th month following, they were continued till the next sessions, at Brewton, for refusing to swear.

Edward Blinman, sen. of Shepton Mallet, was brought to prison the 29th of the same, for not paying three shillings for three Sundays absence from church (so called) by warrant from Francis Paulet, the persecuting justice of Wells.

Richard Warr, of Wivelscomb, a pretty innocent young man, was committed to prison for refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, by John Sandford and Ferrers Grifly, the 26th ditto; but came not till the 30th instant: He was had to Bath sessions in the 8th month, and was tendered the oath again, and, for refusing to take it, continued prisoner till the next sessions.

John Greedy, of the same, was sent to prison the 27th of October, on an attachment at the suit of John Wyne, counsellor at law; being a malicious prosecution, because the said J. Greedy's wife could not nurse his child, which died.

John

John Tucker, of Mucheny, was committed to prison, the 30th of the same, by the lord Stawel, and sir Edward Phillips, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance.

Henry Maber, and Margaret Board and Editha Samways, two spinsters, of Somerton, were sent to prison for meeting, with many others, to wait upon God, and worship him in spirit and truth, at Long-Sutton, the 14th of October, by the lord Stawel and sir Edward Phillips, the 26th, and brought to prison the 30th of the same.

John Peddle, of the same, was brought to prison the same day, for 3s. for three Sundays (so called) absence from church, and continued prisoner till after Brewton sessions, in the 11th month, and was then discharged by a neighbour's paying the 3s. for him.

The 12th of the 9th month, 1683, there were thirteen more committed to prison, for meeting at Gregory-Stoke, in the same place and manner as they had for many years used to do, to wait upon and worship God in spirit and truth, as in duty bound; where came Philip Broom, called lieutenant; and Laurence Broom, cornet to capt. Walrond's troop; Francis Broom, and others; (Jasper Latt being declaring) and took friends names, men and women, but let the women go, and delivered sixteen men to the constables, who had them next day to the said Walrond's; and for refusing to find sureties for their appearance at
the

the next quarter sessions, or to give the Brooms 10s. a-piece (for that was what they wanted). He committed thirteen of them to prison, three being freed, and two who, at the request of another, had their liberty till sessions; so that but eleven came to prison, whose names were;

Jasper Batt, of North-Over, by Ivelchester,
 William Fowles, of N. Curry,
 William Combs, of Gregory-Stoke,
 Philip Allen, of Taunton,
 John Trifram, of West-Monkton,
 John England, of the same,
 Thomas Taylor, of Fifehead,
 John Cattle, of the same,
 Thomas Wolfry, of Taunton,
 Walter Bult, of Broadway,
 Marmaduke Coat, of Hambridge,

And the said Walrond, as if nothing but the ruin of the said Walter Bult would satisfy him, also granted a warrant to distrain on him for 10l. 10s. fines, for others, as pretended, according to the injustice of those times, though he was a prisoner; for which they broke his doors, and seized and carried away his goods, to the value of 17l. 13s. committing great waste and spoil, especially of his cyder; making themselves drunk; sitting at it, drinking night and day, worse than swine.

The 26th of the same, there were seven-
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teen friends more sent to prison in a drove from Ilminster meeting (the 25th) being met in their usual manner, as they had done there for many years, to wait upon the Lord, and worship him in spirit and in truth, according to his own appointment and their bounden duty (and where there was nothing said or done against the law of God or the king) they were taken by captain Walrond's men, the Brooms, and their assistants; and committed to the officers, who brought them the next day before the said Walrond; and because they would not be bound to appear at the sessions, by which Broom his clerk would have got 3s. 4d. a-piece; nor give them money (which was what they wanted) where none was due, being not guilty of any transgression; he sent them to prison, where they were put in the common-gaol, with others, by Giles Bale the keeper, till the next sessions; whose names follow, viz.

Robert French,	Daniel How,
John Lumbard,	Giles Knight,
John Lacy,	William Watts,
Walter Giles,	Sarah Osborn,
William Stacy,	Anne Collier,
John Rich,	Sufanna Garland,
Editha Coat, daughter of Marm. Coat:	
most of Thorncomb and Ilminster	
side.	

Marmaduke

Marmaduke Coat, sen. of Hambridge, an honest, faithful, and upright, but suffering, man, being mostly a prisoner for tithes, &c. and his goods often spoiled by Henry Walrond, for meeting. And being now a prisoner, (but having a little liberty to be at home) was committed again (to make sure of him) by the said Henry Walrond, on seffions process, for not coming to church, so called, though he was a prisoner before.

This being the last time I shall have occasion on this account to mention this Henry Walrond, the greatest persecutor in the county of Somerset; though there were several others very great; yet none sold themselves to work wickedness (as it was said of Ahab) like him, in sending so many to prison, and making such spoil of goods, for meetings, &c. (except Francis Paulet, and John Bailey, of Wells, and that wicked Helliard of Bristol) as he did, at least for the time, though some were of longer standing. I cannot but add a few words concerning him and his end. He dwelt at Elbruers, about ten miles westward of Ivelchester; a comely proper man: had a fair estate, a fine house and park; but after he took up this work of persecution, (being made a justice in 1670, as a fit tool to put the conventicle act in execution) nothing prospered with him; of which he had some check in the very beginning, as he confessed, to Marmaduke Coat abovesaid, and promised he would

would never do so again; but afterwards fell to it with more violence than before; and was very malicious and troublesome to the said Marmaduke and his family in particular, by imprisonment and spoil of goods, he being a man of substance, and living near him, and kept the gang of Brooms aforesaid about him, who helped to devour his estate as they had done others; several of whom came to sad ends: and to recover his sinking state, he and sir Edward Phillips took away a twin child, or children, that grew together, from a poor woman, to make a show of them for money; and kept them till they died, to their great shame and dishonour, in the country, for which they were prosecuted in the Crown office: but might, I suppose, overcome right. And about the same time, or not long after, the said Walrond was sent for by a serjeant at arms, or messenger from the House of Commons, to answer to several matters charged against him; being an anti-petitioner against some of the sitting members, viz. George Speke, John Speke, and John Trencher, Esq; (since, Sir John Trencher) but was rather willing to keep his bed, feigning himself sick, than appear. But when he was at London, whether this time or another I am not certain, it was credibly reported, that a great man at court, whose name I forbear to mention, took him by the hand, and led him in before the king, and told him, there was one of his best sub-
jects

jects in all the west of England, in commendation of his persecutions; which, no doubt, encouraged him in it the more to his own undoing, as well as others, for he ran out his estate; all his ill-gotten goods not prospering with him, for he made much spoil and havock on many friends and meetings, though it was not so much my present purpose to give account of fines and distresses on account of meetings (which would make another book) as of imprisonments, which was more immediately under my observation, during my imprisonment; (though I may give a hint of the spoils too, before I have done). I say it did not at all make him rich, but rather the poorer; for he became so poor, that it was reported he could not be trusted for a six-penny loaf, and that he did spin for his living before he died. Such a thrifty trade (says one) is persecution, that it leaves men never a friend in heaven or on earth. And his house dropped through; and the weather rotted a good chest of linen of great value; and he at last died miserably poor, as well as miserable otherwise; of whom I may say, as sir Walter Raleigh did in the like case, 'These are the men that sought the misery of others, and misery found them out;' and as he had even surpassed the deeds of the wicked, so there was not the like example of him in all respects, though there were several others
bad

bad enough, in all the county of Somerset. His wickedness was so great, and all under colour of an unrighteous law, pretended against seditious conventicles, but really against meeting to worship God; as Sir William Windham said, when some confessed they were there to worship God, that was enough; but it had been well for the makers, and executors too, of that law, as Christ said of them by whom offences come, that they had not been born, than to be the occasion of the ruin of so many families for their religious persuasions; it being like the "iniquity of Eli's house, that should not be purged with sacrifice and offering for ever," 1 Sam. iii. 14. And indeed, considering the many examples on, and unprosperousness of, persecutors, and that they never obtain their ends to extinguish dissenters, but rather make them to grow the more, (the blood of the martyrs being still, as ever, the seed of the church) I have often admired, that any man should ever be a persecutor, but that they are always blind, there hardly ever having been any who have engaged in that work, that have gone out of the world, without some particular mark or other upon them. There is a divine Nemesis, says my former author; a divine vengeance, the Heathens could say, that pursues bloody and cruel men—they shall not live out half their days. I never read, says he, of a persecutor,

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though

though never so great, but came to an ill end: at the best, say I, it makes work for deep repentance, if it please God they can find a place for it, which, it is to be feared, few of them ever do: and, therefore, O that they might take warning betimes!

But to return to the prisons: The gaols being now full, both common gaol and Bridewell chamber, we had our meetings three times a week, in the common gaol, as we had before in Bridewell; friends in the Bridewell chamber having the liberty to come into the common gaol; but friends in the common gaol could not go into the Bridewell chamber, being kept strict while the friends of Chew, and the last from Ilminster, were there: and many friends and relations of the prisoners coming in out of the country to visit them, we had large meetings there, (being a large but nasty place) which was also of good service among the poor common prisoners.

And now the quarter sessions at Brewton (where many friends were to appear) drawing nigh, friends drew up the following paper, as a representation of their case; and delivered several copies of it to the justices, the first day of the sessions, viz.

To the Justices of the Peace for the County of Somerset, at the general Quarter-Sessions at Brewton, the 15th of the 11th month called January, 1683, the Representation of divers of the People of God, called Quakers, in humility sheweth,

THAT we are more than a hundred of us sufferers; above fourscore being concerned to appear at this sessions, as criminals, charged for the breach of our duty to God and the king. In relation to God, our peaceable meetings, to worship him in spirit and truth, are accused to be riotous assemblies, and seditious conventicles; and our not conforming to those worships that we have no faith in, (and therefore were sinful for us to frequent) wilful and obstinate transgression; and if we should, for fear of sufferings, conform, we must incur the censure of gross hypocrites, from God and man. And in relation to the king, because we cannot swear allegiance; all which is, only for conscience sake, in obedience to the command of Christ Jesus; for we own king Charles II. to be king and chief magistrate of this, and all other his kingdoms and dominions; that he was so eminently preserved and delivered in many perils and troubles, and, by the mighty hand of God, restored to his government, as former ages can hardly parallel; and also from the

several plots and contrivances against him since. That we have, and do resolve, in the Lord's fear, to perform faithful allegiance to him, as becomes true Protestant subjects: that we utterly deny the Pope, with all his false doctrines and retinue, root and branch.

And though the king was pleased to declare a liberty to tender consciences, to such as disturbed not the peace of the kingdom; and promised the same on the word of a king; yet are we daily thus exposed to suffer: Several of our wives and children, being left as widows and fatherless, whose subsistence depended much on their husbands and fathers labour, of which, in great measure, they are deprived; and many of us also, our goods extremely wasted and spoiled by some persons, as we have just cause to think, who more regard their own avarice, indigency, or envy, than God, the king, the law, or the poor: by all which, the everlasting God, the king, and magistracy in general, are greatly dishonoured; and many honest and industrious families in danger to be ruined; and all this, because we dare not sin against God. So that we cannot enjoy our liberty and estates, unless we make shipwreck of a good conscience, and lose our peace with God, and the evidence of everlasting life hereafter, which is of more value than all the world.

These things in brief we have laid before you: and the Lord incline your hearts to love
and

and shew mercy; to relieve the oppressed; and, according to your power, set the captives at liberty: And in this God, who delights in mercy, will be honoured, and ye from him receive a blessing; for the merciful shall obtain mercy; which is the earnest desire and prayer of the people abovesaid, who are,

The Lord's afflicted people,

The king's faithful subjects,

And real well-wishers to your present
and future happiness.

This paper was read in open court, and many of the Lord's people who were prisoners, and some on obligations, appeared; and the court being pretty moderate, the Lord inclining the hearts of the justices to set friends at liberty, the lord Fitz-Harding (to whom sir Edward Phillips was deputy judge of the sessions) being of the moderate part; and the cry of the poor in several places, whom friends had employed, being gone forth that they were like to perish for want, so many good tradesmen of the people called Quakers being shut up in prison, and they thereby exposed to hardships; though bishop Mew sat on the bench, and endeavoured to influence the justices against friends what he could, shewing himself very envious against them; and John Brangwell, one of captain Walrond's troop, and one ready to do all kinds of vio-

lence and mischief against the people called Quakers, as he hath often manifested by his words and actions, having made much spoil on friends, came on purpose to indict and swear against many of the prisoners; but was prevented by the moderation of some of the justices, so that he could not accomplish what he designed. First, the friends from Chew, though Henry Bull, the high-sheriff, had returned a jury of the neighbourhood; they were put by, and another jury called, who yet brought them in, not guilty: But bishop Mew got them put back again, (what justice was here!) and Helliar, the prosecutor and persecutor, and his man, witnessed against them. So the jury brought them in guilty of an unlawful assembly, but not of a riot; yet they were returned on the calendar, fined 5s. a-piece, and discharged of their imprisonment, viz. twenty five of them; John Hipsley being returned for refusing to take the oath, and Joseph Wade died before.

The rest of friends were hastily called over, hardly taking notice whether they answered or no, viz. the ten from Glastenbury meeting aforesaid, and discharged.

The seven from Gregory-Stoke, the 14th of the 6th month; and twelve of them from the said meeting, the 12th of the 9th month, discharged: Jasper Batt being returned on the oath.

And

And the seventeen from Ilminster meeting, the 25th of November, were all discharged.

John Clothier, of East-Lidford, prisoner on the oath, being unable, by reason of sickness, to appear, and there being no further proceedings against him, was discharged.

Richard Warr, of Wivelscomb, committed on the oath, was also discharged.

And those who were engaged to appear at the sessions, but not prisoners, viz. Francis Brayn and Francis Hand, of Wivelscomb, committed, though not sent to prison, but had liberty till sessions, were freed without being called.

Mary, wife of Jonathan Allen, of Creech, taken upon sessions process, for absence from church, so called, and brought before Richard Cross, justice, who took her word for her appearance at Brewton sessions; where she attended till the end of it, and was never called. Her husband also, being a prisoner before, and she having a child with her, twenty-four miles from home, was discharged.

John White and John Hyot, of Chepton-Mallet, taken on sessions process, appeared on recognizance, and were discharged.

Robert Banton, Robert Gee, John Bull, and Joseph Gaylard, of Long-Sutton, were taken up by warrant from the lord Stawel, some time before the sessions, for meeting to

wait upon God, which he called a riotous meeting; but Andrew Ously engaging for their appearance, they had their liberty till sessions, where they all appeared and were discharged.

So that there were discharged in all this sessions at Brewton, eighty-three; of which I soon after gave an account, in a letter to a friend in London; which, because I would be just to all, in giving them their due commendation as well as censure, when they deserve it, I shall here insert an abstract of it.

Iwelchester, the 22d of the 11th month, 1683.

MOST friends that were for the sessions are cleared; some hardly called, and others slightly passed over, without much said to them; only about seven or eight returned of about ninety, two for refusing to swear, three on 20l. a month, and two fined 5l. a-piece, to be imprisoned till payment; and this is the Lord's doings, in whose hand the hearts of all men are, and who can turn them in a moment, which we may truly say, is marvellous in our eyes. So that the gaols, which before were too little to hold the Quakers, they were crowded in so fast, are now in a manner left desolate; which has gratified the country so much, in the freeing friends, that
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It is thought if sir Edward Phillips, who was judge of the sessions, did put in to be parliament-man, the cry of the country would be for him almost on that account, especially Taunton; for there was a sad cry in the country before, about sending so many friends to prison, who kept so many at work, that the poor were like to be starved for lack of it. We are now about sixty belonging to the prison yet, old and young.

JOHN WHITING.

But these eight were returned to prison, as above hinted, viz. Jasper Batt, Christopher Devonshire, Henry Mattock, Marmaduke Coat, sen. John Hipsley, William Bond, Susannah Alloway, and John Tucker. But the said John Tucker, of Mucheny, though he was not kept close, yet, through the deceitfulness of his own heart, on the 6th of the 12th month following went to the lord Stowell, and took the oath, and promised to conform; which was looked upon so strange and unexpected, that the keeper, G. Bale, (though so bad himself) wished he might not break his neck before he came home; meaning as a judgment on him for what he had done; which shews how little accounted such are, as prove false to their profession, even among churchmen themselves.

Christopher Moor, of Yeovel, being bound over to the sessions by Wm. Helliard, justice,
on

on the oath of one Dyer, an informer, for being at a meeting at Berwick-Mill (when he was not there); appeared at the sessions above-said, and was there indicted, with several others, by one Dr. Dodsworth, a doctor of physic, a loose debauched man. The said Dyer swore to the indictment, and, for refusing to give bail to traverse, the said Christopher was committed to prison.

And in the 12th month following, Giles Bale being to go out from being keeper, and Davis and Newberry to come in again in his place: He, being rather willing to do friends a kindness, or in expectation of kindness from them, than to leave them to the new keepers, gave thirty-two more of them their liberty, who were formerly committed from Ilminster and Gregory-Stoke meetings, in the 4th month, 1682, and indicted and fined 6s. 8d. a-piece at Bridgewater sessions, in the 5th month following, and committed till payment: John Wall dying a prisoner, as aforesaid, the rest were now discharged. So that there were released at the last sessions, and now towards the latter end of this year, in all, a hundred and fifteen; besides what died prisoners this year, viz. Joan Comb, Joseph Wade, and Jeremy Powel (the last for tithes) prisoners at Ivelchester, for the testimony of a good conscience.

And there now remained prisoners about thirty; which number was soon after increased again, viz.

1. John

1. John Peddle, of Somerton, (who had been a prisoner in October last, till after Brewton sessions) was again brought to prison, on an attachment out of the Exchequer, for tithes, at the suit of priest Westerdale, of the same; but was discharged on putting in an appearance.

2. Edmund Chappel, of Worle, imprisoned before by Samuel Willan, priest of Weston and Kewstoke; but, after several years imprisonment, discharged on a misnomer of Edward for Edmund; yet the said priest, being never weary of persecution, imprisoned him again on the old account, for tithes, the 7th of the 12th month, 1683. Telling the said Edmund once in discourse about tithes, when he could not answer the said Edmund, that he would answer him with a gaol. Which now he did.

3 and 4. Marmaduke Coat and Francis Scott, of Hambridge, brought to prison again, the 26th of the 12th month, on an attachment out of the Exchequer, for tithes, at the suit of Robert Banbury, impropiator. But Francis Scott was soon after discharged, by giving appearance. This being the third time of Marmaduke Coat's imprisonment, while I was a prisoner.

5 and 6. Vincent Boldy and Anne his wife, of Lamport, were brought to prison
the

the 13th of the 1st month, 168 $\frac{1}{4}$, for not swearing, on the prosecution or promotion of her brother Bennet, and one Ball, who got the oath tendered to them, as a snare to disable them from defending themselves in a suit at common law against the said Bennet. Anne was discharged at Ivelchester sessions, in the 2d month following, and Vincent at Bridgewater sessions, in the 5th month after.

7. John Clothier, of E. Lidford, brought to prison again the 18th of the 1st month, 1683, on sessions or peace process, being indicted with several others for ten months absence from church, so called, by priest Horsey (an old envious persecutor, often mentioned in the record) who yet had a son a friend, John Horsey, who died a prisoner in Newgate, London, under sentence of banishment, in the time of the contagion there in the year 1665: and the said J. Clothier, being brought forth at Ivelchester sessions, in the 2d month, was, without any thing said to him, returned to prison till Bath sessions, in the 8th month following, and then discharged.

But now as to myself: The latter end of G. Bale's time, I had the liberty to take a room for my better accommodation, at a friend's (the widow Scott's) house in the town, which had a fine garden, and good conveniences; so that meetings, especially the mens' monthly, were sometimes held at my chamber, for friends conveniency; which was
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the best prison, except the Friary, that ever I had; till I was deprived of it, of which hereafter.

And the 2d of the 2d month, my dear friend Sarah Hurd, and two other friends of Long-Sutton, viz. John Bull and John Balam, were brought to prison, being arrested on a writ of *qui tam*, at the suit of William Sutton, a person unknown, but supposed to be one John Stocker, of the same, an envious attorney, for 20l. a month, for not coming to church, so called.

Now the quarter-sessions at Ivelchester beginning the 8th of the 2d month, friends delivered copies of the following paper, directed

To the Justices of the Peace for the County of Somerset, at the Quarter-Sessions at Ivelchester, 1684.

*Divers of the People of God called Quakers,
in humility, shew,*

THAT in sincerity we own your moderation the last quarter-sessions, in relieving many of the people aforesaid, and do truly desire the Lord to reward you for the same: That many of us are yet exposed to great sufferings, only concerning the law
of

of our God, because we cannot conform to those worships we have no faith in, and for not swearing allegiance to king Charles II. which we must still assert, is in obedience to Christ Jesus, whom we for ever own as the head and lawgiver of his church, and therefore ought to worship in spirit and in truth, as he hath ordained, and he is King of kings, by whom kings reign, and all power in heaven and earth is given to him, who is able to save and to destroy, and cast body and soul into hell: Therefore we fear to disobey him. Yet still we own, as always we have, king Charles II. to be king of this, and other his kingdoms; that he was even miraculously preserved, restored, and delivered; and that we are obliged, and do resolve, in the power of God, to perform faithful allegiance to him accordingly: And yet if we should swear, to avoid sufferings, we believe, that ye yourselves would judge us but hypocrites therein, and so have the more cause to suspect us.

We therefore entreat you, let it not be a light thing unto you, to require that of us, and punish us for not obeying; wherein, so doing, we must make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, and so lose our peace with God. And what good then will our lives do us? Or what benefit to the king, or any of those in authority under him, to see our ruin? We ever desire to live in a sense
that

that you and we must die and come to judgment, before that God who is no respecter of persons, to whom we commit our cause, ourselves, and all we have; ever resolving, by his grace, to continue faithful to him, the king, and all men; desiring to lead the remainder of our lives in all godliness and honesty, really wishing your welfare and prosperity every way.

Christopher Moor, of Yeovil, committed from the last sessions at Brewton, for not traversing, was brought forth this sessions at Ivelchester, and tried by a jury, and acquitted; and Dyer, the informer, that swore against him, for being at a meeting that he was not at, as aforesaid, was indicted for perjury; but by the false laying of the indictment, by Philip Bennett, clerk of the peace, who hath manifested his malice and envy against truth and friends, the grand jury, whereof George Prowse, of Yeovil, was foreman, brought it in ignoramus.

Marmaduke Coat of Hambridge, committed on sessions process, a little before Brewton sessions last, and returned for refusing to traverse till this; and imprisoned again for tithes as aforesaid, was brought forth to this sessions, and indicted for three Sundays absence from church,

church, so called, and fined 3s. for the same, though he was a prisoner for tithes at the same time; which when Marmaduke pleaded, sir Edward Phillips, judge of the sessions, pleaded against him to the jury, because he was not kept close; as if he was only a prisoner at large, whereas the judge ought to have been counsel for the prisoner.

Jasper Batt, John Hipsley, and Christopher Devonshire, being brought forth at this sessions, and the oath of allegiance read to them, and they required to take it, which they refusing, David Trim, the county clerk, was sworn, and testified that he tendered the oath to them at Brewton sessions, though it was not read to them there, and then read an indictment against them to this effect: That the said oath had been formerly tendered to them, and now again; and that they had wilfully and maliciously refused to take it, in contempt of the king and government, to the bad example of others, and contrary to the statute, &c.

And, first, the court asked J. Batt, Whether he was guilty, or not guilty?

To which Jasper answered, that he did refuse to swear, only in obedience to the command of Christ Jesus; that he owned king Charles to be king, and did resolve to perform allegiance to him accordingly; and was not guilty in manner and form as indicted;
for

for he did not refuse to take the oath maliciously, or contemptuously, but conscientiously.

The court said, the law required him to swear: and sir Edward Phillips, who sat as judge, advised him to consider the danger of refusing; he would incur a *præmunire*, be committed to prison during life, forfeit his estate to the king, and be out of his protection; or to that effect.

Jasper answered, that he had counted the cost, that he had a soul that was of more value than all that, and was resolved not to make shipwreck of that, nor to lose his peace with God; the will of the Lord be done.

Then the court asked John Hipsley, and Christopher Devonshire, whether they were guilty or not guilty:

They answered, that they were tried at Brewton sessions, and were there sentenced to be committed to the house of correction for three months, or to pay 5*l.* and, according to that sentence, that time being the next day, or very nearly expired, they might expect their liberty.

The court said, they did not proceed on that law now, and would know whether they were guilty or not guilty.

They answered, these proceedings seemed hard, but they did own allegiance to the king,

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and

and resolved to perform it, but did refuse to swear, not maliciously, but conscientiously, and to the same effect as J. Batt answered.

And C. Devonshire further said, that he was assured he had been a greater benefactor, and brought much more advantage to the king, than many of them that accused him did. [He being a merchant].

So the matter was left to the grand jury, and they soon returned the bill, with *billa vera*, and the prisoners were had away, and no judgment given against them in court, nor tried by any petty jury; yet recorded on the calendar.

Jasper Batt, John Hipsley, Christopher Devonshire, *præmunired*.

And, indeed, J. Batt could expect no other, having been a public labourer, and travelled in the service of truth about 26 years; and his name well known, and envied, especially by the bishops of Bath and Wells, who formerly told him, that he was the greatest seducer in all the west, and the most seditious person in the county; and that he would make Somersetshire too hot for him: and several warrants were sent out, where he used to come, to take him; and a mittimus sent by captain Walrond to the keeper of Ivelchester gaol, to keep him if he came there; however, he escaped it, and had his liberty, till now he was taken at Stoke.

And

And for J. Hipsley, and C. Devonshire, they were used more severely at the instigation of bishop Mew, because of the paper delivered to the justices at Brewton sessions, which crossed the bishop's design: and also at the instigation of that wicked Helliard, the persecutor of friends at Chew and Bristol, the more to justify his illegal and unrighteous actions; but to the Lord they committed their cause, being well satisfied to suffer with their brethren, for righteousness sake.

And we were the better satisfied, in that we had manifested the truth and innocency of our hearts unto them; and laid the greatness and cause of our sufferings, in the aforesaid papers, before them, and so cleared ourselves, and left the weight thereof upon their own heads; having neglected nothing to have prevented the evil they therein brought upon themselves, and enjoyed the greater content and satisfaction in our suffering bonds, being only for the testimony of truth, and a good conscience.

Not long after the sessions, Edward Davis, the new keeper, took occasion against the friends of Long-Sutton, on J. Ballam's unadvisedly speaking to him about their liberty, to put them down into the lower gaol, and my friend, S. Hurd, with the rest; though she was dangerously ill at that time, being stowed up among others in a close house, and

wanted rather a better place, than a worse, which was a specimen of what we might expect from him; and that, though he had been out of the place three years, he was no changeling, or better than before: which hearing of, I went down to see them, and meeting Davis coming up on the bridge, I asked him, why he was so severe to put our friends down in the common gaol; he said, he was not severe; I told him, I thought he was, so past on; but he went into the town, and reported that I met him on the bridge, and took him up so, in speaking to him, that he was afraid I would have thrown him over the bridge; affirming it so positively, and made so much ado about it, that he made himself ridiculous, and the sport of the town; whereas I only spoke soberly to him, as aforesaid, not offering the least violence to him; so that he had no cause to fear, but his own guilty conscience; and if he had, he might have been ashamed to tell of it, he being a great heavy man in comparison of me, and the bridge a great stone bridge, with free-stone battlements, which yet he aggravated so much, saying, that if he had been of a fearful spirit (and yet by his own words was afraid) he should have leaped over the bridge for fear of me. Poor man! “The wicked fear where no fear is, and flee when none pursue,” Prov. xxviii. 1. Threatening what he would do to me when I came

I came into his custody, which I was not at that time. And a little after, we being had down to the lower gaol, in order to be turned over from the old sheriff, and keepers to the new, which was not then done: he threatened me again at the gaol door, as we came out, that if I was not married before I came into his hands, I should not all his year, saying, He would lay me fast enough; but I was not terrified at it, knowing my own innocency, and that I had done him no harm: and accordingly, after the turn-over, going one day, as at other times, to see friends in the sheriff's ward, which was over against my chamber, he had left orders with the under-keeper, that when I came there, he should keep me in; so he came to me into Christopher Holder's room, and told me of it; and that if I would not promise to stay in, he must put me under lock. I told him, if it must be so, I must submit; so he put me to lodge at night in an old dismal room, at the further end of the ward backward, called Black-Friars, which I went down into by a ladder, and was locked down at night, with a trap-door over my head, as Daniel was in the den, only there were no lions here; but the Lord was with me, and made all things easy to me, though my dear friend and I were separated, one at one end of the town, and the other at the other, and both under locks and bolts; the

faid Davis fwearing desperately, as his manner was, that we should never come out, or see one another again, all his time; but I had been too much used to such threats, to value them much: and yet in two weeks time, after his wrath was over, he let me out again, and her also, both in one day, the 17th of the 3d month, after she had been in Egypt, the room so called, five weeks; where Susannah Alloway, wife of William Alloway, a merchant of Minehead, was her companion; though she had her liberty to go forth, yet continued with her to bear her company, till she had her liberty also; which I mention as a memorial of her, and her Christian spirit; the Lord reward her for it; who, though she might have gone forth when she would, and whither she would, yet would not leave her, till the Lord made way for her also: and not long after, she was discharged by him that put her in prison, the 4th of the 4th month, on her brother Gliffon (who married her eldest sister) giving him some money, as was thought, he not being a friend: and J. Bull was discharged in the 7th month, and J. Ballam, the 12th of the 9th month following.

So I returned to my chamber again in great peace and satisfaction, in consideration of the Lord's mercy, and tender dealing with me: Davis, the keeper, bidding me, when he met

met

met me, have a care how I did go to eat folks again. I told him, he need not fear as to me; I had no evil thought concerning him. And in the 5th month my friend had her goods distrained by one Hodder, by warrant from the lord Stawell, for being at a meeting in Long-Sutton, the same month; the said Hodder breaking open her door with a smith's sledge, and took of shop goods to the value of 5l. she keeping a shop of linen and other wares; but some of the goods were returned.

And some time after I was taken out of that dungeon-like place, that part of the house where I lodged fell down; which I cannot but take notice of as a great providence, that it did not fall while I was there, which, if it had, must in all likelihood have killed me, or buried me in the rubbish; but, through the Lord's mercy, I was preserved, and hope, in his mercy, shall to the end: which I mention in commemoration of his fatherly care over me, who maketh his to lie down in safety, though in the prison-house; which, with all other his favours and mercies, I desire never to forget, but have in remembrance as long as I live.

But now I must look back a little, to give account of some more prisoners: And first, I must give account of the imprisonment of our ancient friend, John Banks, who was this year, 1684, in the beginning of the 2d month, committed to prison in Carlisle, in Cumberland, at the

suit of George Fletcher, of Hutton-Hall, impropriator, a justice of peace, so called, but a great persecutor; because, for conscience sake, the said J. Banks could not pay tithes, but bear his testimony against that great oppression, being subpœna'd into the exchequer; and after arrested on contempt, because, in obedience to Christ's command, he could not put in his answer upon oath to the adversary's bill: and the same day and hour he was taken to prison, there came twelve men with a warrant from the said G. Fletcher, and distrained and took away 7l. 10s. worth of goods, for part of a fine of 20l. for a friend of the ministry, who spoke in the meeting-house at Pardfay-Cragg, in the time of the act against conventicles, which was sold, and so much more goods from other friends, for the said fine, as came to 35l. in all 42l. 10s. (22l. 10s. more than the rigour of the act). He continued prisoner six years and nine months, about as long as I was; and was for the most part kept close, and very much abused by the gaoler, till he was freed, not by king James, but by king William's act of grace, about the 11th month, 1690. And now to return to Ivelchester.

John Alloway and Francis Hand, of Wivelscumb, were brought to prison to Ivelchester, the 22d of the 2d month. Francis Hand was discharged at Taunton assizes the next spring.

Philip

Philip Allen and Francis Shepherd, of Taunton, sent to prison by Stephen Time-well, for meeting, and not swearing allegiance, the 3d of the 3d month; and kept close prisoners three weeks, and then discharged on engaging to appear at sessions.

Christopher Lodge, of Chard, committed for not going to church, so called, by one Darby, town-clerk, promoter, the 13th of the 3d month.

Jonathan Allen, and Elizabeth, wife of H. Chappel, of Creech, committed on sessions process by R. Cross, the 5th of the 5th month; discharged at Bridgewater sessions the 15th of the same.

Priscilla Warr, a servant maid; James Salter, an apprentice, under 16 years of age; Joseph Pearce and Tho. Langwell, two very poor men, having wives and children; John Greedy, of Wivelcomb, carpenter, a poor man also, being met together at Milverton, the 6th of the 5th month early, before the rest of friends came, were shut up in the meeting-house under a guard, and next day committed to prison by Ferrars Grisly, who was very rude, and threatened to hand-bolt them, there being but four of age, and so not contrary to the act. John Greedy put in bail to appear at sessions; the rest brought to prison the 9th, and had to Bridgewater sessions the 15th inst. and there discharged.

Giles Knight, of Chiffelborough, committed for refusing the oath by Edward Berkly and John Baylie, the 14th of the 5th month; discharged at Taunton assizes the next spring.

Thomas Sibly, Anne King, Joan Coggan, and Hannah Seawood, of Crewkerne, committed to prison for meeting, by William Helliar, of Coker, justice, the 14th of the 5th month, and discharged at Taunton assizes by judge Montague, as will appear in the first month next.

This year, 1684, died our dear friend, William Bennit, a public friend, of Woodbridge in Suffolk. He was born at or near Kirtly, about the year 1634 or 1635. In his young years he was religiously inclined, and sought the Lord often in private, with strong cries and breathings to him, that he would give him the knowledge of his ways; being sensible of something that inwardly checked and reprov'd him for sin and vanity, though he knew not then that it was the light of Christ that shewed him his evil ways. - And when he was an apprentice, the Lord visited him more and more, and strove with him by his good spirit, which preserved him from many evils that others run into. And in those days, he frequented the meetings of the Independents, viz. William Bridges's congregation at Great-Yarmouth, whom he then thought the people of God, but was not satisfied

tified in some things; and when they sung, he mourned and wept, and trembled, before he was called a Quaker, or had seen any of that people; yet kept his trouble to himself, not disclosing it to any; after which he got at ease from under this exercise, and grew careless and wanton; delighting in music and dancing, sports and gaming; making merry over the witness, as many did and do, till he was afraid the Lord would leave striving with him. But after this, the Lord was pleased to visit him again; and coming to hear the truth declared by the people called Quakers, he was convinced of the truth, and received it in love, and joined with the said people: and as he came into obedience to it, the same light of Christ, which had judged and condemned him for his sins, ministered peace and comfort to him, and in due time he came to receive a testimony to bear for it; and travelled in many parts of England, but I do not find he travelled beyond sea. He was of an innocent life and conversation, to the honour of truth where he dwelt, as his very enemies confessed; and though often weak and infirm, as to his health, was carried forth in meetings in a more than ordinary manner; and was a blessed instrument to many, in turning them to God. He often suffered imprisonment for his testimony; as at Bliborough, in 1661; Yarmouth and Norwich Castle, 1664; and Edmunsbury, 1665, where

where he lay amongst the felons near eight years, till discharged by the king's declaration, as I take it, in 1672, and was kept close prisoner, hardly going over the threshold for five years time: and was several times a prisoner in Melton gaol, and in the county gaol at Ipswich, where at last he died; though the times when, and how long in each, or the particular causes, are not set down. He was at Bristol with his countryman, Giles Barnardiston, about the year 1677, the only time I saw either of them. His last imprisonment was, in this last great persecution, in 1683, which began by Richard Brume, priest of Woodbridge, who had been the occasion of his commitment once before, by justice Bacon and justice Bohon, for refusing to take the oath, where he remained about half a year; but after some time of breathing, the said Brume began afresh to breath out threatenings, (for what persecutions have there been that the priests have not had a hand in?) and having got a justice for his turn, he stirred up the officers of the town to disturb friends meetings at Woodbridge, who came the 12th of the 6th month, 1683, where our friend W. Bennit was on his knees in prayer to God, and violently haled away by Robert Chapman, constable (set on by John Firman, churchwarden) with several other friends; and had before Edm. Jenny, justice, who committed them

them to Melton gaol, for being at the said meeting, where he was kept close till the sessions at Woodbridge; then brought into court, and indicted for being riotously assembled with many others, &c. to which, after many sound arguments to prove our meetings were not riotous, but purely to wait upon and worship God, he pleaded not guilty; and was demanded, whether he would give bail for his appearance next quarter-sessions, and to be of the good behaviour; which he refusing to do, knowing he had not misbehaved himself, he was returned to prison, and kept close till next sessions, at Woodbridge; and being again brought into court, where Christopher Melton was chairman, and with other friends put on to trial: after a great deal of arguing between the prisoners and the court, the jury went out, and after some time returned, and brought them in, not guilty; at which the chairman was highly displeas'd, and perswaded them to alter their verdict, that they were guilty of an unlawful assembly (which how just, let any judge); and, as if that was not enough, contrived to send him to Ipswich, to be fined; which they did in a very cold day, in the sharpest time of that winter, which was the hardest that had been known for many years, late in the day, and snowing all the way, though he was so weakly, that he would not have undertook

dertook such a journey for any thing, but for the truth's sake; and when he came there, it being late, and many friends prisoners, for want of beds, he was forced to sit up all night in that wet cold condition, (the ready way to kill him) which impaired his health so, that he never got over it. He was called at sessions, and fined 20l. and returned to prison till payment; where he met with hard usage from the gaoler, for not answering his unreasonable demands. He remained close prisoner till the next sessions at Ipswich, where he was called into court; and nothing said of the fine, but told by Thomas Cowel, clerk of the peace, that they had a particular order from the king to deal with him, seeming resolved to have his blood; so they tendered him the oath of allegiance, which he refusing, was returned to prison, where he grew ill; which increasing upon him, he desired to see friends before his departure, growing weaker and weaker till he died, the 23d of the 4th month, 1684, about the fiftieth year of his age; an innocent man, and left a sweet favour behind him. He writ several experimental treatises, viz. 'God only exalted in his works,' 'Some Prison Meditations of an humble Heart,' and, 'The Work and Mercy of God conducing to his Praise;' which last was very helpful to me in my young days; and several others, which are collected in one volume quarto.

In the fifth month after mine and my dear friend's S. H's enlargement from our close confinement, as aforesaid, having a little more liberty, after Davis the keeper had vented his spleen against me, I rode with her, and her brother and sister Gliffon, of Yeovill, to Bath, and so to Bristol, at the time of the fair, whither she used to go to buy goods; and from thence to my house at Naylfey, to see it, though we never went to dwell there, and so back to Bristol again, till after the fair, we returned. I did not find, but meetings were generally quiet there, friends having wearied out their persecutors; but many were in prison still, since the death of the former keeper, I. Dennis, the eminent hand of God on whom, (as related last year, 1683) one would think, had been enough to deter any, especially that should come into the same place, from acting the like barbarities and cruelties on friends, as he had done; and his dreadful despair for it, that if they had not discharged them, at least to have treated them better, and more humanely (not to say christianly, for that could not be in prison); but some men will never take warning, "though the Lord bringeth his judgments to light every morning, yet the unjust knoweth no shame," Zeph. iii. 5. for so it was, that the latter end of the 3d month, friends who had been long prisoners in Bridewell, because they
could

could not answer the keeper's unreasonable demands of money, he removed them to Newgate, where they were now about a hundred crowded for lodgings, in dark damp dungeon-like holes; many in a place called Pauls, where never any before were put to lodge, that ever they knew or heard of; which cruelty cried aloud, but many hearts were hard, and those who might have remedied it, would not hear, or at least not regard, though none could plead ignorance, who were any ways concerned to ease the oppressed; so that friends and truth were clear, so far as they were able to let them understand: but many were so void of compassion, that they imputed it to friends obstinacy; and some counted they were used too well; which they mentioned for information, rather than complaint; for the Lord was so good to them, that it out-balanced all their light afflictions; who gave health, and preserved them in several appearances of great danger, even to a wonder; and gave them comfort, content, unity, &c. and by his fatherly care, so provided for them, that they had no want. But after they were pulled and haled out, and not suffered to meet together as they used to do, though all in one gaol; the keeper treading in I. Dennis's steps, saying, he had an order for it from his masters, and so they were thrust and locked up in
several

several places, but got no conquest or honour by it, thus to oppress the innocent in prison, where they thrust them in heaps, but could not keep them from the Lord, by whose power they were kept in patience to suffer from the hands of men, to whom they never did any harm; and to whom they desired God to grant repentance, before his anger break forth as an overflowing scourge, and there be no remedy.

But now to return to Ivelchester, where I found in my absence, Joseph Pearce of Milverton, formerly committed by Ferrars Grisly, committed again by the same for absence from church, so called, the 31st of the 5th month; discharged at Taunton assizes in the first month following.

Edith Standerwick, and Joan her daughter, wife of John Farding, of Buckland St. Mary, brought to prison for refusing to answer upon oath to a bill in chancery, at the suit of John Penny, the 18th of the 8th month; discharged in the 9th month following by the said Penny.

About this time, our dear friend, Lawrence Steel, of Bristol, died, though not in prison; yet not long after he was released. In a sense of the loss of whom, being one I dearly loved, and was well acquainted with, I writ a few lines as a testimony concerning him, which I shall now somewhat enlarge, for the respect I had to him, chiefly out of his own account.

R

He

He was born in London about the year 1644, and devoted to the ministry from his birth, by his parents, who were zealous professors of the independent way; who spared no pains to instruct him in the principles of that religion, nor any cost for the educating him in the knowledge of that learning which was esteemed requisite for that work. So that about the 12th year of his age he was placed abroad at school with other children, by whose importunity and example he was drawn to spend his leisure hours in sports and pastimes, and neglected the motions of the Spirit of God, (which, from the sixth or seventh year of his age, he had been sensible of, and often left his companions and recreations, to seek some place to pray and ease his heart to the Lord) which now by his disobedience he quenched, until he thought it ceased to strive with him; so that when he went to pray or seek the Lord, his heart was shut up, and his words returned to him again, and he stood as one smitten before the Lord, in a sense of the guilt and condemnation that was upon him, which continued some years; insomuch that he was afraid he had sinned out the day of his visitation; so that the exercise he went under, brought a wasting or consumption upon his body, which he never fully recovered, till it pleased the Lord by his word of power, to give him some hopes of mercy; which

which glad tidings to his soul were more precious to him than the gain of the whole world; though his body was weak, which in due time was by the same word restored, to the admiration of his relations and acquaintance, which drew him into great watchfulness over his thoughts, words, and actions; and to abstain from the pleasures and delights of this world; and was made often to reprove others for their vanity, before he was settled in any form of profession: after which, he was stirred up to seek a people with whom he might have unity in the same life and experience which he had passed through; and neglected no opportunity to hear such as were esteemed the most lively preachers. First, of the Presbyterians, and then of the Independents, to whom he joined himself a member; among whom he felt some stirrings of the power of God, which brought terror upon the ungodly, and begot hungriings and thirstings after righteousness in many, who cried to the Lord for deliverance, &c. (which he liked) in the day of their tenderness. After which, they came to settle in a form, and to stint and limit the Spirit of God, and so died to the life that moved, and bubbled up in them formerly. And for want of those living breathings, which once they felt, he came to a loss, and was ready to judge himself, though he knew no neglect by himself, until

the Lord shewed him the true reason; because of the shortness of what they declared, of any power to free from sin in this life, or faith in the manifestation of Christ within; but instead thereof, they declared of a justification and salvation by Christ, though in their sins, which they did not expect to be freed from to their lives end.

In a sense of which, and their earthly mindedness, and fashioning themselves according to the world, he took an opportunity in London to ease himself to them, from the words of Paul; "All seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's," Phil. ii. 21. And another time at a fast, from the testimony of Jeremiah; "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this people; cast them out of my sight and let them go forth," Jer. xv. 1. and so withdrew from them; and in refusal of more public employment, he accepted of a private place in Dorsetshire, to tutor children, and pray and preach in the family, for a yearly stipend, which when it came to be paid, he could not take for preaching or praying (which also he had refused in London) but kept up the family worship for some time, till he came to preach on those words, "For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword," &c. Heb. iv. 12. which after he
had

had done, and retired to his chamber, the word of the Lord came to him, saying, Bring no more vain oblations before me, but wait upon the living motion of my Spirit, to bring forth that sacrifice which is accepted by me; and withal, reminding him of what he had formerly felt of the quickness and sharpness of this word, to cut him down from all his vain pleasures, &c. which was the same that was now come, to cut him down from his vain oblations, &c. which he declared to one of the family, desiring that the prayer bell might not be rung for him, for that he now felt the word of the Lord to be really as he had preached it, as a sword to cut him down as above; not in any disrespect to that spiritual prayer and supplication which was exhorted to in scripture, which he did the more earnestly watch unto, but for fear of offending God by offering in his own will: neither did he act from any counsel or precedent of any of the people called Quakers, from whose converse he had kept himself so, as not to be acquainted with any of them; as also from reading their books, or going to their meetings for fear of infection, as was reported of them in those days; and when a servant that lived in the family was inclined to go among them, he dissuaded her from it; but now having laid down all at the feet of the Lamb, in a readiness to follow him whi-

therfoever he would lead him, and inquiring of the Lord what was the way and people and foundation which he would establish and fet up in the room of what he had pulled down, the Lord shewed him, and caused him to declare the substance of it to the family, according to the vision of Ifaiah, chap. ii. and the six first verses; and an excellent discourse he made on it, which see in his book, ‘ Jacob ‘ the plain Man,’ p. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, &c. Having this plain manifestation of truth and friends, he sought out some of them; and meeting with one (a woman) and discoursing with her about the light of Christ, her testimony so suited with what the Lord had before shewed unto him, that he could not but confess to the wisdom she was guided by; and was afterwards confirmed by discourse with her husband, (poor plain people) and resolved to take up his lot with them; and when he returned home to the counsellor and his wife, with his usual language and deportment out of the cross of Christ, which he knew was unlike the plain language of the scriptures, and behaviour of Christ and his apostles, he was reprov'd for it, and lost his peace, and so went to bed under judgment, crying to the Lord, not to withhold his peace and comfort from him, nor to let it hinder the work which he had begun, promising to obey him if he would spare him till the morning; which when
 he

he was risen, the counsellor's wife came into the chamber, unto whom he used that plain language and deportment which he was convinced of, in which, though it may seem a small thing, he had great joy and peace: and when she asked him the occasion of that change, he told her that he was now confirmed by conversation, that the people he had preached of were come, &c. after which it was reported in the family and country, that he was become a Quaker; and the next first-day he was required to go to the place where he first spoke with the woman, and to seek out their meeting, which he did; and when he came, he found them met together in a serious manner, waiting upon the Lord; among whom, though few if any words were spoken, he felt that presence and power of God, in which he had more satisfaction than in his own preaching and praying: and the more he was acquainted with them, the more he was united to them; especially after he had heard their testimonies or declarations, though from mean illiterate persons. One of the first he heard, was Henry Macy, of Freshford, a little above Bath in Somersetshire, a faithful minister till his death. Soon after which, because he could not perform the office of a chaplain, he left that family; though hard to part, for the love that was between them, who would have paid him according to agreement for the

time he had been there, viz. for preaching and tutoring their children. For the last, he was free to take consideration; but for preaching, he was forbidden of the Lord to take any thing, though urged to it: But to clear the family of any suspicion, as to the ground of his leaving them, he left a certificate, that it was on account of some higher discovery of truth on his part, &c. and so in love left them about the 7th month, 1673, and went to his relations, who received him, though they were not friends; and he kept to friends meetings, waiting in silence for about twelve months, and then broke forth sometimes in a few words of prayer, and sometimes of exhortation (see his own book, 'Jacob the plain Man wrestling with God'): and so grew and increased in his gift, till he had an eminent testimony, and well accepted. He came afterwards and settled in Bristol, and kept school in the great meeting-house at the Friars, and was very serviceable in that city and the country adjacent. He had meetings at my house at Naylfey, after I was a prisoner, and came once to Ivelchester, with Samuel Jennings, to visit us, after I was carried thither. He was afterwards imprisoned in Newgate, Bristol, for meeting; and on the Oxford act for six months, as aforesaid. He was a comely person, but pale complexioned, being inclined to a dropsy, and infirm as to his health; which no doubt
was

was heightened, and his health impaired, by his close confinement in Newgate; and he did not live long after his releasement, (at the end of the six months) but died of a diabetes, about the tenth (being buried the 12th) of the eighth month, 1684; laying down his head in peace with the Lord, according to an anagram he made on a child of Richard Snead's, viz,

A N A G R A M.

BRIDGET SNEADE, Rest, being dead.

IF we believe what scriptures do attest,
 'Tis only sin that doth deprive of rest;
 And such as sin commit, to sin must die,
 Before their souls can live eternally.
 And such as are made pure, snares will attend,
 Until that by the grave they have an end.
 What then of harmless infants shall we say?
 Who are no sooner born but pass away:
 Since Christ saith, 'For the kingdom none are fit,
 'But such as like a child do come to it.'
 This shews that harmless infants go to rest.
 And who shall such condemn whom Christ hath blest?
 Since then, dear babe, thou canst not come to me,
 Let me so live that I may go to thee;
 Where, being dead to sin, and free from fear,
 We may for ever live with Christ most dear.

1679.

L. S.

He

He was a man of a grave, solid, serious deportment; of a sweet even temper and disposition; of a sedate retired life; and very exemplary in his conversation: a preacher of righteousness in that great city, in which he walked as a stranger and pilgrim on earth; but hath finished his course, and kept the faith, and received the crown of life; and hath left a good favour behind him, of whose sincerity and integrity to God and his truth, I could write much; but his innocent life and testimony is the best memorial of him, and his memory is blessed.

And now as to my dear friend, Richard Vickris, who lay under the sentence of death in Newgate, Bristol, since last year, because he could not conform or abjure the realm; and the time being elapsed, as mentioned last, and the time of execution drawing nigh, his enemies having blackened him with an infamous character, as a disaffected person, (to render him unpitied) his wife went to London, to intercede for his life, and mitigation of the sentence; and with friends help there, made application to the duke of York, the chief man at court that could work his deliverance; who having received a better character of him than his enemies gave him, was pleased to declare, That neither his royal brother, nor himself, desired that any of his subjects should suffer for the exercise of their consciences, who
were

were of a peaceable behaviour under his government; and thereupon gave such directions, as were soon made effectual for his deliverance: And being, by *habeas corpus* and *writ of error*, removed from Newgate, Bristol, to London; and brought to the King's-bench bar, upon the errors assigned by counsellor Pollexfen, and others. He was cleared of the sentence on the 35th of Elizabeth, by sir George Jefferys, lord chief justice, though so severe a judge otherwise, (few so bad but they may do some good acts) and so was legally discharged in Michaelmas term; in the 9th month this year, to the great joy of his aged father, his distressed wife and family, and his friends throughout the nation. His father lived to see him after his discharge, but did not long survive it, living but three days after he came home; by whose death and will his house and estate at Chew, where he dwelt and deceased, fell to Richard, being his only son; who soon after came with his family, and settled there in our county, to friends comfort and satisfaction; where he was very serviceable to truth and friends many ways, and no small ornament in his place, having ten children at the date hereof, 1684.

About this time died that eminent minister and servant of Christ, William Gibson, of London. He was born in Caton near Lancaster, about the year 1629; and being a soldier

dier at Carlisle, in the time of the civil wars, he and three others hearing that a Quaker had appointed a meeting in that city, they agreed to go to the meeting, with an intent to abuse the said friend, being Tho. Holms; but William coming to the meeting, and hearing him powerfully declare the truth, was so affected and reached by his testimony, that he stept into the meeting near Thomas to defend him, and bid any that durst, offer to abuse him. After which he frequented friends meetings, and quitted his place in the garrison, and employed himself in shoe-making; waiting upon God in silence, under the exercise of his power, for about three years. He afterwards received a dispensation of the gospel; became very serviceable in divers places of the country. He was a prisoner at Shrewsbury for the testimony of truth, in 1661, where he writ 'A Salutation of the Father's Love,' printed in 1663. The 22d of the 6th month, 1662, he married Elizabeth, daughter of William Thompson, of Crosmore in Lancashire, and settled in Sankey meeting, near Warrington, for some years; and some were convinced of truth by his ministry, who continued faithful; and many others confirmed in the blessed truth, so that his memorial is of good favour in those parts. He afterwards travelled southward, in the work of the gospel; and was imprisoned at Maidstone,

stone, in Kent, in 1671, which imprisonment lasted long; where he writ an epistle, intituled ‘ Universal Love.’ After he was discharged, he went to London, and removed his wife and family thither, where his service was great, and in divers other parts of the nation; and was concerned in some controversies, particularly about tithes, in his book ‘ Tithes ended by Christ,’ in 1673; and with an adversary under a feigned name, 1674, which was afterwards condemned by the author, John Danks, of Colchester. And in answer to several books of one J. Cheny, a priest, about Warrington in Lancashire, 1677, a great opposer of friends; who afterwards fled his country, and came to Crewkerne in Somersetshire, where I saw him in the time of my imprisonment; but what became of him afterwards I know not: and also in relation to the Separatists, in reference to whom Wm. Gibson writ a General Epistle, &c. He came often to Bristol and to Clareham, and once to Ivelchester while I was a prisoner at the Friary; and had a meeting in the Friary-hall in the year 1680. And in the 3d month, 1684, he travelled into his native country, Lancashire, though he had been out of health; and in his return home he was taken sick of an ague and fever, at Coventry; but got to London, and continued ill three months, and died the 20th of the 9th month, 1684, aged 55 years, and a minister

fter, 20. He left two fons and one daughter, to whom he gave good advice, (Abraham like) charging them to walk in the way of the Lord. He writ feveral ferviceable treatifes, befides the above-faid; particularly, ‘ The everlafting Rule born witnefs ‘ unto,’ 1667; and, ‘ Election and Reprobation fcripturally and experimentally witnessed unto’ in 1678, and his ‘ General ‘ Epiftle,’ above, in 1682, which are not yet collected.

This year alfo, 1684, died Thomas Stordy, an eminent friend of Cumberland, who was defcended of honeft parentage, being a family of good deportment in the parifh of Brough, in the fame county: When he was about thirty years of age, he began to abftain from many grofs evils and the vanities of the world: and the Lord begat defires in him, after the knowledge of Jefus Chrift, that he might please him; and afterwards he joined with the Independents, and was one accounted eminent in their meetings, in exhortation, &c. among whom he continued for a confiderable time, having ftill a true defire after the Lord, and the knowledge of his ways, which gives peace and reft to thofe who are weary and heavy laden, though their labour and travel may be long, and their fufferings and hard ufages many; fo that in time he came to join with the people called, in fcorn, Quakers;

kers; and was a very upright, sincere hearted man to the Lord, and of good behaviour towards his neighbours: A man of sobriety, temperance, mercy, and hospitality; ready to entertain the Lord's servants, and helpful to the poor and needy; yet, notwithstanding, the then powers did evilly intreat him with hard usage and imprisonment, for his obedience to the command of Christ, "Swear not at all," Mat. v. 34. And soon after he was discharged, being a freeholder, and going to the assizes at Carlisle, to do service for God, the king, and his country, he was by the instigation of some wicked envious persons, then in authority, most illegally apprehended by the gaoler, and carried before judge Turner, who presently tendered him the oath of allegiance, and because, in obedience to Christ's command, he refused to swear, the judge passed the sentence of *præmunire* upon him, 1662, for which the sheriff, John Lowther, seized his estate, real and personal, for the use of the king; and kept him prisoner from his wife and children in this distressed condition 11 or 12 years, till discharged by the king's declaration in 1672 or 1673; and his real estate restored, (but his personal, corn, pewter, brass, &c. gone) and his persecutors came to miserable ends. After which he had great fines imposed, and spoil made on him, for meeting; and after that, one Launcelot Simson,

Simfon, an attorney, brought a writ of *quittam* against him, for 20l. a month, for not coming to their worship, (on the information of John Clark, who came to an ill end also, being drowned;) on which he continued prisoner several years, till he died, the 22d of the 10th month, 1684. He could neither (says he in his testimony) pay tithes, nor receive those that became due to him, as being an impropiator from his father and grandfather, which was both corn, hay, &c. amounting to 10l. per annum, and upward; but bore his testimony for the Lord against them, as a grand oppression, and properly due to the owners thereof, to whom he gave them tithes, being all done away in Christ, who made him willing, in the day of his power, to deny them, and gave a release of them, wherein he remitted, and for ever quit claimed them from him, his heirs and assigns, to the particular owners of them by name, to have and to hold to them, and their heirs for ever, under his hand and seal, the first of the fourth month, 1682; which see in the memory of that faithful man of God, Thomas Sturdy, revived 1692.

But now to return to Ivelchester: Thomas Martin, of Chilthorn Domer, a prisoner long for tithes as aforesaid, was committed again for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, by sir Edw. Phillips, the 29th of the 11th month.

The

The latter end of this year, 1684, the sixth of the 12th month, king Charles II. died. I was at my guardian's, Edmund Beakes's, at Portshead, when the news of it came, at which I was sorry, in consideration of the state he died in, and the persecutions that had been acted in his reign. I went next morning to visit a fellow prisoner, Robert Bullock, at the suit of my adversary, then at his house at Clapton very pensive, and perhaps more sorrowful for the king, than the mourners, (as Abraham Cowley said of Oliver Cromwell) considering the state of things, and the suffering condition he had left us in. There had been six great persecutions in his reign especially, besides all the rest between while. First, in the latter end of the year 1660, after his coming in, (to say nothing of the abuses on his coming) chiefly for meeting, and refusing to take the oath of allegiance, which was used as a snare to friends all his reign, when there were about eleven score friends prisoners at Ivelchester, in Somersetshire, amongst whom my mother, Mary Whiting, was one, being then a widow; besides what were in other counties, proportionably of which, 500 in Yorkshire, and above 5000 in England. Notwithstanding his declaration from Breda, the 14th of April, before he came in, 'Declaring a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man should

‘ be disquieted, or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom;’ and though he had promised us, in particular, liberty of conscience on the word of a king, of which more by and by; yet he suffered us to be so severely fallen upon soon after, which was heightened by the rising of the fifth-monarchy-men in the 11th month, the said year 1660, though we had no hand in it, only it was made a handle to abuse us; but friends were mostly, though not all, discharged at the next spring assizes.

Secondly, in the year 1662, on the act of the 13th and 14th of his reign, made against us in particular, or such as maintained the taking an oath is unlawful; or if any five, or more, of the people called Quakers, should meet together for religious worship, (mark) the first offence, 5l. or three months imprisonment; the second 10l. or six months imprisonment; and the third offence, to abjure the realm, or be transported: on which abundance of friends were taken up at meetings and imprisoned, as well as for refusing to swear. In Newgate, London, about 300, besides the other prisons; and many died in prison, as Richard Hubberthorn, a faithful minister of Christ, even he, to whom the king had promised, in the 4th month, 1660, (on his delivering Geo. Fox the younger, his noble salutation to him)

him) That we might be assured that we should none of us suffer for our opinions or religion, so long as we lived peaceably; (as we always did, even our enemies themselves being judges) and that we had the word of a king for it; and that he had given forth a declaration (meaning that from Breda, I suppose) to the same purpose, that none should wrong us or abuse us; and yet we were abused and haled to prison, (as this Richard Hubberthorn in particular) by Richard Brown, general of the trained bands. As also, Edward Burrough, a faithful labourer and minister of Jesus Christ, being taken, as he was declaring the truth, at the Bull and Mouth, London, by some of Richard Brown's soldiers, and violently pulled down, and haled away to the guard, was committed to Newgate by the said Brown, tried at the sessions, and fined a hundred marks, which at last was reduced to twenty, and he was committed till payment; and though, after he grew weak through close confinement, being suffocated for want of air, the king sent an order to the sheriffs for the releasement of him and the rest, yet R. Brown obstructed it, so that he died a prisoner in the twelve months. Also John Giles, another faithful minister of Christ, and near thirty more, died in Newgate, mostly through R. Brown's cruelty; and there were

great sufferings also at Colchester, in 1663, &c.

Thirdly, on the act of banishment (more particularly or especially so called) made in 1664, to suppress seditious conventicles, though our meetings were no way seditious, enacting, ‘ That
 ‘ any person above sixteen years of age present
 ‘ at any meeting, under pretence of exercise
 ‘ of religion, in other manner than is allowed
 ‘ by the liturgy or practice of the church of
 ‘ England, where five persons above the house-
 ‘ hold are present, the first and second offence
 ‘ as in the former; the third, to be sent to
 ‘ jail, or house of correction, till the sessions
 ‘ or assizes; then indicted, and if found guilty,
 ‘ the court to enter judgment of transportation
 ‘ to some of the foreign plantations for
 ‘ seven years; the profits of their lands to be
 ‘ sequestered, or to distrain and sell their goods
 ‘ to defray the charges of transportation, or
 ‘ for want of that, to be sold as servants for
 ‘ five years, but upon paying one hundred
 ‘ pounds, to be discharged; and if any escape
 ‘ or return, to suffer death as felons, without
 ‘ benefit of clergy; only a woman not to be
 ‘ transported without her husband, but to
 ‘ suffer twelve months imprisonment, unless
 ‘ her husband pay a sum of money not ex-
 ‘ ceeding forty pounds: To refuse to take an
 ‘ oath, incurs the like penalty of transporta-
 ‘ tion.’ On which abundance of our friends
 were

were taken up at meetings, and imprisoned in London, Bristol, and Hertford, this and the next year 1665; and many tried and sentenced to banishment, and sent away; though some were set a-shore again by the ship-masters, with a certificate that they were afraid to carry them away: And others were transported; and many died in Newgate, London, and on ship-board, in order to transportation, to the number of 122 in London, Westminster, and Southwark; particularly Samuel Fisher, Jos. Fuce, and John Shield, faithful ministers and labourers in the work of the Lord, taken at meetings, died in the White-Lion prison in Southwark, 1665, in the time of the pestilence, which began in the time of their persecution of friends on the said act, as a signal token of the Lord's displeasure against them and their work, if they would have taken warning; and broke out at first at a mealman's house in Beerbinder-Lane, next house to the first man that was banished, viz. Edw. Brush, who lived to return to London, and died of late years at a great age. There was also great persecution of friends at Reading, by William Armorer, in those years, even to the year 1667.

The fourth great persecution in this king's time, began in the year 1670, on the new act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. That any justice or chief magistrate

should, on the oath of two witnesses, make a record of a conventicle, where any five, above sixteen years of age, besides those of the household, should be assembled for exercise of religion in any other manner, &c. (as in the former act of banishment; for as that confirmed the act of 1662, as to banishment, so this strengthened that of 1664, against conventicles) which record shall be a conviction; and thereupon a fine of 5s. to be imposed on every offender, to be certified to the next quarter-sessions: and for the second, and every other offence, 10s. a-piece; which, in case of poverty, might be levied on any other person's goods, present at the same conventicle. The preacher to forfeit for the first offence, 20l. and 40l. afterwards, to be levied on any of the hearers; and 20l. for the house, to be levied on any present, provided that no person pay above 10l. for any one meeting, in regard of the poverty of others: a third part of the fines to the king, another third to the informers, and the other third to the poor of the parish: But the justices and informers, being often poor themselves, (as a justice said he was poor) commonly kept the poor's part and king's too, so that they cheated the king and poor, keeping most to themselves; so that the king and poor got little by it: And this act was to be construed most beneficially for the informers; so that a great many loose, prophane,

prophane, lewd fellows of the baser sort, of indigent fortunes, having spent their own estates, or what they had, were thereby encouraged to ruin their neighbours; and abundance of havock and spoil was made on friends goods, for meeting together to wait upon and worship God in spirit and truth, according to Christ's appointment, and their bounden duty, in most, if not all, the counties in England; though friends were the least concerned in that act, nay, not at all, our meeting being no way seditious, as aforesaid; of which we have a witness in the consciences of our persecutors, as well as among our neighbours, and yet it fell heaviest on our friends; other professors often flying, absconding, and hiding themselves, or meeting privately, which encouraged the persecutors to fall the more severely upon friends, who standing boldly to their testimony, they took the advantage of their public meetings to make exorbitant distresses; for which little redress could be had by appeals, even though the informers often swore falsely against them: sometimes, that there was a meeting when there was none that day; sometimes, that there was preaching when there was none; and sometimes, against such as were not at the meeting; and some fined twice for the same meeting; and not only so, but visiting the sick or friends in prison, and giving thanks before meat, were made conven-

ticles, and friends were fined on that account; but all was one, the cure often proved worse than the disease, they were for what they could get; it was spoil they wanted, and that they would have, right or wrong, which made to the ruin of many families; particularly at and about Porthead, in our county, though there were several examples of God's displeasure on some of them, and in divers other places; breaking open gates, doors, and chests; distraining the goods within doors and without, till a bed hath not been left to lie on, or blanket for covering, or stool to sit on: some had their beds taken from under them, when sick or lying-in; yea, the child taken out and laid on the floor to take the bed; and the aged turned out in cold frosty weather, and left to shift for themselves and lie on straw a considerable time; nay, the child's milk over the fire thrown out, to carry away the skillet; not so much as a dish or spoon left. A justice bidding the officers seize all, and that which was not worth carrying away, to burn: Others charging them to be sure and take enough, and sell it at any rate, if but the thirtieth part of the value. Barns full of corn seized, and flocks of cattle driven away for a prey. It would be tedious to mention the hundredth part of the injustice and spoil of those days, of which a volume might be written; which yet there
was

was some respite of by the king's declaration of indulgence, in 1672, by which also many were freed out of prison, about four or five hundred, who were chiefly in on *præmunire*; till the parliament recalled it the latter end of the same year; of which more hereafter.

And so, fifthly, persecution was renewed and continued on meetings, with as great rigour and violence as before, in most places, especially in 1675 and 1676, as the books of sufferings published in those times will shew; particularly the first and second part of 'The continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice,' which continued even to the year 1680. See the book called, 'A brief Account,' &c.

And, sixthly, again (though it never ceased yet) more vigourously revived, and carried on in the years 1682, 1683, and 1684, even till the time of the king's death, and some time after, of which the county of Somerset aforesaid was an ample specimen; as also London, Bristol, and divers other places, (of which a more particular account may be given in our general history, if it please God to give opportunity to finish and publish it, this being but a breviare of it; and the spoils that were made on our friends, which on the conventicle act, came to in our county, from the year 1670 to this time (1684) about three thousand pounds; and, consequently, in Eng-
land

land and Wales, at a moderate computation, about one hundred thousand.

Some of the chief instruments of which, or persecuting justices, were such as Armorer of Reading, and Hide of Berkshire; Charnock of Bedfordshire; Knight, Helliar, and Olliffe, of Bristol; Pool, Shackerly, and Daniell, of Cheshire; Dent and Musgrove of Cumberland; Clark, Gladwin, and Low, of Derbyshire; W. Walrond and Stainthill, of Devonshire; Morland in Durham; Masters, Merideth, Fane, and chancellor Parsons, in Gloucestershire; Cole, in Leicestershire; Thorrald and Nevell in Lincolnshire; Woodhouse and Hellyard in Norfolk; Cartwright, Whaley, and Thoroton, in Nottinghamshire; Gregory in Oxfordshire; Smith, George, Windham (who said, when friends were at meeting to worship God, that was enough) F. Pawlet, Baylie the chancellor, Phillips, W. Helliar (who, when he had fined Jane Whitehead for preaching, and the act would not bear him out, said, if the letter of the act would not do, he would take the spirit of it) and H. Walrond (one of the worst of all, who made a conventicle of a meeting, to take care of the poor, and got 40l. for it; and yet all would not make him rich, as aforesaid) all of Somersetshire; Cobbs, Theap, and Burwell, in Suffolk; the Gorings in Suffex; Fleming, Rigby, and Wilson, in Westmoreland;

land; Cradock and Metcalfe in Yorkshire, with abundance more; and Thornaby the informer. But it would be tedious to mention the informers, nor is it worth while; for as their names rot, so their memory stinks, and their ill-gotten gains are perished with them, that their places are hardly to be found.

This last persecution continued, as above-said, till king Charles's death, with more vigour than ordinary, as if it was the last effort. For as the children of Israel's deliverance drew nigh, so their bondage was encreased; it being commonly darkest before day, and so it was with us at Ivelchester; for a black cloud hung yet over our heads, as will appear hereafter: for though it was generally thought that, upon the king's death, we should have been freed, many of us being the king's prisoners, as on *præmunire*, excommunications, &c. yet we were not released thereby, but continued prisoners above a year longer.

But now the duke of York coming to the crown, (though many were under dreadful apprehensions of what would follow) it was, however, generally expected we should be set at liberty; and we went several of us to the assizes at Taunton, which began the 16th of the first month, 168 $\frac{4}{5}$, in order thereto. I being at my own house at Naylfey, newly come home (as I did sometimes, as I could have liberty to see how things were) had a
message

message sent me the day before the assizes began, to come to Taunton the next day; and accordingly I went away before day, and travelled on foot about thirty miles, resting a little at Bridgewater by the way, and so came to Taunton before night, quite weary, being the hardest day's journey that ever I went on foot, having no horse at command, nor knowing when I should return if I had borrowed one; but when I came there, we were not called nor cleared, though we delivered copies of the following paper to the judges, as we used to do to the justices at the quarter-sessions, viz.

To the Judges assigned to hold Assizes and Gaol-Delivery, in the Western Circuit at Taunton, the 16th of the month called March, 168 $\frac{4}{5}$.

Divers of the People called Quakers, in the County of Somerset, on the behalf of themselves and others of the said People, in humility and sincerity, shew,

THAT we have always exercised ourselves to have and keep our consciences void of offence in the sight of God and man: that we are obliged, and do resolve accordingly, to serve and worship the great God, the Creator
of

of all things and Judge of all men, in the spirit and in the truth; he having given us a measure of his Spirit for that purpose: that we owe, and do resolve to yield accordingly, due subjection to such magistrates as God hath set over us; to the king as supreme, and those in authority under him; praying for them that they may so rule, as God may be honoured, they be everlastingly happy, and we under them may lead our lives in all godliness and honesty, according as God hath ordained, and as it hath been the practice of the ancient Christians.

That nevertheless, we have been exposed to great sufferings in our persons, liberties, and estates, under the severe penalties of several laws never made against us, nor that worship which we profess; and for not practising that worship which we have no faith in, and so was sin for us to do, several thousands of pounds will not balance the losses by us sustained, by the act made against seditious conventicles; though we never frequented any, but always have, and still do, deny such assemblies. We have also suffered long and tedious imprisonments for riotous and seditious meetings, which we also testify against, and our peaceable deportment hath always manifested the same: And for not swearing allegiance, which we have refused to swear, only in obedience to Christ Jesus, the King of kings; yet

yet we have been, and still are, ready to perform the same, and to give unto Cæsar his due, as well as to give unto God his. And if we should break the command of Christ Jesus, and so lose our peace with God, what good would our lives do us; well knowing that we, and all men, must give an account, and be subject to the judgment of the eternal God.

We therefore pray you to take these things into your grave consideration, and extend your power to relieve the oppressed, and set the captives at liberty, who suffer only for the testimony of a good conscience; and this being a service required by and acceptable unto God, his blessing and reward will be with you therein; and we shall be further obliged to pray for your welfare and prosperity here, and everlasting happiness hereafter.

To which was added about thirty of our names, who were present prisoners for good conscience sake, and for what, viz. præmunire, excommunication, absence from church (so called) for meeting together, and for refusing to swear, &c. and how long we had been prisoners; which, being before specified, I omit to insert again here.

A copy of the abovesaid paper was presented by some women friends to judge Montague, who sat on the crown-bench, and was favourably

vourably received by him; and though we, who were old prisoners, were not called or cleared, yet at the end of the affizes, eleven of the late prisoners before-mentioned were discharged, viz.

Francis Hand,
Giles Knight,
Thomas Sibly,
Anne King,
Joan Coggan,
Hannah Seawood,
Joseph Pearce,
Christopher Devonshire,
William Bond,
Henry Mattock,
Sufanna Alloway,

As also,
Edward Pole and his wife,
And Thomas Upham, of Wivelfcomb.*

So that there were discharged in all at this affizes, fourteen.

And so I returned (being a prisoner still till the next spring) by the quarterly-meeting at Grenton, and from thence to my friends at

* Who appeared on recognizance, upon sessions process, and were all discharged.

Long-Sutton, where I heard of the death of our dear friend, John Anderdon, who died a prisoner at Ivelchester, a little before my return thither from the assizes, for the testimony of Jesus; of whom I cannot in gratitude but speak a few words, for the respect I had to him, being intimately acquainted with him, and knew some things from his own mouth, which perhaps few now living know of, or can remember.

He was born of a good family, at or near Bradford, in the north-west parts of Devonshire, about the year 1624; and well educated, being bred a scholar, and to the practice of the law, and was afterwards secretary to general Desborough, of the west. Afterwards he married and kept a goldsmith's shop in Bridgewater, Somerset; and practising the law, he was under some convictions of truth in his mind, as to his practice. He went to London in term time, having some important business to manage; and as he lodged at Marlborough by the way, he had some tokens or warnings of death, as he apprehended, at which he was much surpris'd, and desired the Lord to spare him till he had accomplished the business he went about, promising he would disentangle himself as to that course of life, in which he had not satisfaction; and soon after his return home, his wife died, who had been some obstacle in his way as to his receiving the truth: and some time afterwards going to
London

London again on some occasion, all in mourning for his wife, and being under great exercise in his mind, in relation to his condition, he went to a Quaker's meeting; and when he came in, there was a friend declaring, whom he understood afterwards to be Francis Howgil, and some of the first words he heard him speak, were, 'The light of Christ in thy conscience which shews thee thy sin, is that which will save thee from thy sin.' At which he was much broken and tendered, in consideration that he had overlooked the light of Christ in his conscience so long, which had shewed him and checked him for sin and evil; and was fully reached and convinced of the truth about the year 1658; and coming to see and look on him whom he had pierced, he mourned for him, as one that mourned for his only son. And one day going to the parliament-house (being acquainted among great men, particularly with one Augustine Wingfield, who writ a book against tithes, intitled, 'Tithes totally routed by Magna Charta') and coming down stairs from the house of commons, there was a woman that sold books and pamphlets, that came out new, whom he used to buy of; and going, as at other times, to see what new things she had, and taking up a book to look on it, the word of the Lord rose in his heart, saying, This is no more for
T
thee,

thee, I have chosen thee to be a minister of the everlasting gospel. So he laid down the book and went his way, in great contrition and bowedness of mind, and giving up to the workings of the spirit of truth in his heart, which wrought effectually in him, to fit and prepare him for the ministry; he came to receive a dispensation of the gospel, and was endued with power from on high to preach it to others, to the turning of many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus. In the year 1659, going to the steeple-house in Bridgewater, to bear his testimony against the false worship there performed, he was pushed out, abused and reproached; particularly by one Andross's wife, a zealous Presbyterian, who said, John Anderdon was turned from God to the devil; but she was observed to pine away ever after till she died, which seemed very remarkable on her for blaspheming the power of God. In the same year he writ a paper to those that sit in council for ordering the affairs of the nation. And another, to the parliament of the commonwealth of England; by way of warning. And just as the parliament was broken up, the form of the press broke with his paper, so that there was but one sheet printed off. And after the
king

king came in, in the year 1660, he writ a book against Babylon and her merchants; ' One Groan more from under the Altar;' which they would have made treason of if they could, but could not. And several other books and papers he writ, being eminent for reproof and warning, as a prophet, to the rulers and people of divers sorts.

He afterwards married a second wife, one Jane Bicknell, a sober religious woman, who survived him. He was a great sufferer for his testimony to the truth, through occasion of the envious priests and justices in those days, being a man of note in the world, and as a friend, and therefore envied the more; and was a prisoner in all, from first to last, near twenty years: First, in the great imprisonment at Ivelchester, after the king came in, being committed by John Warr, the 13th of the 11th month, 1660, for meeting, and refusing to take the oath of allegiance; and though there were about two hundred friends free at Chard assizes, the 30th of the first month, 1661, yet he and thirteen more were continued on the oath, till discharged by the king's proclamation, the 28th of the 3d month following. And the 3d of the 5th month, 1662, for going to the steeple-house in Bridgewater, and asking priest Norman a question, How people living in their sins are reconciled to God? The priest

having said, That men's persons must be first reconciled to God, before their services or sacrifices could be accepted. On which John Anderdon said, That all they that offer sacrifice in their sins, are abomination in the sight of God, and not accepted by him. For which he was committed to prison in Cockmoyle, in Bridgewater, by Edward Sealy, mayor, for five weeks, and then unjustly sent to Ivelchester prison, for refusing to swear; and from thence had to the assizes at Wells in the 6th month following, before judge Archer and Foster, who both treated him very abusively about his hat; and at last, after pretty much discourse *pro* and *con* about it, &c. fined him 6l. 13s. 4d. to remain prisoner till paid; and during his imprisonment at Ivelchester, which began by the Presbyterians, he was also excommunicated in the bishop's court at Wells. He continued prisoner till the king's declaration of indulgence, 1672: from whence, to the year 1675, he was mostly at liberty; when he was fined (for being at the burial of Philip Tyler of Walton, the 2d of the 4th month) by Francis Paulet, of Wells, though he had fined several others 24l. for a preacher unknown at the said burial, and caused to be distrained on several friends, for that and their own offence, so called; and the house of Henry Gundry, of Street (at the back of which the burying ground

ground was) 82l. 18s. from H. Gundry, in particular, 40l. yet sent a warrant to the mayor of Bridgewater, to distrain J. Anderdon's goods for 20l. as the preacher well known; so that they would have had 44l. for a preacher at this burial, as unknown; and yet on J. Anderdon, as well known, which was 24l. more than the rigour of the act required, according to the justice of those days, besides the other fines; in all, 102l. 18s. when there was none spoke at the burial but J. Anderdon, who christianly exhorted the people to consider their latter end.

And not long after, he was imprisoned again, the 3d of the 6th month, 1675, which was his last imprisonment, of near ten years, upon the false swearing of wicked informers, who coming to disturb a meeting where J. Anderdon was declaring the truth to the people, and commanding him away, or to come down and be silent; he asked them in whose name or authority: they said, the king's. J. Anderdon said, the devil's more like: Upon which they swore he called the king a devil, when his words were plain to the contrary, (for more like another cannot be the same) intending to have made treason of it, but that would not do (though to have said the king was a Papist would); so they missed their mark, and their wicked accusation came to nothing, the chief of them having stood in

the pilory for perjury. He was had to Taunton assizes in the 1st month following, and tendered the oath of allegiance; and, for refusing to swear, was returned on the calendar præmunired, by judge Rainsford, though J. Anderdon had pleaded as to matter of fact for refusing the oath, and no jury had passed upon him, nor sentence given in court according to law. And during his imprisonment, Sir Thomas Warr, a cruel covetous man when he was high sheriff of the county about 1682, threatened to seize his estate for the king, on the præmunire, but was prevented some way or other (no doubt by an over-ruling hand) that he did not; though the said J. Anderdon was continued a prisoner at Ivelchester till his death. He was a man of repute; a good scholar and scribe, instructed unto the kingdom, bringing forth of the treasury things new and old. He was well skilled in the languages, especially Greek and Latin; and understood the law, so that many came to him for advice, but freely; for I have heard him say, that he hath had handfuls of money offered him by such as he had served, or been helpful to, before he was a friend; and I am well satisfied he never took it of any after, though he was often helpful to friends and others, especially in the persecution time during his imprisonment; and often made writings of conveyances, &c. He had good service

vice for the Lord in meetings, not only in prison, but other places abroad, as he had liberty and opportunity, especially thereaway. He resided at the Friary, where many friends were prisoners, and where he had a good apartment till he died. About half a year before his death, he was taken ill of a quartan-ague or fever, so that he declined as to his health, and grew weaker and weaker till he died, the 20th of the 1st month, 168 $\frac{4}{5}$; finishing his course about the 60th year of his age, laying down his head in peace, a little before the troubles broke out in the west; as Augustine, whom he often mentioned, did, according to his own desire, a little before the taking of Hippo: dying a prisoner for the testimony of Jesus against swearing, and was carried, with an honourable attendance, to Bridgewater to be buried. He left a widow (as aforesaid) and one daughter behind him; since married to William Alloway, of Minehead, now of Bridgewater. He had several brothers and sisters, three of his sisters being friends; and one of them, viz. Mary, had a public testimony, and died before him. He was an able minister of the gospel of Christ; of a sound judgment, solid weighty testimony, and grave deportment; and left a good report and favour behind him in the town, and among all that knew him. Of whose sincerity, zeal for God, service for his truth,

and faithfulness in his day, a volume might be written.

Not long after, in the beginning of 1685, died that ancient servant of God, and minister of Christ, Thomas Briggs, of Cheshire, who was born about the year 1610; and in his youth fought after the Lord with weeping, that he might know the way to everlasting peace and salvation; and ran up and down among the ministers of those called Puritans, for two years together; but they could not direct him to his teacher within, which was the cause of his wanting peace and satisfaction to his immortal soul; he went under many heavy burthens, because of sin and iniquity which separated him from the Lord: but in an acceptable time, it pleased the Lord to send his servant, George Fox, into the north-country, who directed him and others to the light of Jesus Christ; and he, with many, received his message, and the mighty power of the Lord appeared, and was manifest in him, which did shake terribly the earthly part that was above the seed, in which he held a profession of God and Christ, but did not know him, and in that power believed, and waited on the Lord in the way of his judgments, till he had brought down all that was for judgment; and his understanding was opened by the light of Christ, and saw all the teachers of the world to be
wrong

wrong; and was moved to bear a testimony against them; and go to steeple-houses to cry against them, and exhort people to turn from them to the light of Christ. And was commanded to go to Manchester, to preach repentance, and through many towns and cities in England; and the Lord's power and presence did wonderfully accompany him; and he went through the streets of Cambridge. In Manchester, he was moved to go to the steeple-house, to declare against the priest, and they haled him out, and put him in a dungeon on the bridge; but the Lord was so with him, that he sung for joy: and next day he was had before a justice, and discoursed with him so, that some of his servants were convinced; but the justice, to please the people, sent him out of the town, but he returned again, and got a meeting settled there. And in Warrington he was moved to go to the steeple-house with another friend; but the people fell on them, and beat them so, that had not the Lord's power supported them, they had been destroyed: And as he was going into Cheshire, speaking to a priest who was full of wrath, one of his hearers came behind him, and with a blow felled him to the ground; but he got up, and turned his face to him to smite, and he smote him on the teeth, that they gushed out blood, that some people cried out shame
on

on the man! and soon after he fell sick, and died; and on his death-bed said, Oh that I had not smitten the Quaker! And in Salisbury he was moved to declare the terrible and mighty day of the Lord, that they might repent; and was had before the justices, who tendered him the oath: He told them he could not swear, because Christ had commanded not to swear at all; so they made a mittimus to send him to prison. And his companion, John Braithwait, being speaking without, they brought him also, and committed them to prison a month, and then let them go; but many were convinced thereabout.

In Yarmouth, he was moved of the Lord to go through the town to proclaim the mighty terrible day of the Lord, that all might repent and fear him that made heaven and earth, &c. And a great multitude of rude people followed him; and the power of the Lord was upon him, and he turned his face to them, and fear smote them, that they ran away; after which an officer took him, and had him before a magistrate, who ordered him to be put out of the town; but he returned another way, and had a meeting among friends, and went away in peace: and in several towns and markets he declared the same; and the Lord was with him and upheld him, and many times delivered him out of the hands of them that would have destroyed

destroyed him. For at Lim, as he went through the streets to warn people to repent and turn to the Lord, they set a great dog upon him; but the dog fawned on him as if he had been his master, and did him no harm. And as he was declaring, going over a bridge, they combined together to throw him into the water; but the Lord who sent him, put it into the heart of an officer to prevent them, so that he went on in peace. And thus in Oliver's days he hath gone through four or five towns in a day; and sometimes swords have been drawn, and axes lifted up against him, but the people could not do what they intended. He went through most part of Wales; and at one place, as he was declaring, and people attentive, a constable came forth and cried, Kill him, kill him! and they threw great stones upon him and friends, enough to kill them, but through the mercy of God did little harm: and the constable took hold of his coat to pull him down, but it rent, and he got one half; and he turned on the constable in the dread of the Lord, saying, that they must give account for that day's work; and a man brought him the half of his coat, but he put off the other part, and left it with them as a witness against them, but they sewed it together, and sent it to a friend's house. He went through Cardiff, as a sign, and through a steeple-house; and the people were so smitten, that they did not speak a word against him:

him: and in several places in Wales did he declare the same message. And in Windfor he declared the day of the Lord; and they were very wicked, and threw stones and dirt at them; and Isaac Pennington's coat was much dirted. And after Oliver, he was moved to go to the Committee of Safety, to tell them what the Lord would have them do, but the door-keeper kept him out; so that to clear himself he went to them one by one, as he could find them, to declare the Lord's message to them, viz. That if they would take away the law which upheld tithes, by which the people of God suffered, as they had promised, they might go on and prosper; if not, they should be turned out; which they were soon after. And the word of the Lord came to him, that he must go through the streets of London, and preach repentance; which he did, and received no hurt: and as he came back through Cheapside, the word of the Lord came to him, that except London repent as Nineveh did, God would destroy it. And as he was travelling in the south parts, going by a house, it rose in him the priest was in that house, and he went and knocked at the door, and the man of the house came and let him in; and he found the priest sitting by the fire, and charged him to give over deceiving the people for dishonest gain; at which the man of the house was troubled, and would have put him out, but the power of the Lord

was

was upon him; and he rung the gospel bell, and many people came; so he bore his testimony against the priest, and directed the people to their inward teacher, and so went on his journey in peace. He was moved to go and bear his testimony against Jonathan Clapham, a priest in Norfolk, at his house: he came out, and would not speak, but set his dog at him, which would not bite him; and the priest turned in again as a man grieved, and fled like an hireling.

At Shrewsbury, as he was coming out of Wales, about the time the fifth-monarchy-men rose in London, he was taken by the soldiers and brought before a justice, who profered him the oath; and because he could not swear, contrary to the command of Christ, they sent him and another friend to prison; and the gaoler being very wicked, put them in a dungeon where they put condemned men; and they could get nothing to lie on but a little pease-straw; there he remained ten weeks, but the Lord was with them; and though they kept them very close, and would hardly let any come to see them, it rose in him that he should be delivered; and at ten weeks end, before the releasement came for all friends from the king, the justice that committed them asked him, if he would promise never to take up arms against the king: Thomas declared how he was come to the end of wars
according

according to the prophet Ifaiah's testimony: the justice bid him go, and get as many into that mind as he could; he and his wife being friendly. And when a turn-coat justice would have sent friends to prison, this would take their words to appear, when sent for: his name was Thorn. So he travelled up and down Staffordshire among friends, as he was moved of the Lord, and then turned again towards Wales; and at a meeting in Herefordshire, the priest got the lieutenant and his soldiers to come and break it up, who came in when he was at prayer, and commanding him to give over, set a pistol to his breast; but the Lord prevented them of doing what they intended: and he continued in prayer till they stopped his mouth with a pair of gloves, so haled them out, and carried them to Hereford before a justice, who sent twelve of them to prison, where they remained twelve weeks, till the assizes; and the gaoler was very wicked against them at first, but was tormented, and confessed he could have no peace, and then let them have more liberty: and his wife and daughter was convinced, and he became loving. And at the assizes they were called before the judge, and the power of the Lord was so with them, that when he examined them, he would turn his face away, and set all friends at liberty except Thomas Briggs; but he writ to the justice

tice

rice that committed him; and at three weeks end he sent for him, and took his word to appear at the next affizes, which he did, and sent to the justice that he was come to answer what was laid against him: he sent him word there was nothing laid against him, he might go whither he would; so he went to the gaoler, who desired him when he came to town to call and see him, and was ever after loving to friends.

He, with J. Moon, appointed a meeting near the Devises in Wiltshire, where many friends and people came; and two justices hearing of it, came and broke it up, and took the names of most friends, and let them go; but J. Moon, himself, and three more, they sent to the house of correction for three months: and the master of it, in a little time, became very loving, and they had many precious meetings while they were there, in which time the turn-coat justice going to London, as he returned he died, that he never saw him more: he understood they did intend to tender them the oath at the three months end, but the Lord prevented them, and so they were set free. Thus he travelled in most parts of England and Wales, and used to come to my father's house in Somersetshire, and had meetings there in early times. He also travelled in Ireland and in the West-Indies, Barbadoes, with George Fox; and

and Antego with W. Edmundson, where many received their testimony, and went to Nevis to visit friends; but an old persecutor sent eight soldiers aboard to stop them from coming on shore, but many friends came to visit them, and were refreshed: so they returned to Antego, and so to Barbadoes, where he was very sick; but the Lord shewed him he should not die there, but return to his own nation, and there lay down his head in peace, which he did. He was convinced in the year 1653, and 43d of his age: A minister of the gospel 32 years. His house was fined five times by John Daniel, called justice, on the conventicle act; and goods taken to the value of 50l. He died at his daughter's, near Nantwich, in Cheshire. He bore a large testimony the first-day before, and died the third day after, the beginning of this year 1685, about 75 years of age.

The beginning of this year, 1685, was presented to the king, and both houses of parliament, 'The suffering condition of the peaceable ' people called Quakers;' shewing, that of late above 1500 of the said people, both men and women, have been detained prisoners in England and Wales, some of which being since discharged by the judges, and others freed by death through their long and tedious imprisonment, there remained, according to late accounts, about 1383, above 200 of them
women

women; many under sentence of *præmit-nire*, both men and women; and more than 300 near it, not for denying the duty, or refusing the substance of allegiance, but only because they dare not swear: Many on writs of excommunication and fines to the king, and upon the act of banishment: Besides, above 320 have died in prison and prisoners, since the year 1660; near 100 whereof, by means of this long imprisonment, as it is judged, since the account delivered to the late king and parliament in 1680, whereby many widows and fatherless are left in distress and sorrow. The two last hard winters restraint, and the close confinement of great numbers in divers gaols, unavoidably tending towards their destruction, their healths being evidently impaired thereby.

And in London, the gaol of Newgate hath been from time to time crowded within these two years, sometimes near twenty in one room, to the prejudice of their healths; and several poor tradesmen of late have been so suffocated by the closeness of the prison, that they have been taken out sick of a malignant fever, and died in a few days after.

Besides those long-continued and destructive hardships upon the persons of men and women, as aforesaid, great violences, outrageous distresses, and woful havock and spoil, have been, and still are, frequently made

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upon

upon their goods and estates, both in and about the city of London, and other parts of the nation, by a company of idle, extravagant, and merciless informers, and other prosecutions upon the conventicle act; many being convicted and fined, unsummoned and unheard in their own defence. As also on *qui tam* writs, at the suit of informers; who prosecute for one-third part for themselves, and on other processes for 20*l.* a month, and two-thirds of estates seized for the king; all tending to the ruin of trade; husbandry, and farmers; and the impoverishing many industrious families, without compassion shewn to widows, fatherless, or desolate. To some, not a bed left to rest on; to others, no cattle to till their ground, nor corn for bread or seed; no tools to work with. The said informers, and sheriff's bailiffs, in some places being outrageous, and excessive in their distresses and seizures; breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil: and all these and other severities done against us by them, under pretence of serving the king and the church, thereby to force us to a conformity, without inward conviction or satisfaction of our tender consciences, wherein our peace with God is concerned, which we are very tender of.

The statutes on which the said people suffered imprisonment, distress and spoil of goods, are as followeth :

The 1st of Elizabeth, chap. ii. for twelve-pence a Sunday, so called.

The 5th of Elizabeth, chap. xxiii. *de excommunicato capiendo*.

The 23d of Elizabeth, chap. i. for twenty pounds per month.

The 29th of Elizabeth, chap. vi. for continuation.

The 35th of Elizabeth, chap. i. for abjuring the realm on pain of death.

The 3d of king James I. chap. iv. for *præmunire*. Imprisonment during life, and forfeiture of estates.

The 13th and 14th of king Charles II. against Quakers, &c. Transportation.

The 17th of king Charles II. ch. ii. against Non-conformists.

The 22d of king Charles II. ch. i. against seditious conventicles.

The 27th of Henry VIII. chap. xx. some few suffered thereupon.

See the remainder of the said sheet to the king, of the various proceedings against our friends on the said statutes, and the great sufferings and imprisonments thereupon.

And another sheet to the bishops and clergy of England and Wales, the state of the cruel

persecution, imprisonment, (many to death) and spoil of goods, inflicted upon the people called Quakers, only for their religious meetings, &c. wherein, after inserting the account of prisoners presented to the king (Charles II.) and his parliament in 1680, (as aforesaid in that year) they add, that this instant year, 1685, there was presented to king James II. the account of present prisoners for the testimony of a good conscience, &c. as aforesaid, to the number of 1460; with account of prisoners, that died for their faith and worship, since the account in 1680 — 78

The number of all the said sufferers that is come to hand, amounting to — — 12,316

Note, That some of the present prisoners are still continued upon the aforesaid account, in 1680.

And since, we have had account of several more that are sent to prison, and some more have died prisoners.

Besides many that have suffered imprisonment since the year 1680; and a great number distressed upon, and their goods spoiled, and made havock of by informers, (and some priests have been informers) for their religious peaceable meetings, and not coming to the parish-worship, to the ruin of many in their husbandry and trade; some not having a bed left to lie upon, nor a stool to sit on, nor
a cow.

ã cow to give milk for their poor children ; nor corn for bread, or feed, or drink ; nor tools to work withal, &c. The value of which goods so taken, and made havock of, as well as the number of sufferers upon the said accounts, and by imprisonments, is considerable (not here inserted). And though I repeat the same again, it is to shew how they laid their sufferings before the bishops also, as well as the king, that they might have shewn mercy, in whose power it was to have mitigated those severe sufferings, if they would ; and exhorting the matter with them in this paper, with respect to the obligation of religion, christianity, reason and authorities of their own, against persecution, to excite them to moderation, and do their endeavour to relieve us. What good effect it had with them I cannot say, but hope it was not in vain.

But now to return. It being still expected we should be cleared of our imprisonment, the keepers grew careless of us, and gave us pretty much liberty, in hopes to get money by us. It being reported that liberty of conscience was in the press so long, that it became a proverb, that ‘ Liberty of Conscience was in the ‘ Press,’ it was so long a coming out ; till at last an insurrection broke out in the west, and a cloud fell in our way that overcast all, which I cannot pass without taking some notice of ; not as concerned in it, but as it affected us as

to our liberty, so that as our deliverance grew nearer, our sufferings were increased: and had liberty of conscience been granted sooner, as one wisely observed, there might have been no rebellion in the west, but the misguided duke of Monmouth might have had his share at Buda, and the unhappy people of his train been alive at their vocations; for the generality of the nation were weary and sick of persecution, and longed, and were big with expectation of liberty of conscience, as the king had promised: who obstructed its coming out sooner, they can best tell who were the occasion of it; I wish the blood of that rebellion do not lie at their doors. I will not attest what was reported, that some offered him, if he would continue the penal laws against Protestant dissenters, they would come into, or consent to a toleration for Papists, exclusive of Protestant dissenters: their own consciences know whether it was true or not.

I had intended this spring, 1685, to have proceeded in marriage with my dear friend, S. Hurd, having proposed it to the monthly meeting she belonged to, which was then held at my chamber, as aforesaid; and went to my own monthly meeting, on the north side of Mendip, which was then held at John Dando's at Hollotrow, the 29th of the 3d month, for a certificate, which I afterwards had; but the troubles breaking out, prevented it one year longer. We heard there of the earl of Argyll's

gyle's landing in Scotland. I went from Hol-
 lotrow home to Naylsey, and was at my own
 house when the duke of Monmouth landed
 at Lime in Dorsetshire, the 11th of the 4th
 month; and had the news of it from Bristol
 the 5th day following (where by the way, now
 I mention Bristol, friends continued prisoners
 in Newgate mostly as last year, till the next,
 when the general release was). I had intended
 to return to Ivelchester soon after, and accord-
 ingly the next second-day I sat out thitherward;
 and as I rode into Wrington, a market-town
 four miles from my house, there was a watch
 set at the cross; and as I came towards them,
 I heard one of them say to another, Go
 forth and stop him, and ask him whither he
 is riding. So he came and stood with a hal-
 bert in my way, and bid me stand: Well,
 said I, and what then. He asked me whither
 I was riding: I told him, southward; which,
 though directly towards the duke, without
 asking me any further questions, he wished
 me a good journey, and so let me pass; at
 which I could not but smile to myself, to see
 how easy they were to let any pass that way,
 for indeed the hearts of the people were to-
 wards him, if they durst have shewed it: but
 that he might not think I was going to the
 duke, I told him there was a fair at Somerton
 that day, and thither I was riding: So to So-
 merton I went very quietly, (and met with

no watch or let in my way after) where I met with my dear friend, Sarah Hurd, at her father's, who dwelt there; and heard how some of the duke's men had been at Ivelchester, to free some of the duke's friends, who came down from London to meet him, and were taken up on suspicion, and imprisoned there; and withal, freed all they found prisoners there on account of conscience; and, among the rest, some of our friends, but they took little notice or advantage of it, but went in and out as at other times.

I staid at Somerton till the fifth day following, and then being our quarterly meeting at Gregory-Stoke, I went thither, where we heard how the duke was come with his army to Taunton, but six miles off, and how the country flocked in to him. After meeting, I went to a friend's house, where I met with my friend Sarah Hurd's sister Scott, who looked exceeding sad and sorrowful; I asked her what the matter was: She told me, that her husband was gone out with his horses to the duke, (he being one that dealt in horses, expecting to make advantage of them, which proved a snare to him) and she was afraid they should be ruined, desiring me to go home with her that night, and go with her next day to Taunton, to see to get him home; which accordingly I did, calling by the way at the lady Jennings's, esquire Spekes's daughter,

ter, who was all afloat about the duke, thinking the day was their own; and next day went to Taunton with her: We put up at the Three-Cups Inn, and soon met with her husband, and reasoned with him about it; but he had appeared before the duke, and involved himself so about his horses, that we could not get him home with us. It happened that the duke and the lord Grey were then at dinner at capt. Hucker's, over against the said inn; and she, with her sister Roman, went over to speak with the duke, to desire him not to take it amiss if her husband went home, for it was contrary to our persuasion to appear in arms, because we could not fight; and she had a pretty deal of discourse with him, for she was a woman that could use her tongue as well as most. The duke seemed to take it well enough, and told her, he did not desire that any should appear with him against their consciences. So they left him and came away, I standing all the while before the inn-gate, observing passages; but I did not go out of my way to see the army, which lay in a field hard by the town, which I account a great preservation; and soon after, the duke and lord Grey came forth and took horse, their horses being held in the street all the time, and rode down the street the same way as we were to go home; and two great guns were haled down before them, to plant, as they said, at
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the town's end, it being reported, that the duke of Albemarle (lord-lieutenant of the county of Devon) was coming against them. So we took horse, and rode down after; and when we came to the town's end, the street was so full of people, that I thought it impossible to get through the crowd; but asking one if we could ride by, he said we might on one side; so I put forward till I was got into the middle of them: looking about me to see the duke, I asked somebody which was he, he shewed me him just at my right hand; so I stopped a little to take a view of him, and thought he looked very thoughtful and dejected in his countenance, and thinner than when I saw him four years before, as he passed through Ivelchester in his progress as aforesaid, so that I hardly knew him again, and was sorry for him as I looked at him. I spoke a few words to him, which I do not mention out of vanity, but to show how narrowly I escaped a snare at that time, to the Lord's protecting hand of providence I ascribe it in my preservation. So we passed on, and had not rode above a mile or two, but we met two men coming riding on a gallop, as fast as their horses could go; as they past by, I knew one of them, who said, turn out of the road, the duke of Albermarle is at hand (but it was a false alarm, for he came not near); so we turned off a bye-way, and came safe
home

home to Hambridge; and never heard any thing of my being at Taunton, or that there was any notice taken of it, though I saw several that I knew, till a pretty while after the defeat and affizes, I think. As I was walking one day in the back-kitchen, in the ward at Ivelchester, there came to me John Cordelion, the turnkey, (an old apostate Quaker too; for one renagado is commonly worse than three Turks) and says to me, John, wast not thee at Taunton? At which, being somewhat surpris'd, my spirit turned against him, seeing his baseness that would have intrapp'd me, I said, and what then, what is that to thee? I heard, said he, thou wast with the duke: Said I, if I was there, I can give a good account of my business, but that is no business of thine. So I stood over him; and seeing he could get nothing out of me, he flunk away, and I heard no more of him or it.

Next day I went to my friend's at Long-Sutton, where, and at Somerton, I mostly staid, till after the duke's defeat at Sedgemoor; being a time of great exercise with her, having several relations (not friends) out in the duke's army; as three brothers-in-law, an uncle, and several kinsmen; and her brother Gliffon a Baptist came, and would have had me gone out also, and take up the sword till the work was over; which if I had, I might
have

have suffered as he did: but through the mercy of God, whose holy name I magnify and adore in my preservation, I knew my place and principles better than so. And there came down the queen's guards, as they said, under the lord Churchill, into the parish, and terror marched before them; for we could hear their horses grind the ground under their feet, almost a mile before they came. And it was reported there were six houses to be burnt, of which my friend S. Hurd's was one; there being a Papist in the parish, a base wicked fellow, who owed her money, and was thought to be a very ill instrument by informing, so that she was in great danger; but, through the Lord's mercy, was preserved. For when they came to the cross near her house, they inquired for capt. Tucker's, who was out with the duke, and went and ransacked his house, cutting and tearing the beds, hangings, and furniture, to pieces; shaking out the feathers, and carrying away the bed-sticks and what else they could; letting out the beer, wine, and cyder, about the cellar; setting fire to a barn that joined to the dwelling-house, to set that on fire also, but being a stone tiled house, it did not burn that; and so making what spoil and carrying away what they would, or could, they returned to Somerton, where the earl of Feversham lay with the king's army, but two miles

miles off. And the 7th day before the fight, came down the earl of Pembroke, with the Wiltshire troops of horse, and made dreadful work in the parish, taking several prisoners, and threatening to hang some, to the terror and affrighting of the inhabitants. Four of the troopers lay at my friend's house, and were pretty civil; but there was one of the rest, an ensign, who was exceeding wicked, threatening and terrifying the poor people in a dreadful manner; and would have questioned me who I was, and what I did there; but I answered him so boldly that he grew quiet, and at last, after he had wearied himself, called for a cushion to lay under his head, and so went to sleep on one of the shop counters all night, as if he could trust himself no where so safe as there; and next morning they went away towards Bridgewater, where the duke with his army was.

And the next day after the defeat of the duke's army at Sedgemoor, near Weston-Zoyland, many being killed and the rest scattered, flying for their lives, several of the country gentlemen, who hardly dared appear before, came about in pursuit of the duke of Monmouth's men; and sir Edward Phillips, judge of the sessions as aforesaid, came to my friend's house at Long-Sutton, and sat and slept in her chair, while his men went a hunting about the fields to take men; and several were brought

brought to my friend's door and sent to prison in droves, as if it had been to get their horses, for which some of them paid dear after king William came in. As to brother Scott in particular, he was wonderfully preserved, being taken and put into Weston steeple-house, with many more, the night after the fight, in order to be hanged next day, as many were; but he got out at the little north-door, while the watch was asleep, and so escaped with his life; lying in corn-fields by day, and going by night till he got home, and so lay about till after the general pardon. But many were hanged in cold blood, by that cruel, inhuman, bloody wretch, colonel Kirk, the shame of mankind; and some were hung in chains naked, to the terror and shame of the country.

But to return to myself: I lay innocently out in the garden, while sir Edward Phillips was within, being unwilling to be seen, because I was a prisoner; but wished afterwards I had appeared, or shewed myself to him: though perhaps he would have sent me to prison, although in my friend's house; as they did another friend, Thomas Comb, who was a prisoner before, whom they took walking in the fields, as a Monmouth's man, though unconcerned; so that it was dangerous meeting any of them, they were so rampant after the duke's defeat.

And

And soon after seeing our bondage returning, and that I must submit to a prison again, and that it was the safest place as things were, I thought it better to go than be sent thither, or sent for; and so returned to Ivelchester, where the keepers began to look after their prisoners again, and to inquire for us, and to be very wicked to us when we came, calling us rebels, rogues, &c. though we were ever so clear. The first greeting I had after I came, was from Joseph Newberry, one of the keepers, and indeed the first time that ever he shewed himself so to me; being a man, though deceitful enough, who would commonly carry it fair outwardly; and that was on this occasion, I had a parcel of friends books, &c. came down from London, as I used to have, and he knew it well enough, therefore no new thing now; and the carrier left them, as he used to do for me, at Newberry-inn: so I went for them, but he refused to let me have them, saying, He did not know but there might be treason in them, and then I should be hanged for it, which yet would have been hard for what I never saw, nor knew any thing of. Next they shut us up in the ward, where we lay fourteen of us in one room, mostly on the floor, as close as we could lie one by another, a row of each side, feet to feet, yet they demanded rent of us before-hand; and after four days and nights they came, viz.

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the 25th of the 5th month, and began to quarrel with us about the rent, having mischief in their minds, telling us, that we should go up into the garrets, the rooms being full below, and there we should abide not to go forth, and yet they would have the same rent of us as when we dwelt in their hired houses, and had the liberty of the town; which though we were not willing to do, some told them, we were their prisoners, and they might put us where they would. But they wanting an answer as to the rent, (hectoring and vapouring about for an answer) at last I told them, that I thought it was our minds not to pay any rent while we were kept under lock. At which they were in such a rage, having broke their design, that, without answering me a word, Davis flew out of the room and called for hand-bolts, and Newberry the mean-while calling me all the ill names he could devise; and shaking his cane over my head as if he would have broke it, but had not power to strike me. The irons being brought in, which I offered my hand to receive, John Hipsley, my fellow-prisoner, said, It was hard to press us so for an answer, and when they had it to use us at that rate. Said Davis, hand-bolt them together; which they did, and so put us out into the inward ward amongst Monmouth's men, where at night, when we came to lodge, there was no room
for

for us to lie down, when the beds were spread over the room, but the room the door turned in, where we lay on straw; not suffering me to lie on my own bedstead, which was there ever since I lay in Black-Friars last year, because others would pay for lying on it, as they said; but I would not, nor was there any reason I should pay for lying on my own. Threatening to send the Tangier soldiers to my lodging to lie on my bed, because I would not have it in for them to make a prey of; and that they would take away our clothes at the week's end for chamber-rent, 3s. 6d. a week each; and that they would take away friends beds within, for their rent: Davis swearing desperately, as he used to do, that we should never come out while he was keeper. And Newberry coming in next day, and somebody telling him that our hands did swell with the irons, he said, he did not care if our hearts did swell: Nay, they would not let them be taken off so much as to change, in three weeks time. Newberry saying, We must rip up our shirt sleeves: and Davis saying, They should not be taken off, if the lice did eat us up. And Christopher Serle, the under-keeper, said, They should rot off our backs first, except we confessed we had done him wrong; only for speaking to him when he was going to put a bolt on a man's arm that was too little. So that every one could tyrannize then; but

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they

they all paid dear for their wickedness, as will appear hereafter. Nor could we put off our clothes at night, but from one arm, and let them hang on the other; so that we could not turn, but lay mostly on one side, being linked together, which was very tedious in the heat of summer: and that which troubled us much also was, to answer people that came into the prison, what we were put in or hand-bolted for, thinking it was on the duke of Monmouth's account, till we informed them of the cause of it.

But at three weeks end came Joseph Newberry, and spoke to me about my books, which by this time, I suppose, was become a burthen to him; pretending I should go up in town along with him. However that the irons should be taken off to change, which they only were, and put on again on the other hands; so fulfilling that scripture, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel," Prov. xii. 10. But understanding the under-keeper, Serle, had obstructed my going up with Newberry, I writ a few lines to him, to remind him of his promise; whereupon he sent for me, and ordered the irons to be taken off. When I came to his house, he fetched my books and opened them, but could find no treason in them; so gave them me, only kept one or two for his own reading. I carried them to my chamber, and going over to the ward again
(as

(as Newberry advised me, upon my asking him whether I must or no, though he consented that the irons should be left off) I met Davis in the entry, who admired to see me without the irons, and called the under-keeper to know how my irons came off. He said, his uncle ordered it. So he commanded them to be put on again; and so we remained, linked together as before, about two weeks longer, in all five weeks and three days, in the heat of summer, which in that time galled both my hand-wrists that the skin stripped off; but after a-while they hardened, so that it grew more easy. And through the goodness and mercy of God (who was near us, and sustained us with the comfort of his holy Spirit) we enjoyed our health very well also, though thronged up so close in hot weather; and one sick of a fever just by us in the same room, and in danger of the small-pox, and lay on straw all that time, being loath to have in our beds to gratify them, by reason Davis watched to make a prey on us, because we could not give him money while we were under restraint: yea, so wicked was he, that after the irons had been on five weeks, when one intreated him to take them off, he said, If he knew he had e'er a drop of blood in his body that had any pity for us, he would take his knife and let it out. Yea, but the day before they were taken off, he could by no means

be persuaded to it, though he could alledge nothing against us; yet the next day, having wearied out his cruelty by our patient suffering, when he could hold us no longer, he ordered them to be taken off, and we to be let up among the rest of friends. To God alone be the glory of it ascribed, who forgets not his people in their low estate, nor leaves them in the deepest suffering, but brings deliverance in its season; for he it is that bounds the sea, that it cannot pass its limits; so that the "wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder he will restrain," Psal. lxxvi. 10. and make "all things work together for good, to them that love him," Rom. viii. 28. For though we had not received any such usage before for many years, (only two friends, John Anderdon and R. Lincoln, were ironed together in the great persecution after the king came in) yet I hope there might be a service in it to us and others; for we standing it out, and not bowing to their corrupt wills, in giving them money when they did not deserve any, made the Presbyterians wish they could do so too; but "their rock was not as our rock, even our enemies themselves being judges," Deut. xxxii. 31. After our irons were taken off, Newberry called to me one day, as I was walking in the court, and asked me pleasantly, if I had got Ned Davis's goodwill

will at last, as if I had his before; and indeed, to give him his due, I believe he had as lief they had been off sooner; for when he came and saw them on again, (after I had been at his house) he asked me how it happened, saying, He ordered them to be kept off. I told him, It was no occasion of ours, and that he had as much power to order it still; yet it would not do till Davis did it, who over-topped him: and when they were, we remained close prisoners still in the ward, Davis continuing very high and wicked against friends, threatening what he would do, because he had not his will of them; and would fain have done some of us a mischief upon the duke's account, if he could; but the Lord preserved and covered friends from the enemy and the avenger, Psal. viii. 2. And though we were "numbered among transgressors," and made as a reproach to others, yet we had no cause to complain, having the reward of peace in our own bosoms, it being not for evil-doing; committing our cause to the Lord in well-doing, who knows the hearts of all, and will reward every one accordingly, and "recompence tribulation to them that trouble us; and to them who are troubled, rest with him," 2 Theff. i. 6, 7. To whom I dedicate the remainder of my days, desiring I may be freely given up to do his will, and an-

swer his requirings in all things, and serve him in my generation, so as to live in his fear, and die in his favour; and that I may walk worthy of all his mercies, and manifold loving-kindnesses towards me, who hath been so gracious in preserving me in many dangers and difficulties, and carrying me through many exercises and cloudy days, for which I render him the praise, who is worthy of all honour, glory, and renown, from them that know him, and his fatherly dealings with them, for evermore. Amen, faith my soul.

JOHN WHITING,

Ivelchester-Ward, the place
of my close, but causeless,
confinement, the 3d of the
7th month, 1685. }

SOME

SOME PRISON MEDITATIONS,

*Written in the Time of my close Confinement
in the WARD.*

I.

OH! thou blest'd power,
How wonderful art thou!
All in heaven and earth
To thee must truly bow.

II.

Thy power is over all,
Thy presence fills all things;
Thy life those never fail,
Who know the living springs.

III.

Thy power hath constrain'd me
To turn, Lord, unto thee;
Thy love hath o'ercome me,
To whom I bow the knee.

IV.

All power's in thy hand,
Who dost whate'er thou pleases
Amongst the sons of men,
And can't heal ail diseases.

V.

Of body and of mind,
And whatsoe'er is wrong;
Thou soon can'st rectify,
And make the feeble strong.

VI.

Thy mercies never fail
Those that do trust in thee;
Thy grace appears to all,
Even as it did to me.

VII.

To save them from their sins,
And cleanse them from the same;
That in thy love may flow,
And they may praise thy name.

VIII.

Even thou alone art he,
Who didst my ways amend;
Who visitedst me betimes,
And made me to thee bend.

IX.

Thou hast preserved me
In many dangers great,
That I might never fall,
But to thy mercy feat.

X. When

X.

When in the prison-house
I have been close confin'd,
And had no comfort else,
Thou hast refresh'd my mind.

XI.

When I have cry'd to thee
In time of deep distress,
Even then thou heardest me,
And sendest in redress.

XII.

When keepers curse and swear,
And threaten very sore,
That there I should abide,
And should come forth no more.

XIII.

Then I have sigh'd to thee
To help and succour me;
Who opes' the prison doors
And set'st the captives free.

XIV.

When prisoners sing and roar,
Which grieveth me to hear,
My soul retires to thee,
To feel thy presence near.

XV. For

XV.

For thou alone support'st,
And carriest over all,
Whatever thine meet with,
That they may never fall.

XVI.

Therefore I'll sing of thee,
Who 'n time of need hast been
Above all earthly things,
E'en as I've clearly seen.

XVII.

Wherefore I'll lowly dwell,
While others soar on high
Vain glory to obtain;
Let me in private lie.

XVIII.

Out of the view of others,
And of the world, unseem
And unconcern'd therein,
As though I ne'er had been.

XIX.

And so in sweet repose
And quiet pass my days,
Retiring still to thee,
To whom be all the praise.

XX. Lord

XX.

Lord, keep me in thy fear,
 From ev'ry evil way,
 That I may rest in peace
 For evermore, I pray.

J. W.

To which I added on Psalm cxxvi. 5, 6.

Though we may go forth weeping,
 Bearing precious seed,
 And sowing it with tears;
 Yet shall we return reaping
 An hundred fold, indeed,
 In everlasting years.

And those words of David were often a comfort to me.

“ If it had not been the Lord, who was
 “ on our side, now may Israel say, If it had
 “ not been the Lord, who was on our side,
 “ when men rose up against us, then they
 “ had swallowed us up quick, when their
 “ wrath was kindled against us: then the
 “ waters had overwhelmed us, the stream
 “ had gone over our soul,” &c. Pf. cxxiv.
 1, 2, 3, 4.

Not

Not long after this, while I was yet confined in the ward, my adversary, Edward Ancketyll, died the 27th of September, being taken in a fit of an apoplexy, as was thought; and being frightened by his children to bring him out of it, he lived in a kind of discomposed condition till next day, and then died; so fulfilling what I writ to him in my letter aforesaid, That the Lord would visit for these things, and that his head would hardly go down to the grave in peace, except he repented; which did not appear that he did, but continued in hardness towards me to the last, as far as ever I heard, notwithstanding my long and deep suffering on his account, which he could not be ignorant of, and which one would think might have made him relent a little: but since he did not, I cannot but remark the Lord's signal dealing with him, and other of my adversaries, (of which there were not a few instances, as will further appear) though I never rejoiced at their fall, but rather was sorry for it, being kept in the innocency towards them; and desired their repentance, rather than that the evil day should overtake them, though assuredly the "wicked stand in
 " slippery places, and their foot will slide in
 " due time, for the day of their calamity is
 " at hand, and the things that shall come
 " upon them make haste," Psal. lxxiii. 18. Deut. xxxii. 35. and I only mention it for a
 warning

warning to others, that they might not harden their hearts, and “ because judgment is “ not executed speedily,” Eccles. viii. 11. do the more wickedly, as I doubt many have done to their own undoing; for though the Lord (who is a “ God, gracious and merciful, “ slow to anger and of great kindness,” Joel ii. 13.) may bear long, yet he will not “ let “ the wicked go unpunished,” Prov. xi. 21. And this Edward Ancketyll, though he had, as I hinted before, several benefices or places, to the value of about 300l. per annum, yet he could hardly live on this income, though so great; and at last died poor, and left little to his children, who came to little also. His eldest son, Nicholas, (who was my school-fellow) whom he designed to make a priest, afterwards, on some occasion or other, fell distracted, as I heard; and after that went to sea (I think) and was never heard of since, that I remember. His second son, Edward, a pretty lad, who also went to school with me to learn grammar, was afterwards sent to the university to be bred a priest; and then was put into the priest’s office at Clapton, one of his father’s benefices, which he gave him for want of a better, or at least he was curate there; grew so poor, that, as it was reported, he had hardly clothes fit to go into the pulpit: to be sure he was very poor, and it is well if he did not want bread; which I do not write in any
ill-will

ill-will to him, for I always loved him and pitied him, but only to shew how ill they thrive, and wish they (*i. e.* the priests) would leave off the gain of oppression, and be content with what people would give them, or pay them freely that hear them, and not force others that cannot. I believe they would thrive never the worse, and that it would sit easier upon their consciences, and they would have less to answer for in the day of account.

Then for priest Still, who married one of the old man's daughters, and was curate under him in his life-time, who was thought to be a chief promoter of my prosecution in the bishop's court and imprisonment thereupon; being an envious proud man, which I never took the old man to be naturally, but as stirred up by others. This Samuel Still, being priest of Wraxall after him some years after, having been at Bristol, in order to prosecute some friends in the exchequer for tithes, (of whom my brother Bryant was one, and two or three more) coming home, having been drinking and sporting at Faylan's-Inn by the way, very unlike a minister of Christ: coming down the hill near his house, which lay just under it, his horse slipped or stumbled with him, so that he fell and broke his neck, as was thought, for he died with it, which was so remarkable, that it was much taken notice of.

But

But though my adversary was dead, I was not yet discharged, but continued on the bishop's excommunication still (being the king's prisoner) close confined in the ward, as I said; though I thought, after our irons were taken off, and we let up among the rest of friends, we should have had liberty to go out without much more ado; but the waters were yet too high, for as our refusing to give the keepers money, was the occasion of our being shut up and ironed; so because we still refused to gratify them in that respect, while we were kept under restraint, lest it should be an ill precedent in time to come; which I and my late yoke-fellow, John Hipsley, refusing to do, considering the late usage we had, Davis grew wroth with us, threatening to put us down in the common-gaol, or into the ward again, among them that were sick of the small-pox; and to iron us again, fetching the irons in order to do it, or to terrify us; which struck the under-keeper, Christopher Serle, whose heart was somewhat bowed, that he came running up stairs to me, begging me to comply, saying, It was as bad as murder, to put us fresh men in among the sick men, and that he had rather give 20s. out of his own pocket. I told him, if they left us to our liberty, we should not be ungrateful; but while we were kept there under lock, we could not do it. So he went down, and, as we understood

flood after, gave Davis money without any consent of ours, as he confessed; so we were not put into the ward, but kept where we were after others were let out, till the small-pox broke out amongst us also; yet still trusting in the Lord to preserve us: but my companion not having had it, had a mind to speak to Davis; which he did one night, and he let him out: but I and some others still remained, (one of which had the small-pox as aforesaid) but the Lord kept me in patience, if it was his will that I should lay down my life there; but my friend, J. Hipsley, was desirous I should speak to Davis also, thinking if I did, he would let me out too; which, to leave him without excuse, I did the next evening: but he was still very cross and untoward to me, and would not consent to my going out, but seemed resolved to keep me there, saying, That we would be singular above the rest, and that I was too proud to speak to him. I told him we had but little encouragement, for when we did, it was to little purpose, having nothing but ill names and language from him, that we could not have any sober discourse with him. So I saw little likelihood of my going out, but committed my cause to the Lord, and gave up myself to suffer, believing it would not be long; and as I was freely given up, and resigned to the will of God, it was so ordered by the Great Disposer, who can turn
 the

the hearts of men in a moment, that the next day they agreed to let me out also, seeing they could get nothing of me there; and so sent for me down, and ordered me to go forth after two months more; in all, about thirteen weeks from our first confinement; and so was admitted to my former liberty of the town, and went to my chamber again in great peace, without giving them a farthing (though I did the under-keeper after) and saw it was good to be faithful. To God alone I ascribe it, who hath hitherto helped, and thus far preserved me, and given me peace; blessed and magnified be his holy name for ever.

But now to look a little back, the dreadful scene follows: The assizes began in the seventh month, both at Taunton and Wells, by special commission to that tyrannical judge, George Jefferys, lord chief justice, &c. for the trying the duke of Monmouth's men, (for the duke they had taken and beheaded before) where there were above 500 prisoners from the several gaols of the county; and many were had in carts from Ivelchester to Wells; most of them were condemned, even by wholesale, Jefferys making what haste he could, not regarding how he threw away mens lives, or run over them to hasten home to the king at Windsor, to be made lord chancellor; having done the work he was sent about, of which he was admonished, as I have heard, by a sober man, before he

Y

went

went the circuit, to shew mercy as he expected it another day; which he then flighted, but wished afterwards, in his agonies, that he had taken his advice. Many were executed, and their heads and quarters set up on trees, poles, &c. in most of the highways in this county, Dorset, and Devonshire, to the terror of travellers, being dreadful to behold; and many were transported: Some wheedled out of their lives, and others terrified to confess in hopes of pardon, and then hanged, whom otherwise they could have had little against; in relation to which I cannot forbear to mention what I observed passed at Ivelchester, while I was a prisoner in the ward: There came David Trimm, of Wells, and took account of the prisoners, (which perhaps was his place, as county-clerk, to do) with the causes of their commitment; but not only so, but wheedled them to confess how far they were concerned; pretending, if they would confess, they would do them all the kindness they could at the assizes; so drew out of them what they could, under hopes of favour, and then went in and writ down their examinations; which I was an eye-witness of, and which, if they had denied at the assizes, or pleaded not guilty, would have been produced as evidence against them; and, as reported, was. The like they did at the common gaol; and though some endeavoured to excuse themselves of the guilt of the poor
 mens

mens blood, when they saw it fall so heavy, (some hanged for a little hay, or letting them have a little victuals, which perhaps was not in their power to hinder) and afterwards lay the blame on king James and Jefferys; yet it was such a piece of treachery to betray them out of their lives, that I know not how they can acquit themselves of, or who could force them to it, if they had not been as willing and forward as their masters, which I mention to shew how much better it is to shew mercy than severity. There were eight executed, quartered, and their bowels burnt on the market-place before our prison window. I went out of the way because I would not see it, but the fire was not out when I returned; and they forced poor men to hale about mens quarters, like horse-flesh or carrion, to boil and hang them up as monuments of their cruelty and inhumanity, for the terror of others, which lost king James the hearts of many; and it had been well he had shewed mercy when it was in his power; or made examples of those inhuman wretches, Jefferys and Kirk, who hanged men in cold blood; though he pardoned a great many afterwards, of which hereafter.

Now as to the keepers, Joseph Newberry aforesaid, whom I never counted the worst of them, though he was bad enough, but his anger would be sooner over than Davis's. He

Davis had a pretended Quaker, but both apostatized to that degree from their religion (if they had ever any, which, by the latter part of their lives, it would make one question whether they had or no) that Newberry, after he came to be keeper, grew very debauched and wicked, as well as Davis, and was necessary to our ironing as aforesaid, but was not long after ironed himself at Well's affizes, about Monmouth's men as they said; and was now made Davis's drudge, to go about with the condemned men to the several towns over the county, where they were to be executed, to see it done; and soon after he had done his work, and returned home, he was taken sick, and died in a sad condition; being taken with an extreme palsy all over his body, that he shook like an aspin leaf; cursing, swearing, and telling of the devil, in a dreadful manner; the flesh of his back rotting as he lay, they said: and he, that when he was told our hands swelled with the irons, said, if our hearts did swell he did not care; now his tongue swelled in (if not out of) his mouth, and was black, and so he died miserably the 10th of the 10th month. "The
 " Lord is just in all his ways, and righteous
 " in all his judgments; who would not fear
 " before thee, O thou King of Saints! be-
 " cause thy judgments are made manifest;"
 had

had been a baptift and a preacher too, as Rev. xv. 3, 4. and yet the wicked will know no fhame.

And for Edward Davis, whose wickednefs is fo often before mentioned, that it is needlefs to rehearfe it, or what he was, his deeds declared him. He was one of the wickedeft men that ever I knew, and even gloried in his wickednefs; and though he furvived Newberry, yet afterwards he was turned out of the gaol, which was foon after. He grew very poor, though he ufed to boast of his giving two hundred guineas for the gaol, and then opprefs the poor prifoners to get it out of them again: it all wafed away: and after his wife died, (who was an honeft friend, and fo were fome of his daughters, though he almoft diftracted them with his wickednefs) he dwelt alone, for his daughters could not live with him, only one of his bafiards, that ufed to break hedge and fteal wood for him for fire; but what they did for victuals, I cannot tell. He kept his houfe as his caftle, and flood on his guard for fear of being arrefted for debt; and I heard he was caft into gaol for debt, and afterwards died poor and miserable. The Lord knows how to deliver the righteous in the day of trouble, and referve the wicked unto the day of deftruction to be punifhed.

And as to Christopher Serle, the under-keeper, his instrument in ironing us, and other wickedness as aforefaid, notwithstanding all his ill gettings also, and tyrannizing over poor prisoners, was cast into prison for debt, within a year I think after he was out of his place; and kept a whore with him in the ward where we were prisoners; and was so poor and miserable, that, as I was told, he wanted bread, or had not victuals to eat; and he that was once so proud and scornful, that hardly any thing was good enough for him, would now have been glad with that which he had despised: so just is the Lord to render to every man according to his works. Oh that others would take warning.

Now to come to something better; as I begun this year, 1685, with the death of an ancient man-friend, so I must end it with that of a young woman, who was as extraordinary of her age as most in her time, and that is, that faithful servant and choice handmaid of the Lord, Elizabeth Bathurst, daughter of Charles Bathurst of London; who was convinced of the blessed truth, and brought off, with her brother and sister also, from among the Presbyterians, (among whom she was, though young, a zealous professor) in a more than ordinary manner, about the year 1678; though she had several opportunities before to hear truth's testimony, yet that eye was not yet opened in her, that saw between things
that

that differed: but on a time, some friends coming in the love of God to visit her father and mother, who were friends, and sitting with them and their children, the presence of the Lord was manifested among them, and a visitation of his living power was extended to them; the word of life was opened, the ancient path of the just; and a testimony, that the set time was come, for their being turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the power of the living God: and as the way of life was opening to them, the power of the Lord fell on them, the youngest being much broken and trembled. Elizabeth was about to make some reply to Charles Marshal, but he told her, The day of the Lord's visitation was upon her, it was hard for her to kick against the pricks: she burst out into abundance of tears, and all of them were greatly bowed down before the Lord, in a sense of the Majesty of his divine power. After some time, they retired to their chambers, where they spent their time in bowedness of soul, seeking after favour with God; and gave up in obedience to the teachings of the heavenly grace of God. And sweetly did this handmaid of the Lord walk, and the work of redemption and salvation prospered; and was cut short in righteousness, so that she became one of the wise virgins, and had oil poured into her lamp that shined bright; and an increase of wisdom was given her to

ſpeak a word in due ſeaſon, and tell what God had done for her ſoul. And in the 8th month the ſame year, in obedience to the Lord in fear and much trembling, ſhe went with a meſſage to Samuel Anſley's congregation, with whom ſhe had been in communion, to proclaim his univerſal love to them, in oppoſition to their doctrine of reprobation; and to invite them to the feaſt of in-gathering, that ſo they might be allured to turn in unto him, and be gathered by him in the day of his mercy, &c. After which ſhe writ an expoſtulatory appeal to them; and, growing in the truth, ſhe afterwards writ and publiſhed the next year, 1679, that excellent treatiſe, entitled ' Truth's Vindication,' in three parts: The firſt, in anſwer to ſome controverted points, ranked under ten heads. The ſecond treats of the principle of truth, viz. the light, grace, and ſpirit of God within, what it is, from whence it comes, and whereto it leads. The third, is a confutation of peoples falſe opinions, concerning the manner how we have been convinced of the principle of true religion, with ' An Epiſtle to ſuch of ' the Friends of Chriſt, as have lately been ' convinced of the Truth.' This treatiſe was ſo extraordinary, both for depth of matter and expreſſion, that ſome would not believe that it was written by her, being but a weakly maid, though it was known to be her own writing.

writing. ‘ Not in affectation to be popular
 ‘ (says she, in the epistle dedicatory to her
 ‘ five friends) for that I do not desire, but in
 ‘ obedience to Christ Jesus, my Lord and
 ‘ Master, have I penned this matter, that so
 ‘ the innocency of his truth and people may
 ‘ more conspicuously appear. Neither have
 ‘ I fondly desired to get my name in print;
 ‘ for it is not inky characters can make a
 ‘ faint; such must be sanctified and cleansed
 ‘ in body, soul, and spirit, through which they
 ‘ come to be prepared God’s kingdom to in-
 ‘ herit.’

And in the conclusion of the second part,
 concerning the principle of truth, she says,
 ‘ Here is free grace indeed! free love indeed!
 ‘ Oh do you but yield yourselves the subjects
 ‘ of his love, and he will set your souls at li-
 ‘ berty, that sin shall not have dominion over
 ‘ you; only obey his voice, and he will soon
 ‘ subdue your enemies for you, and remove
 ‘ that which letteth out of your way; and
 ‘ that you may know when the time of visi-
 ‘ tation is upon you, I’ll leave this mark with
 ‘ you, even then when you feel the Son of
 ‘ God knocking at the door of your hearts,
 ‘ that he may come in and sup with you, then
 ‘ I say is the time, when the year of jubilee is
 ‘ approaching to you; when those who are in
 ‘ bondage may be set at liberty; which if you
 ‘ refuse to accept of, and will not be set free,
 ‘ when

‘ when the year of God’s release is proclaimed
 ‘ unto you, how can you expect any other,
 ‘ but that your spiritual task-master will ob-
 ‘ tain leave to bore your ears to the posts of
 ‘ his doors, and make you his servants for
 ‘ ever; therefore bow down to God’s power
 ‘ in you, that he may come in and set up his
 ‘ judgment-seat in every heart; so shall you
 ‘ feel your souls redeemed out of the earth,
 ‘ and earthly nature; after which you will
 ‘ feel the peace of God to be extended to-
 ‘ wards you, like a river; but if you rebel
 ‘ against him, you shall dwell in a dry land,
 ‘ and shall not see when good comes: how-
 ‘ beit, when calamity overtakes you, then
 ‘ shall you know that you had a time, you
 ‘ had a season, you had a day of visitation, in
 ‘ which you might have obtained mercy;
 ‘ would you have turned unto God, he
 ‘ would have turned unto you, and put his
 ‘ fear into your hearts, and blotted out your
 ‘ transgressions for his own name’s sake; and
 ‘ become a father to you, and you should
 ‘ have become the sons and daughters of the
 ‘ Almighty. O come! come away, haste out
 ‘ of Babylon, while the deliverer is near you,
 ‘ so will he turn back your captivity like
 ‘ rivers in the south, and conduct you to Ca-
 ‘ naan, the land of everlasting rest, where
 ‘ praises shall spring up in your souls, to the
 ‘ glory of his name, even to all eternity; and
 ‘ with this I’ll leave you.’

She

She afterwards travelled to Bristol, in the time of the hottest persecution there (1682); how she escaped the mouth of the lion and paw of the bear, I know not, but by the preserving arm of the Lord that carried her thither, to bear a public testimony for his name and truth; as also in her journey thither, and back again: at Windsor, Reading, Newberry, Marlborough, Oxford, &c. her father accompanying her. After which, she was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, Southwark; but the Lord gave her a mouth and wisdom to answer her opposers, that the justice who committed her thought her to be a person of great learning and education. Her race was but short after she received the truth, which was not above seven years, before the Lord was pleased to take her to himself. She ran her course in life's way, and then laid down her head in peace with the Lord, enjoying an immortal sabbath, with the virtuous "King's daughter, who is all glorious within, whose clothing is of wrought gold," Psal. xlv. 13. tried in the fire; who "rejoice in God their Saviour," Luke i. 47. and magnify his great and glorious name, who is worthy for ever. She died in the Lord, the 9th of the 10th month, 1685, and left a sweet favour behind her: See her works, entitled, "Truth vindicated," and "Testimonies concerning her," 8vo.

But

But as for us, we remained prisoners all the winter; and the 10th of the first month, 168^s/_e, king James put forth his proclamation of general pardon; which though it had many exceptions in it, yet it reached the case of most of us, and freed abundance of Monmouth's men, who had lain about at hide, in woods and places, till they were almost starved many of them, and might as well have been pardoned before winter, if some had endeavoured it, as much as they did to take away their lives. And the assizes beginning at Wells, the 30th of the said first month, (the judges being entrusted to put the said proclamation in execution) we drew up a paper to the judges, to represent our case to them, as we used to do to the justices at the quarter-sessions, and as we did to the judges at the last spring assizes, (though it had not then the desired effect in the main, as this now had) which was delivered to the judges as follows:

To

To Chief Justice Herbert and Judge Wright,
 assigned to hold Assizes and Gaol-Delivery
 for the Western Circuit, at Wells, for the
 County of Somerset, the thirtieth of the
 month called March, 1686.

*Several of the People called Quakers, now
 Prisoners to the Gaol at Iwelchester, in
 the County of Somerset, on behalf of them-
 selves and many others of the same Peo-
 ple, in humility, shew,*

THAT since the Wise Disposer of all
 things hath ordered your employment
 in this honourable service, to relieve the op-
 pressed and deliver the captives; and since
 king James II. that now is, hath committed
 part of his clemency to your custody, to di-
 stribute the same, according as the Lord hath
 inclined his heart; and having taken particu-
 lar notice of our sufferings, and signified his
 will and pleasure, that we, the people com-
 monly called Quakers, should receive the full
 benefit of his general pardon, with all possible
 ease: which grace and favour we, with all
 thankfulness, acknowledge to God as the chief
 author, who hath the hearts of kings at his
 disposal; and to the king, as being ready herein
 to mind that which the Lord inclined his
 heart unto; and not without hope, to find the
 like

like opportunity to render to you our hearty thanks, for the full accomplishment of that which our God allows, and the king so readily grants us. And also hearing the report of your nobility and moderation, in managing this weighty trust committed to you, we are emboldened thus to address ourselves, though in plainness of speech, yet in sincerity of heart; to lay before you, that we have for several years been prisoners to the gaol aforesaid; not for any plotting against the king or government, or harm done to his subjects, (our peaceable lives have manifested our fidelity to the king, and love to our neighbours, it being contrary to our principles to do otherwise) but only for conscience sake, because, in obedience to Christ Jesus, we dare not swear at all; or forbear to worship God, as he hath ordained, nor conform to those worships which we have no faith in; which to omit the one, or practise the other, we should therein sin, and so wound our consciences, and break our peace with God; and what good then should our lives do us, if we might enjoy never so much of the world's favour and friendship?

Our humble request therefore to you is, to consider and compassionate our suffering condition, and improve the power and authority that God and the king hath

hath entrusted you withal, for our relief and liberty; we still resolving, and hoping, through God's assistance, to manifest our fear to God, honour to the king, and honesty to all his subjects, by our godly, humble, and peaceable conversation. The particular causes of our imprisonments are herewith attested, under our keeper's hand. And we further pray, that mercenary informers and envious prosecutors against us, only for conscience sake, may, according to your wisdom and prudence, be discouraged from prosecuting such actions, by which many industrious and conscientious families, and persons, are in danger of being ruined; and we encouraged in our diligence in our respective callings, and may enjoy the benefit of our industry; and so shall we be the better enabled to perform with chearfulness the duties we owe to God, the king, and all men. The Lord guide you in judgment, and more and more incline your hearts to love mercy, and do justice, and grant you the reward thereof; which is truly our desire and prayer.

To which were added our names, with the causes and time of our imprisonment, viz.

Christopher

Christopher Holder, a prisoner 4 years and 9 months; Richard Grabham, 4 years; Rufus Coram, 4 years; John Hipsley, 2 years and 6 months; and Jasper Batt, 2 years and 4 months: on præmunire.

John Parsons, 10 years and 4 months; John Chappel, 10 years and 2 months; Thomas Powell, 9 years and 7 months; John Whiting, 6 years and nine months; John Allen, 6 years and 9 months; Thomas Comb, 3 years and 8 months; and Edmund Chappel, (last imprisoned) 2 years: on excommunication.

Marmaduke Coat (in all) 15 years and 5 months; Wm. Liddon, 15 years and 2 months; Thomas Martin, 5 years and 4 months; and Vincent Boldy, above 1 year: on attachment, &c. for tithes.*

The abovesaid paper being delivered as directed, was well accepted by the judges; and thereupon we, the abovesaid prisoners, whose names were to it, were discharged out of prison by chief justice Herbert, at the affizes at Wells aforesaid, and recorded on the calendar discharged. Several of us having been long prisoners for the testimony of a good conscience, and well content to fill up the measure of our sufferings, whom the Lord hath now set at liberty; glory to his name for ever.

* Several being discharged last spring affizes at Taunton, and others by death: We were now reduced to a lesser number than we had been.

And there were discharged at Bristol about a hundred, and in the several gaols in England and Wales; in all, as I take it, about 1500 or 1400, which, though I have not the particular account from each county, I compute it thus. There was presented to the king, the beginning of the last year, an account of about 1383 present prisoners, and in the paper to the bishops 1460, with some more lately added; so that allowing 100 might now remain prisoners, undischarged, in the several counties; being on process at common law, or other process or cause not within the king's proclamation, and so not reached by it (as there were three in our county): the number discharged must be about 1360, or 1350, I suppose, at least. So that we may say with the psalmist,

“ When the Lord bringeth back the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad,” Psal. xiv. 7. liii. 6.

“ When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream. Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing; then said they among the heathen, The Lord hath done great things for them. The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.” cxxvi. 1, 2, 3.

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“ The

“ The Lord is righteous, he hath cut asunder the cords of the wicked,” cxxix. 4.

“ Let them all be confounded and turned back, that hate Zion,” &c. 5. Read the whole psalm.

There now remained only three friends prisoners at Ivelchester for conscience sake, viz. Thomas Hurd, of Somerton; and John Wride and Robert Tutton, of Burnham; all for not paying tithes. How their names came to be left out of the aforesaid paper to the judges, or of being discharged, I am not certain, but suppose on some process which the proclamation did not reach.

We were not at the assizes ourselves, being twelve miles from Ivelchester; but our names and causes were in the calendar, and several friends were appointed to attend that service on our behalf.

And so I was discharged at the same place where my prosecution first began, almost 8 years before, after I had been a prisoner seven years, not wanting a quarter.

I shall shut up the account of my imprisonment with an account of friends that died prisoners for the testimony of truth, during the time of my imprisonment, viz.

John Pople, of Edington, for tithes, by Henry Bull; imprisoned the 28th of the 1st month, 1677; died the 13th of the 12th month, 1679.

William

William Beaton, of Puddimoor, on excommunication, by priest Sands, the 26th of the 4th month, 1679; died the 9th of the 7th month, 1681.

John Wall, of Edington, for meeting, by Henry Walrond, the 11th of the 4th month, 1682; died the 7th of the 9th month, 1682.

Henry Gundry, of Street, for tithes, by Joseph Glanvil, priest, the 11th of the 7th month, 1678; died the 21st of the 9th month, 1682.

Gregory Ceely, of North Curry, for tithes, by Robert Hill, farmer, in the 2d month, 1673; died the 10th of the 10th month, 1682.

Samuel Sayer, of Banwell, for tithes, by James Cross, priest, the 5th of the 7th month, 1676; died the 12th of the 10th month, 1682.

Joan Comb, of Gregory-Stoke, on feffions process, by H. Sher and another, the 14th of the 1st month, 168 $\frac{2}{3}$; died the 1st of the 2d month, 1683.

Joseph Wade, of Pensford, for meeting, by John Helliard, the 2d of the 7th month, 1683; died the 8th month, 1683.

Jerem. Powel, of Michael Creech, for tithes, by John Gale, priest, in the 11th month, 1674; died the 29th of the 11th month, 1683.

James Pople, of Stawell, for tithes, by Henry Bull, impropiator, the 28th of the 4th month,

month, 1674; died the 21st of the 9th month, 1684.

John Anderdon, of Bridgewater, on præmunire, by J. Rainsford, the 14th of the 5th month, 1675; died the 20th of the 1st month, 168 $\frac{4}{5}$.

Christopher Lodge, of Chard, for absence from church, the 13th of the 3d month, 1684; died the 16th of the 4th month, 1685.

John Brice, of Burnham, for tithes, by T. Mumpesson, impropiator, the 5th of the 7th month, 1675; died the 6th of the 10th month, 1685.

There were two more of the old prisoners, who died some time after, viz.

John Wride, of Burnham, for tithes, by T. Mumpesson, impropiator, the 5th of the 7th month, 1675; died the 6th of the 12th month, 1688.

Francis Scott, of Hambridge, for tithes, by James Strong, priest, in the 10th month, 1690; died the 12th of the 9th month, 1693.

Which is as far as I pretend to go at present. In all ———— 15

And there died prisoners upon truth's account, before I came to prison, 21

Of which the first, W. Tucker, of Naylfey, in 1658, was a near relation of mine. In all ———— 36

BEING now at liberty, I proceeded to marriage with my dear friend, Sarah Hurd, which was accomplished by taking each other as husband and wife, in a public meeting appointed on purpose, the 20th of the 3d month, 1686. We lived at Long-Sutton, and kept on her trade for some time; and the Lord blessed us together, and made us a comfort one to another; and a blessing she was and hath been to me many ways, according to his promise to me before, blessed be his name for all his mercies. And the Lord was wonderfully good to me this summer, after my enlargement and marriage; and often appeared to me in meetings, and out of meetings in the fields, &c. which was very sweet and comfortable to me; now I had the liberty to walk and meditate in them, which engaged my soul to the Lord, to feel his everlasting love and presence, so to me and with me, in a married state as well as in a single, it was my great desire before I was married, that nothing might divert or hinder me from the enjoyment of the Lord's presence, which had been so with me in a single state; and in my imprisonment, to sweeten every bitter cup, and make hard things easy; and which therefore I valued and prized above my chiefest joy, and hope I shall to my dying day.

NOW having given some account of king James's freeing us out of prison, I shall proceed a little further to give account of his granting liberty of conscience, and the issue of it, or what followed thereupon; and how afterwards it came to be confirmed in parliament; and some other subsequent passages and things, I hope, not unnecessary or unworthy of the reader's perusal.

But first, as I have in the foregoing relation given account of the death of several eminent public friends, with some short memoirs of their lives, so I shall proceed; there being several deceased this year; as Robert Widders, Christopher Taylor, and Thomas Zachary, &c. which I shall mention in course, beginning with the last.

1. Thomas Zachary, of London, was born in the year 1622; and from his childhood, felt the seed of God working in him, which put him upon seeking the Lord; and was very much preserved thereby from committing gross sins, and reprov'd for all sin: and in this beginning, had much refreshing from the witness of life in him; but when he entered upon worldly affairs, a cloud of darkness compassed him about, and the earthly spirit began to work and veil the life for a time. But after a while, the seed began to spring up again, and the earthly fire to abate, as that moved; so his warfare began
as

as the light encreased, and the earthly appeared, which was strong, but the light judged and condemned the evil; so that he often cried out of his burthen, to be delivered from the worldly spirit, and the occasion and temptations that drew out his mind, and wished himself in a wood, or some retired place, where he might have but little converse with men, being sensible of much weakness in him, in commerce and trading with them: and being under a law of justice in himself, found, that most he dealt with were generally too hard for him, and oft deceived him, and therefore had as little to do with them as he could, though he suffered in his estate by it; and seeing the highest professors get into offices, he was tempted to desire the same; but when he went about it, was ashamed to bow and court great men's favour, and felt judgment for it; and could not but rejoice, when he saw others fall thereby, that he was preserved.

After some years following of public preachers and ordinances, he found a death upon him to them; observing pride and loftiness in ministers, bearing too much authority over their hearers; and their taking tithes or other wages, did weaken his respect to them. And baptizing of children he saw to be a foolish and groundless thing; and that called the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he saw idola-

try in the receivers, in putting off their hats, or holding them before their faces while they eat the bread, which he thought too much honour to the elements and shadows; and that the faith of most professors was too much in the outward, and reached not to Christ the Saviour, the life, the arm and power of God; not to Christ in spirit, but only in flesh; and here was the downfall of all his religion, as it lay in the outward. After this he entered into a wilderness condition, being dead to all outward means, and yet had little of inward life to sustain him; yet had so much strength given, as to hold him in expectation of further life; and therefore followed such as spoke of further discoveries, who were high, and spoke of glorious things, but saw a corrupt ground in them: and that the fruit of their ministry was not so much for purgation, as elevation; and so many unclean spirits got into the height, and spoke excellent words, but lived in the unclean nature: and these were soon manifested to him not to be the people of God.

After this, he heard of a people in the north called Quakers, who trembled at the word of the Lord in their meetings: An humble people, that did leave off all superfluity in diet and habit, and whose conversations were honest and strict; and thought in himself, these were the people of God. And hearing
of

of their way of speaking, he was the more confirmed in that they did not go after the old road of taking a text formally, and steal the words of the prophets, Christ, or his apostles, but spoke as they were moved of the Lord: yet notwithstanding his general assent to them when they came to London, in 1654, he feared to hear them; till through some outward trouble, his mind was somewhat broken, and he went to the Bull and Mouth; but his expectation being to hear some high matter, was disappointed, and the man that spoke seemed to him like a rushing wind that passed by, and he saw little in it; and so forbore for a while, and then went and heard them again, and felt an inward ground in them, which was safe and sure; and found much life in them, and was thereby constrained to follow them, being convinced of the power and truth of that spirit which guided them; and did conform in many things, as to habit and respect of persons, and had the peace of it; but could not forbear the hat and common speech to his friends and acquaintance, till further convincement as to the evil of these things; and then would have reasoned as to their indifference, and so shunned the cross; but felt a greater of inward trouble and judgment, and lost his peace and comfort, till he bowed down to take up the cross in those things, though counted foolish; which in his own wisdom he stumbled at, and made slight of, as *yea*
and

and *nay*, *thou* and *thee*, to a single person; titles of honour, and the hat, though little things in themselves, yet hard to him: and as he became obedient herein, he felt more strength and power, and real content sprung up in him. And in the light and power of that spirit that had thus visited him, he waited to know the mind thereof farther; feeling himself not his own, but the Lord's, to do with him what he pleased, and to require what service he would, he should be willing to obey him; and if the Lord never shewed more of himself to him, or required more of him, he felt contentment in his will.* But as he grew in the truth, he came to receive a testimony for it in life and power; and was imprisoned in Newgate, for meeting at Wheeler-street, the 24th of the 5th month, 1664; and again, from the same place, the 7th of the 6th month, ditto; and the 28th of the same, was committed from the Bull-and-Mouth, with many more, to Newgate: so he was three times imprisoned in little more than a month's time.

He had a country-house at Beaconsfield, in Buckinghamshire, where he sometime dwelt. And in the year 1670, after the conventicle act came in force, he was sworn against by Lacy and Aris, two informers, before Sir Thomas Clayton, that he and his wife were

* See his book, 'A Word to those who have been convinced of the Truth,' &c.

at a meeting the 21st of the 6th month, at Jourdans, when they were both in London at the same time, on which the justice fined him 10l. and 10l. for his wife, and 10l. for a pretended preacher, though there was none there that day; and issued out his warrant for levying the same on his goods. T. Zachary, on his return, was advised to appeal to the quarter-sessions, which he did; but the justice being unwilling to lose the fines, and the future service of the informers, (if they should be convicted of perjury) to protect them, charged Thomas that he suffered justly, who discouraging the justice in defence of his innocency, he watching advantage, took occasion of some expression, as if he said, the righteous are oppressed, and the wicked go unpunished (which was too true if he had) pretending it was a reflection on the government, and a high-misdemeanor; required sureties of him, to answer it the next quarter-sessions; which he, knowing his innocency, refusing, was sent to Aylesbury gaol, the justice hoping thereby to prevent the prosecution of the appeal: but friends, particularly T. Ellwood, took care of it; and at the next sessions at Wickham, got four witnesses to come from London, who proved T. Zachary and his wife to be in London all that day: the informers had sworn they were at the meeting above twenty miles distant. So that, notwithstanding all endeavours used

to the contrary, the jury found them not guilty, on which the money deposited for the fines at entering the appeal, ought to have been returned; but they could never get but 10l. of it, the clerk of the peace keeping the rest. T. Zachary was also brought from Aylebury to Wickham, to receive his trial; and though no evil could be charged upon him, yet justice Clayton, who committed him, being displeas'd to see the appeal go against them, and the conviction he made set aside, importuned the bench to remand him to prison till next sessions (Was not this a rare justice). In the mean-time, T. Ellwood got an indictment drawn up against Aris and Lacy, for perjury, and delivered it to the grand jury, who found the bill; and on trial forced them to enter a traverse to avoid going to gaol, (which would have spoiled their informing trade) and was bound one for another, that they might do what mischief they could till next sessions, which was at Aylebury, where they were cast for wilful perjury, and had been taken up, had they not fled from justice; but an order was directed to all mayors, bailiffs, constables, &c. to take them up, which so terrified them, dreading a gaol, that being hopeless of carrying on their trade, they parted. Aris fled, and appeared no more in that country; and Lacy, lurked privily awhile, till hunger and want forced him out,
and

and put him on an adventure, the best he could take. He went to the gaol, where the innocent man suffered by his means, and cast himself at his feet, confessing his fault, and begging forgiveness; which wrought so on the tender nature of the good man, as not only to forgive him, but to be his advocate to mitigate the prosecution, which was consented to as he behaved himself; at which the poor fellow was so overjoyed, that he returned to his family and labour with more industry than before: but so angry was the convicting justice at the prosecution and loss of the service of those honest men, (as the attorney Hitchcock of Aylesbury, their advocate, said a great lord called them, in a letter recommending to him the care and defence of them and their cause) that he got the oath of allegiance tendered in court to T. Zachary, which he knew he would not take, because he could not swear at all; by which snare he was kept in prison a long time, I suppose till the king's indulgence in 1672.

I knew him, and heard him in meetings in London, in 1675; after which I do not find much to remark on him, but that he held his integrity to the last, and died in unity with friends, and peace with the Lord, the 20th of the 4th month, 1686, about sixty-four years of age.

2. In the 5th month, 1686, died that faithful servant and handmaid of the Lord, Anne
Whitehead,

Whitehead, wife of Geo. Whitehead, of London; her maiden name was Anne Downer, and she was born about the year 1623. She was religiously inclined, and sought the Lord from her youth; following the best of men, and best of means, according to the dispensation of those times; and when it pleased the Lord to visit this nation with the manifestation of his glorious truth, she was called in the morning of that blessed day, and followed the Lord fully, through many sufferings and exercises; casting away those things to the moles and to the bats that were as idols in her way. And growing in the truth, she was soon raised to bear a testimony to it; and travelled on foot in the service of it above 200 miles into the west, when George Fox was a prisoner at Launceston in Cornwall, in the year 1656: and in that journey was instrumental in convincing many of the truth, (some of account in the world) and in her return, did confirm and establish several who were newly convinced. And about the year 1658, travelled southward, and in the Isle of Wight. In 1662, she married Benj. Greenwell, a grocer in Bishopsgate-street, London; who dying, George Whitehead married her, the 13th of the 3d month, 1669. She was a faithful woman, and very serviceable in the church, not only in respect to her ministry, but in taking care of the poor, widows, and orphans, that nothing might be lacking;

lacking; visiting the sick, fatherless, and widows, in their afflictions; a lively pattern of pure religion; a true nursing mother, a mother in Israel indeed; being helpful to many, tender to all, and ready to communicate; laying out herself for the good of others, in which she had few equals; so that it might be said of her, “though many daughters have done virtuously, she (in some respects) exceeded them all,” Prov. xxxi. 29. and was indeed an extraordinary woman. I have seen her in meetings in London, in 1675, and, by what I then heard of her, thought her an ornament to religion; and that her conversation adorned the gospel and doctrine of God our Saviour, which she not only preached, but was a chearful sufferer for, when it fell to her lot. Thus she continued, holding her integrity to the last; and bore a living testimony to the truth, at the Bull-and-Mouth, but a few weeks before she died; and against the pride and vanity of some professing truth, especially young people: and being taken ill, she removed to Bridget Auzill’s at South-street, about six miles out of London, where several friends going to visit her, she had many sweet expressions on her death-bed, and there departed this life in peace with the Lord, the 27th of the 5th month, 1686, about 63 years of age, leaving a sweet memorial behind her in the hearts of many whom she had been
 helpful

helpful to in counfel, exhortations, &c. of whom much might be faid; but I refer to the testimonies given forth by many friends concerning her, in the book entitled, ‘ Piety promoted by Faithfulness,’ printed the fame year in 8vo.

3. This year (1686) alfo died, Christopher Taylor, brother of T. Taylor afore-mentioned. He was born in Yorkshire, I fuppofe, as his brother was about Skipton, and was bred a fcholar and a minifter; being a preacher among the betterfort in thofe days, as his brother was, till they both received the truth, and then witnessed the true call to the miniftry, and were minifters indeed; not by the will of man, but by the will of God. He was convinced of the bleffed truth about the fame time as his brother was, by George Fox, when he came into Weftmoreland in the year 1652; and coming into obedience to it, he, with his brother, was foon raifed up to bear a testimony to it; and fent forth, with many others, about this time, to declare it. And travelled in many places of the nation; but was foon after imprifoned at Appleby in Weftmoreland, for his testimony to truth, in the year 1654, being committed by Thomas Burton, called a juftice, for fpeaking the word of the Lord to his prieft, in the fteeple-houfe yard, as he was commanded; where he remained under cruel
fufferings

sufferings and inhuman usage, about two years, and writ a book, dated the 30th of the 5th month, 1655, wherein he said he had then remained a prisoner above one whole year, and do not find but he did till 1656, when his book was printed, entitled, ‘ The Whirlwind
 ‘ of the Lord gone forth as a fiery flying
 ‘ Roll, with an Alarm sounded against the
 ‘ Inhabitants of the North Country; being a
 ‘ Forewarning to all the Rulers in England,
 ‘ of the mighty and terrible Day of the Lord,
 ‘ which shall overtake the Wicked; but espe-
 ‘ cially to the persecuting Rulers, Priests, and
 ‘ People, in the County of Westmoreland;’
 and to many of them in particular by name, and to the town of Appleby. And by some other papers, which I find of his in print, as ‘ A Warning from the Lord to this Nation;’ and another, ‘ Warning to the Town of Appleby;’ I am made to think he was a prisoner longer there. He afterwards kept a noted boarding-school for children, boys and girls, at Waltham-Abbey, in Essex, about twelve miles from London, where he writ, ‘ A Faithful and True Witness to the Light
 ‘ of Jesus Christ,’ and ‘An Epistle to Friends,’ 1675; and was at Bristol about 1678. There was a wonderful appearance of God, and breakings forth of his power among his scholars in the year 1679, of which he,

and others of the teachers, &c. published ‘ A
 ‘ Testimony of the Lord’s Power and blessed
 ‘ Appearance in and amongst Children,’ that
 year: His wife, Frances, having also a public
 testimony. He afterwards removed with
 his school to Edmonton, in Middlesex, where
 his chief assistant, or usher, John Matern died;
 a faithful man, in 1680. And in the year
 1681, he wrote ‘ An Epistle of Caution to
 ‘ Friends,’ in relation to W. Rogers, &c.
 And in 1682, something in answer to two
 malicious libels of W. Rogers, &c. But af-
 terwards leaving his school to George Keith,
 he removed from thence about the year 1683,
 with his wife to Pennsylvania; where she died
 a faithful woman in the year 1685, and he a
 faithful man the next year, 1686, and were
 both buried at Philadelphia.

4. William Carter, of Cumberland, died
 also this year; he was a very honest innocent
 man, both before and after he received the
 truth, (though that much improved him) for
 he was inclined to seek after the Lord from
 his young years, and in the time of his former
 profession of God and Christ. Before he came
 to receive the knowledge of the truth, he was
 zealous and honest according to what he knew,
 and did exceed many professing people at that
 time, in an honest life and godly conversa-
 tion; yet could not find durable satisfaction
 to

to his soul in a bare profession ; saying, There was a narrower way to the kingdom of heaven than that. And it pleased the Lord to shew him that way, and to visit him in his tender age, even in an acceptable day, which by him was never to be forgotten ; wherein the Lord was pleased to set the way of life and death before him ; and, through the goodness of God, he, with Mary, chose the better part, which was never to be taken from him : For being at Pardshaw meeting, as he returned home with another man, he asked him, How he liked this people, in scorn called Quakers ? The other answered, very well. William replied, He was then satisfied for religion for ever ; for, said he, it is the light of Christ within, that must be our teacher and leader ; for they who believe in, and obey Christ, the light of life, taking up the cross to self, come to witness true peace with God. And the Lord was pleased to call him forth into the work of the ministry ; and it was a great mercy and blessing to many, when the Lord raised him up to bear a faithful testimony for the Lord and his truth among friends in that dark corner where he lived, the west side of Cumberland ; being one of the first that was convinced of truth in that part, and gave up his house for friends to meet in ; and was instrumental to

the convincing and bringing forth many about that place; and did bear a faithful testimony for God in many parts of England, where the Lord was pleased to order him: And also in Scotland and Ireland; in the last of which he travelled with Peter Fearon, and had good service, being made instrumental for good to many; but contracted a distemper there, which he returned with in the 5th month this year; and not long after had a desire to go to Thomas Lower's, at Marsh-Grange in Lancashire, about 20 miles from his own home, to take some physic of the doctor. But he not being released from his long imprisonment in Cornwall, William delayed it for some time, till he heard of his return home, and then went in great weakness and difficulty over the sands, where he was kindly received; and Margaret Fox, James Lancaster, and several other friends, came to see him: but in about a week after he came thither, he finished his course, and breathed his last; laying down his head in peace with the Lord, and entering into his rest, the 14th of the 9th month, 1686. See 'The Memory of William Carter revived.'

5. I shall conclude this year, 1685, with the death of another faithful servant of God, and none of the least in travels and sufferings, viz. Robert Widders, of Kellet, in Lancashire. He was born in Upper-Kellet, in the said county, of honest substantial parentage,

age, about the year 1618, and was a seeker after the Lord, and the knowledge of his way, but wandered from mountain to hill, and could find no rest nor satisfaction to his soul, till it pleased the Lord to send his servant, George Fox, into those parts, who informed his mind, and turned him to the light of Christ Jesus in his inward parts, which was comfort to him who had long sat in darkness; and so he was convinced of God's pure eternal truth, in the year 1652. And in the year 1653, he, and George Fox, and James Lancaster, went into Cumberland; and he and J. Lancaster went to Emelton steeple-house, and spoke to the priest and people: and next first-day he was moved to go to Coldbeck steeple-house, and spoke to priest Hutton; and the rude people, his hearers, threw him down, and dragged him out into the yard, and threw him on the ground, and punched and beat him till the blood gushed out of his mouth, and he lay for dead some time; but a woman took pity on him, and held up his head till his breath and life came again. And the Lord upheld and strengthened him, that the same day in the afternoon he went seven miles to Ackton steeple-house, and spoke to priest Nichols, bidding him come down, for the hand of the Lord was against him: and one William Brisco, a justice, being present, commanded the constable to secure him; and

afterwards examined him in the priest's house, who seemed to flatter and fawn on Robert; but he told him the spirit of persecution lodged in him: the priest said nay, he was no such man; but presently told the justice (falsly) that Robert had stole his horse, and that he could find in his heart to be his executioner with his own hands. Did I not tell thee, said Robert, the spirit of persecution lodged in thee? So the justice made a warrant to send him to Carlisle gaol; and after he had given it to the constable, he called Robert before him again, and asked by what power he came to seduce and bewitch people. He told him, he came not to seduce and bewitch people, but in the power of God, which should make him and all the powers of the earth bend and bow before it. And as he spoke, the dread and terror of the Lord took hold on the justice, that he called for the warrant again, and caused the constable to set Robert on a moor, near night; and so the Lord delivered him at that time. But not long afterwards he was moved of the Lord to go to the said Ackton steeple-house again, where the said justice Brisco had power to send him to the common gaol at Carlisle; where he lay in the dungeon among thieves a long time, and never came out night nor day, till he was released. Then he went to Lamplough steeple-house, and spoke to the priest and people; and

and they were very rude, and tore the hair off his head, and rent his coat. And in the afternoon, the same day, he went to another steeple-house two miles from thence, and spoke to the priest, but he went away, and would not stay.

In the year 1654, he was sued to an outlawry by priest Schoolcraft, of Caton in Lancashire, for tithes; and by a writ cast into Lancaster castle, where he remained a prisoner a year and a half, and then was freed by superedeas, and the farmer of the outlawry came and made distress for a fine. He was outlawed a second time, but the priest died; so that came to nothing. And after that, one William Atkinson, tithe-farmer, sued him at common law, for several years tithes, and had judgment for 10l. and took goods to the value of 12l.

In the year 1657, he travelled with George Fox into Scotland, and went to the steeple-house in New Muckland, and was banished out of Johnston with George Fox: and as he came back, was at a steeple-house in Northumberland, and spoke to the people; and one Henry Harbottle and his wife were convinced. And in Bishoprick he was at several steeple-houses. And in Bishop-Aukland, speaking in the town, the people stoned him, and bruised his head very sore. And likewise in Yorkshire was at a steeple-house near Skipton,

and spoke to priest Webster, who had been partly convinced of truth, but proved false to it: he also spoke to the people, and to one justice Coats, a moderate man then present, and directed them to the word of God in the heart; and then went to a moor-side, where a few friends were gathered together, and sat down among them; and immediately it rose in him, that justice Coats would send for him: and presently came many horsemen and foot, and said he must go before the justice, who told him; he had broken the law, in disturbing the minister, and he might send him to gaol. Robert answered, Send me if thou darest; to that of God in thy conscience am I made manifest. The justice said, I neither dare nor will; so took him by the hand, and told him, he might take his own time. He was also at several steeple-houses in Lancashire, as Warton, Halton, Kellet, and Arkholm chapel, where the people were like to fight; and he called to the priest to come and take them up, for they were in the dogs nature. And in the assize time, at Lancaster, he went and spoke to the priest, as he was preaching before the judges; and he was smitten, and they broke up, and the people hurried out.

He was several times a prisoner at Lancaster for his testimony; and travelled pretty much with Miles Halhead, in Cumberland, Northumberland,

Northumberland, Bishoprick, and Yorkshire: and also with J. Lancaſter, (who was alſo a faithful miniſter) in thoſe countries, and Scotland, and ſeveral other parts of England, and to the city of London. And alſo with the ſaid J. Lancaſter and G. Fox in America, about the year 1670; arriving at Barbadoes, and from thence paſſed to Jamaica; thence to Virginia and Maryland, and ſo through the wilderneſs to Eaſt and Weſt Jerſey, Long-Iſland, New-York, and ſo by ſeveral iſlands to Rhode-Iſland and New-England, where they had many precious meetings; and after that, with much difficulty returned through the wilderneſs, lodging among the Indians, and ſavage creatures, who made a hideous noiſe at them when they kindled fires in the night; and paſſed through ſome part of Pennſylvania, as now called, where were ſome Danes and Swedes, who entertained them civilly; and ſo to Maryland and Virginia again, and had good ſervice there, where many were turned from their dumb idol ſhepherds to the living God: and after they had done their ſervice, returned from thence to England.

And in the year 1678, and 1683, he was ſued for tithe-corn and hay, by James Greenwood of Bolton, who got treble damage on him; and took goods from him, at three ſeveral times, to the value of 132l. 11s. ſo that he ſuffered in all for tithes, with the above-ſaid,

faid, 144l. 11s. He suffered also in the years 1683 and 1684, for Sundays shillings, (so called,) for absence from church, 10s. And on the conventicle act, in the year 1684, he having a peaceable meeting at his own house, justice Bindles sent the officers of Over-Kellet with a warrant, requiring friends to go before him, which they did; who fined Robert 20l. for his house, and himself and wife, 5s. each, for being at the meeting; for which the said officers, Richard Gibson, &c. came with a warrant from the said justice, the 26th of the 7th month, and demanded the said fines of Robert; which he refusing to pay, they made distress of his goods, to the value of 22l. 7s. And for several other meetings the same year, he was fined by the said justice, &c. and distrained, mostly by the same officers, of goods to the value of 15l. 11s. odd money. In all, for meetings, upwards of 37l. 18s. which with the tithes, &c. amounted to about 183l.

Many sufferings, trials, and exercises, he went through, outwardly and inwardly, being a valiant man for God and his truth; a grave solid man, and had a great discerning of spirits, and was sharp against deceit and hypocrisy. He was very serviceable in the church and amongst friends, and much beloved by them (as appeared by the many testimonies concerning him) for his uprightness and integrity, which he held fast to the end of his days,

days, dying in peace with the Lord, at his own house in Over-Kellet, the 20th of the first month, 1686, or $\frac{6}{7}$, about 68 years old.

But now to come to the time of liberty of conscience, and how it was first granted. The 4th of the 2d month, 1687, king James put forth his long-looked for and long-talked of declaration to all his loving subjects, for liberty of conscience: ‘ That from henceforth
 ‘ the execution of all, and all manner of pe-
 ‘ nal laws, in matters ecclesiastical, for not
 ‘ coming to church, or not receiving the sa-
 ‘ crament, or for any other non-conformity
 ‘ to the religion established; or for, or by
 ‘ reason of, the exercise of religion in any
 ‘ manner whatsoever, be immediately sus-
 ‘ pended,’ &c. Whereby we, and other dis-
 senters, were freed from persecution for our non-conformity; and had liberty to meet together to worship God in spirit and truth, according to Christ’s direction, and our own persuasions, without incurring the fines and penalties for the same, as we had done; and for which we had suffered so much, by fines and imprisonments, in king Charles II’s reign, by envious justices and wicked informers, and therefore were glad to be eased in that respect; though it did not come forth in the way we could have wished for, viz. by king and parliament, which would have been more acceptable than the granting it by virtue of the prerogative. But the parliament from
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the beginning of king Charles's time, would never consent to liberty of conscience, but declared positively against it in 1662, and also recalled the king's declaration of indulgence in 1672, and voted it illegal; and for a dozen years since could never agree on it in parliament: though I have heard there was once a bill in the house for it, but lost I know not how. And therefore we could do no less than accept of it now, and be thankful to God and the king for it, however granted, as that which was right in itself, and made way for the establishing it in parliament when king William came; and in the mean time we generally enjoyed our meetings peaceably; and if it was more in favour to his own party than us, we, and other dissenters, had the benefit of it. But the old persecuting party, whose hands were thereby tied up, that they could not spoil their neighbours as heretofore, and ride, whip, and spur over dissenters as they used to do, were disgusted at it, and some writ against it; but the more moderate part, even of the church of England, favoured it, and wished it confirmed in parliament. And many books and pamphlets were written and published against the penal laws and tests, in vindication of the repealing them, and the king's dispensing power; which I hope had some good effect for promoting liberty of conscience, and allaying the
spirit

spirit of perfecution, which could never revive again to its former height, though some had endeavoured it since. But the disgust increased against the king thereupon, of which hereafter.

In the 5th month this year, 1687, I and my wife going to Bristol fair as usual, our friend William Penn being there, where were mighty meetings, notwithstanding the late perfecution in that city: I never knew greater though I had been acquainted with them, and frequented them at times, when at liberty, for about sixteen years, even from the time of the building the great meeting-house there. People flocked to them like doves to the windows; which I note to shew the ineffectualness of perfecution, and that it never attains its end. And as we returned, he and Francis Stamper had a great meeting at Chew, under Richard Vickris's great oak in his close; a large and heavenly meeting it was, many friends and others of the country round being there, and the more, for that it was the first time, as I remember, that ever William Penn was in our country. So we returned home to Long-Sutton, and lived in much peace and love together; and the Lord was wonderfully good to me as in times past, and often appeared to me in his everlasting love; and his living presence was with me in meetings and out of meetings, as I waited in faithfulness upon him,

him, whose love constrained me to walk before him in great nearness, humility, and circumspection; and engaged my soul to praise and adore his great name, in return of all his mercies; and I witnessed the words of the psalmist made good, “ Thy people shall be
 “ willing in the day of thy power, they shall
 “ worship thee in the beauty of holiness,
 “ from the womb of the morning,” Pl. cx. 3. and without boasting, could say, thou hast the dew of thy youth; for which, let my soul bless and praise his holy name for ever.

This year, 1687, died, Amariah Drewet, of Cirencester in Gloucestershire, who bore a faithful testimony for the Lord, and was valiant for the truth; and a man of account amongst friends, who after he knew the truth, was a lover of it, and all the upright hearted who lived in it: A preacher of righteousness in his life and conversation where he lived; being faithful in his day, and turned not his back in the time of suffering, but cheerfully was given up; and rather blessed the Lord that he was found worthy to be one of that number, to have his faith tried before the Lord and his persecutors; often desiring the Lord to forgive them, that they might see the evil of their ways and repent, that they might find favour with him. He was a plain-hearted man, and hated all deceit and pride; but loved those that kept in the
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the true plainness and simplicity of the truth. He was a tender husband and father, even to those who were not his own children; and was open-hearted, kind, courteous, and tender to all. His heart and house were open to receive the Lord's messengers and ministers, who travelled in his work and service; desiring much their company, and entertaining them cheerfully. He was attended with great sufferings in the last persecution, which was very hot and violent in the town of Cirencester, the place of his abode: but he stood stedfast in his testimony, and was bold for the truth, notwithstanding the rage and fury of their persecutors, which was great against friends there for several years, of which he had his share, both by imprisonment and loss of goods. He had his doors broke, and his goods seized several times, till they had taken all that was in the house: and the officers returned answer to the justice, that there was nothing more to be had: but he bore all with patience, and kept constantly to meetings. And when the meeting-house doors were nailed up, and friends kept out in the yard, he was not slack in coming to assemble with them: and sometimes kept meetings in his house; though the justices themselves did frequently visit their meetings for several years together. But these sufferings which he underwent did not startle him; but with boldness
and

and holy confidence he bore his testimony for the truth, and against his persecutors unchristian proceedings; and often advised them to cease from persecution. And so cleared himself to them, and left it at their doors, and the issue to the Lord. And by the mighty power of God, he was preserved through all his sufferings of imprisonment and spoil of goods, though great, which he bore with much cheerfulness; and stood steadfast without wavering to the end. On the 11th of the 7th month this year (1687) he was taken ill of a fever, and had many good and comfortable expressions in the time of his sickness, of his peace and satisfaction: and on the 25th of the same, departed this life. See some testimonies of his life, death, and sufferings, printed the same year.

This year (1687) also died those two faithful labourers in the gospel of Christ, Roger Longworth and James Harrison, both of Bolton-in-Moors, in Lancashire; and both great travellers at home and abroad in the service of truth, and for the spreading and propagation of it. I knew them both, but cannot say much of them for want of memoirs, only that they were able ministers of the gospel; and laboured much in it for the gathering people to it, and building up of friends in the most holy faith to the last. They both died in Pennsylvania: Roger came thither from Barbadoes

badoes in the 3d month this year, and there died, and was buried the 8th of the 6th month; and James arrived there in the year 1681, or 1682, and died in the 8th month, being buried there the 8th of the same, 1687. And the same day also was buried, Thomas Langhorne of Westmoreland, a faithful servant and labourer in the work of the Lord; of whom I cannot say much neither, for the reason abovesaid, though I knew him (seeing and hearing him once at Bristol, about the year 1676 or 1677). He was a powerful minister of the gospel; and had a very sound living and effectual testimony for convincing people of the truth, and strengthening them that had believed in it. He and Thomas Carleton, another faithful friend, of Cumberland, who suffered many years imprisonment at Carlisle, for his testimony against tithes: and wrote a notable book, entitled, ‘ The Captive’s Complaint, or the Prisoner’s Plea against the burthensome and contentious Title of Tithes:’ printed, 1668. I say, T. Langhorne and he writ a brave lively testimony in verse, concerning Francis Howgill, who died a prisoner on præmunire, at Appleby, in 1668: which is prefixed to his works in folio, printed 1676; which poem begins thus:

May we lament for the death of any man,
 Whose days, and years, and life, is as a span :
 Then sure for this, our friend that's now re-
 mov'd,
 Who was so universally belov'd, &c.

The said Tho. Langhorne afterwards went to Pennsylvania, (which bereaved England of a great many good friends) where he arrived about the year 1686; and so was there but about a year before he died, being buried the 8th of the 8th month, 1687.

The 27th of the 2d month called April, 1688, king James republished his declaration for liberty of conscience, to shew, that he was firm and constant in his resolutions, and that his intentions were not changed since he issued it out; to excite his subjects to join in it, and to choose such members of parliament, as might do their part, to finish (*i. e.* confirm) what he had begun; signifying he resolved to call a parliament to meet in November next at farthest, with an order of council annexed of the 4th of May, for reading his declaration in all churches and chapels (so called) throughout this kingdom: and ordering the bishops to send and distribute the declaration throughout their several diocesses, to be read accordingly; which they generally refused to do, alledging it was illegal, though others thought

thought it was because they were against liberty of conscience: and seven of them petitioned the king, not to insist on the distribution and reading his declaration, alledging, that their great averfeness to the distribution and publication of it in their churches, proceeded neither from any want of duty and obedience to his Majesty, nor yet from any want of due tenderness to dissenters, but because it was founded upon such a dispensing power, as had been often declared illegal in parliament; and particularly in the years 1662, 1672, &c. Which the king resented, and sent them to the tower for refusing to obey his order; and caused them to be tried on it in Westminster-Hall; which exasperated the church party the more against the king, though they were acquitted. And many books and pamphlets were writ, *pro* and *con.* about it, as well as concerning the penal laws and tests: to one of which, called ‘ A New Test ‘ in lieu of the Old One;’ proposing an oath or oaths, instead of the test, for parliament-men, &c. I writ an answer, entitled, ‘ The ‘ Altar of Baal thrown down, and an Ephod ‘ set up, become a Snare,’ to shew the ill consequence of pulling down one, and setting up another as bad; not against the repeal, especially of the penal laws, but what he would set up in lieu of the tests. I sent it to a bookseller in London to print it; but it being

against the current of the times, it was not printed.

About this time died that faithful servant and handmaid of the Lord, Rebecca Travers, of London; a woman of account, who had a public testimony. She was born about the year 1609, and had a religious education; and had been a zealous professor among the Baptists, as appears by the sequel: and was convinced of the truth by James Naylor; being invited by her sister (M. Booth, I suppose) to hear him dispute with the Baptists, at the Glass-house in Broad-street, in the year 1654, the first year that he and others came to the city; when there was much running to and fro, and an increase of knowledge, and a thirsting in many thousands, for the breaking forth of the day of salvation, and fulfilling of the promises. She had heard of a people in the north, called Quakers; and that they differed from all people in their customs, manners, and carriage; and appeared very uncomely in their behaviour and expressions, to those who were in love with the honour and riches of this world; so that they seemed worthless, uncivil, and unwise at that day to her, and all that counted themselves saints, but fought the world and the glory of it; and would fain have been thought the only Christians, and would have enjoyed this world as long as they could, and the kingdom of
heaven

heaven afterwards. And they understood the Quakers did not only strike at their outward glory, and called to a denial of the lusts of the flesh, &c. but denied their worship, teachers, &c. which made not only the rich and high, but the religious to fly from them. And some prophesied, how suddenly in one year their name would cease; so there was little to encourage any to go to hear such a people, to whom none could join. But who could give up all this, and be content to suffer affliction, reproaches, and shame, for the hope which was not seen? yet the power which descended and visited many, made willing thereto, and brought to a thirsting and longing after the bread of life, and to inquire after him whom their souls loved. And in this desire, or curiosity, she went to hear J. Naylor dispute with the Baptists, and would have been glad to have heard the Baptists get the victory: but when she came, it proved quite contrary, for the countryman stood up on a form over against the Baptists; and they were so far from getting the victory, that she could feel his words smote them: that one or two of them confessed they were sick, and could hold it no longer; and the third beset him with such confidence, as if he would have carried all before him, but shamed himself in bringing scriptures that turned against him. And she was confounded and ashamed, that a Quaker

should exceed the learned Baptists; which brought her low, and made her desire to hear him, which she did soon after, at the Bull-and-Mouth: and was so convinced, that when she came home, she could not but declare, that if she had lived in the apostles days, she could not have heard truth more plainly, nor in greater power and demonstration of the spirit, than she had that day; and from that time kept to meetings, though not a Quaker in a day or a month, being not so easy an attainment, finding many things to be removed: but a friend of her's invited her to dinner with J. Naylor, and others. One called a gentleman, who had run through all professions, and had high notions, put many curious questions to J. Naylor, which he answered with great wisdom; but not so plainly, as she would have had him, because she coveted to know hidden things: on which J. Naylor, 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: which he spoke in power, and was received by her as the word of truth; and she found it so in the deepest trials. Her access to the throne of grace was, as in the innocency she could approach; and the more she came to be emptied of her self-knowledge,

ledge, &c. the more ſhe came to feel that innocent pure life, that was before tranſgreſſion was; and this, with the power and holy ſelf-denial, ſhe beheld in J. Naylor in thoſe days, made her value him, and attend on him in his greateſt ſufferings; and ſhe came to receive a teſtimony to bear for the truth.

And in the year 1659, ſhe was moved of the Lord to go to the ſteeple-houſe, called St. John Evangeliſt's, where ſhe had attended many years; and aſking the prieſt a queſtion (after he had ended) in moderation and fear; not to diſturb, as ſhe told him, but for edification, viz. Whether the ſcripture more plentifully declares of any one thing, than that for idolatry God brings wrath and vengeance upon nations, people, and perſons: but he haſting away, (as hirelings uſed to do) his people fell on her as ſo many devouring wolves, railing, tearing, thruſting, haling, and pushing her down ſeveral times, and no hand to help the innocent, or tongue to plead her cauſe; though ſome nearly related to her ſtood by. And ſhe afterwards writ a book, for thoſe that met to worſhip at the ſaid ſteeple-houſe, wherein ſhe declares, That though ſhe had been a reader of the ſcriptures from a child of ſix years old, as conſtantly as moſt; yet when, by the power of the eternal goſpel, ſhe was turned from darkneſs to light, ſhe ſaw things unutterable; and the ſcriptures, that in her dark

mind she had so often turned, was now another thing in her eye, and plain, as she came to learn of that spirit which gave them forth. And some other books and papers she writ; as, 'A Testimony concerning the Light and Life of Jesus the true Foundation,' in 1663; and, 'A Testimony for God's everlasting Truth,' &c. 1669. She was committed to prison (Newgate) with many more, for meeting at the Bull-and-Mouth, the 21st of the 6th month, 1664, by Richard Brown, &c. also the 11th of the 10th month, from the Bull-and-Mouth to Newgate, by John Lawrence, mayor, &c. And again, the 12th of the 12th month, for declaring the truth at the Bull-and-Mouth, three times in one year; and the 12th of the 4th month, 1670, for declaring at the Peel; committed with others to Newgate, fined 5s. a-piece, and discharged. I knew her, and heard her at the Bull-and-Mouth, in 1675; and she continued a faithful woman to the truth afterward to the last, as far as ever I heard, though she met with some exercises in her latter days. She lived to a great age, and died in peace, the 15th of the 4th month 1688, aged about 79 years.

Two days after died that ancient suffering servant of God, and minister of Jesus Christ, William Dewsbury of whom, though I have mentioned somewhat in the beginning of this treatise, in relation to his imprisonment at
Warwick,

Warwick, yet I cannot but give some further account of him, being so eminent in his day. He was born in the East-Riding of Yorkshire, and bred mostly to keeping of sheep, till he was about thirteen years of age, and then was put an apprentice to a clothier at Holdbeck, near Leeds; and was a zealous follower of the priests, but had not satisfaction in himself, still wanting peace with God; under the exercise of which he was brought so low, that he could hardly perform his business, till the wars broke out, and then he joined with them that said they fought for the gospel; but found them as ignorant as others, what the gospel was. Then he heard there was a reformed church in Scotland, and travelled to Edinburgh, but found little but formality there. Then he returned into England again, and went amongst the Independents and Anabaptists, but could not join with them, for his soul wanted the testimony of God's love, which the Lord shewed him could not be obtained in outward observations. Then his mind was turned within by the power of the Lord, and the word of the Lord came unto him, saying, "Put up thy sword into thy scabbard; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight;" and saw that his enemies were within, and spiritual; and that his weapons against them must be spiritual, to wit, the power of God. Then he could no longer

longer fight with a carnal weapon, fo he put up his fword, and left the army. Then he returned to his outward habitation and calling, labouring with his hands; his mind being turned within to wait upon the Lord in the way of his judgments; crying to the Lord under condemnation, till it pleased the Lord to give him fome hope of comfort, about the year 1645: yet he underwent fore travail and exercife under the burthen of fin, (as the apoftle Paul once did) and cried to the Lord to free him from the body of fin and death, which he groaned under. And the word of the Lord came to him, faying, "My grace is fufficient for thee, I will deliver thee;" and by the power of it, he was armed with patience to wait in his counfel, until it pleased the Lord to manifelt his power to free him, which was in the year 1651. For

In the faid year, George Fox coming into Yorkfhire about Balby, where Richard Farnworth, Thomas Aldam, James Naylor, Thomas Goodair, and others, were convinced. He had a meeting one evening at Lieutenant Roper's, where W. Dewsbury, and his wife Anne, came and were convinced of the truth. And foon after (being prepared of the Lord before) he was raifed up to bear a public testimony to the fame, and became a very eminent minifter of the gofpel of Chrift; and laboured, and travelled greatly in it, for the turning

turning of people to it, and suffered much for it.

In the year 1653, he travelled into Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire, declaring the truth in meetings and steeple-houses; and underwent great sufferings, beatings, &c. with the rest of friends in those days for the truth's sake. And in the year 1654, on the information of Edward Bowles, priest of York, against him, as a ringleader of the Quakers, &c; Judge Windham granted his warrant to apprehend him; and at a meeting at Crake he was, on a warrant from Thomas Dickeson, taken the 27th of the 2d month, by John Lockwood, constable, who consented to his staying there till next day; but in the night, the inhabitants of Crake came like the wicked Sodomites, rushing at the door, and had him out in the street; shouting with a loud voice, as they had him from place to place; and so kept him till next day, and then had him before the said justice, who, though on examination he could find nothing against him, sent him to York-Castle, where he was kept till the assizes in the fifth month; where the said Hugh Windham, who granted the warrant, sat judge. W. Dewsbury desired his accusers might appear face to face, that he might suffer according to law, if he had transgressed, or else be cleared: the judge promised him he should have a fair trial, but was so far from

from giving him a fair trial, that he did not grant him any, but at the end of the affizes cleared him by proclamation. And after he was by the arm of the Lord fet at liberty, he journeyed into Cleveland and other parts of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and so to Derby; and as he was declaring the word of the Lord to the inhabitants of that town, there came two men and laid hold on him, and had him before the justices, then sitting at the general sessions, who examined him, and sent him to prison the 24th of the 6th month; but the next day he was taken out again, and put out of the town, and ordered to depart their coasts, they threatening what they would do to him if he returned: but return he did, staying there till he was free to depart; and then he journeyed to Leicester, and had a meeting there the 3d of the 7th month. And after he had finished his testimony, went to the steeplehouse; and after the priest had done, he declared the truth to the people, till he was taken and had before the mayor, Edm. Johnson, who commanded his officers to put him in prison; and next day he was had before the mayor, who with another ruler examined him; and finding nothing against him, commanded the keeper to put him out of the town, charging him to depart, as at Derby: but he not regarding it, returned into the town, in obedience to the Lord, to finish his testimony to the inhabitants

tants of that town. Then being led of the Spirit, he journeyed into Northamptonshire, and to Wellingborough; where, and thereaway, many were convinced: and as he was going in the street, Thomas Andrews, priest of that town, bid him give over deceiving the people; William bid him make it appear wherein he deceived them: he said, Thou tellest them there is no original sin: William asked him, if he heard him say so? But the priest fled away and made no answer: but afterwards, William going to the steeple-house, where the priest was who had falsely accused him, and standing silent till he had done, he then declared to the people, and spoke to the priest, to prove what he had falsely accused him of; but he fled away again, and made no answer. Then W. Dewsbury was haled out into the yard, where he declared the truth to the people, till a constable had him away into the market-place, but at last let him go: and next day, being the 28th of the 10th month, Richard Dennit, constable, came to the friend's house where he was, and took him by virtue of a warrant that had no name, but for one called a Quaker; and had him before Thomas Pentlow, justice at Wilby, who examined him, but would not read him any law he had transgressed; but made a mittimus, and sent him to the common-gaol at Northampton the next day; the keeper denied

denied him a copy of the mittimus, as did also the justices at the general sessions at Northampton, in the 11th month; where he was had before Jo. Clark, Jo. Parker, &c. who sat to judge the cause: but when the charge was read which he was committed on, none appeared to prove it, but instead thereof, they committed him again to prison till the assizes in the 1st month, 165 $\frac{4}{5}$; and there was brought three times before Matthew Hale, who sat judge of life and death, to answer what might be objected against him. And the last time, Hugh Windham sat with him, in commission to have judged between him and his accusers; and though no accuser appeared to prove the transgression of any law; (neither would those that sat to judge his cause, read any to him) yet he was committed to prison, where he had been amongst those arraigned for felony and murder. He was afterwards had to the assizes in the 5th month (1655) and tried with others, viz. Jos. Storr, H. Williamson, J. Whitehead, Mar. Storr, Tho. Cocket, and F. Ellington, before Edw. Atkins, judge; who, though he could not gainsay the truth declared by them, nor read them a law they had transgressed, yet they were not suffered to have the benefit of the law that murderers and felons had, that their accusers might appear face to face, and have a fair trial, and speak for themselves to clear the
truth

truth from false accusations; but were again committed to prison: (the trials at those assizes are too large to insert here, but may be seen in several books*). He was continued prisoner till about the latter end of this year, or the beginning of the next: for I find him at a meeting in the 3d month, 1656, at Wm. Lovel's at Hardingstone, in the said county of Northampton, where he and John Crook, J. Samm, Thomas Stubbs, and the said Wm. Lovel, were, after much abuse and threatenings at the meeting, taken prisoners; but W. Dewsbury was afterwards let go, and the rest had to Northampton gaol, where they were kept some time, twelve steps under ground. He came up to London in the 2d month, 1657, and went into Kent in the 3d month, and travelled down the south coasts westward to the Lands-end in Cornwall, in the 7th month; and the 27th of the same had a meeting at Hum. Lower's, who had been a justice, and the high sheriff being wicked against the truth, threatened to break up the meeting, but was chained. And the 29th he was at a meeting at Launceston; after which he journeyed into Devonshire, and the Lord let him see he should

* A Discovery of the Ground from whence the Persecution did arise; and a true Testimony of what was done to the Servants of the Lord, at the General Assizes holden at Northampton.

meet with a storm in that county; and accordingly he was stopped at Torrington, a guard set over him, and brought before the mayor and other justices; some of whom were very cruel and wicked against the truth, and dealt rudely with him, taking off his hat in great rage, and threw it on the ground; and committed him to prison for some days: And he was many times brought before them, who charged him with being a Jesuit come from beyond sea, and read him several new laws to proceed against him as a vagabond; but the Lord over-ruled them, that he was freed as to that. Then they read the oath of abjuration, and said, he must take that; which he denied; but declared the truth against the Pope and all idolatry. After which they would know how he came to be a minister of Christ, and of his leaving his wife and children to preach the word of eternal life, through the counties into Cornwall; which he answered, and was free to declare the truth to them, which cut them to the heart; and one justice wept: but some of them stormed against him for his hat, and sent him to prison again; sending for him often, to see if they could ensnare him, but in the wisdom of God he was preserved. They made a mittimus to send him to the common gaol at Exon; some opposed it; but he that had the chief rule said, he should not see his face any more
till

till he was before the judge at the affizes. W. Dewsbury told him, he might do what he had power, his innocence would plead for him. So he was had again to prison, where he lay on the floor, without straw or any thing: but on the 2d of the 8th month, he was brought before them again; the Lord had pleaded his cause, and turned the heart of him that threatened he should see his face no more, that he pulled the mittimus in pieces before his face, and told him he was free. So the Lord delivered him out of the hands of unreasonable men, according to his promise. The first-day after, he was at a meeting in Somersetsshire; and 4th day, the 7th instant, at a meeting, where was thought to be near a thousand people. The next day he visited Thomas Salthouse, and the rest of friends, in prison at Ivelchester: and next day was at a meeting in Wiltshire. And the 11th, being first-day, at a meeting where it was said were two thousand, the Lord being mightily with him: and so to Nathaniel Crisp's in Gloucestershire; to Slattenford, and Bristol. And in 1658, he travelled into Scotland; and to London again, 1659: and was imprisoned for his testimony in the tower at York, in 1660 and 1661: and the same year was a prisoner in Newgate, London; and in York castle, 1662 and 1663. And the same year was imprisoned at Warwick, and præmunired for refusing

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refusing to take the oath of allegiance: where he was a prisoner in all about nineteen years (as aforesaid) and four of them kept close prisoners; but being freed by the king's declaration of indulgence, in 1672, while he had a little respite he travelled pretty much; as to Bristol in the 3d month, 1673, and divers other places; having much upon him (as he writ) while the door was open; and not only westward, but through several counties in the north; as, particularly, Cumberland, Northumberland, Bishoprick, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, &c. and came up to London when I was there, in the 10th month, 1675, from whence he writ a general epistle, (which is in his works) and afterwards came into the west again, to Bristol and Portthead in Somersetsshire; but was afterwards imprisoned again at Warwick: and about 1678 (the time of the Popish plot) I was with him at Warwick; being abroad, he was taken up at Leicester, as I remember, being accused of being a Jesuit; but Titus Oates gave a certificate under his hand, to clear him: so he continued a prisoner, as I take it, till king James's general discharge; and did not travel much after that I find, his health being much impaired, as he says, through the sharp persecutions which he passed through in the heat of the day; and many long imprisonments,

beatings,

beatings, bruifings, &c. that he was many times forced to rest two or three times in going to the meeting in the same town, not being of ability to travel as in years past. In the third month, 1688, he came up to London to visit friends, and bore a faithful testimony to the truth, intending to have staid the yearly-meeting; but being taken ill of his old distemper which he had contracted in prison, he returned home, and died in peace with the Lord at Warwick, the 17th of the fourth month, 1688, leaving a heavenly testimony behind him, expressed about a week before he died. See his works in 4to.

About this time, I having had thoughts of removing from Long-Sutton (though in some respect it had been a pleasant place to me) to Wrington, a market-town in the north-side of the county, nearer my own estate; accordingly sought a house, which this spring I hired, though with some difficulty, some of the tradesmen endeavouring to forestal me in hiring a house, to prevent my coming into the town. And as soon as I could order my business, and put off my shop, I removed with my wife and family thither, in the fifth month this year, 1688, (a little before Bristol fair) after I had been out of the country above nine years; where, upon my coming, one of them, a draper, who had endeavoured to prevent my coming, immediately fell before

me, by breaking during that very fair, so that a considerable trade fell into my hands, and I witnessed the scripture fulfilled, Gen. xxii. 17. and the Lord blessed us, so that we lived comfortably, and our removing proved to our satisfaction, through the mercy of God; especially finding his ancient love and presence with me, and attending me in all places whithersoever I went in his fear; as I faithfully attended upon the Lord, (let me for ever remember it with reverence, and mention it to his praise) who often appeared to me, and with me, in this town of Wrington, (though I met with some exercises in it, of which hereafter) and visited my soul with his everlasting loving-kindness, for the drawing me nearer and nearer unto himself, and carrying on his blessed work which he had begun in me, praised be his holy name for ever. I cannot express the largeness of his love to my soul, and the obligation I am under to him for the same; so that in the living sense of his exceeding love, and never-failing mercy to me, both inward and outward, my heart is often broken and tendered before him, in meetings, and at other times, through the renewed visitations of his love to my soul, times without number; incessant praises be rendered unto him for ever.

Things were now grown ripe for a revolution in the nation, through the disgust against

gainst king James, and the fear of popery; many of the nobility and gentry having sent a memorial of their grievances to the prince of Orange, inviting him over, though the king had promised to call a parliament, to sit in November following, and writs were issued out, but afterwards recalled. The prince embarked and landed at Torbay, in Devonshire, the 4th of November; publishes his declaration of the ground of his coming, and advances forward to Exeter, &c. the nation generally turning to him, so that the king could not trust his own soldiers, though many of them were Papists, there was such a defection; and, indeed, considering what a general defection there was, it was enough to make one think there was something in it more than ordinary; at last he ordered them to be disbanded, and went out of the nation, leaving the throne vacant; which made way for king William and queen Mary, who being proclaimed and settled on the throne, confirmed liberty of conscience: of which next year.

But first I must give account of the death of two or three eminent friends of the ministry, who died this year, 1688. First, John Songhurst, of Coneyhurst in Suffex; a brave eminent man, as well as minister, who had a very fine testimony. His birth, convince-

ment, coming forth in a testimony, or his travels, I cannot be particular in; but remember I saw him once at Bristol, about the year 1678. He writ a very notable book, in the year 1680, entitled, ‘ A Testimony of Love and Good-will unto all them who desire to come to enjoy an everlasting being with the Lord, when days in this world will have an end;’ which shews he was full of the love of God, and had a large and living testimony to bear for the good of others. As also, ‘ An Epistle of Love and tender Good-will to the called of God, that have in any Measure answered their Call;’ written the year before, though printed the year after the other, viz. 1681. Both which bespeak him a man truly concerned for the good of all; and being Wm. Penn’s countryman, he afterwards removed to Pennsylvania the same year, 1682, that he did; and at last died in West-Jersey; but was buried at Philadelphia, the 25th of the eleventh month, 1688.

2. Alexander Parker, an ancient and eminent servant of God, and minister of Jesus Christ, was 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

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; after which he travelled with him in Huntingdonshire, Cambridge, and Lincolnshire, 1656: and the same year went into Wales, and had some controversy with Vavasor Powel, and also with a Baptist at Shrewsbury: see his book, entitled, 'A Testimony of God, and his Way and Worship,' printed in 1656. He came into the west, and went into Cornwall, where he had pretty much service with priests and people, and had disputes and controversies with some of the priests; and writ some books there this year, particularly, 'A Call out of Egypt, where Death and Darknes is, into the glorious Light and Liberty of the Sons of God,' printed in 1656: and, 'A Testimony of the Light within; a Glorious Truth,' &c. printed 1657. And the same year, he went into Scotland with Geo. Fox, and had good service there, being banished from Johnston's to another town, where A. Parker, on a market-day, went up and stood upon the market-crofs with a bible in his

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hand,

hand, and declared the truth amongst the foldiers and market people; and writ a book there, dated at Leith, in the ninth month, in answer to one James Brown, entitled, ‘ A Discovery of Satan’s Wiles and his subtle Devices,’ &c. After which, returning into England, he travelled up and down in the service of truth many years. And in the year 1662, he travelled with George Fox and John Stubbs, from London, through the countries, visiting friends till they came to Bristol, where, at the meeting in Broad-Mead, he was taken away by the officers, whilst he was declaring the truth. And after he returned to London, he was taken at a meeting at Mile-End, the 17th of the fifth month, 1664, and committed to Newgate by W. Rider and G. Marsh: and on the 18th of the tenth month, was again committed to Newgate for meeting. He came again to Bristol with George Fox, in 1667, with whom he travelled pretty much in those days, from whence they travelled through Wiltshire, &c. to London. He married Prudence Wager, of Stepney, widow, the 8th of the second month, 1669. And the 18th of the third month, 1670, after the conventicle act came forth, he was pulled down as he was declaring the truth at Gracechurch-street meeting (where they began to put it in execution, and fell foul on many) and fined 20l. for preaching.

preaching. He afterwards, the same year, went into Kent with George Fox and several other friends, from whence he returned to London; where, after he was married, he settled and dwelt of late years, but travelled pretty much in divers places, and came often into the west to Bristol, and into Somersetsire, where I have often heard him in meetings, at Naylsey, &c. In the year 1684, he went into Holland and Friezland, with George Fox and others, and returned by Harwich; visited friends at Ipswich in Suffolk, and so came back to London. His wife died in the fifth month, 1688. After all his travels and services, he died in peace with the Lord there, the 8th of the first month, 168 $\frac{8}{9}$; resting from his labours, and his works follow him; though his written ones, with many others, were never yet collected though they deserve to be. He writ many serviceable books and epistles to friends, which are worthy perusing, in which, though being dead, he yet speaketh.

3. And last for this year, 1688, William Peachy, of London, who had a public testimony, with whom I was acquainted when I was there with my sister, in 1675; an honest upright man, who used to come to Bristol fairs. He afterwards went to New-Jersey, where he arrived in 1677, and there died,
and

and was buried at Burlington, the 20th of the first month, 1688, or 168 $\frac{3}{7}$.

Now to resume the thread of my discourse: King William being settled on the throne, as aforesaid, and being inclined to ease all his subjects in their civil and religious properties; notwithstanding the struggling and opposition that had been against liberty of conscience, a bill was brought into the house of commons, to exempt Protestant dissenters from the penalties of the laws made against them, &c. which passed both houses of parliament, and received the royal assent, the 24th of the third month, this year, 1689, entitled, ‘ An Act
 ‘ for exempting their Majesties Protestant
 ‘ Subjects, dissenting from the Church of
 ‘ England, from the penalties of certain laws,
 ‘ viz. That upon entering their meeting-
 ‘ houses with the bishop or archdeacon of
 ‘ the diocese, or at the quarter-sessions; and
 ‘ qualifying themselves by taking the oaths,
 &c. But we (the people called Quakers, who scruple the taking of any oath) on subscribing the tests against popery, the declaration of fidelity to the king and queen, and a profession of our Christian faith, in these words: I A. B. profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy scriptures

tures of the old and new testament to be given by divine inspiration, (which was offered by our friends, and accepted by the parliament, and which we truly own) to be entered on record at the general quarter-sessions, &c. shall be exempted from all the pains and penalties of all and every the said statutes, to the number of about thirteen mentioned, made against Popish recusants and Protestant non-conformists. Thus was liberty of conscience for all to worship God according to their own persuasions, established, and a toleration, or indulgence, to tender consciences granted and confirmed; for which favour of the government we were truly thankful, as we had been to king James; inasmuch, as "The most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will;" Dan. iv. 17, 25. who "putteth down one, and setteth up another," Psal. lxxv. 7. had been pleased to set king William on the throne.

This summer also, 1689, the Lord was exceeding good to me, and often appeared to me in an abundant manner, in the renewings of his everlasting love to my soul, which greatly engaged me to walk in humility and faithfulness before him, in what he was pleased to make known to me, in consideration of his inexpressible love to me, that he should be so mindful of me, to visit me from season to season

son for the renewing of my strength: if at any time I had been remiss; speaking to me in his small still voice, as a word behind me, saying, This is the way, walk in it; if I turned to the right hand or to the left, who speaketh peace to his people, and to his saints, that they turn not again to folly: watching over me continually for good, as I have often experienced; so that my heart hath often been broken and tendered in a sense of his love, to my exceeding comfort, and the strengthening my faith and hope; which I prize as a singular favour and mercy of God, that his love should be so extended to me, and continued with me, in a married state as well as single, in bonds and at liberty; which is my everlasting rejoicing, and which I cannot but commemorate as the best part of these memoirs, and mention it for the encouragement of others to wait upon the Lord in faithfulness, to feel his presence near them. And when I have been walking in the fields, and in my shop and business; yea, on the highway, and on my bed, as I have retired to the Lord, Oh! how hath my heart been broken and tendered before him in a sense of his love many a time; and I cannot but recommend silence and retirement, whether in meetings or out of meetings, to wait upon the Lord and enjoy his presence, as the greatest good and highest attainment we
 are

are capable of in this life ; and which I hope, through the everlasting mercy of my God, I shall never forget, but prize above my chiefest joy. And if at any time I have been deprived of it, I have been like them that “ hung
 “ their harps upon the willows, and wept
 “ when they remembered Sion : and if I
 “ forget thee, O Jerusalem ! let my right
 “ hand forget her cunning, &c. if I do not
 “ prefer thee before my chiefest joy,” Psal. cxxxvii. And what the Lord hath been to me in many a needful time, beyond what I can express, is never to be forgotten by me ; let my soul praise his holy name, whilst I have a being among the sons of men, in a sense of his love, which brings his mercies into remembrance. When sad or solitary, he comforts me ; when weak, he strengthens me ; when weary, refreshes me ; when alone, is with me ; and when in company, preserves me : my joy in tribulation, stay in prosperity, support in adversity, guide in distress, and help in time of need ; thus to have bread in one’s own house, and water in one’s own cistern ; the rejoicing in one’s self, and not in another, is more to be desired than all that this world can afford, being that joy which the stranger cannot intermeddle with ; the white stone, and new name, which none knows, save he that hath it.

O thou.

O thou preserver of men, Who would not fear before thee, and be faithful to thee! thy love constrains obedience to thyself. O Lord, keep me in thy fear that I may never sin against thee, to cause thee to withdraw thy Holy Spirit from me, or withhold the light of thy countenance from shining upon me; but visit me more and more in thy everlasting loving-kindness, till every thing that is contrary to thy pure mind and will, be purged out and done away; that I may be made a fit habitation for thee to dwell and walk in; wholly redeemed and saved from sin, and every evil way, that I may serve thee in my generation; and in a sense of thy love, bless and praise thy holy name, for thou art worthy for ever and ever.

Here I thought to shut up my discourse at present, being arrived at the mark I aimed at, viz. the establishment of liberty of conscience, at least as to meetings; but for the sake of two or three remarkable passages more, and to give account of the death of some more eminent public friends, which I think meet to add, I shall proceed.

But first, I cannot but take notice of a remarkable passage about this time, rather as a warning to others not to do so wickedly, than to arrogate any thing to myself, only cannot but note the providence of God towards me in my preservation, and that was this: When
I removed

I removed from Long-Sutton to Wrington, several people owing me money, and endeavouring to defraud me of it on my going away, I employed one to get it for me, on which one of them was so disturbed (poor man) because I endeavoured to get my own, that he would fain inquire out whither I was gone, threatening that he would go up and kill me, that he would; but soon after he was taken lame of one side that he could hardly go. I never saw him after, nor got my money. And some others I could instance, which I forbear to mention at present, which were so remarkable, that I could not but adore and reverence the awful name of the Lord, who is known by the judgments which he executes, and will render to every one according to their works; though I never wished evil to any, but good to all, even my very enemies, desiring to leave my cause to the Lord, to whom belongeth vengeance and recompence, and he will repay it in due time.

Now after I was settled at Wrington, finding the aboundings of the love of God in my heart, I could not be satisfied to eat my morsel alone, but had a desire that others also might come to partake with us, and taste and see how good the Lord is. In order to which, I endeavoured to procure a meeting in the town, where there had not been any of friends
(though

(though there was one of the Presbyterians) our constant meeting, to which I formerly belonged, being at Clarcham two miles off; and indeed one end in my coming thither to promote the spreading of truth, which I was always desirous of, wherever I dwelt, to the utmost of my power, knowing the worth of it; and in order thereto, having procured a house, a meeting was appointed there in the tenth month, at the time called Christmas; but before the day came, some envious men of the town threatened the man of the house of whom we had hired the barn, that if he suffered a meeting there, they would make a conventicle of it, which shewed their persecuting spirit, and that they were against liberty of conscience still, though established by law; whereupon the poor man being affrighted, I went to Wells to get a certificate for the house, according to the act of toleration aforesaid, to prevent their mischievous designs: but when I came there, it happened at a time when the bishop (Kenn) was suspended for not taking the oaths to king William and queen Mary; (for by the way it may be noted, though he was one of the seven bishops that opposed king James as to liberty of conscience; yet when king William came and established it, they most of them turned against him too, when he did not answer

swer their ends, as if he had only come (as one observed) to establish a pillar in the chapel at Lambeth) so he being suspended, and a new one not being settled, I could not procure a certificate: whereupon I went to serjeant Coward, a justice of peace in the town, and acquainted him with our case, and shewed him the act. He was very friendly to me, and seemed sorry, seeing me in a strait, but said, he could not do it (*i. e.* give me a certificate) of himself out of sessions; but told me, if I would come to him at the sessions, he would grant me one, (being judge of the sessions in the room of sir Edward Phillips) advising me, if we could, to put off the meeting till then; but the time being appointed, and notice being gone out, it could not be put off; so I returned home without it: at which the owner of the house, though a man of account in the town, was very uneasy for fear what they would do; they threatened so much, even to the pulling down of his house: so exceeding mad were they against the truth, begging me to save him harmless. I bid him not be afraid, telling him, we could not intrude upon him if he was not satisfied. So when the day came, being deprived of the house, not without the hand of Joab in it, as the friend observed, we were forced to have the meeting on the open market-place; our friend, Elias Osborn, being there, and several

from Bristol and other parts. And a brave large meeting we had, being a fine sun-shine day (which was remarkable, and taken notice of) it being a wet season, raining the day before and after: but then the envious party being disappointed because they could not prevent the meeting, contrived to get a poor shattered man to disturb our meeting, making him drunk, and setting him up on a table in the street, to act his tricks like a madman, and make a noise that friends might not be heard; till Richard Vickris, of Chew, went and spoke to an eminent man of the town, who was his bailiff, to have him away, which he did; and then the meeting was quiet, and ended peaceably. And the poor fellow came to me afterwards, and confessed who set him on work, and gave him brandy to make him drunk, (which when he was, he would abuse any body); particularly one J. S. a shop-keeper in the town, who never prospered after, but declined and came to little; and he told me how he had been troubled for it, and lost his best friends; and promised me he would never lift up a hand against us any more, wishing dreadful wishes on himself (even that the earth might open and let him in) if ever he did, which I believe was an awe upon him, as to me, ever after; when he was afterwards set on again to abuse us for opening our shop-windows on the fast-days, in 1691,

as

as hereafter-mentioned. So when the sessions came in the eleventh month, I went to Brewton, and met serjeant Coward on the road, going home to be chosen parliament-man for Wells. He stopped, and I spoke to him about the matter. He told me, he had left sir Edw. Phillips on the bench, judge, who would do it; to whom I sent in a certificate of the house, by a clerk; and had a certificate of it again, according to the act, signed by the clerk of the peace, Philip Bennit, for that and some other places where new meetings were set up, and so came over the heads of the envious party; and had many good meetings in the town, not only in the said barn, but afterwards in the great court-hall there, notwithstanding all opposition; of which I writ a more particular account of their envious endeavours against us, in a manuscript by me called, 'A Looking-Glass for Persecutors.'

This year, 1689, being chosen one of the collectors of the king's tax, (the first land-tax) when I came to the priest's of the town, G. P. to collect it, he demanded tithes of me, and would not pay me, except I would allow him for the tithes (some small matter for garden and horse, as he pretended, and Easter-offerings, having been there but about a year). I discoursed the matter friendly with him, and so left him to consider of it a-while; but when I came again, he still insisting on it,

thinking, perhaps, I durst not distrain his goods, I was forced at last with my partner to take a constable with us to distrain. He still refused payment, to try us, so that we were forced to it; which as soon as we had, he paid us; telling me, that now I had taken my course at law, he would take his. I told him, I had done him no wrong, only performed my duty. So he paid down the money, and would have given me a shilling over for distraining; saying, he knew that was what I aimed at. I told him, nay, I scorned his words, and would have none of his money; as Abraham said to the king of Sodom, He should not say he had made me rich. And to shew him I did not aim at his money, he had laid down a shilling too much among the money, (perhaps to try me) and there it is, said I, giving it him again; which he could not but take notice of, but said he would not lose his right. And some time afterwards, employed an attorney to send for a writ for me out of the king's-bench, as the attorney told me, to affright me: but when I came to talk with the priest about it, and laid before him the unreasonableness of his proceedings that way against me for so small a matter, he was ashamed of it, and denied it: and after he went to London, his man, who rented the parsonage, had me before the justices, on the ' Act for the more easy Recovery of
 ' small.

‘ small Tithes:’ and had a warrant to distrain my goods for two shillings; but never did, being moderate: so it fell, and I was never troubled after on that account, which I mention to his honour.

In the twelfth month this year, 1689, died Clement Lake, of Crediton, in Devonshire; an eminent friend, who had a testimony for the Lord and his truth. He was a man of an innocent upright life and conversation; very tender-hearted and affectionate towards the truth, and them that walked in it. He at first received the truth in the love of it, and continued to the end faithful to its testimony, through all the exercises he met with; for in the time of his convincement, he met with no small opposition and exercise from the wife of his own bosom, through the many instigations of those whom they formerly were in fellowship with, viz. the Independents, and others; which caused her to grieve him, by ill-demeaning herself towards him a considerable time, till it pleased the Lord to open her understanding, and gave her a sight of the workings of the enemy; and then she lamented it, and was much troubled, and knew sorrow for the same. And after she was convinced of the truth, they lived in great unity, love, and fellowship, to the comfort one of another. He also suffered imprisonment with friends for the testimony of truth, which he

bore with patience and meekness, in an humble submission to the will of God; and in due time it pleased the Lord to give him the victory. He was diligent in meetings to wait upon God, though outwardly attended with much weakness and infirmity of body: and many times being filled with a deep sense of the love of God to his soul, and his heart tendered and broken thereby: his mouth was opened to magnify and praise the Lord, and tell, by experience of the goodness of God unto his soul. He had some controversy by letters with John Flavell, an Independent preacher of Dartmouth; an envious man, and great opposer of truth and friends, who formerly set up a boy to accuse two innocent women Quakers, when friends came first into that county, that they had bewitched him; which was afterwards discovered to his shame, the boy fleeing the country into New-England, where he was afterwards convinced of truth, and confessed it. And the said Flavell going afterwards to preach an union sermon between the Presbyterians and Independents, as I heard, and bespeaking his dinner, saying they should not be long, was taken ill, and died suddenly before he preached the sermon. The said Clement Lake bore a faithful testimony until death; and his conversation was a good favour to all, as his very enemies after his death confessed, and believed he was happy.

And

And feveral of his neighbours faid, they never were in his company, but they received benefit by it. He often exhorted his children and fervants in weighty fayings, touching the good and welfare of their fouls; many times declaring the goodnefs and love of God towards him, from time to time, in the many exercifes and trials he went through in bearing his testimony for the truth, in the town of Crediton, where he lived. He died of a fever, the 23d of the twelfth month, 1689, dying the death of the righteous, and received the reward of the faithful. See something, by way of testimony, concerning him, printed in 1692.

I have not much to remark this year, 1690, in relation to myfelf, though much as to others, but to commemorate the continued goodnefs and mercy of the Lord to me, both inward and outward, in affording me the comfortable enjoyment of his living prefence, to my exceeding joy and comfort as in times paft; bleffed and praifed be his holy name for all his mercies, which endure for ever. Though we were fomewhat exercifed about the public faft appointed to be kept the 3d fourth-day of every month this fummer, during the war in Ireland, in relation to the keeping open our fhop-windows (of which more next year); but fome friends elfewhere

being differently minded in that matter, which weakened our hands, I writ a letter to some in relation thereto, shewing how inconsistent it was with friends ancient testimony, to join with such fasts, &c. which I hope had some good effect; however I had satisfaction in it.

And not long after, a kinswoman of mine, dear D. Chappell, wife of Edmund Chappell, of Worle aforesaid, dying, I was soon after taken dangerously ill of a fever, and my wife also like to die; but the Lord was near us, and I was given up in the will of the Lord, and easy in my spirit, that if I had died, I believe it would have been well with me. But after some time, it pleased God we both recovered again, for which my soul did bless and praise the name of the Lord, and mention it to his glory; and to shew how good it is to be resigned on a sick bed: honour and glory be given and ascribed to him for his manifold mercies, which are more to me-wards than can be numbered. Let my soul live in a living remembrance of them all the days of my appointed time, and wait on him till my change come.

About this time meeting with a book of Joan Whitrow's, called 'An humble Address to king William,' wherein she subscribed herself, One of no Society, or gathered People whatsoever. And knowing what she had
 been

been, or pretended to, I writ a very serious solid letter to her, desiring to know whether she was not the same J. Whitrow, who writ such a book about her daughter, &c. in 1677, and how she came to be separated from friends, and become one alone: withal, touching on some other passages in her book, which I thought not at all suitable to a prophetess, or what she pretended to; but more like flattery, &c. I sent it directed to her at East-thene, near Mortlake, whence she dated her book; but whether she received it or no, I know not, for I never received any answer, though I afterwards spoke with her in London; but it being several years after, I did not ask her about it.

The latter end of this summer, 1690, our brother George Bowles, who married one of my wife's sisters (i. e. Sufannah) of London, came first down into our country with Andrew Taylor; and had meetings at Wrington, Clareham, &c. And when he returned, I and my wife accompanied him so far as Chippenham and Charlcot meetings in Wiltshire; where, at the last place, was a very large meeting on first-day: after which, taking leave of him, &c. we returned to Slattenford, to E. Wallis's, and the next day home.

But now to come to something of more consequence, though melancholy consideration.

tion. This year, 1690, died those five eminent servants of God, and ministers of Jesus Christ, George Fox, John Burnyeat, Thomas Salthouse, Robert Lodge, Robert Barclay, and (sixth) Joan Vokins, that faithful handmaid of the Lord, who deserves to be reckoned with the rest of the Lord's worthies. The overcasting of so many bright stars almost together, and of the first magnitude in our horizon, had to be sure a melancholy prospect; and, as one observes, was not the least symptom or token of an approaching storm, which yet the Lord in his mercy hath hitherto averted; of whom I cannot well omit in the course of my memoirs, but speak something of each of them, whom I all well knew, and can say something of my own knowledge; so shall proceed, and mention them according to the time of their decease.

1. Joan Vokins, (though last-mentioned) wife of Richard Vokins, of West-Charlow, in the vale of White Horse in Berkshire, was religiously inclined from her childhood, and the Lord was pleased to preserve her from many evils that youth are prone to; and by his light shewed her the vanity and vain customs of the world when she was very young; and all along her youth, his good Spirit strived with her to preserve her from sin and evil. And if she was at any time drawn to go to recreations, she was condemned, and could
have

have no peace; for she was cautious of finning against the Lord, and desired after the best religion and company: and when young, delighted to go to professors meetings, and could bring home the text, and repeat much of their sermons; but had no benefit to her soul by it, or peace in it. And many times she cried to the Lord to reveal his way unto her, promising to walk therein whatever she endured; and he was pleased in some measure to make known the cross of Christ that crucifies to the world; and as she inclined to take it up and follow Jesus, he endued her with power: but when she found the way so strait and narrow, she was ready to turn aside for ease; and was exercised about election and reprobation, which none could open the mystery of to her, but the spirit of light and life; and she saw that happiness was in walking in the light that shined in the heart. And as she learned of Jesus to be meek and lowly, she felt the love of God, which engaged her to give up to his disposal, who gave her of his good spirit, though she rebelled against it, and complained for want of power till she gave up to it, and then she found it was sufficient, and could plead no excuse: and this was her state for many years, so that she could take little comfort in her husband or children, house or land, for want of the marriage-union with the Lamb, and this, before she heard of the name Quaker;

Quaker; but believed there was a church over whom Christ Jesus was head, though she could not find it, but sought after it. And the Lord in due time answered her weary soul, and made known his truth and people to her; and sent some of his messengers for her encouragement and confirmation. Then was she and many more right glad with the glad tidings that they brought: but she went through great exercises, opposition, and sufferings, in her convincement, from her near relations; but she was a good example among them; that by her good conversation, and the blessing of the Lord, she won them to the truth, and many of them were convinced, viz. her husband, father, and children, for whom she had a great care and concern. And the Lord let her live to see the fruits of her labour, and the desire of her soul concerning them; and her true and tender love was so great to them, that she could have done or suffered much for them. She received a testimony to bear for the truth, and was a very zealous fervent woman for the promotion of it to the utmost of her power; but was very weakly and tender outwardly, so that when I visited her as I returned from London in the eleventh month, 1675, she was in bed, yet inwardly strong and living; and was raised up, and enabled afterwards to travel beyond sea to New-England, about the first month, 1680,

1680, though she was like to die by the way. She arrived at New-York the 4th of the third month, and a maiden friend, whose name was Sarah Yoklet, went with her; and travelled with her till she came to Oysterbay in Long-Island, where she had pretty much exercise and service. And after that, another woman friend, who had a public testimony, whose name was Lydia Wright. And when she was clear of Long-Island, she went to Rhode-Island, to the general-meeting, where she was troubled with the Ranters, as she had been in Long-Island. And still it was upon her to go to Boston, which she did, with another maiden friend who had suffered much there; but they had peaceable meetings, and the power of the Lord tendered the people. And a lawyer, who had a hand in putting friends to death, was very solid all the while. After which she travelled by sea and land as the Lord directed her; and though often weak, was made strong. And from New-England she returned to Rhode-Island and Long-Island, and from thence to East-Jersey, landing at Shrewsbury with her companion, Elizabeth Dean; and had good meetings. So to West-Jersey and some parts of Pennsylvania, and had good service there. And when she was clear of those parts, she returned to New-York, in order to take passage to England; but the Lord laid it upon her to go to Barbadoes:

does: and as the Lord put it into her heart to visit the Leeward-Islands, so he carried the vessel, let the sailors do what they could, that they landed at Antigua, where she was comforted with friends, and went thence for Nevis; but the master was against it, and endeavoured to hinder her from going on shore, and was forced to put in at Montserrat; but she was so weak, that she fainted; and could not get a meeting, but published truth in the streets: then went back in another vessel to Antigua: but the former master lost his vessel, as she had forewarned him. And from thence got passage to Nevis with Mary Humphrys, where she had several meetings and good service; a judge and his wife coming to meeting, and people of several forts; and the governor was kind. Then she came back to Antigua, and to five islands, and visited a poor people who complained of their priest, that he came but once a year, and then it was to take what they had. So being clear, she returned to Barbadoes, and had many meetings, sometimes two or three in a day; and after some time, took shipping for England, and landed at Dover the 3d of the fourth month, 1681, with one Margaret Kerby: and was moved to go to the steeple-house at Sandwich, as it was with her before she went out of England; and declared, that the day of the pouring forth of God's spirit on all flesh, was come, &c.

But

But the priest caused her to be haled out, and he that did it hurt her arm, that it was swelled for some time; and the priest endeavoured to send her to prison, but could not prevail with the mayor; and would have troubled friends after she was gone. She was three weeks in the service of truth in Kent, and so to London. And after some time, visiting friends there, returned home, rather better in health than when she went; continuing in the service of truth, encouraging friends in sufferings: but after persecution ceased, and friends were freed out of prison, in 1686, she went into Ireland, where she travelled up and down in many parts of that nation, though weakly; and had good service among friends for near twelve months; and then returned home, and continued her fervent desires for the good of friends, and promoting the truth; travelling on, as she said, in her heavenly progress, to the end of her race. And in 1690, going up to the yearly-meeting at London, where she was well refreshed with friends; as she returned home, she sweetly died in the Lord, at Reading, the 22d of the fifth month, of which she seemed to have a sense before, by her writing to Theophila Townsend. See her works, entitled, 'God's mighty Power magnified,' 8vo. printed 1691. She had also two sons, Thomas and Richard, who made very good ends; the one before her in 1683, and the other after her in 1696.

2. John Burnycat was born in the parish of Lowfwater, in Cumberland, about the year 1631; and was well educated, and religiously inclined in his youth; seeking the Lord, but knew not where to find him, nor how to become acquainted with him, though he was not far from him and every one; and was high in profession of Christ and his righteousness, and what he had done for them as a Saviour, though in their sins: but when the truth came, and was made manifest, and the Day-spring from on high visited him and many more, he saw there was need of an inward work, and a Saviour nigh, to save from sin. And all their high building and depending on the imputed righteousness of Christ, while in their sins, was not sufficient; and great distress and sorrow came upon him. He was convinced of the blessed truth by his elder brother in Christ, George Fox, when he came first into Cumberland, in the year 1653, who directed him concerning the way of the Lord, and turned his mind to the light of Christ Jesus in his own heart. And he went through great exercise and inward travail in the work of regeneration and redemption, from the bondage of corruption, till his warfare was accomplished; and then the Lord raised him up to bear a testimony for his name, and sent him forth to declare to others what God had done for his soul, about the year 1657; though he did not go much abroad at first, but kept to his

his own meeting for some time, save only to visit friends that were prisoners for truth's testimony at Carlisle, waiting in great humility and lowliness of mind, to feel the motion of the power, that he might not go before his guide; and was diligent in his calling, growing in experience of the work of the Lord (and also how to avoid Satan's devices) and in favour with God, and in an increase of divine wisdom; and in this pleasant state was content to abide. But the Lord, who had so dealt with him in mercy, began to stir in his heart, to arise and go forth in the strength of his word; to declare against the hirelings that feed themselves, and not the flock, but keep people in ignorance of the good things that God had done for him and others. And when the word of the Lord came to him, he would willingly have shunned it; but there was no peace but in obedience, so he gave up: and on the first-day of the week, went to Aspertry, to speak to priest Warwick; who spoke to the constable, before J. Burnyeat said any thing, to put him and the friend that went with him forth; who bid the priest go on, for they did not disturb him. And when the priest had done, J. Burnyeat spoke to the people, but he got away; and the people hurried J. Burnyeat out, so that he got not at the priest that forenoon, but went away, thinking to have gone home; but was moved

to go again in the afternoon, which he did, and spoke to him and to the people, and came away in peace. And some time after, he was moved to go to Lorton, and speak to priest Fogo, who fell into a rage and stirred up the people, who fell upon him, and haled him out of the house, and beat him; and the priest threatened to put him in the stocks. And that day two weeks, he was moved to go and speak to the same priest, at Lowswater; and because he did not put off his hat when the priest went to prayers, he railed at him, and bid the people take him away, which John Burnyeat's own father at last did; but he waited in the yard, and spoke to him, but the priest went away in a rage. Then he was moved of the Lord to go to Brigham to speak to priest Denton, which he did, after he had done; but his hearers fell on him, and beat him with their bibles and staves out of the house and grave-yard, that he was sore with the blows. And the priest commanded the constable to secure him, and the friend with him; and next day had them before Lanc. Fletcher, who sent them to Carlisle gaol, where he remained twenty-three weeks. After which he had a concern upon his mind to go into Scotland, which he did in the eighth month, 1658: and travelled in that nation about three months, in the north and west, as far as Aberdeen, and back again to Edinburgh; and so westward

westward to Lithgow, Hamilton, Air, as far as Port-Patrick, and back to Air and Douglas; and had great service, not only at meetings where there were any, but in steeple-houses and markets, to call people to repentance, out of their lifeless hypocritical profession, and dead formalities. And so being clear, he returned home in the eleventh month, and followed his calling till the third month, 1659, and then took shipping for Ireland; as it opened to him when he was in Scotland, and remained with him after he came home. He landed in the north of Ireland, and travelled up to Lisbon and Lurgan; and to Kilmore, in the county of Armagh; and up and down the north among friends; and many people came to meetings, and were convinced: and from thence to Dublin and Mountmelick and Kilkenny, Caperqueen, Tallow; and so to Cork and Bandon, Youghal and Waterford, Ross and Wexford, Catherlough and Mountmelick again, &c. And so having gone through and published the name of the Lord and his truth, he was willing to return to England, intending to go to Carrickfergus to take shipping; but it came upon him to return back to Lurgan, where he met with Robert Lodge, newly come out of England, who went with him to Londonderry about the beginning of the seventh month, 1659; and they travelled together in that nation for 12 months

after; and were at the steeple-house in Londonderry on the first-day, and had a large time among the people, till the mayor sent his officers, who forced them out of the city into a boat, and sent them away: so being clear, they went to Colerain, and to the Grange, Antrim and Lurgan; and after some time, into the south to Dublin, Mountmelick, Athlone, Galloway, Limerick, Cork and Bandon, and so through the south into the north again, and laboured diligently in hard travels, in cold, hunger, and hardships, in that country; and were several times put in prison: once at Armagh, once in Dublin, twice at Cork; besides suffering other abuses for their testimony for the Lord, in their towns and steeple-houses against the hireling priests, &c. And thus having laboured in the gospel for 12 months, and many being convinced and turned to the truth, in the seventh month, 1660, they took shipping at Carrickfergus, intending for Whitehaven; but were driven into Scotland, and so came over land into Cumberland, and he returned to his outward calling, being mostly at home till the first or second month, 1662; and then was moved to go to London to George Fox, and others; and acquaint them what was upon him, to go to America, which had been long with him: but as he was given up to the will of the Lord, the weight of it was removed; and so he returned home through Yorkshire.

shire. And at Rippon, going to visit friends, who were prisoners for meeting to worship God, to the number of twenty-four, and speaking a few words in prison, the gaoler had him before the mayor, chancellor, &c. who examined him; endeavouring to ensnare him for going to the prison, and speaking there: but when that would not do, tendered him the oath of allegiance and supremacy; for refusing which, he was sent to prison to his friends, where he was kept fourteen weeks; and for speaking among friends, was several times haled, even off his knees at prayer, and put into the dungeon. After he was freed, he returned home, and followed his calling: and was mostly at home, and sometimes in Yorkshire and Bishoprick, till the beginning of the summer, 1664.

And then it came upon him again to go to America: so he prepared for his voyage, and took shipping for Ireland, visiting friends. And in the seventh month took shipping at Galloway, for Barbadoes, where he laboured three or four months; and met with many who had been hurt by John Perrot, and had some exercise with them. After which, he took shipping for Maryland the latter end of the first, and landed there the latter end of the second month, 1665, where he travelled and laboured in the work of the gospel, that summer; and had large meetings, and several were

convinced: but he met with an exercise with Thomas Thurston and his party; but through much labour, most of them were restored. Next winter he went down to Virginia, where many also were led aside by J. Perrot; but through much labour and travail, several of them also were renewed. After some time, he returned to Maryland, visiting friends, and came again to Virginia in the first month, and landed at New-York in the fourth month, 1666; and spent some time among friends, and then took shipping for Rhode-Island in New-England, and had good service there. And thence to Sandwich, Plymouth, Tewksbury, Marshfield, Scituate, and so to Boston, visiting friends. To Salem and Piscataway, and so back to Hampton and the abovesaid towns, through the woods to Rhode-Island and Long-Island, and back to Rhode-Island in the winter. And the latter end of the first month, took shipping for Barbadoes, and landed there in the second month, 1667, where he spent that summer; and in the seventh month took shipping for Bristol, but landed at Milfordhaven: the 27th of the ninth month, went to Haverfordwest, visiting friends till he came to Swansea, Cardiff, and Monmouthshire, and so over to Brikol. And after some time, through Gloucestershire and Berkshire to London; and afterwards returned the same way to Bristol: and into South Wales,

to

to Pembrokeſhire, and up again, by Glouceſter, &c. to London; where, and in Surrey, he ſpent part of the ſummer, 1668: and then into the north, through Hertfordſhire, Huntingdonſhire, and ſo into Yorkſhire, through many towns and places, viſiting friends: into Cleveland and Biſhoprick. And after ſome time, returned home to his friends and relations in Cumberland; but ſoon after went up to London to the yearly-meeting, the beginning of the tenth month, and then went weſtward again into South-Wales; and afterwards to Briſtol, and through the countries, viſiting friends up to London, the ſpring 1669; and then through Buckinghamſhire, to Briſtol again, at the time of the fair: and from thence into South and North Wales, to Shrewſbury; and ſo into Cheſhire, Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, and home into Cumberland. And after a little time, took ſhipping at Whitehaven for Ireland, and landed at Belfast in the north, and ſpent the winter there in the labour of the goſpel; and had good ſervice for the Lord in that nation. And when he was clear, took ſhipping at Dublin, and landed at Whitehaven in Cumberland. And after a little time, took his journey for London to the yearly-meeting in the ſpring, 1670: and for declaring the truth at Devonſhire-houſe meeting, was imprifoned in Newgate with W. Simpson, the 15th of the third month, by the mayor; but diſcharged

next day, and he spent some time that summer thereabout.

And in the fifth month, 1690, went with William Simpson for Barbadoes, and had great service there; where William Simpson died the 8th of the twelfth month, who was a faithful servant and minister of Christ, which was a great loss to John Burnyeat. And after he was clear, he took shipping for New-England, and arrived at New-York in the second month, 1671; and went to Long-Island, visiting friends; and was at the half-year's-meeting at Oysterbay; and so to Rhode-Island yearly-meeting, in the fourth month. Thence to Sandwich, &c. to Boston, Salem, Hampton, and Piscataway; and had many blessed meetings; and back the same way to Rhode-Island and Providence; Long-Island, Flushing, Gravesend, and over to East-Jersey; and had some meetings. And so back to the half-year's-meeting at Oysterbay, in the eighth month, where they had a blessed meeting; though they had some exercise with some contrary spirits, against the good order of truth; but he answered their objections. And after their meetings were over, he went to Flushing, Gravesend, New-York, and so to Maryland and Virginia, with his companion, Daniel Gould, where he found things better than before. And he appointed a general meeting at West-River, in the second month;

1672, before he left them; to which came G. Fox and many friends. After which, he, G. Fox, R. Widders, and G. Pattison, went over to the eastern shore; and through the woods to Newcastle and New-Jersey, (now so called) swimming over several rivers, and lodging in wigwams, (the Indians being kind to them) till they came to Middletown in East-Jersey, and so to Long-Island, and the half-year's-meeting at Oysterbay, where some of the former opposers appeared; but truth was set over them, G. Fox being there: and then went to Rhode-Island to the yearly-meeting, in the fourth month, which held eight days. After which, J. Burnyeat went into the eastern parts of New-England, with J. Cartwright and G. Pattison, to Sandwich, Plymouth, Duxbury, Marshfield, and Scituate, where he had a dispute with some of the elders of their church. And at Boston, the marshal and a constable came to the meeting (which was large) to take him up; but the constable being moderate, after he had heard him, would not take him, but went away, and told the deputy governor that he heard nothing but what was true; and the people were satisfied, and spoke well of friends: which when priest Thatcher heard, he stirred up the magistrates, and they sent and took friends at their meeting soon after, and sent several to prison; particularly John Stubbs and

and James Lancaster, and banished them out of the colony: and next day he had a meeting at Salem, and also with some of J. Perrot's party, about keeping on the hat in prayer. And at Hampton; where several of their church elders came to the meeting, and were well satisfied, and spoke well of truth; at which Seaborn Cotton, the priest, was angry, and endeavoured to stir up persecution. Thence to Piscataway, and back again to Hampton and Salem, having good service among friends and others. And so to Boston and Rhode-Island, where he met George Fox; and went with J. Stubbs to Providence and Warwick, having meetings; and had some exercise with Gorton and his company (Ranters): and returning to Rhode-Island, had a dispute with Roger Williams, who publishing a partial relation of it, G. Fox and J. Burnyeat afterwards (1677) answered in a large book, entitled, 'A New-England Firebrand quenched.' After which, J. Burnyeat and J. Stubbs went over to the Narraganset country, to New-London, Norwich, and Hertford, and had meetings; but the professors opposed: and though he went to their meetings, they would not hear, but disputed. So they went westward to Hertford, Newhaven, Milford, Stratford, Stamford, and Greenwich, where the priest got a warrant to take them up in the beginning of their meeting, and had them before a magistrate:

strate: but he being moderate, would not commit them, but would have the priests discourse with them before the people in their public meeting-house, which the priests, though unwilling (being displeas'd) did on several points, which J. Burnyeat drew up an account of, in a book in manuscript: and next day had a meeting at Greenwich, and so went over to Long-Island, to Oysterbay; and thence to East-Jersey, New-York, and so to Maryland and Virginia, in the ninth month, 1672; and had a dispute with a fifth-monarchy-man. He and George Fox had a meeting with the Indians; and after much good service, being clear of those countries, he took shipping with George Fox, in the second month, 1673; and in the third month, landed at Galloway-Bay in Ireland; and travelled to Limerick, Charlefield, Cork, and Bandon, visiting friends. And to Youghall, Tallow, Kilcommon, and Waterford; and the counties of Wexford, Catherlough, Queen's County, Westmeath, Armagh, Antrim, Dublin, Wicklow, province of Munster and Leinster, visiting most of the meetings in that nation; and labouring there till the tenth month; and then took shipping for England, landed at Whitehaven; and after three months stay in Cumberland, went to Newcastle, Bishoprick, Yorkshire, Cleveland, Whitby, Scarborough, Malton, and York, having precious meetings; and so to Marsham,
and

and from thence with R. Lodge to the yearly-meeting at London, 1674; and then through Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire, to Bristol (where I first saw him, and loved him ever after for his testimony's sake). After which he went to Shrewsbury, and Wrexham in North-Wales; and from thence, with John-ap-John, into South-Wales, through several counties to Pembroke-shire; and so up the south-side to Monmouthshire, and passed over to Gloucestershire and Bristol again, and through several counties to London: then into Essex, and returned to London to the yearly-meeting, in 1675. From thence to Hertford, and so northward with John Grave and James Hall, through several towns in Yorkshire, as above; Cleveland, Bishoprick, and so into Cumberland: then into Westmoreland, to a meeting about J. Story and J. Wilkinson, with whom friends were about this time exercised. After which, and visiting some meetings thereabouts, he went through Lancashire and Cheshire, to John-ap-John's, near Wrexham, in North-Wales, who went with him to the quarterly-meeting at C. Lloyd's, at Dolobran; and then through several counties in Wales. And came again to Bristol, and into Somersetshire, and back to Bristol: then into Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, to Bristol again; and from thence
to

to London, labouring in the work of the gospel; and then down into Cumberland, and to the meeting at Drawell, in the second month, 1676, about the aforesaid difference with J. Story and J. Wilkinon, which lasted four days, where many friends laboured much for their preservation; but they were too far gone in a separate spirit to be reclaimed. After which, J. Burnyeat went home, and took his journey with J. Tiffin, through Westmoreland and Yorkshire, to the yearly-meeting at London, visiting friends by the way; where the business of the separation in Westmoreland was under consideration, and epistles written to prevent it, if it might have been. He afterwards married and settled in Ireland, where his service mostly lay in his latter days, but came over into the north to visit friends in 1682. He was imprisoned in the Marshalsea (Dublin) for meeting and preaching in the sixth month, 1683, when persecution was rife in England, but was freed in the eighth month. He came over into England again in 1684, and travelled in divers parts of the north, and into Scotland, with J. Tiffin and another friend, to Edinburgh, and north and west. And after his return in the first month, 1685, I do not find, but he continued in Ireland, where he was very serviceable till the time of his decease. His wife died about the 10th month, 1688; and he having finished his course and
kept

kept the faith, departed in peace, the 11th of the seventh month, 1690, about 59 years of age, resting from all his labours, and his works follow him. He left one son, a hopeful young man, behind him. He was an excellent minister of the gospel of Christ, and his memorial is blessed. See his works and testimonies concerning him: his account of his convincement and journal of his travels, printed in 4to.

3. Robert Lodge, of Masham in Yorkshire, a faithful servant of God and minister of Jesus Christ, was born about the year 1636. He was religiously inclined in his youthful days, and saw the errors of the priests before he received the truth, and was helpful in discovering them to others; and used to discourse them, particularly one Anthony Procter, in Oliver Cromwell's time; and was commonly too hard for them. He was of a valiant spirit from his youth upward: and when it pleased the Lord to send his faithful servants in those parts, to preach the everlasting gospel, directing people's minds to the light of Christ in their consciences; he and many more were convinced of the way to eternal life (even in his tender years) about the year 1658, and were gathered to be a meeting, to sit in silence, and wait upon the Lord; and in due time, being gathered in the name of the Lord Jesus, he made his power known, to the
rending

rending the vail, and breaking down the partition-wall, and raising up their souls from death to life; which caused great joy and comfort in them, and among them; and by the power and spirit of life, he came to have his mouth opened, to bear witness to it, and declare of God's eternal power. And the Lord made him a very serviceable instrument in his hand, for the gathering many out of the ways of the world, into the way of life: and sent him forth to preach the everlasting gospel in many parts of this nation, and in Ireland, whither he was not long after moved to go, to declare the everlasting truth; where he travelled with J. Burnyeat, as aforesaid, from the beginning of the seventh month, 1659, for about one year's time, through most parts of it; and had good service for the Lord in many places; and went through many great trials and exercises; but the Lord did mightily preserve him, and attend him with his blessed presence: from whence he sent an epistle to friends in Yorkshire, dated in the county of Armagh, the fourth month, 1660. And soon after his return home he was imprisoned, the 18th of the twelfth month, with many more in that county of York, in the great imprisonment after the coming in of king Charles II. in 1660, till the king's proclamation for their release, in 1661. And was again imprisoned
for

for his testimony at Wakefield, in the same county, in 1665, where he writ his second epistle: and when he suffered imprisonment, or otherwise, for the testimony of truth, he suffered patiently, resting in the will of God. He went into Ireland again, and travelled with George Fox up and down that nation, in the year 1669; jeopardizing his life among the priests and Papists there, where he and George Fox had many large meetings of the people of God; and his power and presence was among them. And when they had finished their testimony there, they came over into England, and continued labouring in the work of the Lord; though I do not find he travelled far abroad, at least, over sea, after this: yet he travelled pretty much about his own country, and sometimes to London; particularly with J. Burnyeat, to the yearly-meeting in 1674. I was at his house at Masham, as I went into the north the latter end of the first month, 1676; but he was gone to the meeting at John Blaikling's at Drawell, about the difference with J. Story and J. Wilkinon; as were many other friends, whom I thereby missed of seeing. But the same year he came up again with J. Burnyeat, to the yearly-meeting at London; and afterwards (that summer) came down to Bristol, and was at a meeting at Porthead in Somersetshire with C. Marshal, where I saw
him,

him, and rode some miles with him. He had a fine refreshing testimony; and I remember some of his words, when life sprung in the meeting, saying, Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it: and now (said he, when life was in dominion) unto whom shall the song be sung, but unto the springing well, viz. "The fountain of life, or well of living water, (which Christ said of the spirit) should be in him that believeth a well of water, springing up into everlasting life," Numb. xxi. 17. John iv. 14. vii. 38, 39. After which I do not find much of him till the year 1684, when he and his old companion, J. Burnyeat, travelled again into Yorkshire, &c. which was the last time that I find J. Burnyeat was in England. And as he and J. Burnyeat had travelled much together, so they died near about the same time; J. Burnyeat the 11th, as aforesaid, and R. Lodge, the 15th of the same, viz. the seventh month, 1690, when he had finished his testimony, departing sweetly in the Lord to his eternal rest. A friend, Katherine Winn, to whom he had been instrumental of good, coming to see him in the time of his sickness, and sitting by his bed-side, under an exercise for him, he looked chearfully at her, and said, Why woman, we must meet again in eternity: and had many heavenly expressions on his death-bed. He was an excellent minister, and had an extraordinary gift in prayer. He was in-

strumental to turn many to righteousness, and to build them up in the most holy faith. His testimony reached to the witness of God in the consciences of many; and was a son of consolation to the watering and refreshing many weary souls; and his words were as the balm of Gilead to the broken-hearted. He kept his first love and habitation in the truth to the last: and bore a faithful and living testimony for God, not only in words, but in life and conversation. And towards his latter end, laboured much with, and for, the young generation, that they might come up in the footsteps of those who were gone before. He was a man of a sweet disposition, and left a good favour behind him. Much might be said concerning him, but I refer to the ‘Several living Testimonies given forth by divers Friends concerning him and his faithful Labours and Travels.’ Printed in 1691.

4. Robert Barclay, that faithful servant and minister of Jesus Christ, and famous apologist for the people called Quakers, was son of Col. David Barclay, of Ury, near Aberdeen in Scotland; descended of the Barclays of Mather, in the kingdom of Scotland, an ancient and honourable family among men; and of Katharine Gordon, of the house of the duke of Gordon. He was born at Edinburgh, in the year 1648, and was educated from his infancy amongst

amongst the strictest sort of Calvinists in his own country; and had scarce got out of his childhood, when he was sent into France, under the tuition of an uncle at Paris, for the benefit of the French tongue as well as the Latin, both which he had the advantage of. There the Papists endeavoured to profelyte him to their way, which his immature capacity could hardly resist: but he soon came to a sight of the error of it. He returned home about 1664, in the sixteenth year of his age; where, by the example and instruction of his honest and worthy father, who received the blessed truth in the year 1666; and his converse with other servants of God, he came to see and taste the excellency of it also; and was convinced of the truth about the year 1667; and publicly owned the testimony of the true light, which enlightens every man, and came early forth a zealous and fervent witness for it; enduring the cross, and despising the shame that attended his discipleship, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt; counting all things as dross, in comparison of the knowledge of Christ, which he embraced as his crown; and received the gift of the ministry as his greatest honour, in which he laboured to bring others to the knowledge of God; and his labour was not in vain in the Lord. He was much concerned in controversy with the

adversaries and opposers of truth in his own country; which was begun by one George Meldrum's preaching and writing against friends, on the rise of that people at Aberdeen; which was followed by thirty queries of the bishop of Aberdeen to Alexander Jaffray: all which were answered by him and George Keith. At last came out a nameless 'Dialogue,' supposed to be by William Mitchell: to which our friend, R. Barclay, published an answer in 1670, intitled, 'Truth cleared of Calumnies,' with an historical preface of the ground of the controversy, and how it began. To which William Mitchell replying, Robert Barclay rejoined, in a book intitled, 'William Mitchell unmasked,' in 1672; which, as far as I find, put an end to that controversy. The same year, he was moved of the Lord, in a cross to his own will, to pass through the streets of Aberdeen, covered with sackcloth and ashes, to call them to repentance by that signal and singular sign. And afterwards wrote 'A seasonable Warning and serious Exhortation to the Inhabitants thereof.' And being given up for the spreading and promoting of truth, to prevent controversy for the future, he wrote and published, in 1673, 'A Catechism and Confession of Faith, to establish the Truth in plain Scripture Terms, against the Errors of the Westminster Confession and Catechism.'

In 1674, he published his book intitl'd ' The Anarchy of the Ranters, and other Libertines,' &c. in relation to church government; which W. Rogers writing against, occasioned some controversy between them, which terminated to Robert Barclay's honour, W. Roger's owning his mistakes under his hand: though like the double-minded man, being unstable in all his ways, he afterwards published his objections, as did also Robert Barclay his vindication. The same year, (if not before) he published fifteen theological propositions, for the more general informing all of our principles, intitl'd, ' Theses Theologicæ, To the Clergy of what Sort soever,' &c. ' Which, according to the will of God, as he says, proving successful beyond his expectation, to the satisfaction of several; and to the moving in many a desire of being further informed concerning us (as being every where evilly spoken of) and likewise meeting with public opposition by some, as will always be the case, so long as the devil rules in the children of disobedience*, he was thereby

* For some of the Students of Divinity (so called). at Aberdeen, challenged a dispute on the said propositions, which was held in the second month, 1675, between them and the people called Quakers; particularly, Robert Barclay and George Keith, which tended to the advantage of truth: for the scholars and their company behaved themselves so rudely, that instead of arguments to confute our friends, they broke up the dispute before they had

‘ thereby further engaged, in the liberty of
 ‘ the Lord, to present to the world his “ Apo-
 ‘ logy of the Truth held by those People,”
 which he dedicated to king Charles the II^d,
 1675, and published in Latin, in 1676, for
 the information of strangers. In the first
 month, 1677, he was imprisoned for the
 truth at Aberdeen, where he wrote his treatise
 of ‘ Universal Love.’ And in the ninth
 month, ‘ An Epistle of Love and Friendly
 ‘ Advice to the Ambassadors of the several
 ‘ Princes of Europe, met at Nimeguen, to
 ‘ consult the Peace of Christendom.’ Which
 was presented in Latin, in the twelfth month,
 1677, to wit, one to each ambassador, and
 one to each of their principals; together with
 so many of his apologies; whereof he makes
 mention in that epistle, in these words, viz.
 ‘ And because many are the calumnies that
 ‘ such are reproached withal, as holding forth
 ‘ strange and pernicious doctrines; therefore
 ‘ I have herewith sent you a large Apology
 ‘ for the True Christian Divinity, held forth

gone through half the Theses, and betook themselves to
 throwing turfs and stones. So that four of the students
 were convinced of the truth. Of which dispute our
 friends published an account: and Robert Barclay offered
 them another meeting, which they would not accept of;
 but afterwards put out a book against the Quakers, in rela-
 tion to the dispute: which our friend Robert Barclay an-
 swered in a book, intituled, ‘ Quakerism confirmed.’ And
 so that rencounter ended,

‘ and

‘ and preached by them; that therein you
 ‘ may see how the truly Christian principles,
 ‘ which have been lost in the apostacy, while
 ‘ the life of christianity was not to be found,
 ‘ is restored by their testimony.’ Which apo-
 logy he soon after turned into English, for the
 benefit of his countrymen; for one John Brown,
 a Scotchman, writing against it in Latin, and
 thereby taking occasion the more to abuse him
 and friends, by misrepresenting the truth they
 held, being in a language not generally un-
 derstood; this made him hasten the English
 edition, which was printed in Holland, 1678;
 and his vindication of it against John Brown,
 in 1679; in which year he was also a prisoner
 at Aberdeen for his testimony, where he writ
 his ‘ Vindication of his Anarchy,’ against W.
 Rogers. He travelled in the ministry in Scot-
 land and England; and came several times to
 London, particularly in 1677, when he had
 the meeting with W. Rogers: and went over
 into Holland with George Fox, William Penn,
 and others, that year: and travelled with W.
 Penn into Holland, and some parts of Ger-
 many, to spread the gospel of Christ; where
 they had good service for the Lord; and were
 intimate and inward in divers services, from
 first to last. And after his return, he and G.
 Keith came to Bristol, where I saw and heard
 him, and a fine testimony he had. He had
 also good service at court, in relation to friends

sufferings in king Charles II's time, being acquainted with the duke of York. He lived pretty much retired at home in his own country, in his latter time, but came to London again in 1685, and discoursed the Dutch ambassador about immediate revelation; and the next year, published 'The Possibility and Necessity of the Inward and Immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God,' writ to him some years before on that subject. He loved the truth and way of God (says William Penn) as revealed among us, above all the world; and was not ashamed of it before men, but bold and able in maintaining it: sound in judgment, strong in argument, chearful in travels and sufferings; of a pleasant disposition, yet solid, plain, and exemplary in his conversation. He was a learned man, a good Christian, an able minister, &c. These eminent qualities, says he, in one that had employed them so well, and that had not lived much above half the life of a man (having outlived his father but four years, and died thirty years short of his age) rendered the loss of him the greater, especially in that nation where he lived. His sickness was but short; in which time, our friend, James Dickinson of Cumberland, was with him: he expressed himself sweetly, and so died in peace with the Lord, at his own house at Ury, the third of the eighth month, 1690, in the 42^d year

year of his age, leaving a sorrowful widow, four sons and three daughters behind him. See his works in folio, printed 1692, and W. Penn's Preface and Testimony, &c. concerning him.

5. George Fox the elder, (for there was another of that name, for distinction, called the younger, who died in the year 1662) was born at Drayton in Clay, in Leicestershire; in 1624, who was the first called a Quaker, and the first that preached the everlasting gospel amongst them; and turned many to righteousness. He was an early and earnest seeker of the Lord from his childhood, and underwent great exercise inwardly about religion in his youth, seeing the corruption and degeneracy of most professors, that he could not join with any, but retired much alone; waiting on the Lord for wisdom and counsel, being sensible of an inward principle of light, grace, and truth, in the inward parts, which discovered sin and evil, and would lead man and woman out of it, and out of the fall, up to God again, as they took heed to it, and gave up to follow it; and teach them their duty to God, and how to worship him in spirit and in truth. And he met with great opposition from priests and professors for his religious dissent, and denying their evil ways. And as he grew in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with-
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out any outward teacher, or any to tell his condition to, he was often made to reprove both priests and people, for the evil of their ways, and call them to repentance: travelling up and down, and working at his trade (which was that of a shoe-maker) between whiles; particularly at Mansfield in Nottinghamshire, till about the year 1647, when he began more particularly to declare the truth as he had received it in Jesus Christ, freely to others, and to direct them to the light of Christ in their consciences, which is the "true light that enlightens every man that cometh into the world," John i. 9. which shews and reproveth for sin and evil; and would give them power over it, as they came to believe in it and obey it; for this was his message with the apostle, that "God is Light, and in him is no darkness at all; and if we walk in the Light, as he is in the Light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his son, cleanseth us from all sin," 1 John i. 5, 7. And many were turned to it, and came to sit down under Christ their teacher, before they were called Quakers, (particularly in Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and vale of Beavor, in 1648) therefore truly called 'Children of Light;' for which he was hated and persecuted by the priests and professors of those times: and was imprisoned at Nottingham, for speaking in the steeple-house

steeple-house there, in 1649; and after he was released, he travelled up and down, going to steeple-houses, and speaking to priests and people. And in the year 1650, for going to the steeple-house at Derby, he was committed to the house of correction for six months, by major Bennet, an Independant justice of peace, who observing George Fox to tremble, when the power of God was upon him, called him Quaker (the first time that name was so given) and afterwards he was put in the dungeon for six months more, because he would not take up arms, and be a captain of a troop of horse, to go and fight against the king (Charles II.) at Worcester fight, in 1651. And after his discharge, he travelled about, declaring the truth; and many were convinced and turned to it, as in Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Swarthmore in Lancashire, where he was very serviceable in judge Fell's family, his wife being convinced of the truth, and several others in that family, in 1652; who came forth in public testimonies, and became brave serviceable men and women; as W. Caton, T. Salthouse, Anne Clayton, &c. though he was much opposed and persecuted by the priests thereabouts; and underwent great sufferings, beatings, stonings, &c. And was accused by the priests, and sworn against by their witnesses, at Lancaster sessions, but honourably acquitted by judge Fell and Col. West, who began to see through
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the priests, and were moderate towards friends; the priests party being so disappointed, that the people cried, the Quakers had got the day, &c. and hundreds were convinced at that time. After which he travelled into Cumberland, and had great service: and for speaking in the steeple-house at Carlisle, after the priest had done, he was committed to prison there, in 1653, where James Parnel came to him, who became an able minister, and afterwards died a prisoner in Colchester castle, in 1656. George Fox was threatened to be put to death, but at last was set at liberty. After which, travelling southward, he was taken up at a meeting at Whetstone, in Leicestershire, by colonel Hacker, and brought up to London before Oliver Cromwell, in 1654, with whom he had good service, and at last was set at liberty. He staid in London some time, and travelled in the countries round it: then went northward again, and returned to London. Afterwards went westward to the Land's-End of Cornwall, where, giving forth a paper, he was taken up; and, for refusing to take the abjuration-oath, was committed to Launceston gaol by major Ceely, with Edward Pyot of Bristol, and William Salt of London, in 1655; tried at the assizes in 1656; and for refusing to take the said oath re-committed, and afterwards put into Doomsdale there, where he suffered much. After
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he was released, he travelled through Devonshire and Somersetshire to Bristol, and so to London. After which he went northward, and back to London, then westward. In 1657, to Exeter, Bristol, and Wales, and had good service there: so into the north to Swarthmore, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, where Jo. Wilkinon, the priest, was convinced, and became an able minister of the gospel of Christ. Thence he went into Scotland to many places, and was had before the council at Edinburgh, and ordered to depart that nation in seven days: but they that banished him, were not long after banished themselves, or glad to fly away, who would not do good in their day. He travelled to several places afterwards, and when he was clear, came for England; travelling southward to a yearly-meeting at John Crook's, in Bedfordshire, in 1658, and so to London; where, and in the counties round about, he laboured for some time: and in 1659, went westward again to the Land's-End, and returned through Devonshire and Somersetshire to Bristol, in 1660. Then through Gloucestershire into Leicestershire, to visit his relations; and afterwards went northward to a yearly-meeting at Balby in Yorkshire; and so to Swarthmore, where he was taken up by warrant from justice Porter, who committed him to Lancaster gaol; but being afterwards brought up to London

on a habeas corpus, he was discharged at the king's-bench bar in the eighth month. He staid in London the remainder of that, and all the next year, 1661, as far as I find: and in 1662, went to Bristol again, and back to London. Then into Leicestershire, where he was taken up by one called lord Beaumont, and committed to Leicester prison, had to the sessions, and tendered the oath; and for refusing it, sent back to prison, yet soon after cleared. Then returned to London; but soon after went into the eastern counties, Essex, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, &c. returning to London. And after some time, went southward into Kent, and so southward through the counties; westward, into Cornwall, 1663, and back through Devonshire, Somersetshire, to Bristol; and through Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, &c. into Wales, and so into the north, visiting friends in several counties: and was taken up at Swarthmore, and had before one G. Middleton, a Papist, who tendered him the oath, and would have sent him to prison, but at last gave him his liberty till sessions, where he appeared; and had the oath of allegiance and supremacy tendered to him; and for refusing to take it, was committed to prison till the assizes in the first month, then tried before judge Twifden, and committed again for refusing the oath: as was also Margaret Fell, till the next assizes,
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in the sixth month, 1664, where it was thought they would have transported him, but endeavoured to præmunire him: but he pleaded so to the errors in the indictment, that they could not, but committed him again till the next assizes in the first month, where they præmunired him and Margaret Fell: but the indictment against George Fox being wrong again, they did not sentence him in court, but sent him to prison, and recorded him præmunired. He was afterwards removed to Scarborough castle in Yorkshire, about the third month, 1665, where, after about sixteen months imprisonment, he was released by the king's order the first of September, 1666; and the Lord shewed his displeasure on several of his persecutors. After which, he visited several meetings in Yorkshire, and so through several counties to London; then to Bristol, and back to London. And in the years 1667 and 1668, he travelled through most parts of England and Wales, to establish monthly and quarterly-meetings, for the ordering the affairs of truth: First eastward, so northward, and the middle counties; then into Wales to Bristol, so to London: Then through some of the middle counties into Wales again; and returning into Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall; and so up the south coast to London: and from thence down into the north, took shipping at Liverpool,
and

and went into Ireland, in 1669, visiting friends there in many parts; and returned to Liverpool, and so came to Bristol, where he married Margaret Fell, judge Fell's widow: after which he returned to London, and the countries about it, and then went northward; but his wife being imprisoned on the old præmunire, he returned to London, 1670, and got her discharged. And now the conventicle act being come out (on occasion of a disturbance made by one John Fox, a Presbyterian in Wiltshire) George Fox was taken up at Grace-church-street meeting, for declaring the truth, and had before the mayor, but at last discharged; and then travelled westward and southward, into Hampshire, Surry, Suffex, Kent, and so into Essex, where he was taken very ill, but got to Enfield, lying there some time; but returned to London to the yearly-meeting, 1671, (the first, I find, he was at). After which he took ship for America, landed at Barbadoes, where he met with a wicked opposer, who was soon cut off; and he had great service there. Went thence to Jamaica, thence to Maryland general-meeting, with many other friends: and through the woods by Newcastle to West and East-Jersey, Long-Island, to the yearly-meetings at Oysterbay and Rhode-Island, and some part of New-England; returning by divers places to New-Jersey and Maryland, where was a general-meeting

meeting of five days: so to Virginia, Carolina, and back to Virginia and Maryland, at the general province-meeting, having visited most of the English plantations, and had good service. Being clear, he took shipping for England, and was wonderfully preserved at sea: arrived at King's-Road, came to Bristol the 28th of the fourth month, 1673; staid till the fair (the first time I saw him and Wm. Penn, who was also there) after which he went to London, and the countries about it, visiting friends; and returning into Worcestershire, he was taken up after a meeting, by Henry Parker, justice, and committed to Worcester gaol, with Thomas Lower, the 17th of the tenth month, and had to the sessions in the eleventh month; tendered the oath of allegiance and supremacy; re-committed for refusing it, but Tho. Lower discharged. George Fox was afterwards brought up by habeas corpus, to the king's-bench bar, but returned to Worcester gaol again, till the sessions or assize in the second month, 1674; and was left by judge Turner, at the assize to the sessions in the same month, by justice Parker's means, at which they tendered him the oath again, and committed him for refusing; but having some liberty, he went up to London with the indictment, where some got an habeas corpus again to bring him before the judges of the king's-bench, where he tendered a paper what

he could say instead of the oaths; but they left him again to the justices at the next quarter-sessions. He staid the yearly-meeting, 1674, and returned to Worcester; and at the sessions he was tendered the oath again, by justice Street, and indicted for refusing to swear. He pleaded to the errors of the indictment; but they passed sentence of præmunire against him, and sent him back to prison, where he was like to have died, but was afterwards brought up the third time, on habeas corpus, to the king's-bench bar, and at last discharged on the errors in the indictment, in the twelfth month, 1674. He continued in and about London, till after the yearly-meeting, 1675, and then went down to Swarthmore, where he continued all the year 1676, as far as I find, writing books, &c. And in the year, 1677, travelled through many counties, as Westmoreland, Yorkshire, &c. to London yearly-meeting; after which, he went down with William Penn to his house in Suffex, where he and J. Burnyeat writ their great book, 'A New-England Fire-Brand quenched,' in answer to R. Williams's: and afterwards went over into Holland with William Penn, Robert Barclay, &c. visiting friends there; and in Friezland and some parts of Germany, Holstein, and many other places; and returned by Harwich, in the eighth month to London; and so through the countries to
Bristol,

Bristol, in the eleventh month, where he, William Penn, C. Marshal, &c. had the great meeting with W. Rogers, and some of the Separates, in relation to the good order of truth, established in the church, which they opposed: after which George Fox went into Gloucestershire, and so through several counties to London. And after the yearly-meeting, 1678, went down into the north, visiting friends, till he came to Swarthmore, where he staid the remainder of that year, and 1679, till the first month; and then travelled through divers counties to the yearly-meeting at London, 1680, where, and in the countries adjacent, he mostly resided, after this, visiting meetings, and assisting friends in their sufferings, which were great about this time, till 1684; when he went again to Holland, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Friezland, Harlingen, &c. and returned again by Harwich and Colchester, to London; where, and in the countries thereabout, he continued attending the yearly and other meetings, and the affairs of the church; writing epistles to friends, &c. till the time of his death. Having been at Gracechurch-meeting on the first-day, and preached and prayed, he departed this life the third day after, at the house of H. Gouldney, in White-Hart-Court, in peace with the Lord, the 13th of the eleventh month, 1690, in the

67th year of his age, and was buried the 16th, at Bunhill-Fields; of whom I say the less, though there is room to say more of him, than of most other friends, because he left behind him an excellent journal of his travels and sufferings (which is well-known) printed in folio, 1694. (My design being chiefly to gather the scattered memoirs of such as left no journals, only this and J. Burnyeat's before, and Stephen Crisp's hereafter, being so notable, that I could not but be particular in them). He wrote many books, epistles, and papers, some of which are since collected.

6. Thomas Salthouse, of Drugglibeck, in Lancashire, another faithful servant of God, and minister of Jesus Christ; of whose birth, parentage, and education, I can give little account, but that he was convinced of the blessed truth, with W. Caton, &c. in judge Fell's family, when George Fox came first to Swarthmore in 1652, as aforesaid; and giving up in obedience thereunto, came to receive a dispensation of the gospel, and was soon sent forth to preach it to others. And in the year 1654, travelling southward, he came to London; from whence he and Miles Halhead, in 1655, passed to Bristol and towards Exeter, (being pressed in spirit to visit the seed of God in captivity, at Plymouth, in the county of Devon) so far as Honiton, where a guard being

ing placed for apprehending such as were suspected to have had an hand in an insurrection which broke out a little before; they were taken up, and had before colonel Copleston, high-sheriff of the county, on suspicion of being cavaliers, and having an hand therein; and though, on examining them, he confessed he did not believe them to be concerned therein, yet caused them to be kept close prisoners at Exeter, about fourteen days, and then sent them from officer to officer, towards their outward habitations: but being come two miles from Taunton, on the way to Bridgewater, the officer who conducted them fell down, and lay groveling on the ground in the sight of divers people, and was able to go no further: whereupon they returned back to the justice at Taunton, and acquainted him with what had befallen the officer, and to know what farther he would enjoin them; who, after some consideration, told them he would have no more to do with them; and having set them at liberty, desired the Lord to be with them.

Hereupon they passed to Bristol, where, and in the countries thereabouts, having staid some time, they departed, being moved of the Lord to Plymouth again, with a friend of Bristol; whither they came the sixteenth of the third month, 1655, and had several meetings there in friends houses, which many

flocked unto; to whom they declared the word of life, as they had received. To one of which meetings came one George Brooks, priest of the Nightingale frigate; standing up after they had done, spake in commendation of what they had spoken, saying, It was the eternal truth: and exhorting the people in the words of the apostle, Not to receive the grace of God in vain; telling them, They must expect to suffer persecution. But Thomas Salt-house seeing his deceit, told him, He had spoken many good words and fair speeches, but asked him, whether he lived the life of what he spoke; for that it was he that had the witness in himself, that could set to his seal that God was true. And after speaking a few words more to the people, exhorting them in the words of the apostle, Let him that stole, steal no more, &c. not directing it to Geo. Brooks, or to any in particular; whereupon the said George Brooks, to fulfil his own words, That they must expect to suffer persecution, stirred up persecution against them, pretending they had called him thief, though Miles Halhead had not spoken a word; so that on the 21st of the third month (the day before they intended to leave the town) they were taken out of a meeting, by warrant from John Page, mayor of Plymouth, who sent them to prison to the Guildhall in the same town: and next day they were had before

fore the magistrates, who examined them, and returned them to prison; and about a week after, the mayor sent them prisoners to the common gaol in the castle at Exeter, as disturbers of the peace, &c. where they were continued till the sessions in the fifth month; then tried, tendered the oath of abjuration, and fined 5*l.* each, for provoking words against Geo. Brooks, clerk, (who was such a notorious drunkard, that he once had a quarter cann hung about his neck, and put on shore) and committed to Bridewell till payment, and finding sureties for their good behaviour; where they continued close prisoners about twelve months, of which, and the proceedings at sessions, see a large account in the book entitled, ‘The Wounds of an Enemy in the ‘House of a Friend.’ After they were released, they returned into the north; but T. Salthouse came again into the west, in 1656, and laboured much in the work of the Lord in our country: and had meetings at my father’s house before I was born, as he hath told me. And the 24th of the eighth month, 1656, he had a dispute with one Francis Fulwood, (perhaps the same that was afterwards archdeacon of Totness) at West-Alvinton in Devonshire; which was not much to the priest’s honour, as may be seen in Thomas Salthouse’s book, intituled, ‘The hidden Things of Esau ‘brought to Light, and reprov’d,’ in answer

to the said Francis Fulwood's relation of the dispute. And the 22d of the second month, 1657, being at a meeting of the Lord's people, at the house of Thomas Budd, at Ash, in the parish of Martock, in the county of Somerset, he was taken up by captain Raymond, and some of his soldiers. There had been some meetings before, where several priests, with their company, came in a rude manner to break up the meeting; but being disappointed, some of their company came again to this meeting, and while T. Salthouse was declaring to the people, one R. Palmer, a very wicked man, who endeavoured to ride over friends, went and informed one captain Raymond, who sent two soldiers to fetch Thomas Salthouse away; but he refusing to go with them, the captain came himself, and took him away, though he confessed he had nothing to accuse him of; and next day had him before Robert Hunt and John Cary, justices; who, after examining him as to his name, country, and whether he owned the present power and government, and about the hat, &c. all which he answered, they committed him to Ivelchester gaol, as a dangerous, idle, wandering person, (and so no doubt they would have counted the apostles, if they had lived in their days) where he and others writ an epistle to friends in the west of England, in the third month. He was had, with other friends,

friends, to the general quarter-fessions at Taunton, in the fifth month, where his examination was read, and the depositions of Palmer, and one Pittard; as if friends met with staves, pikes, and cudgels, when it was only their own rude company that did so; and others, viz. Christopher and J. Jeans deposed, that friends had hardly any staves, except a riding-rod or whip. But these last John Cary would not return into fessions, lest it should clear the innocent: but having nought else against T. Salthouse, they tendered him the oath of abjuration, and though he renounced the Pope's supremacy, &c. yet because he could not swear, they fined him 5*l.* and returned him to prison till he should pay it, (see the book, 'A True Testimony of faithful Witnesses recorded') where he continued about a year prisoner; during which time he writ an epistle to friends in the north of England, in the sixth month, and another to the churches of the Anabaptists, in pursuance of their epistle from Tiverton in the tenth month, which Thomas Collier (a man famous among them till he turned opposer of truth, and then he grew dark) answering, Thomas Salthouse replied in a book, intituled, 'The Line of true Judgment laid to an imperfect Piece;' published by Thomas Collier; writ at Ivelchester the 12th of the first month, 1657 $\frac{7}{8}$; but I find him at liberty at Kendalshire in Gloucestershire, writing

writing an epistle back to the prisoners at Ivelchester, the 14th of the third month, 1658; and at Reading the 24th of the same, where he wrote his general epistle. And though he afterwards went into the north, travelling in the service of truth, as in Yorkshire, (where he writ an epistle to friends in the west of England, from Scalehouse near Skipton, the 11th of the eleventh month, 1658) and divers other places; yet he afterwards returned into the south about London, Kingston, &c. in 1660, and so into the west, which by long imprisonments in it, as at Exeter and Ivelchester, was become naturalized to him; and where his service pretty much lay; and he was at Plymouth again the same year. He was imprisoned again at Ivelchester in the great imprisonment; being committed by Edward Phillips the fifth of the eleventh month, 1660, for meeting and refusing to swear, where he writ an epistle to friends in the twelfth month; and was brought forth to Wells sessions, but returned to the assizes at Chard, in the 1st month, where he and the rest appeared; but with some others was returned to the sessions at Ivelchester, in the second month, 1661; at which the court would have had him and J. Scafe engage to return into their own country in a month, and to come no more for the space of three years into the county of Somerset; to which unreasonable demand against
their

their juſt liberties to baniſh themſelves, they could not conſent: or, ſecondly, to give bail to be of good behaviour, and to appear at the next general ſeſſions: or laſtly, to engage to return into their own countries in two months, and not to come again in 12 months, which they refuſing, were returned to priſon; Thomas Salthouſe to the common gaol at Ivelcheſter, and J. Scafe to the houſe of correction at Shipton-Mallet, by Jo. Turbivile, judge of the ſeſſions; but were diſcharged, with John Anderdon, T. Budd, and ſeveral others, by the king's proclamation, dated the 11th of the third month, 1661, the 28th of the ſame. He was again taken up with Thomas Lower, in Cornwall, the 27th of the eighth month in the ſame year, on account of an inſurrection: but after long examination, and detaining three days, being found innocent, they were diſcharged the 30th of the ſame.

He afterwards married in Cornwall, though the exact time I do not find, and ſettled at Auſtle in that county; yet often came into our country, in the fulneſs of the bleſſing of the everlaſting goſpel, as he often mentioned in his teſtimony, in relation to the goſpel miniſtry. He came to Briſtol, and Portshead in Somerſetſhire, while I dwelt there, about 1673, the firſt time that I ſaw him, to know him; and uſed to come and viſit us at Ivelcheſter,

chester, after I was a prisoner there, especially as he went to London to the yearly-meetings, as he often did while at liberty. He was fined 20*l.* for preaching, by sir Joseph Tredenham, in the second month, 1681, and had goods taken from him, viz. 300 yards of linen cloth, worth 21*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* and was imprisoned at Launceston with Thomas Lower, the 4th of the 6th month, 1683, by the said Joseph Tredenham, and præmunired at the assizes in the sixth month, by judge Carleton, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and continued prisoner (I suppose) till king James's proclamation of general pardon. He came into our country again after we were freed, while I dwelt at Long-Sutton, which I think was the last time I saw him. He was a pleasant man in conversation, which rendered him acceptable to many others as well as friends, and had a large capacity as a man, and an excellent gift of the ministry. He writ some notable books, and divers excellent epistles to friends, which are mostly in print, except some before-mentioned, though never yet collected together as they deserve. He deceased at his own house in Cornwall, in the twelfth month, 1690, about 60 years of age, in peace with the Lord; and is no doubt at rest with him from all his labours and sufferings, and his works follow him.

So much for these worthies, and the year 1690. And now for 1691.

About this time we were exercised about the fast appointed to be kept, as last year, during the war in Ireland, (and the more this year, for that it happened to be on our monthly-meeting day at Clareham, viz. the third fourth-day of the month, which we had long held for the worship of God) which because we could not observe, by keeping fast our shop windows, (which was most of the fast observed in that case) but opened them as at other times, not being satisfied that it was the “Fast which the Lord had chosen to bow
“ down the head for a day, &c. but to lose
“ the bands of wickedness, and undo the
“ heavy burdens,” &c. Isa. lviii. For which I met with pretty much opposition from such as owed us ill-will in the town; who endeavoured to render me disaffected to the government, though unjustly and undeservedly, being obliged to the government for our liberty, and wishing well to the Protestant interest all the world over; though we could not join in wars and fighting, or pray for shedding of blood, being taught to love enemies; for
“ Christ came not to destroy mens lives, but
“ to save them,” Luke ix. 56. and we being come to his peaceable kingdom, wherein the
“ Swords are to be beaten into ploughshares,
“ and

“ and the spears into pruning hooks, and nation not to rise up against nation, nor to learn war any more,” Isa. ii. Mich. iv. And as the government had been pleased to tolerate our religious dissent from the national worship, by law, we could not think they expected, or ourselves obliged to join with them in this, being not in contempt of authority, but for conscience sake; of which I was not without a testimony, outwardly as well as inwardly, for I found the Lord with me, and very good to me this summer, as in times past; and often visited me in an eminent manner, in his everlasting love, and refreshing presence to my soul, supporting and carrying me over all exercise and opposition which I met with for his truth’s sake; blessed be his holy name for ever.

And on one of those fast-days, some envious persons in the town got their old instrument, the crazy fellow afore-mentioned, whom they formerly set up to disturb our meeting, and made him drunk at an inn, that he might fall on us and abuse us for opening our shop windows; setting him on, and standing out in the street to see what he would do, who came vapouring up with a ram’s horn in his hand, as if he intended to do some great matter, till he came to the upper end of the shambles, where he could look out between that and the corner of another house, and see

see our shop; and there he stood, leaning his hands on the shambles-board, hanging down his head; looking sometimes towards our shop windows, and then down again, as if he had been stunned or chained to the place, that he could not stir or go any further for a considerable time; I and my wife standing in the shop and beholding him all the while: so that I told my wife we need not fear, for the Lord was on our side, and appeared to confound our enemies; for the man was bound that he could not hurt or touch us. And after he had stood a considerable time in that posture, and recovered himself a little, he crossed over the street another way, hanging down his head like one smitten, and durst not look towards us; and threw away his ram's horn, as a thing of no use; and so moped about all the afternoon till our shop was shut; and then he was like one let loose, capering and roaring about town like a madman, though bound before; which was so very remarkable, that though I have known many deliverances and preservations, I never knew or saw any thing more remarkable, for which I praise and magnify the name of the Lord for ever. After which they never troubled us more about our shop windows, though the fasts were kept a year or two after, and I mention it here for the encouragement of all to be faithful in their testimony, in which I never had cause to be discouraged: for
 which,

which, and the former relation of the meeting at Wrington, in 1689, and another hereafter at Wells, in 1695, I have extended these memoirs beyond what I first intended.

In the fourth month, having been down in the south country, at Somerton, Long-Sutton, &c. to visit our relations and friends, I returned by John Dando's at Hollotrow, to our men's meeting at Salford near Bath, where we had the yearly-meeting epistle, by our friend, R. Vickris, who came from London, with George Fox's paper to friends, which he left behind him sealed up (not to be opened before the time, viz. of his death) with which we were comforted, and a fine refreshing time it was.

This summer, 1691, brother Bowles of London, coming down again into the country, I went with him, in the seventh month, into Cornwall, by Bridgewater and Taunton, having meetings by the way at Wellington, in the lower side of our county, where is now a large meeting; and at Spiceland in the edge of Devonshire, where used to meet a thousand people: and so by Columpton, Crediton, Oakhampton, and Launceston (where George Fox was prisoner in 1656) over the Downs to Port-Isaac by the sea-side, a dangerous way down in the night; but we led our horses, and through mercy got well to R. Richards's, who married my friend Mary
Day

Day, of Bristol, who had a public testimony. We went to John Peters's on the seventh day, and next day after their meeting at Minver, we parted, brother going farther westward, but I returned home by our quarterly-meeting at Glastonbury, where we had some trouble with one who had formerly run out about the duke of Monmouth. I lived retired this winter, and have little to remark as to myself, but the goodness and mercy of the Lord to me, as at other times; for which my soul is always engaged to bless and praise his holy name for ever. Only I cannot but take notice of the death of three public friends this year, though not so largely as the last.

1. James Martyn, born at East-Acton, in the county of Middlesex, in the year 1646, was convinced of the truth in 1672, and received a testimony to bear for the same. He was an innocent man, whose conversation adorned the doctrine of Christ Jesus, which he preached faithfully; and zealously laboured to spread the truth abroad; for which he travelled in England and America, going thither in 1682, and was in New-England, Boston, Salem, &c. in the first and second months, 1683; and returned the latter end of that year, I think, for he came to Ivelchester to visit us, when we had our meetings in the common gaol. He went again to America in 1685, and returned in 1687. After

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which

which he continued labouring in the ministry according to his ability, though weak in body; and was taken sick when on a journey in Essex, where he finished his course; dying sweetly in the Lord, at Bocking near Braintree, the 30th of the eighth month, 1691; and was brought to Ratcliff, London, to be buried, the 3d of the ninth month, aged 45 years.

2. Thomas Brassey, an ancient friend of the ministry, who formerly dwelt at Wooleston, near Nantwich in Cheshire, whom I knew; he having been in our country about the year 1677, and had a sound solid testimony. He afterwards went to Pennsylvania, about the year 1682, and there died and was buried, in 1691.

3. Thomas Winne, an ancient eminent public friend of North-Wales, about Carwis in Flintshire, who writ a book called, 'The Antiquity of the Quakers,' in 1677. And another, intitled, 'An Antichristian Conspiracy detected,' in vindication of it, against a perverse adversary who writ against it, in 1679. He afterwards went to Pennsylvania, in the year 1682, and was surveyor there, where he died; and was buried at Philadelphia, the 17th of the first month, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The next spring, 1692, I and my wife went to the yearly-meeting at London, in
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the third month, where I had not been for above 16 years, viz. not since I was there with my sister in 1675; and a brave time we had together, the presence of the Lord being eminently manifested amongst us, could my soul say; especially at the general-meeting at Wheeler-street, the solemnest that ever I was in: so that it was as if the glory of Lebanon, and excellency of Carmel had been given unto it: of which, through the goodness of God, I had a share, to my exceeding comfort and refreshment, which made me in love with yearly-meetings ever since; so that I may say it was a time of love, many brave friends of the ministry being there. After which we returned home in great satisfaction, as with our sheaves in our bosoms; blessed be the Lord for ever. And soon after came down W. Bingley, and had a meeting at Wrington; and went from thence with J. Boulton of Gloucestershire, and many more, to our quarterly-meeting at Ivelchester, where we had some exercise with the aforesaid person, as at the former quarterly-meeting.

About this time died that faithful servant and handmaid of the Lord, Katherine Evans, wife of John Evans, of Inksbatch, in the parish of Inkscomb, near Bath in Somersetshire; as to whose birth, parentage, and education, I cannot give any particular account, but that she received the truth very early, and was

raised up and sent forth to bear witness to the same; in which she travelled in many countries in England, and elsewhere, and suffered much for her testimony. In the year 1657, for exhorting the people to repentance, and to turn from darkness to light, in the market-place at Salisbury, she was by Humphry Ditton, constable, haled before Humphry Ditton, justice, who, with Robert Good, mayor, and James Abbot, caused her to be stripped and tied to the whipping-post in the market, and there whipped (for they were notable whippers in those days); at which the beadle trembled: and so sent her with a pass from tithing to tithing. And for being and speaking at a meeting in the Isle of Wight, she was by warrant from Samuel Bull, deputy governor, kept with another friend several nights prisoners on the guard, and sent out of the island. And for speaking to priest Bartlet, at Portsmouth (after he had done his service) to prove his call to the ministry, and for directing people to the true Teacher, was by John Comfit, mayor, put in a close room to a mad woman. And about the 24th of the fifth month, 1657, for speaking again in the market-place at Salisbury, she was by the aforesaid H. Ditton and R. Basket, constables, haled before R. Good, mayor, who with the said H. Ditton and J. Abbot, brethren in iniquity, sent her to Bridewell, and put her into

a blind-house, a filthy nasty place, where two mad-men had lately died; and no friends to come at her; and was to have nothing to eat but what she earned in a blind-house (see their cruelty, who would have her work, and yet would not allow her light to work by); taking counsel again to whip her, had not one colonel Wheat told the mayor, They might as well have whipped the woman of Samaria, who brought the glad tidings of Christ into the town; and after consulting with the high-priest, John Strickland, touching her enlargement, they would have had Alice Helliar, a friend, to engage that she should not come again through the city, though it was the direct way to her outward being; the priest alledging, that it was contrary to rule; for if she was persecuted in one city, she should flee to another: (See the use as well as trade the priests make of the scriptures, to turn people out of the way). So they turned her out, and she could not get lodging for her money, but sat in the fields all night (her way was so stopped) waiting on the Lord to make way for her, and next morning went through the city by the watch, who took no notice of her. Again, for speaking to priest Blake, at Warminster, in the spirit of meekness, to prove his call to the ministry before the congregation: upon the priest's desiring the rude multitude, his hearers, to take notice that he

was disturbed, she was violently abused, and had her cloaths rent off her back. And once in the Isle of Man, there was a foldier came to her bed-side with a naked sword, and took her by the arm and haled her out of bed, at the tenth hour of the night, and carried her on ship-board to send her away. She travelled also in Ireland. And the Lord made her do him service to most of the mighty men in England and Ireland: and the Lord promised her to carry her before the mighty men of the earth, to bear his name before them, and she should have the victory whithersoever she went.

And about the beginning of the year 1659, she, and Sarah Cheevers, of Slattenford, in Wiltshire, were moved of the Lord to go beyond sea, to bear testimony to the truth; setting sail from London, and arrived at Leghorn in Italy, intending to go to Alexandria in Egypt; but the master of the ship put into Malta (formerly Melita, where Paul suffered shipwreck) and when they came, the walls were full of people gazing at them. They went into the town, and the English consul met them on the shore, and asked them concerning their coming; telling them there was an Inquisition there. They told him the truth as to their coming, and gave him some books. He invited them to his house, telling them, All that he had was at their service.

vice. And several came to visit them, to whom they declared the truth, and gave them some books. The consul had a sister in the nunnery, and desired them to go and see her; pretending, she had a desire to see them: they went and discoursed with the nuns, and gave them a book. Then the inquisitor sent for them, and examined them; which they answered, so that they could find nothing against them; so went away, but ordered them to be stayed there, and next day they came again and examined them apart, and urged them to swear to speak the truth, and to turn Catholics; which they refused, but declared the truth. The consul told them how sorry he was, but there was hope in time. But he was deceitful, and had betrayed them into the inquisitor's hands (though he denied it) when he might and ought to have prevented it; but slavish fear possessed him, and he had never peace after, but pined away till he died. The inquisitors examined them about their religion and principles, and what they believed of their's; all which they answered very clearly. Then they put them into an inward room in the inquisition, which had but two little holes in it for light, or air, where they were kept so close, that they were almost stifled in the hot weather, and were sometimes glad to put their mouths to the chink of the door to gasp

for breath. They came often to examine them, threatening them with death, and to be burnt if they did not renounce their errors, and turn Catholics; endeavouring all the ways they could to frighten and terrify them, to make them submit to their wills; but all in vain; coming to the prison gates at midnight; opening the gates, and rattling the chains, as if they were come to fetch them out to put them to death, or murder them there; so that they often expected when they should be had out to be burnt, and were freely given up to die. But the Lord preserved them, and was with them, to support them under all their exercises; else it had been almost impossible to bear up under all their sufferings, terrors, and threats. Then they separated them for a great while, that they could not see or hear one from another, to render them the more disconsolate; telling them, they should never see one another's faces again, and endeavoured to entangle them in their discourse; but they were preserved by the one spirit, to speak the same thing. And they told Sarah, that Katherine had confessed all, to persuade her to do so too: and at other times that she was dead, to dishearten her; but she had a sense it was false: threatening to send them to Rome; tempting them all the ways they could; endeavouring to take away their lives, sometimes by sorcery and witchcraft, making
such

such a stink with fire and brimstone, as almost choaked them that way. Thus continuing to exercise their cruelty and hellish contrivances against them, during the time of their imprisonment in the inquisition, where they lay above three years and a half, under great suffering and jeopardy of their lives, had not the Lord preserved them; and it was his great mercy they had not been destroyed by such a dark generation of Papists. And many various trials and exercises they went through, both outward and inward; with fastings and watchings day and night, that they might be preserved from the snares of the enemy, which he laid and tried every way to insnare and destroy them. But at last the Lord delivered them, and brought them back into the land of their nativity. Daniel Baker came about half a year before, and offered body for body for them, but that would not be accepted; but if any would engage for the payment of three or four thousand dollars, if ever they came there again, they should have their liberty; which they could not consent to. But the new consul pretended at last, that he had engaged for five hundred; but they could not find it was true. At last they were released by means of one lord d'Aubeny (a Papist) then at the English court, to whom friends applied; who writ and got them discharged, and sent on board one of the king's frigates, called
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the Saphire; and so were brought by Leghorn, Toulon, and Tangiers, into their own country, in 1662.

After their return into England, they travelled in the service of truth, and went into Scotland and Ireland, about 1663: and on the 7th of the third month, 1664, arriving at Minhead in Somersetshire, and going towards their outward dwelling on the 11th of the same, came to Wivelscomb, some friends accompanying them: and having a meeting at the house of William Wear, there came Robert Hawly, mayor, and justice of peace; and after a few words, drew his sword, and flourished it over their heads, and then called in a company of rude fellows which he had at hand, and broke up the meeting; and set a guard on friends in the same house, where they kept them that night; behaving themselves very rudely, in drinking and wicked reproachful language; especially one Silvanus, a servant of the said Hawly's, who ordered the prisoners to be brought the next day to one Pollet's house, about four or five miles from Taunton, which was done; where the said Hawly, and one Edward Clark, came and examined friends a-part, and were rough with them, giving some of them very abusive names, and afterwards made a mittimus to send them to gaol; and Hawly being gone, the company grew very wicked, and would search

search friends, which they did, especially Katherine and Sarah ; and took from them several papers and letters which they had in Ireland, for certain friends in England, which they broke open in justice Clark's presence : and though they found nothing in them, but what related to private affairs, or manifestation of love, from one friend to another, yet they refused to deliver them back again, but kept them ; and that night brought them to Taunton, and next day to Ivelchester prison, with several others. And were had to the sessions at Taunton, in the fifth month, and indicted for being at an unlawful meeting: and though they made their defence, that their meetings were only in the fear of God, and no hurt intended to any, they were fined 5l. a-piece, and returned to gaol till they should give bail for their good behaviour. The said R. Hawly and E. Clark appeared very violent against them ; and Sarah reasoning with the said Hawly, alledging scripture in her behalf, he asked her, What she had to do with scripture ? And that she should not come forth of prison, until she came forth to a stake ; which favoured of a Popish spirit and cruelty (like the Papists they had suffered under). They were had to Bridgewater sessions, in the eighth month, where John Turberville sat judge ; and for not paying the fine of 5l. a-piece, imposed on them the last sessions, and not giving bail
for

for their good behaviour, were returned back to prison till the next quarter-sessions, according to the sentence of the last, their liberty being much opposed by R. Hawly aforesaid. Whether they were discharged at the next, or how long they continued in prison, I am not certain; but not long after they were released, Sarah Cheevers died, but Katherine lived many years after, and continued in the service of truth. She was imprisoned at Welchpool in Montgomeryshire, for not swearing, in 1666; but how long, I find not. The first time that I ever saw her, to know her, was at a meeting at Bath, with my sister, in the year 1675. She was imprisoned in Newgate, Bristol, for meeting in the beginning of the persecution there, in 1681, as aforesaid; and came after to Ivelchester, to see us when we were prisoners there, about the year 1683. She lived to a great age, notwithstanding all her great travels and sufferings; and at last died in peace about the fourth month, 1692.

And in the sixth month this year, 1692, died that ancient and eminent servant and minister of Christ, Stephen Crisp of Colchester, of whom I cannot but make honourable mention, for the respect I had to him. He was born at Colchester in Essex, about the year 1628, where he had his education, according to the profession of the times; for in those days, religion lay more in seeking, than
in

in settling in any form : and, accordingly, he sought the Lord amongst most professors, running from one to another, and from mountain to hill, seeking rest, but finding none, till the truth was manifested. He went among, and joined with the Baptists some time, and was zealous in outward ordinances, but had not satisfaction ; till at length it pleased the Lord to send his faithful servant and messenger, James Parnel, into that county, by whom, though a young man, many were convinced and turned to the Lord : who came to Colchester, where our friend Stephen Crisp was convinced, and received the truth in the love of it, in the year 1655, and 27th of his age ; and coming into obedience to it, after long travail in the deep and inward exercise, under the work of regeneration, he came to receive the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness, having a dispensation of the gospel committed to him. And in the year 1659, finding the aboundings of the love of God in his heart, and a desire that others also might come to know the Lord, and taste of his goodness, he was made to leave father and mother, wife and children, to go and bear witness to his name in Scotland, that high professing nation, but would fain have put it off. And went to visit friends about Essex, and part of Suffolk, but could not be clear without going to Scotland. So he

he gave up: and as he went along Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, he found the Lord was with him as a mighty man of valour, and so he got into Scotland, and travelled to and fro in that nation that winter on foot; and returned through Westmoreland and part of Lancashire, home. Soon afterwards he came up to London; and then went northward again, and was imprisoned in the great imprisonment, 1660, nigh two hundred miles from home, till discharged, with several thousands more, by the king, in 1661. And in the year 1663, he went over sea to visit the seed of God in the Low Countries, seeming to be raised up to succeed the worthy William Caton in that service, who died in Holland about 1664, and might deservedly be called the apostle of that country. After his return, he travelled northward again to Newcastle, &c. returning eastward; and so to London, in great dread to warn the people of the judgments of God at hand, as fire, &c. And in 1667, went over to Holland again, with his dear companion Josiah Coale: and after he came home, went into the north of England to visit the tender plants, and water the heritage and garden of God; having the care of the churches upon him; travelling from country to country, finding his way prosperous. And after a year or two travelling thus in England, he found a necessity to go into the Low-Countries

tries again (the third time) in 1669; and travelled in Holland, Friezland, and Germany, near Worms, where he found some friends who had stood in a testimony for God about ten years, in great sufferings by the Palsgrave, and went to Heydelburgh, where he had an opportunity to discourse that prince about friends sufferings, who promised redress. So he returned and came to London; and from thence to Bristol, and through Somersetshire, &c. to the Land's-End: returning up the south coasts to London, and so to Colchester; and was soon after taken for being at a meeting, by means of a priest, who betrayed him two years before, and got him into prison; and now again into Ipswich gaol, in the first month, 1670, on the act for 5l. or three months imprisonment; but judge Rainsford, at the assizes, committed him till he paid 5l. but being afterwards sensible of his error, sent an order for his release, at three months end; after which, he went the fourth time to Holland, where he had great service for the Lord, having attained their language; and went eastward to visit those dismal dark countries in the lower parts of Germany, towards Denmark and Sweden, where the Lutheran religion bears sway, yet darkness and wickedness in its full strength. And went to Ham-
burgh, Holstein, and Frederickstadt; Bremen,
Oldenburgh, and Embden; and so to Gron-
ingen

ingen and Lewarden, where the Friezland lords had a law, to put Quakers in Bridewell for five years, that should come into their province; and had taken three friends of Amsterdam, and put them in prison, and made an order that no Quakers should go to visit them (so cruel were they): which when S. Crisp understood, he writ to the lord president, that they had done worse than heathens, and seeing they had made such a law, there was he and two more come to visit the prisoners, and desired liberty so to do; and they were so limited, that they did not lay hold on them. So after a meeting in the town, they returned to Amsterdam, and had meetings at Alkmaer, Harlem, Rotterdam, &c. where a young man of Switzerland hearing that his brother, in Holland, was turned Quaker, came down in his zeal thinking to turn him; but on hearing the truth, he was convinced of it, and came in obedience to it to take up the cross. After which S. Crisp returned to London, and soon after went over into Friezland again; but returned in 1671, and travelled through several counties; and so to London, and back to Colchester: and then went into the north, Yorkshire, Bishoprick, &c. visiting the churches; Samuel Cater going with him (in his way to Scotland) so far as Newcastle; from whence Stephen turned westward, and so southward to London and Colchester. And next year,

1672,

1672, went the sixth time to Holland and Friesland, and returned in the eighth month, and came to London. And after some time, passed over sea again (the seventh time) to Embden in Friesland, the latter end of the first month, 1673; where were great sufferings by fines, imprisonments, and banishment, some suffering 16 or 20 times; being spoiled of all they had, even to their very cloaths, and driven almost naked along the streets, aboard the ships that were to carry them away; such a monster is persecution in all countries: all which our friends bore patiently, and the Lord supported them under it all. He went from thence to Rotterdam, where some of account were convinced of the truth; and so returned to England, against the yearly-meeting at London in 1674. And after that, travelled through divers counties to Bristol, where, and at Bath, I first saw and heard him, and loved him ever after. And in the fourth month, 1675, he was drawn again, the eighth time, to visit friends in the Low-Countries, which he did this summer, to his great comfort; and went to Embden, where friends were still under great sufferings, there being a new law made of 25*l.* fine, for any that should harbour a friend: which he writ a book in answer to, sharply rebuking the rulers for their cruelty, and they were so chained, that they did not lay hands on him; after which

their fury abated. And in the eighth month, 1676, having been there above a year, and visited the provinces, he returned home; and that winter visited the churches in Essex, Suffolk, and London. And in the first month, 1677, he went the ninth time to Holland, (finding the care of those parts laid upon him) and found friends well; and having visited their meetings, and in Friesland, he returned in the third month to England, and came to London, where he was most of that summer; and then went to Colchester, where he lived, and visited friends thereabouts. And about the first month, 1678, found drawings to go down into Yorkshire, where he had much service formerly; and went to Hull, and thereabouts, visiting the churches, to his and their joy in the Lord. And in the fourth month crossed the seas, the tenth time, to Holland; and went southward to divers cities up the Rhine, visiting many that were inclined to the truth, as at Cleves and Wesel: so returned to Holland, where he was taken ill and weak for some time; but at last got to Rotterdam, being somewhat recovered; and so to England, and afterwards to London, Herefordshire, &c. And next summer, 1679, went not over sea, as usual; but after the general-meeting at London, went to Bristol, where he had some exercise with some who had let in a wrong spirit against friends and truth; and

and returned to London, and so home, visiting friends in Essex and Suffolk. And next spring went again to London, Hertfordshire, &c. till after the general-meeting 1680, and then found drawings (the eleventh time) to visit friends in Holland and Friesland; and particularly a little remnant at Crevelt, in the land of Meurs, who had suffered many things for their testimony; and returned through the Spanish Netherlands to Holland, and so to England, in the seventh month. And after he was recovered of a fever, visited friends in Essex, Yarmouth, Norwich (where things began to revive) Norfolk, and Ipswich. And soon after, in 1681, travelled once more into Yorkshire, to divers places, and so back to London. And next year, 1682, went again to Norwich, being a time of great suffering there; and a justice and constable came to the meeting, and haled him and a dozen more, to their judgment-hall, where the mayor and aldermen met, who endeavoured to ensnare him and bring him into bonds; but he was preserved in the wisdom of God, so that their snare was broken, and he escaped, and went to meetings again: and when he was clear, returned home that winter. And next spring, found drawings again to the Low Countries: and after the yearly-meeting in 1683, (a time of great sufferings with friends in London, being often kept out of their

meeting-houses, but could not be deprived of the presence of the Lord) he went the 12th time, with divers friends of Dantzick, Amsterdam, &c. to Holland, to be at the yearly-meeting at Amsterdam, which is three weeks after ours, where they had a brave meeting; after which friends departed to their several habitations: but he was taken ill, and disabled from visiting meetings in some places, as he intended, and in the sixth month returned home. And soon after it pleased God to take away his wife, they having been married 35 years: and the latter end of 1684, he had an opening that the Lord would give him another wife; but withal, that he had a service for him beyond the seas the next summer. So he went first to London, and staid the yearly-meeting 1685; and then went over to Holland, the thirteenth and last time, with his dear friend whom he had seen should be given him to wife, and divers other friends of England and Holland, to their yearly-meeting, where they met with some contrary spirits; who, with much labour, were restored to the unity of the truth. After which, hearing there was a door open to receive the truth, at Mackum in Friesland, he went thither, and preached the gospel amongst them, and was well received: so returned to Holland, and in the sixth month to England, and in the eighth month took his second wife. But (which shews

shews the instability of all outward enjoyments) in the beginning of the year 1687, it pleased the Lord (who gives and takes at his pleasure) to take her away from him again, which was an exercise to him in his old age. After which, he went up to London for three months, and returned to Colchester that winter. And in 1688, went to London again; and in his return visited some meetings in Essex and Suffolk: coming to London again in the eighth month, about the time of the revolution. And in 1689, laboured with other friends with the parliament, for getting the penal laws repealed; which at last was effected, to the ease of tender consciences: and after the yearly-meeting, returned to his habitation at Colchester; where and at London, after this, he spent his time, not being able to travel much, as in times past, by reason of infirmity of body, being much troubled with the stone: but continued in the service of truth, to his ability, till the time of his death. He was at the yearly-meeting in 1692; but was soon after taken ill, and removed to Wandsworth for the air, where he departed this life, the twenty-eighth of the sixth month, 1692, about sixty-four years of age; laying down his head in peace with the Lord, in honour and renown; resting from his labours, and his works follow him, and his memorial is blessed. See his works,

printed in 1694; and a Journal of his Life, &c.

He wrote many brave books and epistles, which are since collected in quarto; particularly his 'Epistle to Friends, concerning the 'present and succeeding Times;' which I have often been comforted in the reading of, as about this time (not long after his death) on the reading of it, How truth entered in the beginning, and how we received it, and counted nothing dear for its sake: my heart was affected with it, and I felt life answering to it, so that, as it was said formerly, it was a time of love to my soul; and the Lord was pleased to give me a token and pledge of it, to my exceeding comfort and joy in his presence, beyond what I can express, which was and is more precious to me than all that this world can afford; blessed be his holy and worthy name for ever. Though I cannot say it was, or is, always so; but that there is at times a withdrawing of the beloved as behind the curtain, and hiding his face for a season, either through our unwatchfulness, or for the trial of our faith; and then, as David said, I was troubled, like the disciples who, while the bridegroom was with them, could not fast, but when he was taken from them then they mourned: so it is with us: yet there is a brook by the way, though sometimes low, which is sufficient for the time till we arrive at the fountain. Wherefore

fore let none be discouraged, but trust in the Lord for ever; for he will appear again in his own time, if unfaithfulness be not the cause, and then the soul will rejoice and be glad in his salvation.

About this time I made an observation, that we had been for many years free from opposers; so that we could even say, as it was in the days of Solomon, that there was neither adversary nor evil occurrent; hardly a dog to open his mouth against us (only that old apostate Francis Bugg, Shimei-like was railing a little now and then). But now the Baptists, at Deptford in Kent, began to oppose: The Athenian authors followed; who being successfully answered and confuted by our friends George Whitehead and William Penn; George Keith, who once knew better things, brought up the rear; beginning this year to differ with friends in Pennsylvania, of which more hereafter, in the year 1694.

This year also died, Thomas Olive, formerly of Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, who was convinced of the truth early, about the time that William Dewsbury came first thither, in 1655, as aforesaid; and receiving it in the love of it, with many more, he came to have a public testimony to bear for it, and was serviceable in his place in those days. He was a prisoner in Northampton common gaol in the year 1666, with near eighty more

of the people of God at that time, for the testimony of a pure conscience; waiting the Lord's time, to plead their cause and clear their innocency: where he writ a book, called 'A Signification from Israel's God, to England's Rulers and Inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest;' as one that had received mercy from the Lord, and so travelled in soul for their return, that their souls also might live. How long he continued in prison I do not find, (perhaps till the king's declaration in 1672) nor any thing further of him, till the year 1677, when he went to New-Jersey, and there died, and was buried in Northampton township, belonging to Burlington monthly-meeting in New-West-Jersey, the 4th of the ninth month, 1692.

I have not much to remark this year, 1693, but the death of some public friends: As, 1. That ancient servant of God and minister of Jesus Christ, Thomas Goodair, who was one of the first convincement, when George Fox came out of Derby prison, to Balby in Yorkshire, in the year 1651; at what time he, with R. Farnworth, James Naylor, and Thomas Aldam, were convinced of the truth. And giving up to the dictates of it, he came to receive a testimony for it, in which he travelled to turn others to it. And in the year 1656, coming into Northamptonshire, and being at a meeting

meeting at a friend's house in the said county, the twenty-fifth of the third month, as he was ministering to the people, there came two constables with a warrant from John Brown and John Mansel, justices; and laid hands on him, haling him out of the meeting; and had him before the said justices, who came some miles that day to the priest's house in the town, on purpose to take the said Thomas, by which means their own worship was neglected in the afternoon, (so irreligiously persecuting were they in those days) the priests and justices spending most part of their time in committing the said Thomas, and others, that were at the meeting; charging him to be a dangerous person, and a misleader of the sect called Quakers; demanding sureties for his good behaviour: which he refused, unless they could shew him what law he had broken; which they would not, or could not, do, but said they were judges of the law; and so made a mittimus to send him to Northampton gaol, where he remained a prisoner for some time, how long I am not certain. And for the other friends that were at the meeting, they demanded 10s. a-piece; and for their refusing to pay, threatened to distrain their goods. After his enlargement, he travelled, in obedience to the Lord, through Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and so into Oxfordshire, where he was taken up at a friend's house (Benjamin Staple's

Staple's at Chadlinton) and had before the commissioners at Chipping-Norton; particularly, Sir Wm. Walter and Sir Tho. Peniston, who after examining him, as to his name and business in that county, which he answered, they tendered him the oath of allegiance, and to the friend where he was taken; and for refusing it, made each of them a mittimus, and sent them to Oxford gaol, the 15th of the seventh month, 1660, where they suffered much by the gaoler, his wife and son, who put irons on both Thomas's legs; and would not change one that was too strait, and hurt him, unless he would give them money: and put them into a stinking room, where they had nothing to sit or lie on; and would not let them have in straw to lie on, except they would pay 4s. 8d. a week for their lodging; and abused them and other friends very much. And at the general-quarter-sessions in the 8th month at Oxford, the said Walter being judge of the sessions, Thomas and the other friend (Benj. Staples) were brought into court. And when they had examined Thomas, and could find nothing against him, they, on purpose to ensnare him, tendered the oath of allegiance to him. He told them, he owned the king to be supreme governor in civil and temporal things, and was willing to obey him in all just or lawful commands: but if king Charles, and they that were in authority under him, commanded him to do that which was contrary to the
 command

command of the Lord Jesus, then he should chuse rather to obey Christ Jesus, than king Charles or them; and so told them he could not swear for conscience sake, if it would gain him the whole world, because Christ had forbid it. But nothing would satisfy them, except he would swear; which he refusing, the said Walter asked the rest of the justices if they had any thing against his passing sentence against him; to which they all consenting, he bid him hear his sentence, That he was out of the king's protection, and all his lands, goods, and chattels forfeited, and to be seized for the king, and he to remain in prison during the king's pleasure. Then bid the gaoler take him away. Thomas asked him, if he ordered the gaoler to put irons upon him? (which were on, when he was brought before them). Walter said, the gaoler might do what he would with him, for he was out of the king's protection (cold comfort from them, but under the Lord's protection still). So the gaoler took him away, and brought the other friend B. Staples before them. And when they had examined him, and could find nothing against him, they tendered him the same oath; which he in like manner refusing in obedience to Christ; the said Walter, with the consent of the rest, passed the same sentence on him, and so they were both had to prison. And the gaoler told the common prisoners, that if they wanted coats, they might take theirs off
their

their backs, for they could have no law against them: but one of the prisoners answered, he would go naked before he would take off theirs. This shews how cruelly friends were used in those days, contrary to the righteous law of God, of 'doing to others as they would 'be done by.'

How long they continued prisoners, I am not certain; but probably till next spring, 1661, when the general gaol-delivery was, if not longer, for all were not discharged then. After which he was imprisoned at Warwick with Wm. Dewsbury and many more, for refusing to swear (the common snare) where he had been several years prisoner, in 1666, and præmunired without any legal trial, or any sentence or judgment passed against them in open court or sessions; but entered in the calendar to remain prisoners during their lives; a cruel sentence. How long he remained a prisoner I do not find, but suppose till the king's declaration in 1672; neither do I find any thing material of him after this, till 1691, when he published, 'A plain Testimony to the ancient Truth and Work of God:' and died in it at Selby in Yorkshire, the 8th of the second month, 1693.

2. William Yaldy, formerly of Ransclough near Leek in Staffordshire, an ancient labourer in the gospel of Christ, and very serviceable formerly in those countries, Derbyshire and Cheshire; and travelled in many parts of England

land in the work of the ministry: but in the year 1681, or 1682, he went with his family, as did many more, to Pennsylvania, where his wife died in 1691, and himself in the county of Bucks in the said province; and was there buried the 9th of the fifth month, 1693.

3. John Delavall, another public friend, was the son of Tho. Delavall, a merchant in New-York; where he was convinced of the truth, and received a public testimony, in which he was very zealous. He removed to Philadelphia, and was somewhat concerned with Geo. Keith in answering C. Mather; and in his latter time in controversy with him the said Geo. Keith also. He retained his integrity to the last; and died at Philadelphia, and was there buried the 10th of the sixth month, 1693.

4. Wm. Stockdale, an ancient public friend, formerly belonging to Charlemount meeting in the north of Ireland: but whether he was of that country, or Scotland-born, I am not certain; but find he was much concerned and travelled in Scotland at the first spreading of truth there, and suffered much for his testimony, by beatings, bruifings, &c. as may be seen in the book of 'The Doctrines and Principles, the Persecution, Imprisonment, Banishment, &c. by the Priests and Magistrates of Scotland,' in 1659, of which he was partly the author. He was convinced early, but when or where I find not; and receiving a public testimony, he travelled much in the service of
truth

truth in England and Scotland, and was very serviceable; especially in Scotland, as aforesaid, and also in Ireland, where he dwelt, and published (or at least was concerned in) the last book of friends sufferings in Ireland that was printed, viz. ‘The Great Cry of Oppression,’ in 1680. He afterwards removed to Pennsylvania, in the year 1687, and was concerned in the controversy with Geo. Keith; and there died, and was buried at Philadelphia, the 23d of the seventh month, 1693.

Now having mentioned Geo. Keith; about this time (i. e. this summer) hearing of the difference between him and friends in Pennsylvania, whither he went some years before, I was much concerned at it, having had a great respect to him on account of his writings, (though I had never seen him but once, when he and R. Barclay were at Bristol, about the year 1677) and I was very loath to believe it at first, till there was no room left to question it; and under the exercise of it, writ some letters to a relation in Philadelphia about it, as our sense of the matter, so far as appeared to us at that time, to moderate it as much as might be, that they might not give him any just occasion, &c. copies of which are among my letters and papers.

But the next spring he came over with some of his party, full fraught with contention against the yearly-meeting at London in the third month, whither I went this year, 1694: where

where were Samuel Jennings and Tho. Duckett on friends side, with Tho. Wilfon and James Dickenfon, who had been travelling there, and could give an account of it: which came before the meeting by some letters directed to, and read in courfe in the meeting; who deferred the hearing of it till the other bufinefs of the meeting was over: and then did hear it for about ten days, reading books and papers, and hearing both fides, what they had to fay in relation to the difference, how it began, and the proceedings thereupon, in order to give a true judgment in the cafe, wherein G. Keith fufficiently manifested himfelf. So that friends had great exercife and debates with him about the difference; endeavouring to heal it, and reconcile him to friends if they could, for his prefervation if it might be. But the enmity had fo far entered him, that nothing would do with him, feeming refolved for a breach, though he pretended the contrary. So that the more tendernefs any fhewed towards him, the more perverse he was to turn it to a wrong end, and ftrengthen himfelf in his contention and^d opposition, the hour of temptation being come, and ftiong upon him to try his foundation, which had not flood very firm for fome years, being declining before, as I had found by fome of his late books; having imbibed fome odd notions about the man Chrift, and the extent of his death, as to heathens, &c. the revolution of
human

human souls, the resurrection, &c. even from the time of Van Helmont's being in London, about the year 1682, which dimmed his spiritual eye, and weakened him inwardly, as to truth; which had been his strength and stay, and would, if he had kept to it.

He was bred a scholar at the university: and I know what some have reported, that he turned Quaker in disgust, for being deprived of some place or fellowship. But I would not say, as some are apt when any fall away, that they were never right, for a righteous man may turn from his righteousness; knowing by his writings that he had a true conviction and work of God upon him; and was enlightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift, and of the powers of the world to come, as his 'Help in Time of Need;' his 'Immediate Revelation;' 'The Benefit, Advantage, and Glory of Silent Meetings,' with several others of his writings, do shew; and he was serviceable with R. Barclay in some controversies in defence of the truth, and in some others; and valued for his gifts, while he used them in humility and subserviency to truth. But being naturally somewhat timorous, and afraid of suffering (not to look so far back as his removal from Aberdeen to Edinburgh in Scotland, being imprisoned in both, and his coming into England). After he took Christopher Taylor's school at Edmonton, and his imprisonment at Hertford, he came to London, and sought a privileged

privileged place ; but being taken and imprisoned in Newgate, after he got out, nothing would do but he would away to America : there was nothing but persecution here (which was hard, and he was to be pitied, being pursued so close—woe to persecutors) but had he kept his eye of faith to the Lord, he would have been preserved. So away he went, where yet he bore up for a time, and I hope had some service there, especially in New-England: and writ some notable books ; particularly, ‘ The Presbyterian and Independent Visible Churches in New-England and elsewhere, brought to the Test and examined ; ’ ‘ A Refutation of three Opposers of Truth ; ’ ‘ The pretended Antidote proved Poison, or the true Principles of the Christian and Protestant Religion defended, against C. Mather, and others ; ’ and ‘ A serious Appeal to all the more sober, impartial, and judicious People in New-England (as notable as most of them) in Vindication of Friends : ’ published that very year (1692) the difference began between him and friends in Pennsylvania ; but being somewhat peevish and brittle in his temper, because he could not have his own way in every thing he would have prescribed, or have been dictator in, and could not bear contradiction, he began to fall out with them, charging them with errors. And after he came over to London, ran out further and further in opposition to friends, till they were

ged to disown him, he grew so troublesome and contentious, till he run quite out; and at last turned an open opposer of friends in those very things he had vindicated them in. And of the proceedings of the yearly-meeting, there was an account drawn up and given to him; and by him, or some of his party, first printed, and afterwards by friends, intitled, 'A True Account of Proceedings,' &c.

But now to come to something better of one of his countrymen:

This year, 1694, died Patrick Livingstone, a Scotchman born, though in his latter time he dwelt in London. He was born in the year 1634, near Montrose in Scotland, and had a pretty good education. He received the truth about the year 1659: and afterwards, as he came into obedience to it, he was raised up to bear a testimony for it, and travelled much in the service of it for above thirty years, in his own country, and in England and Ireland; and was made instrumental in convincing and gathering many to the knowledge of God and his truth; particularly the meeting at Kenmuck, in the county of Aberdeen, the largest in that nation. He married at Nottingham the latter end of 1675, or beginning of 1676; for he was married when I returned out of the north, in the second month, 1676, and came from Nottingham to Leicester with him, towards the yearly-meeting. He patiently endured several years close imprisonment
for

for his testimony in Aberdeen, from the year 1676 (soon after he was married) to 1679. He was valiant for the truth in time of suffering; not turning his back in the day of trial, being fervent and zealous for the cause of truth, and honour of God: insomuch that his persecutors were sensible, how that he strengthened his brethren in prison; so that they would sometimes let him go, and miss some meetings where he used to be, rather than send him to prison to them. He was faithful to his brethren in afflictions, and would not leave them, till he saw an end of that persecution in Scotland, in 1679. After which no friend was imprisoned for several years in that city of Aberdeen, and then he returned to his wife at Nottingham: and afterwards removed with his family to London, where he was also imprisoned in Newgate about the year 1684, and where he dwelt in his latter years; and continued a diligent labourer in the Lord's vineyard, visiting his native country of Scotland several times after his marriage and removal to London; particularly in 1693, the year before he died, he visited his brethren there, and was attended with the power and presence of God while he was among them, though weak of body: and after his return home he grew weaker, till he departed this life, the 15th of the fourth month, 1694, at John Kirton's at Kensington; laying down his head in peace and rest with the Lord, as he signified on his death-bed, about the 60th year of his age.

This summer, 1694, the spotted fever was in our town, of which many died, and a young woman in our family; so that we were in great danger: but through the mercy of the Lord we were preserved. Our dear friend Charles Marshall being then at Bristol, my wife went to him, and he gave us some directions, which I believe were made instrumental to our preservation; though I ascribe it to the Lord, and render the honour and glory of all to him, who was good to us, and to me in particular at that time; in a sense of which my heart was bowed before him, in humble thanksgiving and acknowledgment to the God of all our mercies: blessed be his name for ever!

There died also this year, (and in the same month September) two public friends, which I cannot but take notice of: 1. Thomas Lloyd of Pennsylvania, who was born in North Wales about the year 1649; and formerly dwelt at a place called Macemore, in Montgomeryshire, being brother to Charles Lloyd of Dolobran near Welchpool. In his younger years he was brought up at the university of Oxford, as his brother also was. And after his brother was convinced, he came also to receive the truth; and was very serviceable in that country, till he removed with his family to Pennsylvania, where he was president and deputy-governor of that province under William Penn several years. And in the latter part of his time had his share with other friends, in the exercises occasioned by the contention of G. Keith with
friends

friends there. He died well, and in great satisfaction, as he expressed; laying down his head in peace after a few days sickness, departing this life the 14th of the seventh month, 1694, aged about 45 years, leaving six children behind him, and was buried in friends burying-ground in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

2. Eight days after, died, that faithful servant of God, and labourer in the gospel, Thomas Markham of Glamford-Bridge in Lincolnshire. He was born about the year 1634, and in his childhood was sensible of the goodness of God to him, in convincing him of evil words and actions; in which state he was for many years, but knew not what it was that did thus work in him, till he was brought down into contrition and self-denial; and then he knew it was the spirit of Christ Jesus in the inward parts, which reproves the world of sin. He was an early seeker of the best things; and in those days, when he was a very young man, he took notice of the messengers of truth, as John Whitehead, and others of the Lord's servants, when they were sent forth to preach the everlasting gospel in the year 1654; and would help them to lodgings when they knew not where to lay their heads, and acquainted such professors as he then walked with; so that they got a meeting at Glamford-Bridge, where he dwelt; and had an opportunity to hear their testimony to the light of Christ, which many hate because their deeds are evil. And at that time a love

was raised in his heart to them; for the witness of God in him answered to their testimony, though that heavenly seed lay long hid in him, before fruit appeared, and he joined himself for some time with the people called Independents. And being zealous in that way, according to his understanding, became a teacher amongst them: but not finding that satisfaction and peace which his soul travailed for among that people, and meeting with a book of Isaac Pennington's, called, 'A Looking-Glass for Professors,' &c. in the reading of it his understanding was so opened, that he was thoroughly convinced of the blessed truth, which he received with great gladness of heart, and willingly embraced the cross of Christ, and gave up to endure the reproaches of it, with and among the poor distressed people called Quakers, about the year 1660. And though he was before a man of parts and abilities, yet then he could contentedly sit down in silence for several years, and patiently wait upon the Lord, to be instructed by him. And having well learned in the school of Christ, and witnessed the pouring forth of the spirit upon him, his mouth was opened in fear and trembling, and the life that sprung through him gave witness to his testimony; which made it acceptable to God and his people. And he grew in it, for the word of the Lord was with him, and constrained him to go and visit the churches of Christ about the year 1670, which he gave up himself unto in much sincerity: for

as he was fearful to run before he was sent, so when he was called forth, he went with cheerfulness whither the Lord sent him; casting his care upon the Lord, who never fails them that put their trust in him. He delighted much in serving the Lord, and travelled in many parts of England; sometimes with John Whitehead, and his company and conversation was very acceptable unto him: and once went with his friend Robert Collier into Ireland, and visited most of friends meetings there, and returned through Cumberland, where he was sweetly refreshed with the presence of the Lord amongst friends, which was a seal to his testimony and labours at that time. His testimony was plain and prevalent, and the life did often wonderfully flow through his earthen vessel; and he had a great concern upon him for the good of all others: and besides their usual meetings, which he diligently attended, he also set apart an evening meeting once a week for his own family, that he might labour with them, to season them with the grace of God, that they might grow thereby. And not only so, but visited friends from house to house, to see that they were preserved in a favour of truth; and was very charitable to the poor; ready to do good to all, according to his ability, especially to the household of faith, one of the first to contribute to others, not "forgetting to communicate." He was indeed an extraordinary man, and worthy example many ways, being zealous.

lous for the truth and testimony thereof: and as he lived, so he died in the work of the Lord, finishing his course in the service of the truth, as he was visiting the meetings of the Lord's people in Lincolnshire, at the house of Robert Brown, in Boston, the 22d of the 7th month, 1694, about the 60th year of his age.

This year (1694) in the ninth month, Wm. Penn (with whom I had spoken in London at the yearly-meeting) came down to Bristol, and to Chew, and had a great meeting at Clarendon; and came to my house at Wrington that night, with several other friends. And next day we went with him on board the Bengal ship in Hung-Road to dinner; and afterwards by Westbury to Bristol, on seventh-day night, where, on first-day, were very large meetings; and about two weeks after went westward, and had large meetings in most of the great towns in our county, as also in Devonshire and Dorsetshire. I met him at Wells, and went with him to Somerton, where it was some time before we could get a place large enough for the meeting, the market-house (where the meeting began) though large, not being big enough to hold it; and at last we were glad to go out into the fields, and a great gathering there was. I met him again at Bridge-water, where he had a great meeting in the town-hall, as he had in most places, which the mayors generally consented to, for the respect they had to him (except at Wells, of which hereafter); few places else

else being sufficient to hold the meetings. And the 27th of the tenth month he came again to Wrington, and had a large meeting in the court-hall (where we then kept our meetings) where was a justice of peace and his wife, W. Penn lodging at my house: that night queen Mary died, and an eminent man of the town, who had been at the meeting, sitting up late after at cards (being the time called Christmas) died before the morning; a sad example for card-players! Oh, that others would take warning, and prize their time, and not turn from the grace of God into wantonness. Next day I accompanied W. Penn so far as Barrow, in the way to Bristol, to a monthly-meeting, and so returned home.

But, oh the love of God to my soul, how shall I recount his manifold mercies and loving-kindness to me, and tender dealings with me, in renewing the visitation of his love oftener, many times, than the morning: though I commemorate them but now and then, they are more than can be numbered; but are engraven on my heart as with the point of a diamond, never to be blotted out, or forgotten by me, while I have a being among the sons of men. Though, as I hinted before, we have not always that enjoyment we desire, there being a time of scarcity as well as of fulness, in the all-wise providence and disposal of the Lord, who knows what is best for every one; a suffering
want,

want, as the apostle fays, as well as abounding; a winter as well as a summer, or sabbath-day; and then is the danger, as our Saviour intimates, of taking flight in the winter, or on the sabbath-day: so that it is good to learn how to suffer want, as well as how to abound, (seeing the Lord hath not seen meet that we should always dwell in those high enjoyments whilst in these earthly tabernacles) and learn to be content in all states and conditions; not to be lifted up in enjoyment, or cast down in time of want, or winter, when the sap retires to the root, and little life is felt, or greenness appears; when the beloved is withdrawn, and his presence not felt, then is the danger of entertaining other lovers, ‘when the winter nights are long’ (as one fays) ‘and the boisterous storms
 ‘many, when the feet of the virgin stuck in the
 ‘mire, and the young man failed of strength,—
 ‘when the refreshing dews came not down,—
 ‘when the lambs cried as in the day of forgetfulness, and the cry went up to God to be kept
 ‘alive in famine.’ This is the day of Jacob’s trouble, and of being tossed with tempests, and not comforted, that the soul hath been ready to say, Hath the Lord forgotten to be gracious, and will he be merciful no more? But then again, as there hath been a patient waiting and abiding, not flying out for relief or comfort any other way; or ever I was aware, my soul hath been made like the chariots of Aminadib, and
 the

the Lord hath appeared again, and the beloved come down in his garden amongst his pleasant plants, to feed among the lilies; and then hath the soul been solaced in his love, and made joyful in his house of prayer, and the mouth filled with praises; and so hath sat under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit hath been sweet to her taste.

This spring, 1695, there was an act of parliament passed, for the more easy recovery of small tithes, by justices warrants, not exceeding 40s. per annum; which though it might prevent, but did not restrain, some of the more severe proceedings in the Exchequer, and at common law; yet it occasioned the sufferings of our friends on that account to be more numerous. I remember I had a book, printed 40 years ago, called ‘Tithes a Curse to all nations but Canaan.’ As indeed they have been, are, and will be to all that are concerned in them, as the unprosperousness of most that meddle with them shews: and I cannot but admire, that any should so clearly see them 40 years ago, and our legislature, &c. cannot yet see through them; but uphold them, and make laws to enforce the payment of them to this day (which I believe the impropriations in laymens’ hands is a great means of) there being no ground for them in the gospel; but were first preached up by Augustine, from Jewish example, given by Popish kings and princes for superstitious uses, to expiate sins, &c. decreed first

first by Popish councils, and not generally confirmed in English parliament, till Henry the VIIIth's time, denied by Wickliffe, Swinderby, Brute, Thorp, and the Bohemians, long ago; and in later times, by the Puritans, Independents, Baptists, and many others before us, as may be seen in many books; so that we are not novel in this our Christian testimony; for a forced maintenance is inconsistent with a free ministry, as called of God, which is the ground of all true preaching: so that I may apply Dr. Heylin's wonder in another case, to this, How they in those dark times could see so clearly, and we in these clearer should go so blunderingly after them.

This year (1695) died, William Shewen, of London, (or rather Southwark, as dwelling therein) whom I knew in the year 1675. He was somewhat concerned in the controversy with the Baptists, and answered Jeremy Ives. He was a very serviceable man on truth's account, several ways, and an elder in the church; of a sound judgment and understanding in the truth, and had very clear openings in relation to the work of it; and also of Satan's wiles to hurt and hinder the progress in it, (having had long experience of both) and therefore could advise and direct the Christian traveller how to keep in the one, and be preserved out of the snares of the other: and writ several reasonable experimental treatises; as, 'The True Christian's
' Faith

‘ Faith and Experience briefly declared, concerning God, Christ, the Spirit, the holy Scriptures, the Gospel, and the Doctrines thereof,’ printed 1675; re-printed, with ‘ A few Words concerning Conscience, what it is,’ &c. written 1676. And, ‘ A small Treatise concerning Good and Evil Thoughts,’ 1679. ‘ Counsel to the Christian Traveller, with Meditations and Experiences,’ 1683. And, ‘ A brief Testimony for Religion,’ against the penal laws, &c. in 1688. He died in peace with the Lord, and unity with his people, the 28th of the third month, 1695, about 64 years of age.

In the fifth month this summer, 1695, brother and sister Bowles came down from London, and joined in partnership with us, at Wroughton, for some time; and in the eighth month, we went with Richard Vickris, and some others, to a dispute, at Melksham in Wiltshire, between friends, and one Jo. Plimpton, a Baptist, who had charged friends with several things as errors; particularly their holding, that ‘ A manifestation of the Spirit of God, is given to every man to profit withal,’ (which the apostle expressly asserted) 1 Cor. xii. 7. and other things, according to plain scripture, which he opposed, so dark was he. J. Clark of Bradford, undertook for friends, and defended it by scripture, and might have held him there, except he would have confessed his error; but the Baptist wrangled on to oppose it,

it, though ever so plain : and when he was baffled as to that, went on with the other points, of water-baptism, bread and wine, perfection, or, freedom from sin, and the resurrection of the same body. All which J. Clark answered his cavils in, and asserted the truth in relation to those things, according to scripture ; which yet would not satisfy him, but he endeavoured still to oppose the plainest scriptures that could be brought, till towards night, W. Penn, being there, broke out over his head in testimony to the people, which were many, in Tho. Beaven's court ; and so ended the dispute, concluding in prayer to God. We lodged there that night, and next day went with William Penn, and others, to a meeting at Warminster, which was large, and next day home. I writ some animadversions on this dispute, and the several points handled in it, by way of explanation out of the scriptures, and sent it to London to be printed ; but the Baptist not printing, mine was not printed neither.

The 14th of the ninth month, Wm. Penn came and had another meeting at Wrington, lodging at my house that night, with B. Coole, J. Everot, and others ; and next day went to Wells, to have a meeting there. For having had several meetings in most of the great towns westward, last year, as aforesaid, some in that city seemed desirous that he would come and have a meeting there also : whereupon I, with
another

another friend, Robert Holder, went to seek a place for it, and went to the bishop, Richard Kidder, to acquaint him with it. He asked us, Why we desired to have a meeting there, seeing there were none of our friends in the town? I told him, to declare the truth. He asked, what we had to preach more than they? I told him, the grace of God. He said, they preached the grace of God. I told him, if they did a little now and then, it was but transiently, and not to the purpose; as we did, to direct people to it, as that which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men; and would teach them to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts; and to love soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, as was evident by their lives, Tit. ii. 11, 12. To which he said little, but was moderate, and left us to our liberty. At last we got a grant of the market-house from the clerk of the market: but the day before we were to have the meeting there, some of the envious party, having been drinking colonel Berkley's election ale, turned the clerk of the market; so that when we came he refused to let us have the house, except we would enter it by force, (it lying open to the street) threatening to take advantage of us if we did; so being deprived of that, and not being willing to intrude ourselves on any, we thought fit to take up with the inn where we put up, having a large room, and balcony, facing the market-place, and having
the

the landlord's consent. But to prevent any occasion that might be taken against us, I drew up a certificate, according to the act in that behalf, that we intended to have a meeting for religious worship, at the Crown-Inn in the said city; setting my name to it, and went with R. Vickris and A. Thomas to the bishop with it, who happened to be then at home, and received it friendly. I told him, the act expressed that we should have a certificate of it again. He said, he would peruse the act, and if it required it, we should have one. So we parted friendly, having done our part to prevent any trouble that might ensue in the case; and by that time we returned from the bishop's the market-house was full, and brother Bowles ready to stand up to declare. I called out to friends, desiring them to draw down out of the market-house, upon the market-place over against that balcony belonging to the inn, which they did; and we went up into the room, which was soon filled with friends, W. Penn going out into the balcony to declare to the people who were on the market-place, which were supposed to be two or three thousand: but about the middle of the meeting, came a constable and other officers with a warrant from Mathew Baron, mayor, and Wm. Salmon, justice, to take up William Penn, and bring him before them; pressing through the meeting to get into the balcony. Friends would have persuaded them to stay till the meeting

meeting was done; but they would not, but rudely got over the table, which stood across the room, (friends sitting close about it, that they could not go round it) and so got out into the balcony to lay hands on Wm. Penn, as he was declaring, to have him away: he desired them to have a little patience, and so drew to a conclusion, being forcibly haled away, and had before the mayor. I, and some other friends, followed after as fast as we could for the croud. When we came they had shut the door, that none else might come in, there being a great crowd about the door. I knocked, but the porter from within answered, that he must let nobody in. I told him I must come in, I had business to the mayor: whereupon he opened the door, and when I came in, they were busy examining William Penn about the meeting; charging him with an unlawful assembly, endeavouring to ensnare him. He told them, how he was invited to come and have a meeting there, and that we had the grant of a place, &c. referring to me. Whereupon I told them they had best have a care what they did, for the house was entered according to law, and they had done more already than they could answer, in disturbing our meeting. Upon which they presently fell, and began to excuse themselves, (laying the blame one upon another) especially the mayor, as if he had been the person accused; and so dismissed William Penn, telling him they had no more

to say to him. I staid behind a little, reasoning with them about their proceedings, and of religion; particularly with W. Salmon, (an old Presbyterian) till the mayor came in, and asked, if we were preaching again. And as I went away with chancellor Hughes, who was there also, I reminded him what he had formerly said to me, (being acquainted with him before) that he never persecuted any man for his religion in his life, nor never would; which he acknowledged, and said, no more he would. I bid him be sure and mind it then, for this was near to it: so parted lovingly, being a familiar man, far unlike the former chancellor. The people staying all this while on the market-place, waiting William Penn's return, in expectation to hear more, or to see the event; till he came back and went out into the balcony, and told them, they might depart, the meeting was ended for that time. After which he was invited to justice Westley's, who had gladly heard him that day, and was friendly: and he made some other visits, and then returned with R. Vickris to Chew, and we home to Wrington; of which I writ a larger account, in a sheet called, 'One Instance more of Persecution.'

But now mark what followed: about two weeks after, going thither to a fair, and putting up at the same inn, the inn-keeper came to me, and told me, that they threatened to fine him for a conventicle, for the said meeting;
alleging,

alleging, that I had told them an untruth, in saying the house was entered according to law; for it seems they had made inquiry, and could not find it out (wanting to be at their old work again): for had we through inadvertency neglected it, they would but have shewn their mischievous spirits, to have taken the advantage of it; but this being foreseen, was prevented, by doing our part. So I bid him not fear, or be troubled as to that; telling him, I would clear up that matter before I went out of town. And after I had done my business in the fair, I went to the bishop's, who, as Providence ordered it, was at home again. I told him, he might remember that about two weeks ago I brought him a certificate, that we intended to have a meeting at the Crown inn; and that the mayor, sending his warrant to take up our friend Wm. Penn, broke up our meeting: on which I told them, that the house was entered according to law; but that since we were gone, they had reported I had told them an untruth, though we had done our part. Do they say so, said the bishop, I will do you right: and putting his hand into his pocket, took out my certificate as readily as if he had but just received it, and said, go to my register, and tell him from me, that he must give you a certificate again. I told him, may be he will not believe me, but if he pleased to send somebody with me, which he did: and when I came to the register (a

high proud man, though I knew him, and he me, having been with him before about business) I told him what the bishop said, which the messenger confirmed. Doth my Lord say so? said he. Yes, said I, he doth. Well, said he, I won't give you a certificate if you will give me five hundred pounds, till I have spoke with my Lord; for I do not know but he may be imposed upon. Well, said I, thou mayst speak with him, but I expect it to-night, or to-morrow morning early, for I must go out of town betimes. So I left him, and came again in the morning; but he had not done it, nor knew how to do it (such hard work it was to record a Quaker's meeting for worship, though they could make records of them fast enough formerly, in order to convict them on the conventicle act); but he must then go and advise with the chancellor; and I followed him thither, till at last I got him to hammer out one at a hard rate: and then I was to go seek out the mayor, to clear myself to him; and understanding he was at a public-house, as I went up the street I saw him look out at the door, but presently drew back again: so that when I came to the house, and inquired for him, David Trim, the town-clerk, came out and told me the mayor was not there. I told him, I saw him but now. He said, he was gone (which I was afraid was true, knowing the house had a back-door into the graveyard). I told him, I must speak with him. He desired me not to trouble him now, but next time

time I came to town, he and I would drink a bottle of wine together, and all should be well. I told him that would not do, the mayor had wronged and abused me, and I must clear myself to him. So at last, when they saw I would not be put off, the mayor appeared: I told him, that I understood he had raised a report that I had told him an untruth, in saying the house where we had the meeting was entered according to law; whereas we had done our part, and I had now a certificate from the bishop to shew it: and that I took it very unkind that they should not only disturb and break up our meeting, but raise false reports on us when we were gone. The mayor (poor man) stood like one speechless, and had hardly a word to say for himself; so I left it upon him, having cleared myself; and returned home in peace.

In the tenth month, 1695, I went with brother Bowles to our quarterly-meeting at Glastonbury, and lodged that night at Street with E. Osborn and B. Coole: next day we went to Long-Sutton meeting; and next day to Sherborn in Dorsetshire, where on the first-day we had a large meeting, and second-day returned home.

And afterwards we hired a house at Wells for a meeting, and W. Penn came again, and had a meeting there on a first-day; so that we had many brave meetings there afterwards, notwithstanding all the opposition we had met with, and many came to them; so that the standard of truth was set up in that town: Oh! that they may not slight the day of their visitation, or
put

put the good away from them, and so render themselves unworthy of eternal life; which is my earnest desire for my native country, and for that ancient neighbouring city, where I have often been concerned, and gone through many exercises; and though they be not gathered, yet shall not my labour of love for their good be in vain, but return into my own bosom, and my reward be with the Lord. And in the first month after, we had our quarterly-meeting there at the aforesaid inn, about which time going to see the bishop (as he desired me when I came to town) we happened to fall into some discourse about oaths and swearing, being about the time that our friends at London were soliciting the parliament, as they had been many years at times, for relief in the case of oaths. He questioning, why we could not swear: I pleaded the command of Christ and the apostle James, "Swear not at all," &c. against all swearing: but he pleaded that all oaths were not forbidden, urging, that the apostle Paul swore, and alledging those expressions of his, I protest before God, I lie not; God is my witness, &c. as if the apostle had sworn. I told him, those words of the apostle, though of ever so high a nature, could not be counted oaths as he used them, for then the apostle had broken the command of Christ his master, Swear not at all, which we could not allow; and if he had, we ought to hear the son before, or above, the servant, whom all the angels in heaven ought

ought to worship, who saith, Swear not at all; of whom the Lord said, This is my beloved Son, hear ye him: with what else occurred to my mind at that time. The bishop was very mild and moderate, offering to discourse more of it another time; but when I came again, could not find he had any mind to discourse any further of it. And as I came away, he came to his palace gate with me; and just as I took leave of him, I said, Well, we have this to say for ourselves, that inasmuch as we have such an express command of Christ on our side, we deserved to be judged charitably of, that we were so tender of breaking it; at which the bishop looked pleasantly on me, and, as if he assented, or had nothing to say to the contrary, laid his hand on my shoulder, and said, Well, pray God bless you. And so we parted very friendly, as indeed he always was to me, far different from bishop Mew; desiring me to come and see him whenever I came to town, and invited me to come and dine with him (and it was said he delayed his dinner two hours to look for me one first-day after meeting); but I never made so bold with him as that, though I went often to visit him.

And so I shall end my present memoirs with Wells, where I began with my prosecution, and with a bishop too (though one of a far better temper than the former); ending with the year 1695, and the beginning of 1696, (as I began the latter end of 1676) though I
could

could add a great deal more, and not of the least moment neither; this being but a specimen of what I intend, God willing, to leave behind me, both before and after this, if it be not printed in my life-time: but chuse to conclude here at present, and drop anchor at

Wrington in Somersetshire, 1696.

P. S. Now having mentioned the kindness of one of king William's bishops, I shall close with the words of another, (to the honour of king William in chusing such moderate men, and no dishonour I hope to the bishops) viz. Gilbert Burnet, in his 'Apology for the Church of England, with Relation to the Spirit of Persecution, for which she is accused,' printed in 1689, p. 5, col. 2, 'I will not deny but many of the dissenters were put to great hardships in many parts of England; I cannot deny it, and I am sure I will never justify it.' P. 6, col. 1, 'And I will boldly say this, that if the church of England, after she is got out of this storm, will return to hearken to the peevishness of some fore men, she will be abandoned both of God and man, and will set both heaven and earth against her.'

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