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AN HISTORICAL ESSAY.

THE PURITANS versus THE QUAKERS:

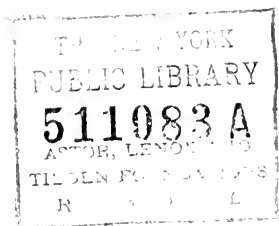
A REVIEW OF THE PERSECUTIONS OF
THE EARLY QUAKERS AND BAPTISTS
IN MASSACHUSETTS,
WITH
NOTICES OF THOSE PERSECUTED AND OF SOME OF
THEIR DESCENDANTS,
AND
TRIBUTES TO

Roger Williams and William Penn,

AND THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
EARLY QUAKERS.

BY CALEB A. WALL.

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PREFATORY.

This Essay was first read by invitation, before "THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY," Oct. 4, 1887, and afterwards before other bodies, including the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, at their meeting-house on Oxford Street, and it has been so well received that it is now offered to the public in print, in response to the general request.

On page 38th, in 6th line from top, read "great-great-grandfather," instead of great-grandfather. On page 49th, 18th line from top, read "1639," instead of 1630.

C. A. W.

Worcester, Mass., May 1, 1888.

THE PURITANS VERSUS THE QUAKERS:

A REVIEW OF SOME OF THE DOINGS OF OUR NEW ENGLAND
FOREFATHERS, FROM THE QUAKER STANDPOINT.

I propose to consider the subject matter of the doings of the founders of Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies towards those differing from them in religious sentiments, and especially towards the Quakers, whom they treated with the most extreme severity and vindictiveness, and then contrast this with the humane policy pursued by the Quakers and others acting with them in the founding by them of other communities elsewhere. I desire to do this with as much charity as possible for the persecutors, on account of the persecuting age in which they lived, bearing in mind the important fact that they came here to escape persecution at home, and to establish in these then wilds a free government for themselves, where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, although they appeared unwilling to accord the same privileges to others who had equal rights here with themselves.

With what profound feelings of reverence and awe do we all study the history of our Puritan and Pilgrim Fathers, and gaze upon the suggestive pictures and memorials connected with their departure from the Old

World and their landing and subsequent record in the new, and what ennobling thoughts do all such representations and study call up in our minds concerning a period in history more fraught than any other with the subsequent destinies of the New World, and of all humanity the world over.

Yet this fact, of the high claims of the early Puritans and Pilgrims to our veneration and regard, on account of their professed principles and proclaimed purposes, and the remarkable circumstances under which they left the Old World, should not blind us to a just view of their errors and defects, when we follow their actions after they came here and compare them with their previous professions, and square them by the impartial and eternal laws of that God whose divine aid they are represented as having implored with so much reverence at every important movement they made.

It may properly become me to attempt this criticism, considering that my ancestors were among the persecuted and proscribed for their religious opinions, many of them being obliged, rather than longer suffer as martyrs here at the risk of their lives, to retire, among other places, to Rhode Island, where the banished Quakers were gladly welcomed with the proscribed Baptists, with whom they co-operated in the building up of a commonwealth on the just basis of free toleration of all religious denominations.

Of all the religious denominations which have arisen in the world, the Friends or Quakers were the most in advance of the age in which they first appeared, and this accounts for the severe persecutions they encountered, though this is no sufficient excuse for offenders

having the superior light which the Puritans professed. The most distinguishing feature of the religious tenets of the Quakers, for which they were persecuted in the early times, was their belief in divine inspiration, in the "Inner Light," or the power of the Holy Spirit of God in the soul of man, as the great factor in reformation and salvation; they trusted in this, rather than in the forms, ceremonials, rituals and theological creeds which constituted the christianity of that day. And it was in consequence of so much outwardness, superficiality and mere show, in the prevailing religion of that time, that the Quakers arose, as a denomination, substituting the inward for the outward, spirituality for formality, and plainness and honesty for extravagance and pretence, in their religion and all other relations in life. While they revered the teachings of the Sacred Scriptures as containing the record of God's dealings with holy men of the past, they looked beyond and behind them to the Spirit of God which gave them forth, claiming that the same divine spirit should illumine our own minds and enable us to judge correctly of the meaning of what has been revealed to others. Discarding the use of any but spiritual weapons in their warfare against evil, they were the most harmless people on earth, so far as any fear of injury from their presence was concerned, and herein consists the chief error of their persecutors in opposing them in the manner they did, by physical violence and torture, even to the putting of several of them to death, merely for their religious views.

The rise of "the people called Quakers" is considered as one of the most remarkable results of the Protestant revolution, or reformation, three centuries

ago. It was a consequence, says Bancroft, of the "moral warfare against corruption; the aspiration of the human mind after a perfect emancipation from the long reign of bigotry and superstition. It grew up with men who were impatient at the slow progress of the reformation, the tardy advances of intellectual liberty." The vast influence resulting from the Quaker spirit on American institutions is acknowledged on every hand.

The Quakers as a religious body arose in England about 241 years ago, in 1647, when George Fox, the pioneer of this denomination, began his ministry, he being then 23 years old. A pioneer in every moral as well as religious reform, he is said to have been the first person to make public declaration of opposition to the injustice of that gigantic iniquity of his time and of later times, the slavery of the African race. The religious views which he early espoused and which, like the primitive ministers of Christ, he and his fellow-laborers and followers most frequently declared to their hearers as the corner-stone of their religious faith, was, "The universal appearance of the Light of Christ in the heart, by which He enlighteneth every person that cometh into the world," of which truth there is the most ample ground of illustration and proof in Scripture. The first of the members to make their appearance in New England, of which there is any account, were two women, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, who came from England to Boston in July, 1656. That was three months before the passage of the first law by the General Court of Massachusetts against the Quakers, and, without waiting to see how the new comers would conduct themselves, such was the keenness of the scent of the "Puritans"

against "theological heresy," that before they came ashore the Deputy Governor, Richard Bellingham, (the Governor himself being out of town,) sent officers aboard the ship, who searched the trunks and chests of the two women and took away the books they found there, which were about one hundred, (says the Quaker historian, Wm. Sewel, who was living at that time). These books, harmless publications advancing the religious views of the Friends, the officers carried on shore, after having commanded the said women to be kept prisoners on board; and the said books were, by an order of the Council, burnt in the market place by the hangman. Afterwards the Deputy Governor had the women brought on shore, and committed them by a mittimus to prison as Quakers, upon this proof only, that one of them speaking to him had said "thee" instead of "you;" whereupon he said he needed no more evidence, for now he saw they were Quakers. And then they were shut up close prisoners, and command was given that none should come to them without leave; a fine of £5 being laid on any that should otherwise come at, or speak with them, though but at the window. Their pens, ink, and paper were taken from them, and they were not suffered to have any candle light in the night season; nay, what is more to the everlasting shame of these *falsely named* "Puritans," the two women were stripped naked, under pretence to know whether they were witches, though in searching no token was found upon them but of innocence; and in this search the women were so barbarously misused, says the account, that "modesty forbids to mention it;" and that none might have communication with them, a board was

nailed up before the window of the jail. And seeing they were not provided with victuals, Nicholas Upshal, keeper of the Red Lion Inn, one who had lived long in Boston, and was a member of the (Orthodox) church there (no other church being allowed), was so concerned about liberty being denied to send them food that he purchased it of the jailor at the rate of five shillings a week, lest they should have starved. And after the women had been thus imprisoned about five weeks, Wm. Chichester, master of a vessel, was bound in £100 bonds to carry them back to England, and not suffer any one to speak to them after they were put on board ; and the jailer kept their beds, which were brought out of the ship, and ALSO KEPT THEIR BIBLE, for his fees !

Such was the treatment the Quakers first met with at Boston, and that from a people who pretended that for conscience' sake they had come here to escape persecution at home and establish here freedom to worship God ; but it seems to have been a freedom confined to their own narrow and bigoted conceptions of religion, and *not* after the broad, humane and Christ-like pattern of Roger Williams and the Quakers in Rhode Island, and William Penn and his associates and followers in Pennsylvania.

Scarce a month after the arrival of the aforesaid women at Boston, there came also eight others, Christopher Holder, Thomas Thirstone, Wm. Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbens, Mary Whitehead and Deborah Waugh ; they were locked up in the same manner as the two former, and after about eleven weeks' stay sent back ; Robert Lock, master of the ship which brought them here, being compelled to carry these eight

persons back on his own charge, and to land them nowhere but in England; he having been imprisoned till he undertook so to do.

The Governor, John Endicott, whose bloodthirstiness appears in sad light in subsequent proceedings, being now come home, bid the prisoners "take heed ye break not our ecclesiastical laws, for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter." And when they desired a copy of those laws, it was denied them; which made some of the people say, "How shall they know, then, when they transgress." But Endicott remained stiff in his determination, he having said before when at Salem when he heard how Ann Austin and Mary Fisher had been dealt with at Boston, "If I had been there I would have had them well whipped." Then a law was enacted by the General Court, Oct. 14, 1656, prohibiting all masters of ships from bringing Quakers into that jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of being "committed to the house of correction, severely whipped, kept constantly at work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them," and it was in the same enactment

"Further ordered, that if any person shall knowingly import into any harbor of this jurisdiction any Quaker books or writings containing their devilish opinions, shall pay for every such book or writing the sum of five pounds; and whosoever shall disperse (circulate) or conceal any such book or writing, and it be found with him or her, or in his or her house, and shall not immediately deliver in the same to the next magistrate, shall forfeit and pay five pounds for the dispersing or concealing of every such book or writing. And it is hereby further enacted that if any persons within this colony shall take upon them to defend the heretical opinions of the said

Quakers, or any of their books or writings, shall be fined for the first time forty shillings ; and if they shall persist in the same, and so again defend those opinions, they shall be fined for the second time four pounds ; if still, notwithstanding, they shall again defend and maintain the said Quakers' heretical opinions, they shall be committed to the house of correction till there is convenient passage to be sent out of the land, being sentenced by the Court of Assistants to banishment."

The enactment comprising these cruel provisions, passed Oct. 14, was published Oct. 21, 1656, by beat of drum by order of the court. When this law was published, Nicholas Upshal, already mentioned, could not forbear to show the persecutors the unreasonableness of their proceedings ; warning them to "take heed that they were not found fighting against God, and so draw a judgment on the land." But this advice was taken so ill by the persecutors, that though Upshal was a member of their church, and of good repute as a man of unblamable conversation, yet he was fined £23 and imprisoned also for not coming to church, and next day they banished him out of their jurisdiction. This fine was exacted so severely that Endicott said, "I will not bate him one groat." And though Upshal was a weakly old man, yet they allowed him but one month's space for his removal, so that he was forced to depart in winter. Coming at length to Rhode Island, the land of religious refugees, where he found a quiet resting place, he met an Indian prince, who having understood how he had been dealt with, treated him very kindly, and told him if he would live with him he would make him a warm house. The Indian further said, "What a God have the English, who deal so with one another about their God !" Who was the true Christian in this instance, the Good

Samaritan Indian, who “looked through nature up to nature’s God,” and manifested the divine spirit in his own soul, or the inhuman, falsely-named “Puritan,” John Endicott, then Governor, under whose administration the persecution of the Quakers increased in violence, from fines and imprisonments and banishments and the burning of their books, to the cutting off of their ears, burning holes through their tongues with red hot irons, whipping on their naked backs through the streets from town to town through the Colony tied to the rear end of carts driven by oxen, and other savage cruelties, culminating in the hanging of four of them upon the gallows in order to get rid of them. These cruel acts comprised a series of barbarities to be classed side by side with the Spanish inquisition, unexceeded in atrocity by any of the enormities ever before or since recorded of religious persecutions for opinions’ sake.

The second enactment against the Quakers, passed by the General Court, Oct. 14, 1657, just one year from the first one, exacted a fine of £100 against the

“Coming of or bringing in of any Quaker, and forty shillings for every hour’s harboring of, or entertaining of, any Quaker by any person; and if any Quakers presumed, after once suffering what the law requires, to come into this jurisdiction, for the first offense each was to have one ear cut off and be kept at work in the house of correction till they can be sent away at their own charge, and for the second offense the other ear was to be cut off and they to be kept in the house of correction, as before. And every woman Quaker coming into this jurisdiction in like circumstances to be severely whipped and kept at work in the house of correction till sent away at her own charge, and for her coming again to be alike used. And any Quakers, male or female, offending the third time, by

coming, to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron and kept close at work in the house of correction till sent away at their own charge. And every Quaker arising from amongst ourselves to be dealt with and suffer likewise, according to the law against those coming from other places.”

It was further enacted, May 19, 1658 :

“ In order that Quakers and such accursed heretics arising amongst ourselves may be dealt with according to their deserts, and their pestilential errors, etc., prevented, that any person professing any of their pernicious views, by speaking, writing, or meeting on the Lord’s day or any other time, to strengthen themselves or seduce others to their *diabolical doctrines*, shall pay ten shillings each for each time’s attendance on such meeting, and five pounds each for each time’s speaking therein ; and if any such persons have been punished by scourging or whipping the first time, according to former laws, they shall be kept at work in the house of correction till they give security in two sufficient men each that they will not vent their hateful doctrines, or else shall depart this jurisdiction at their own charge ; and if any return again they shall suffer the severe laws against others coming in.”

Oct. 20, 1658, another act, banishing Quakers on pain of death, was passed, in these words :

“ Whereas, there is a pernicious sect, commonly called Quakers, lately risen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, * * * denying all established forms of worship, withdrawing from orderly church fellowship allowed and approved by all Orthodox professors of religion, and instead thereof and in opposition thereto frequently meeting by themselves,” etc., the former laws by which the ears of John Copeland, Christopher Holder, John Rous and many others had been cut off, the tongues of many others bored through with red hot irons, and numerous other inhuman cruelties inflicted, proving insufficient to rid the colony of Quakers, the General Court ordered that “ every per-

son of the cursed sect of Quakers, or any person adhering to their tenets and practices, which are opposite to the *orthodox received opinions of the godly*, shall be closely confined in prison for one month, where continuing obstinate and refusing to retract or reform the aforesaid opinions, they shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death."

In pursuance of these cruel enactments, which Rev. John Norton was paid by a grant of land in Worcester and Sudbury for his great labors in helping to enact and carry into execution, four Quakers were hung upon Boston Common, viz. : William Robinson, a merchant, from London, and Marmaduke Stephenson, from Yorkshire, Eng., who were executed Oct. 27, 1659 ; Mary Dyer, a Quakeress preacher, June 1, 1660 ; and William Leddra, March 14, 1661.

Mary Dyer was condemned to death on the same day with the first two prisoners above mentioned, Robinson and Stephenson, and she was marched with them to the place of execution on Boston Common, a distance of about a mile from the jail, escorted by armed military with beat of drum, to drown the voices of the captives if they should attempt to speak. In violation of English law, there was no jury trial. The sentence of the Court of Magistrates, pronounced by Governor John Endicott, was : " That the Secretary, Edward Rawson, issue out his warrant to Edward Michelson, Marshal General, for repairing to the prison on the 27th day of October inst., and take the said Wm. Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson and Mary Dyer, into his custody, and them forthwith, by the aid of Captain James Oliver, with one hundred soldiers taken out by his order proportionably out of each company in Boston, completely armed with pikes and muskets, with powder and bullets, to lead them to the

place of execution, and there see them hang till they are dead."

At the same time it was "ordered that Rev. John Norton and Rev. Zachary Simes repair to the prison and tender their endeavors to make the prisoners sensible of their approaching danger by the sentence of this Court, and prepare them for their approaching ends!"

While these Puritans thus sought to destroy the bodies of their victims, they desired, if possible, to save their souls! These prisoners had been in the colony but a few days, coming in September, when they were brought before the Court and sentenced, first, to imprisonment, severe whippings and banishment, and then to death, merely for being Quakers. On the morning of the day set for execution, Oct. 27, the Court so far relented in the case of Mary Dyer, on the petition of her son, that she was given "forty-eight hours after this day to depart out of this jurisdiction, after which time, being found therein, she is forthwith to be executed, and in the meantime that she be carried to the place of execution with the two others condemned and there stand upon the gallows with a rope about her neck till the rest be executed, and then return to the jail and be kept close prisoner till her execution, or till her son or some other person carry her away within the aforesaid time."

Thus Mary Dyer, "with her clothes tied about her feet, the halter put upon her neck, and her face covered with a handkerchief which the priest, John Wilson, lent the hangman for the purpose," stood upon the scaffold, just as if she was about to be executed, in presence of the horrible spectacle of her two companions being executed and hanging dead before her, when the announce-

ment was made that she was reprieved on the conditions just stated, her feet were unloosed and she was bade to come down the ladder. But she, unwilling to accept of the conditions, said she "preferred to suffer as her brethren did, unless her persecutors would annul their wicked laws, for the repeal of which she came among them, to plead the cause of her unjustly persecuted friends." But little heed was given to what she said, and she was pulled down the ladder, the Marshal and others taking her by the arms and carrying her back again to the jail.

The magistrates, now perceiving that the putting of Robinson and Stephenson to death caused great discontent among the people, resolved forcibly to send away Mary Dyer, thereby to calm the public mind a little. And so she was put on horseback, and by four horsemen conveyed fifteen miles towards that land of free toleration, Rhode Island, where she was left with a horse and a man, to be conveyed the rest of the way. The remainder of the fall and the coming winter she spent in Rhode Island and Long Island. The following spring, May 21, 1660, she returned again to the "bloody town of Boston," to protest against the cruel, unrighteous laws under which her companions suffered death and she and others were banished. May 31, she was brought before Governor Endicott, and by him sentenced to prison, there to remain till the next day, June 1, at 9 a. m., and "thence to the gallows and there be hanged till you are dead." Mrs. Dyer, in answer to her sentence, said: "I came in obedience to the will of God desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws, and that is my earnest request now; I told you before that if you re-

fused to repeal them the Lord would send others of His servants to witness against them." At the time set, June 1, she was escorted as the others had been with soldiers and beat of drum before and behind her, all the way from the jail to the place of execution, the same officers with priests Wilson and Norton, as before, acting their part in the diabolical work of strangling this poor woman to death because of her religious opinions.

To those of the present day who think Mary Dyer and others unwise for remaining among a people who had so persecuted them and threatened them with death, I would say: What would people have thought of William Lloyd Garrison had he run away from Boston when that rope was put about his neck there by the descendants, in spirit, of the Endicotts and Wilsons and Nortons? He chose rather to remain and continue rebuking his persecutors, who have since seen cause for joining in the general applause of Garrison for his heroic sayings and martyr-like devotion, and their effect on the world.

The last execution, that of Wm. Leddra, took place after the change of government in England, Charles II. being restored to the throne of his father in May, 1660. In consequence of this change of government, the Massachusetts colonial authorities took great pains to smoothe over to the new king their doings here in the persecution of the Quakers, and sent over to him a deputation headed by Captain John Leverett, with an address in which they tried to justify their proceedings on the ground that the Quakers were "seducers from the glorious Trinity," and other ludicrous pretences. After the execution of Leddra, March 14, 1661, for the same offence as the others, his religious opinions, it was resolved to

hang also his friend, Wenlock Christison, for protesting against the hanging of Leddra. When Christison was brought before the court for trial and sentence, he asked Gov. Endicott, in protest against illegal proceedings, "Have you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of England?" "No," said the governor. "Then," replied Christison, "you have gone beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your patent; and that is more than you can answer." "Are you," continued Christison, "subjects to the king, yea or nay?" "What good will that do you," replied Secretary Rawson. "If you are," answered Christison, "say so, for in your petition to the king you desire that he would protect you, and that you may be worthy to kneel among his loyal subjects." To which one of the magistrates said, "Yea, we are so."—"Well," said Christison, "so am I, and for anything I know, am as good as you, if not better; for if the king did but know your hearts as God knows them, he would see that they are as rotten towards him as they are towards God. Therefore, seeing that you and I are subjects of the king, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation." It was answered, "You shall be tried by a bench and a jury;" for it seems the magistrates began to be afraid to go on in the former course of trial without a jury, this being contrary to the laws of England. The upshot of this attempt to take away the life of Wenlock Christison illegally was, that because a clear majority of the court could not be found to sentence him to death, Gov. Endicott said, "I thank God I am not afraid to give judgment," and then sentenced the prisoner to death, but he was soon after released, as were also all the other Quaker prisoners, in consequence

of a change of government in England. Some of the banished Quakers, including Samuel Shattuck, went over to England, and with their brother Quakers there, including Edward Burroughs, got the ear of the new king, who, at their request, appointed Samuel Shattuck, who had been banished, to convey his "mandamus" to New England, ordering the liberation of all the Quakers. Some of them had been liberated before this mandamus came, the authorities here beginning to fear that they had carried matters too far to be sustained under the new relation of things across the water, which they soon found out to be the case. This "mandamus," dated at Whitehall, Sept. 9, 1661, and addressed to Gov. John Endicott, was to the effect that, "if there be any of those people called Quakers among you condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein," but if any Quakers misbehaved themselves, to send them over to him and he would take care of them! This advice was speedily heeded, and at the ensuing session of the General Court, Dec. 7, 1661, an order was passed directing the "release and discharge" of all the Quakers imprisoned, which was done forthwith, and the reverend aider and defender of those cruel persecutions, John Norton, was sent over to the king to apologize for and smoothe over, in behalf of the government at Boston, what had been so wickedly done here. When Shattuck came back from England with the king's mandamus it was in a ship full of Quakers, with a Quaker, Ralph Goldsmith, for captain. When Shattuck called at the residence of Gov. Endicott to deliver the missive, the

governor, before he was aware of the nature of the message to be delivered to him, rudely ordered his servant to remove the hat of the Quaker, but when he discovered what was in the document handed to him, he immediately changed his tone, took off his own hat, and ordered the servant to restore Shattuck's, saying, in behalf of his government, what they could not help doing, "We shall obey his majesty's command."

The chagrin and mortification of the governor when he heard of the arrival of the new shipload of fresh Quakers, may be imagined. Says the historian of that period, "Little can we conceive the consternation which was produced, on a Sabbath morning, the day of their arrival, when the news spread through Boston, that there was a vessel in the harbor filled with Quakers, and that Shattuck, the devil and all, had come."—But the passengers were kept close till the following day, when Shattuck, the king's deputy, with Goldsmith, the captain of the ship, walked to the residence of Gov. Endicott to execute his mission.

Whittier, in his poetic contribution to the Memorial History of Boston, entitled "The King's Missive," has this graphic allusion to Gov. Endicott and events at this crisis:

His brow was clouded, his eye was stern,
 With a look of mingled sorrow and wrath;
 "Woe's me!" he murmured, "at every turn
 The pestilent Quakers are in my path!
 Some we have scourged, and banished some,
 Some hanged, more doomed, and still they come,
 Fast as the tide of you bay sets in,
 Sowing their heresy's seed of sin.

"Did we count on this? Did we leave behind
 The graves of our kin, the comfort and ease
 Of our English hearths and homes, to find
 Troublers of Israel such as these?
 Shall I spare? Shall I pity them? God forbid!
 I will do as the prophet to Agag did;
 They come to poison the wells of the Word,
 I will hew them in pieces before the Lord!"

The door swung open, and Rawson, the clerk,
 Entered, and whispered under breath,
 "There awaits below for the hangman's work
 A fellow banished on pain of death—
 Shattuck of Salem, unhealed of the whip,
 Brought over in Master Goldsmith's ship,
 At anchor here in a Christian port,
 With freight of the devil and all his sort!"

Twice and thrice on his chamber floor
 Striding fiercely from wall to wall,
 "The Lord do so to me and more,"
 The governor cried, "if I hang not all!
 Bring hither the Quaker." Calm, sedate,
 With the look of a man at ease with fate,
 Into that presence grim and dread
 Came Samuel Shattuck, with hat on head.

"Off with the knave's hat!" An angry hand
 Smote down the offence; but the wearer said,
 With a quiet smile, "By the king's command
 I bear his message and stand in his stead."
 In the governor's hand a missive he laid,
 With the royal arms on its seal displayed;
 And the proud man spake, as he gazed thereat,
 Uncovering, "Give Mr. Shattuck his hat."

He turned to the Quaker, bowing low,—
 "The king commandeth your friends' release,
 Doubt not he shall be obeyed, although
 To his subjects' sorrow and sin's increase,

What he here enjoineth, John Endicott,
His loyal servant, questioneth not.
You are free! God grant the spirit you own
May take you from us to parts unknown."

So the door of the jail was open cast,
And like Daniel out of the lion's den
Tender youth and girlhood passed,
With age-bowed women and gray-locked men.
And the voice of one appointed to die
Was lifted in praise and thanks on high,
And the little maid from New Netherlands
Kissed, in her joy, the doomed man's hands.

And one, whose call was to minister
To the souls in prison, beside him went,
An ancient woman, bearing with her
The linen shroud for his burial meant.
For she, not counting her own life dear,
In the strength of a love that cast out fear,
Had watched and served where her brethren died,
Like those who waited the cross beside.

One moment they paused on their way to look
On the martyr graves by the Common side,
And much-scourged Wharton of Salem took
His burden of prophecy up, and cried—
"Rest, souls of the valiant! Not in vain
Have ye borne the Master's cross of pain;
Ye have fought the fight, ye are victors crowned,
With a fourfold chain ye have Satan bound!"

* * * * *

But as they who see not, the Quakers saw
The world about them; they only thought
With deep thanksgiving and pious awe
Of the great deliverance God had wrought.
Through lane and alley the gazing town
Noisily followed them up and down;
Some with scoffing and brutal jeer,
Some with pity and words of cheer.

One brave voice rose above the din,
 Upsall, gray with his length of days,
 Cried from the door of his Red Lion inn—
 “Men of Boston, give God the praise!
 No more shall innocent blood call down
 The bolts of wrath on your guilty town,
 The freedom of worship, dear to you,
 Is dear to all, and to all is due.”

“I see the vision of days to come,
 When your beautiful City of the Bay
 Shall be Christian liberty’s chosen home,
 And none shall his neighbor’s rights gainsay.
 The varying notes of worship shall blend,
 And as one great prayer to God ascend,
 And hands of mutual charity raise
 Walls of salvation and gates of praise.”

So passed the Quakers through Boston town,
 Whose painful ministers sighed to see
 The walls of their sheep-fold falling down,
 And wolves of heresy prowling free.
 But the years went on, and brought no wrong;
 With milder counsels the state grew strong,
 As outward Letter and inward Light
 Kept the balance of truth aright.

The Puritan spirit perishing not
 To Concord’s Yeomen the signal sent,
 And spake in the voice of the cannon-shot
 That severed the chains of a continent.
 With its gentler mission of peace and good-will
 The thought of the Quaker is living still,
 And the freedom of soul he prophesied
 Is gospel and law where its martyrs died.

The Puritan authorities at Boston then consulted what to do that they might not incur the king’s displeasure; and it was agreed to send a deputation to

him. First, Col. Temple was sent to acquaint the king with their having set the Quakers at liberty; and he was soon after followed by the chief priest, John Norton, and Simon Bradstreet, one of the magistrates, as agents of Massachusetts to smoothe over the doings here in order to secure a continuance or renewal of the charter by the new king, who had then just been restored to the old seat of his father. But the king, more liberal in his religious views than his colonists here, required among other conditions of the confirmation of their charter, that they should make certain reforms in their government, allow freedom of conscience in matters of religion as a fundamental principle, admit persons of different religious persuasions to vote in the election of all officers, civil and military, and administer justice in the king's name. These requirements struck at the root of the secular power of the "established" clergy, and roused deep indignation among the people here who had been so savagely persecuting the Quakers for their religious opinions, and who had desired an unconditional pledge from the king that "every thing should remain unaltered" in their charter. The result had so bad an effect on the sensitive mind of priest Norton, says his biographer, as to "embitter the short remnant of his days and hasten his death," which took place in Boston, April 5, 1663, at the age of 57. The Quakers, who had been so savagely persecuted by him, may well be pardoned for representing to the king who had befriended them, that "John Norton, chief priest in Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord, was smitten and died." His last words were, "The hand of judgment of the Lord is upon me," as, while walking in his own house, he leaned his head against a chimney piece, and fell to the floor.

Now, these Quakers were released without any conditions, and they went their way rejoicing. Instead of the community receiving any detriment or harm on account of their going at large, it was greatly benefitted by their presence. Yet, in spite of the prohibition of the mother country, such was the obstinate and malignant vindictiveness of the Puritanic spirit towards the Quakers, that the persecutions were afterwards renewed for a time, a law being passed in 1675 forbidding the holding of Quaker meetings; and in May, 1677, it was further enacted that the constables should "make diligent search" for such meetings, and "break open any door where peaceable entrance was denied them." Men and women were seized, dragged to jail, imprisoned, fed on bread and water, fined, and publicly whipped, as many as fourteen at one time, and fifteen at another, with hard three-knotted cords, suffering in this way, among numerous other instances at this particular period, till the people rallied and forced the authorities at Boston to put a final quietus to their outrageous treatment of a class of people whose only fault was that they claimed the right to worship God in their own way.

Francis Baylies, the historian of Plymouth Colony, speaking of the result of the termination of the persecution of the Quakers, says, that, "when unmolested by penal laws, they became the most peaceful, industrious, and moral, of all the religious sects," which shows the folly, to say nothing of the inhuman barbarity, of the persecutions of which they were the victims.

To illustrate in what unenviable light this barbarous treatment of the early Quakers appears in contrast with the reception given them by so called barbarous

nations of the old world, it may be mentioned that Mary Fisher, after her expulsion from the "*Puritanic*" soil of Massachusetts, repaired alone to Adrianople, in Turkey, and delivered a religious message to the Grand Sultan, but instead of receiving any injury or insult there, she passed through the Turkish dominions "without hurt or scoff." Thus was the Turk more civilized and charitable in his religion than the self-righteous Puritan!

The following interesting account is given of this noble Christian woman's visit to Turkey :

Mary Fisher, a maiden, one of the first Friends that visited New-England, being come to Smyrna, to go from thence to Adrianople, was stopped by the English consul, and sent back to Venice, from whence she came by another way to Adrianople at the time that Sultan Mahomet the fourth was encamped with his army near the said town. She went alone to the camp, and got somebody to go to the tent of the grand vizier, to tell him that an English woman was come, who had something to declare from the great God to the Sultan. The vizier sent word, that the next morning he should procure her an opportunity for that purpose. Then she returned to the town, and repaired next morning to the camp again, where being come, she was brought before the Sultan, who had his great men about him, in such a manner as he was used to admit ambassadors. He asked, by his interpreters, (whereof there were three with him,) whether it was true what had been told him, that she had something to say to him from the Lord God? She answered, "Yea." Then he bade her speak on; and she not being forward, weightily pondering what she might say, and he supposing that she might be fearful to utter her mind before them all, asked her, whether she desired that any might go aside, before she spoke. She answered, "No." He then bade her speak the word of the Lord to them, and not

to fear, for they had good hearts, and could hear it. He also charged her, to speak the word she had to say from the Lord, neither more nor less, for they were willing to hear it, be it what it would. Then she spoke what was upon her mind.

The Turks hearkened to her with much attention and gravity, till she had done; and then the Sultan asking her whether she had anything more to say; she asked him, whether he understood what she said. And he answered, "Yes, every word;" and farther said, that what she had spoken was truth. Then he desired her to stay in that country, saying, that they could not but respect such a one, as should take so much pains to come to them so far as from England, with a message from the Lord God. He also proffered her a guard to bring her into Constantinople, whither she intended. But she not accepting this offer, he told her it was dangerous travelling, especially for such a one as she; and wondered that she had passed so safe so far as she had: saying also, it was in respect to her, and kindness that he proffered it, and that he would not for any thing she should come to the least hurt in his dominions. She having no more to say, the Turks asked her, what she thought of their prophet Mahomet. She answered warily, that she knew him not; but Christ the true prophet, the Son of God, who was the light of the world, and enlighteneth every man coming into the world, him she knew. And concerning Mahomet she said, that they might judge of him to be true or false, according to the words and prophecies he spoke; saying farther, "If the word that a prophet speaketh, come to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord hath sent that prophet; but if it come not to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord never sent him." The Turks confessed this to be true; and Mary having performed her message, departed from the camp to Constantinople, without a guard, whither she came without the least hurt or scoff. And so she returned safe to England.

Soon after the passage of the second of the above mentioned severe laws against the Quakers, the aid of

Rev. John Norton, of Boston, called by his biographer "one of the staunchest of the early Puritans, well grounded in the Calvinistic faith," was called upon by legislative enactment passed October 19, 1658, to write down the Quakers, in order to get up a public sentiment strong enough to sanction the execution of the diabolical statutes, which he had himself by his influence assisted in getting enacted. For his services in this regard he was remunerated by a grant to him of 250 acres of land in Worcester, and another 250 acres in Sudbury. The book which he wrote crying down the Quakers was entitled "The Heart of New England Rent by the Blasphemies of the Present Generation," full of anathemas. May 28, 1659, as the Norton books were ready for delivery from the printer, the General Court ordered one to be delivered to each member of the Court, one to each minister, and the several towns to be supplied in proportion to their rates. The 250 acres of land in Worcester granted to Norton for this work is described on the records as located on the "west side of a great pond called and known by the name of Quinsigamond Pond, south-ward of the bounds of Lancaster," comprising a tract afterwards purchased of Mr. Norton's assignees by Ephriam Curtis, the first white settler in Worcester, the main part of the same being still owned and occupied by the latter's descendants, on Lincoln street, the successive owners and occupants through five generations to the present time having been Ephraim, Capt. John, Tyler, John, and Tyler P. Curtis, the latter's children intending to continue the old homestead in the family. The celebrated George William Curtis of New York is a descendant in the sixth

generation from the original Ephraim, through Capt. John, John Jr., David, and George, the last three of whom were born in Worcester, and the last named was father of George William Curtis.

Let us now consider, for a few moments, the terrible enormity of the persecutions inflicted upon the Quakers for their religious opinions, in pursuance of laws enacted from time to time by the General Court, of which one to the following effect was passed May 12, 1661, as if in defiance of the mother government, which afterwards put a stop to them, and as if burning holes through their tongues with red hot irons, cutting off their ears, and death itself, were not bad enough for the persecuted victims: "That Quakers, both men and women, be stripped naked from the middle upwards and tied to a cart's tail and whipped through the town, and branded with the letter R on their left shoulder," and the constables of the several towns were empowered to impress carts, oxen, and other assistance for the execution of this order. In pursuance of this enactment innocent women were stripped to the waist, and thus exposed to the public gaze, were whipped with stripes till the blood ran down their bare backs and bosoms, and their bodies were beaten to a jelly, for attending Quaker meetings and protesting against such bloody and cruel laws. Even such detestable wretches as Edmund Bather, who hunted in vain for a ship master mean enough to transport banished Quakers as victims for sale in a Virginia or Barbadoes slave market, were accounted honored church members and trusted officials in a Puritan Commonwealth which some have taught us to believe was "par excellence, the strong-hold of piety and

religion!" Says a historian of the period, speaking of the enormity of the cruelties practiced upon the Quakers: "Delicate women with infants at their breasts, children whose youth should have protected them from harm, and the aged whose years should have excited compassion, were alike scourged, imprisoned, and fined; nay, some were endeavored to be sold into slavery and several put to death. Appeals to England were for a time treated with contempt; and Endicott, Norton, Wilson, and others, urged on the work of persecution until the people recoiled from the scene of blood, and clamored for the repeal of the barbarous and inhuman statutes, which had increased in severity in arithmetical progression from fines and confiscations and whippings and bodily mutilations to death upon the gallows." "You are court, jury, judge, accusers, witnesses, and all," said Gov. Wm. Coddington of Rhode Island to the Puritan authorities of Massachusetts at this time, he being one of the Quaker associates of Roger Williams who were driven from Massachusetts and co-operated with him in the founding of Rhode Island colony. Rev. John Wilson, one of the associates of priest John Norton in the "Puritan" ministry at Boston and vicinity, at that period, said, "*I would carry fire in one hand and faggots in the other*, to burn all the Quakers in the world. Hang them," he cried, "or else"—then with a significant gesture he passed his hand across his throat. Endicott, Norton, Wilson—what a trio of *Puritans* for the admiration of posterity!

Plymouth Colony joined that of Massachusetts in the persecution of the Quakers by the passage of severe laws, though the Pilgrims did not go to the ex-

treme of mutilating or hanging any of them, and very likely they would not have done as they did had not the example of Massachusetts been pressed upon them. As it was, those fleeing from Massachusetts were arrested and cruelly treated while on their way through Plymouth territory, so they had to move on speedily to the "land of Roger Williams," where they were secure from "Puritanic" barbarities. As a sample of these persecutions, the records say, that "March 1, 1659, Wm. Newland and wife of Plymouth, for being present at a meeting of those called Quakers 18 times, was fined £9; for his wife being at said meeting 20 times, was fined £10; and for entertaining John Copeland and another of those called Quakers, was fined £9." And so on, with severer penalties and cruelties.

The Commissioners of Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, chagrined that the Quakers whom they had banished should find shelter in that neighboring territory, joined in a remonstrance, September 12, 1657, against the same, to which the authorities of Rhode Island responded, October 13, following, to the effect that they had experienced no difficulty with the persons complained of, for the reason that they let them alone, and furthermore, they believed that if the Quakers had been let alone and not persecuted where they were, there need have been no difficulty with them there. While Massachusetts was vigorously executing her cruel laws punishing with death any Quakers who should return after banishment, Rhode Island stood firmly by the noble protest of her General Assembly "against the exercise of civil power over men's consciences." While the noble colony of the Baptist Roger Williams and Quaker

Wm. Coddington, was thus defending and putting in practice her liberal sentiments, the citizens of Rhode Island venturing over her borders upon "Puritan" soil suffered the most cruel persecutions. Among others, "Mrs. Gardner of Newport, the mother of several children and a woman of good report, having become a Quaker, went to Weymouth, with an infant at her breast, taking with her a nurse, Mary Stanton, to attend the child. There they were arrested and taken before Gov. Endicott by whom they were sent to prison, flogged with ten stripes each, and closely confined for two weeks. Thomas Harris of Barbadoes, who had settled in Rhode Island, went to Boston with two other Quakers, where for protesting against the cruelties practiced on his brethren and sisters, he was flogged and imprisoned for eleven days, during five of which he was not allowed food or water because he refused to work at the jailer's bidding, was severely whipped by the jailer, and again publicly, with others, received fifteen stripes. Catherine, wife of Richard Scott of Providence, went to Boston to witness the mutilation of three of her brethren whose right ears were cut off by the hangman in execution of the law against Quakers, and for remonstrating against this cruelty she was imprisoned two months and then publicly flogged, two of her children suffering for the same cause. The severity of these proceedings and the increasing rigor of the statutes passed at every session of the General Court against the Quakers, caused many of them to seek a home in Rhode Island, where they were gladly welcomed." So says the historian of that state, the late Gov. Arnold.

Among the earliest victims of the cruel laws in Massachusetts against the Quakers, were Lawrence

Southwick and his wife Cassandra, their sons Daniel, John, and Joshua, and daughters Provided and Mary Southwick, Samuel Gaskill, Joshua Buffum, Samuel Shattuck, and Nicholas Phelps, most of whom have descendants in this vicinity; Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, through their son Daniel, being my own ancestors. Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick were then an aged couple, inhabitants of Salem, and at that time members of the First Church there, but for entertaining two Quakers, John Copeland and Christopher Holder, they were committed to prison at Boston. Lawrence was released as being a member of the church, to be dealt with by that body, but Cassandra was kept in prison seven weeks and then fined forty shillings for professing her belief in the views promulgated by the two Quakers aforesaid. They and their sons Josiah and Daniel, and daughters Provided and Mary Southwick, were afterwards fined, whipped, and imprisoned, in Boston, and finally banished from Massachusetts for being Quakers, and my ancestor Daniel Southwick, and his sister Provided, were sentenced by the General Court to be sold into slavery, because they could not pay the fines imposed on them.

Hon. James Savage, author of the *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers in New England*, has this sarcastic sentence in reference to this event: "When the fines of Daniel and Provided Southwick were unpaid, the *tender hearted* General Court of Massachusetts, with intent to MAGNIFY THE GLORY OF GOD, ordered them to be sold for slaves to any *Christian* in Virginia or Barbadoes." A kindly *Christian* regard had these *Puritans* for the *souls*, if they did not for the *bodies*, of their victims. The particular crime charged against Daniel and

Provided Southwick was, "absenting themselves from the public ordinances," that is, not attending the regular "established church." But no ship-master could be found *mean* enough to take them away on *such* a mission. Their parents, Lawrence and Cassandra, being banished under pain of death, went to Shelter Island, Long Island Sound, and both died there one year after, in the spring of 1660, from privation and exposure, within three days of each other, victims of "Puritan" inhumanity. Their son Josiah went to Rhode Island, where he raised a family of ten children, of whom one daughter, Cassandra, married Jacob Mott, whose daughter Mary was wife of Nathaniel Greene, a preacher of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, and father of General Nathaniel Greene of Revolutionary fame. Provided Southwick became the wife of Samuel Gaskill, another of the banished Quakers, and they retired to the borders of Rhode Island, in the south parish of Mendon, now Blackstone, near enough to the state of Roger Williams to be no longer fined or imprisoned for attending Quaker meetings, among their descendants being the present District Attorney of Worcester County, F. A. Gaskill, Esq., and many others in this section.

Samuel Shattuck, above mentioned, went to England and was the bearer of the "King's Missive" to Gov. Endicott. Joshua Buffum retired with others to Smithfield, R. I., where they could live in peace and comfort, and where their descendants have been numerous.

Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick's son Daniel, who married Esther Boyce, daughter of Joseph and Eleanor Boyce, Quakers of Salem, had seven children, of whom the oldest, Lawrence Southwick of the third generation, married Tamsen Buffum, daughter of Caleb

Buffum, also a Quaker, of Salem, and retired to Dighton, on the edge of Rhode Island, where their son Lawrence Southwick of the fourth generation, my great grandfather, was born in 1711, and he died in Uxbridge in 1795, the latter's first wife, my great grandmother, being Hannah Shove of Dighton, a member of Somerset Friends' meeting. This Lawrence and Hannah (Shove) Southwick's daughter Elizabeth, born in 1748, was my grandmother, second wife of my grandfather, Moses Farnum, Jr., of Uxbridge, a zealous Quaker preacher, who built in 1770, just south of his own residence in the south part of Uxbridge near the Rhode Island border, the old Friends' meeting house, of brick, where Quaker meetings have ever since been held. His father, Moses Farnum, senior, was also a Quaker, son of John Farnum, who emigrated in 1706 from Andover to Uxbridge, where he was one of the first board of Selectmen, and the first town meeting in Uxbridge was held at his house which is still standing just east of the river in the Central Village. This Moses Farnum, Jr., the minister, married for his first wife, Susan Comstock, a descendant of the Comstocks and Arnolds, old Quaker families in Smithfield, R. I., by whom he had ten children, and by his second wife, Elizabeth Southwick, above referred to, he had a daughter Sarah, born in Uxbridge April 7, 1780, who was my mother, and who married for her first husband, James Harkness of an old Quaker family in Smithfield, by whom she had three sons, Moses, Nathan, and Elijah, all now deceased, my father, Caleb Wall, being her second husband, by whom she had six sons and one daughter, Sarah Elizabeth, the latter and her brothers James Harkness and Caleb Arnold

Wall, now alone surviving of my mother's ten children. The reader will pardon this brief digression from the main subject, personal to the writer, because of his lineal descent on several lines from those who were so unmercifully persecuted.

There is a tradition in the family far back that the first Lawrence Southwick came to this country early as 1627, or 1630, but the first record of him appears in 1639, the 24th day of April of which year he and his wife Cassandra were baptised and admitted to membership of the first church in Salem, and Sept. 6, the same year, he was admitted by the General Court a freeman of the Massachusetts colony. They appear to have joined the Quakers soon after the first ones came from England. Their son Daniel, who was so persecuted, was ancestor of all the Southwicks in this county, including the present Register of Probate, F. W. Southwick, Esq., of Worcester, whose line of descent runs through Daniel Jr., Jonathan, John, and Dr. Moses D., all resident in what is now Blackstone, Uxbridge, or vicinity.

Another of my ancestors who was driven from Massachusetts on account of his religious opinions was Thomas Arnold, who came to America in the ship "Plain Joan," in May, 1635, and was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts Colony May 13, 1640, at Boston, and afterwards settled in Watertown. In October, 1651, he was fined 20 shillings by the court for offence against the law concerning baptism. April 2, 1654, he was fined five pounds for neglecting public worship 20 days. April 2, 1655, he was fined ten pounds for neglecting public worship for forty days, and his land was levied on

to pay it. He was probably a Baptist, as this was before there is any record of any Quakers here, but his descendants became Quakers, and the principle for which he suffered was the same. Soon after the beginning of the Quaker persecutions he sold out his estate in Watertown and removed to Providence, R. I., where he labored side by side with Roger Williams and others in the founding of a colony on the principles of free religious toleration. He eventually settled in the valley of the Moshassuck, near where stands the oldest Quaker meeting house in Rhode Island, in what used to be called "Lower Smithfield" after the division of the original town and county of Providence into townships. Here he died in September, 1674, leaving a widow, Phebe, who was daughter of George Parkhurst of Watertown, three sons, Richard, John, and Eleazar, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Susannah, wives respectively of Samuel Comstock and John Farnum. Between these five children the extensive landed estate of the father in northern Rhode Island, where they left many descendants, was divided. Richard Arnold and his brother-in-law Samuel Comstock, both ancestors of mine, were the first settlers, about 1666, in that part of the original township of Providence, afterwards Smithfield, and now Woonsocket. Richard Arnold built the first saw mill in Woonsocket, near the falls, on the Globe Village side of the river. He spent his last days on the old homestead of his father Thomas in the valley of the Moshassuck, where he died April 22, 1710, leaving his landed estate at Woonsocket to his sons Richard, Jr., and John, and to his son Thomas and son-in-law Thomas Steere, husband of his daughter Mary, he left the remainder of his estate, at Moshassuck,

except the use during life of the homestead where he last lived, to his widow Sarah (Angel). By his will he made the express provision that "Toby, my negro servant, serve with my son Thomas till he comes to the age of 25 years, which will be in February 1716, and *that then my son set him free*, and give him two suits of apparel, a good narrow axe, a broad hoe, and one scythe with the tackling fit for mowing, and 20 shillings in money." This was when slavery existed in Rhode Island, and if others at that time had followed this noble example, slavery would have come to an end in this country over 150 years before it did, and that without internal political strife and civil war. This Richard Arnold, senior, was a man of superior abilities, and occupied many influential positions, including those of member of the General Assembly of the Province, one of the Assistants or Council of the Governor, and a member of the Continental Congress. Under the administration of Sir Edmund Andros, 1686-9, he was given a seat in his Council. His brother-in-law, Samuel Comstock, settled west of him, westerly of Union Village.

Richard Arnold Jr., inherited and settled upon the western portion of his father's estate in Woonsocket, which included Union Village, and his brother John settled on the easterly part extending to the falls and including Globe Village. They were the organizers of the Society of Friends in northern Rhode Island, and the builders of the first Friends' meeting house in 1719, which stood on the site of the present one in Woonsocket. Other descendants of the first Thomas Arnold were among the first Quakers in the Moshassuck Valley, at what used to be called "Lower Smithfield," now the

town of Lincoln, where the first Friends' meeting house erected in Rhode Island, which is still standing, was built by them in 1704, and in Providence where the original Friends' meeting there, also still standing, was built by them in 1724.

This Richard Arnold, Jr., who was my great-grandfather, resided not far from the Quaker meeting house in the old Union Village, Woonsocket, in the house still standing where his son, Judge Thomas Arnold, and grandson, Chief Justice Peleg Arnold, all Quakers, afterwards lived, and where their descendant, Albert Mowery, now resides. Richard Arnold, Jr. married Mary Woodward, and had six sons and one daughter Mary, the latter being wife of David Wilkinson, son of Samuel Wilkinson, who was grandfather of Hannah Wilkinson, wife of Samuel Slater, the father of cotton manufacture in the United States. All these children of Richard Arnold, Jr., married and settled on estates in the vicinity of their father, in old Smithfield, now Woonsocket. One of the six sons of Richard Arnold, Jr., was my great grandfather Joseph Arnold, a hotel keeper and many years Town Clerk of old Smithfield, of whom it is recorded that "he was a man of sterling qualities and held in high esteem by his fellow townsmen, and that at a time when the value of a negro slave in Rhode Island was £70, he was an ardent and conscientious anti-slavery man, so much so that on his attendance at the yearly meetings of the Friends in Newport he would not stop at the hotels or houses of those who held slaves." This Joseph Arnold's wife was Patience Wilkinson, sister of the David Wilkinson above mentioned, and their daughter Patience, born May 14,

1738, was my grandmother, the first wife of my grandfather Thomas Wall, who resided on her father's homestead where their son Caleb Wall, my father, was born, June 9, 1765. The old house of my great-grandfather Joseph Arnold stood on the site of the residence of the late John and Eliza Osborne in Woonsocket where their daughters who are descendants of the second Richard Arnold still live, a locality which was formerly the centre of quite a large mercantile and financial business, in the good old "Smithfield Union Bank" Village times, of over half a century ago, when Walter Allen was President of the bank, his son-in-law John Osborne, Cashier, and Christopher Almy, Post Master, the Woonsocket Post Office being then at the "Old Bank" Village to accommodate the first line of mail stages between Providence and Worcester which ran through that village, by the old Quaker meeting house. This was before the time of railroads, and there are those still living who will call to mind many things regarding that old mail stage route between Worcester and Providence and its drivers fifty years or more ago, including John Bradley, Aaron White, Samuel Lawton, Beriah Curtis, and others well remembered in Worcester and other places along that old route.

The historian of Woonsocket corroborates the testimony of the historian of Rhode Island, Gov. Arnold, in the statement, that "The spirit of civil and religious liberty for which Rhode Island has been so distinguished, is due in no small degree to the influence which the Quakers exerted in shaping the politics as well as the religion of the colony in which they had sought refuge, and where, for many years, they were its law givers.

The Quakers, from whom flow nearly all of the good and perfect gifts in the early history of Rhode Island, after erecting their meeting houses proceeded to establish schools in various localities." Early in 1777, my grandfather, Moses Farnum, and Moses Brown, Thomas Lapham, Job Scott, Elisha Thornton, Samuel and George Arnold, Antipas Earle, and David Steere, were appointed to draw up a plan, which was adopted, establishing a free school among Friends, and Moses Farnum, Moses Brown, Thomas and David Steere, Ezekiel Comstock, Benjamin Arnold, Rufus and George Smith, Daniel Cass, Samuel Aldrich, Gardner Earle, David Buffum, and Thomas Lapham, Jr., all Quakers, were appointed the first School Committee in northern Rhode Island. The yearly meeting established a Friends' school at Portsmouth, R. I., in 1784, which was removed to Providence in 1819, and which has developed into the present flourishing institution there. near Brown University. "The philanthropic zeal of the Quakers in the early times, awoke such an interest in educational matters, that measures were soon after taken to establish public schools which should be *free to all.*"

Such was the kind of persons once not deemed good enough to live in Massachusetts.

The Samuel Gaskill, above referred to, who married Dec. 30, 1662, Provided Southwick, had a daughter Hannah, born Jan. 2, 1669, who married George Smith, father of John Smith who settled in 1744 in old Mendon, where the first Quaker meeting house was built in 1729. All these were Quakers, and the latter was grandfather of Samuel Smith, who gave the land for the first Quaker meeting house in the south part of Mendon,

now Blackstone, the latter being father of Samuel Smith, Esq., who was city clerk of Worcester from 1856 to 1877. The Salem records say that the above mentioned "Samuel Gaskill, for attending a meeting held by the Friends, or Quakers, was tried, convicted, and sent to Boston with many others to be whipped. He was also fined £8 for 32 days absence from the 'regular church meeting.'"

Another of the persons banished from Massachusetts for their religious opinions, was Thomas Macy, one of the first settlers of Newbury, who was prosecuted, fined thirty shillings, and reprimanded for violation of the law of 1658 in harboring four Quakers, two of whom, Wm. Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson, were afterwards executed upon the gallows, Dec. 27, 1659, as before related. To escape a like fate himself if he remained here, Macy "shook the dust from off his feet" and departed for the then uncivilized island of Nantucket, beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, with all his worldly goods, accompanied by his wife and children, in an open boat. He encountered a severe storm on the way, but his determined spirit overcame all obstacles, and he landed safely at Nantucket in the fall of 1659, the first white settler there, and the ancestor of a numerous posterity of Quakers on that island, where he found only Indians, some 1500 in number. He was soon joined by Tristram, Peter, and James Coffin, Richard and John Swain, Christopher Hussey, Edward and Nathaniel Starbuck, Robert Pike, Peter Folger, and others from Massachusetts, whose greatest fault was their sympathy with the persecuted Quakers, and whose title to their lands was made by amicable purchase from the Indians,

and whose descendants upon that Quaker island have been as numerous as the "sands of the sea." This Peter Folger, whose daughter Abiah was the mother of Benjamin Franklin, was an earnest opponent of the proscriptive laws against the Quakers and Baptists, and wrote a pamphlet strongly urging the repeal of those laws and the cessation of persecutions, regarding the "Indian wars and other calamities that befel the Puritans as so many judgments of God in punishment for their heinous offences." The expression of such views was a sufficient offence for the banishment of Folger and others like him from "Puritan" soil. Nantucket belonged to New York till 1692, when it was annexed to Massachusetts. The quality of the people on this island, is well represented in the fact that from this place emanated the first public protest of any associated body in this country against human slavery, about the year 1717, from Nantucket monthly meeting of Friends; and one of the earliest public advocates of the cause of the oppressed Africans was Elihu Coleman of Nantucket, a minister of that Society, who wrote a pamphlet in 1729, entitled, "A Testimony Against that Anti-Christian Practice of Making Slaves of Men." What Quaker of the present day does not feel proud of denominational association with a class of people having such a history?

To show that the persecution of the Quakers was for their religious opinions, alone, from the first, we have only to read the account of the trial of the first Quakers who arrived here from England, previous to the sending of them back, as if the Quakers had not as good a right here as the Pilgrims or Puritans themselves. At the examination of the eight Quakers before referred to,

who arrived at Boston, Aug. 27, 1656, in the Speedwell, Robert Lock, master, which left Gravesend, May 30, 1656, the following questions were asked and answers given before the Court of Assistants, Sept. 8, 1656:

QUESTION, (by the Court)—Whether you brought not over hither several books wherein are contained the several opinions of ye sect or people called Quakers?

ANSWER, (by the Quakers)—Yea, those that were taken from us.

QUESTION—Wherefore came you into these parts?

ANSWER—To do the will of God as made known to us by His Spirit in our hearts.

QUESTION—Do you acknowledge the light in every man's conscience that comes into the world is Christ, and that that light would save him if obeyed?

The answer, as given in their books, was: The light is but one, which is Christ, and all are enlightened with one light. This is called the light of the spirit or conscience, the true teacher.

QUESTION—Whether you own that the Scriptures are the only rule of knowing God and living to Him?

ANSWER—The eternal word is the rule of our lives, and not the mere written word.

QUESTION—If you had not the Scriptures to direct you, how have you within you that which was before Scripture, that would guide aright?

ANSWER—That inner light would be a sufficient guide.

QUESTION—Do you acknowledge that Christ is God and man in one person?

ANSWER—This they will not acknowledge.

QUESTION—Do you acknowledge one God subsisting in three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?

ANSWER—They acknowledge no trinity of persons.

QUESTION—Do you acknowledge that God and man in one person remain forever a distinct person from God the Father and God ye Holy Ghost and ye saints, notwithstanding their union and communion with him ?

ANSWER—This they will not acknowledge.

QUESTION—Do you acknowledge baptism with water to be an ordinance of God ?

ANSWER—This they will not acknowledge.

The Quakers believed in the inward baptism of the Holy Spirit. The bigoted Puritans would tolerate only their own particular views regarding baptism, by their mode, persecuting both the Baptists for “objecting to the baptism of infants,” and the Quakers for their spiritual views regarding this rite as requiring no outward ceremony.

Thus we see that the ground of persecution of the Quakers, was solely on account of their different views of religion, and their refusal to support the regular established church and attend its meetings, their aim being to hold meetings of their own and peaceably and quietly express themselves therein in their own way. Because they were not allowed this privilege, those of the Quakers who were unwilling to undergo the terrible penalties and martyrdom impending over their heads if they remained here, sought refuge elsewhere, where they could be allowed the privileges denied them here.

A good illustration of the views for the holding of which the Quakers were persecuted is recorded in the trial of a preacher from Rhode Island, who had ventured on Massachusetts soil, and was brought before the court for blasphemy, charged with being “a deist, an atheist, blasphemous of the Bible, etc.,” witnesses being produced

to show that he had said "the Bible was not the word of God." In his defence, disclaiming the charges made, he fortified his true Christian position by saying that he loved his Redeemer and venerated his Bible; that his Bible told him that "Christ was the word of God and the Bible a record of the divine will." This was what he meant by saying that the Bible was not the word of God; the Word was Christ, the Holy Spirit of God in the heart.

THE BAPTIST AND QUAKER FOUNDERS OF RHODE ISLAND.

In striking contrast with the persecuting spirit of the Puritans of Massachusetts, referred to, let us now consider the humane and truly Christian policy adopted from the first by the founders of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, who granted free toleration of all religious opinions. When Roger Williams, late in the autumn of 1635, was banished from the soil of Massachusetts because of his religious tenets, he passed through the jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony where he had previously lived two years and was not allowed to remain, into the land of the "uncivilized heathen," traversing alone in mid-winter the deep snows in the forests, as he has himself recorded, "sorely tossed for fourteen weeks in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bed or bread did mean," sheltered only by the rude wigwam of the Indian, till he found the hospitable cabin of Massasoit, the Chief Sachem of the Wampanoags, and father of King Philip, at Mount Hope, in Bristol. Joined here soon afterwards by others from "Puritan" soil, who like him had been driven thence for their differing theological views, he embarked with them there in a canoe and pro-

ceeded thence around to the head of Narragansett Bay, and there, upon a green slope near a spring, they knelt, and prayed, and chose that spot, which he called "Providence," from "God's merciful providence to him in his distress," for a settlement. Williams and his companions had now passed into the territory of the Narragansett Indians, of whose Chief Sachem, Canonicus, he obtained a grant of land by amicable purchase, instead of taking it from them by stealth, fraud, or force. "The freedom enjoyed at Providence," says Lossing, "was soon spoken of at Boston, and persecuted men fled thither for refuge. Men of every creed were allowed full liberty of conscience, and lived together happily. The same freedom was allowed in politics as in religion, and there was established a pure democracy." The Indian Miantonomoh gave them the beautiful Island of "Aquiday," or "Aquidneck," the Indian name of Rhode Island, for forty fathoms of white wampum, and upon its northern verge they made the settlement of Portsmouth. The meaning of the Indian word Aquiday, or Aquidneck, is "Peaceable Isle," significant of the grand Christian principles on which the state of Rhode Island was founded by the Baptists and Quakers.

At the time of Roger Williams' sentence of banishment from Massachusetts, in the autumn of 1635, he was given only six weeks to depart, his particular offence being that he had called in question the authority of magistrates in respect to two things, "one relating to the right to appropriate the lands of the Indians without purchase from them, and the other to the right of the civil power to impose faith and worship." As to the last point, on which there was the widest divulgence, while

the Massachusetts General Court declared that opinions which would not allow the magistrate to intermeddle to restrain a church or individual from heresy or apostacy were not to be tolerated, Williams on the other hand maintained with inflexible rigor the absolute and eternal distinction between the respective spheres of the civil government and the church. He was very strenuous in the position that "the civil magistrate's power extends only to the bodies, goods, and outward state of men, never to their religious views." Immediately after his landing at Providence, Williams announced as the basis of the new government he and those with him were about to establish: "Having made covenant of peaceable neighborhood with all the Sachems and nations round about us, and having, of a sense of God's merciful Providence unto me in my distress, called the place Providence, I desire it may be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." His cardinal point, for which he was banished, was, "that the civil magistrate is bound to afford equal protection to every denomination of Christians." He believed that "no human power had the right to intermeddle in matters of conscience; that neither church, nor state, neither bishop, nor priest, nor king, may prescribe the smallest iota of religious faith. For this, he maintained, that a man is responsible to God alone. This principle was entirely at variance with the then whole structure of society in the colony of Massachusetts," which seemed to be based on the Romish as well as Calvinistic policy of the subordination of the individual conscience to established church authority. As a contrast, in the fundamental statutes of the colony founded by Williams and others like him, it was provid-

ed in reference to matters of religion, that "all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God."

Subsequently to the banishment of Williams, a law was passed in Massachusetts, Nov. 13, 1644, banishing all Baptists for their religious opinions, in pursuance of which law the new colony of Williams, Coddington, and others, in Rhode Island, was rapidly recruited. By this law it was:

"Ordered, That if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptising of infants, or go about to induce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of the ordinance, or shall deny the authority of the magistracy to enforce this order, * * * * every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment."

Two hundred and fifty-seven years ago, Dec. 1, 1630, Roger Williams, then 31 years of age, embarked with his wife Mary, at Bristol, Eng., in the ship *Lion*, Capt. Pierce, master, for the new world, and arrived at Boston, Feb. 6, 1631, after a tempestuous voyage of 66 days. Four years later, for no offence but that of difference of religious views, he was exiled from the spot where he had officiated as a minister of Christ. It was not pretended, says his biographer, that he had violated any law, that he had been guilty of any immoral act, or even that he had proved faithless to any trust, either as a minister or a citizen; his opinions were his only crimes, and for these, and these alone, did the General Court of Massachusetts decide to send him from their jurisdiction. "It was in January, 1636, the sternest month of a New England winter, when Roger Williams was

obliged to leave his residence in Salem in order to escape the legal warrant that would have conducted him back to the ship then waiting to bear him to England. He went forth an exiled man to trust his life and fortunes to the rough chances in the wilderness that then skirted the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, and to encounter the severest necessities and most crushing privations as an outcast from a professed *Christian* community."

The succeeding history of his life for nearly half a century till his decease in 1683, is the history of the noble colony which he founded. He "was buried with all the solemnity the colony was able to show," in his family burying ground in Providence, near the spot where he landed, and where a monument, recently erected, marks his last resting place. The first Baptist church in America was founded by him and others acting with him in March 1630, on what is now Main street in the city of his naming.

The fundamental views so strenuously maintained by Roger Williams and the Quakers, for which they were so persecuted, "the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, untrammelled by written articles of faith, and unawed by the civil power," implies a degree of advancement in moral science and political philosophy far in advance of that persecuting age, and so much the greater credit is due to those pioneers of the right who first put these glorious truths into practice in the institutions and governments they established.

The missionary spirit which led Williams while a resident of Massachusetts, to devote his energies to the

good of the Indians, gave him that hold upon their affection and esteem which enabled him to dwell securely among them and to acquire that ascendancy in their councils which afterwards made him the averter of war, and the virtual protector of New England.

The exceptional instance, in which Rhode Island soil was made the scene of Indian conflict, in the terrible Narraganset fight of Dec. 1675, during King Philip's war, a war which might have been peaceably averted had the counsels of those friends of the red men, Eliot, Gookin, and others, in Massachusetts, been followed, is thus alluded to by Gov. Arnold in his history of Rhode Island:

“Strange to say, this enterprise was undertaken by the other United Colonies without consulting the government of Rhode Island, although the express command of the King, embodied in the royal charter, was in these words: ‘It shall not be lawful for the rest of the colonies to invade or molest the native Indians, or any other inhabitants, dwelling within the bounds and limits hereafter mentioned (they having subjected themselves unto us and being by us taken into our special protection,) without the knowledge and consent of the Governor and Company of our Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.’ The Narragansets had always been friendly to Rhode Island, and although portions of the tribe might engage in the war, the greater part were still subject to her restraint; and whether they were so or not, the attack now made upon them contrary to the advice and without the consent of Rhode Island, was a direct violation of the royal order, an unscrupulous disregard of the rights, and a wanton act of indifference to the welfare of a sister colony, which no exigency of state could excuse, since the remedy was easy, involving only a simple act of courtesy or friendship. But these feelings were strangers to the confederated Puritans, by whom

heathens and heretics were classed together as beneath the regard of Christian fellowship. The invasion of the Narragansets was kindred in spirit with the desertion of Rhode Island after the battle, leaving Providence a prey to the fury of the savages, without a garrison to protect her from enemies whom they had roused against her."

THE QUAKER FOUNDERS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Having spoken of the founders of Rhode Island, a still more conspicuous contrast with the "Puritan" spirit of the Massachusetts colony, may be seen in the government established in Pennsylvania by the Quakers, under the lead of William Penn, the contemplation of which is like a dream of Paradise, after a recital of the inhuman barbarities perpetrated in Massachusetts. Although the son of a British Admiral, William Penn was one of the early converts of George Fox to the sublime faith of the Quakers, that the light of God is in every conscience, illuminating every human soul. At a time of Protestant bigotry he had exerted himself in behalf of universal liberty of conscience in England, and appeared before a committee of the House of Commons to plead for that cause against the wrongs then practiced. More Christ-like than the Puritans, whose toleration of others on coming here was limited to those of the same religious belief with themselves, Penn sought to extend to others, "whether Catholic or Protestant, Puritan or Quaker, Christian or heretic," the same freedom of views he labored to extend to his friends in England. "We must give to others the same liberty we ask for ourselves," was the sublime motto of the Quakers, in all their action and influence, whether in the governments in the old

world, or in the founding of the new states in the new. Such were the kind of men banished from Massachusetts soil 230 years ago, and forbidden to remain here on the penalty of having their ears cut off, their tongues bored through with red hot irons, and being executed upon the gallows for their "heretical" opinions. If more of such "heretics" had then abounded, here as well as elsewhere, the world would now be better off. We have seen how it was in Rhode Island, where there was not only free toleration of religious views, but freedom from those troubles with the Indians in which the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts were so often engaged. Compare now, in the words of the historian of the United States, Massachusetts with Pennsylvania in the early times: "In Massachusetts," says Bancroft, "besides internal persecutions for opinions' sake, was strife, contention, and constant affright from Indian alarms. In Pennsylvania, peace and brotherly love, not only among the colonists themselves, but with the Indian tribes, because of the more humane and Christian policy pursued, from the first, as long as Quaker counsels prevailed." When William Penn came over in 1682 with his shipload of Quaker colonists to found a new commonwealth, on his broad and comprehensive basis of mutual good will and religious and political equality before the law of God and the statutes of man, the first thing he did was to make a treaty with the Indians, whom he recognized as co-subjects of that divine law which should be patterned after by all human laws, and which embraces in its provisions people of all races and conditions and all religious creeds. As has been well said, "William Penn proclaimed to the Indians the same

message of love and good will which George Fox had professed before Oliver Cromwell in England, and which Mary Fisher had borne to the Grand Sultan in the Turkish dominions." He taught that "The English and the Indian should respect the same moral law, should be alike secure in their pursuits and their possessions, and adjust every difference by a peaceful tribunal composed of an equal number of men from each race." "We meet," said Penn, "on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love." This treaty of peace and friendship was made under the open sky, by the side of the Delaware, with the sun, and the river, and the forest, for witnesses. "It was," says Voltaire, "the only treaty ever made without an oath, and the only one that never was broken." "It was not ratified by signatures and seals; no written record of the conference can be found; and its terms and conditions had no abiding monument but on the heart. There they were written like the law of God, and were never repealed. The simple sons of the wilderness, returning to their wigwams, kept the history of the covenant by strings of wampum, and long afterwards in their cabins, they would recall to their own memory and repeat to their children or to the stranger, the words of William Penn." Other colonies, in and out of New England, which had pursued a different policy toward the red men, suffered terribly from their depredations; the Dutch colony of New York was scarcely ever at peace with the same Indians with which Penn made his famous treaty; and the history of other colonies is full of Indian hostilities and massacres. "Not a drop of Quaker blood was ever

shed by an Indian," says Bancroft, but he could not say that of the Puritans of New England, to their shame be it said for their blood-thirstiness toward the most peaceful sect of Christians on earth. Here is the pen picture which the accomplished and philosophic historian of the United States draws of the scene of the Treaty of Peace and good will between William Penn and the Indians :

"Imagine the chiefs of the savage communities, of noble shape and grave demeanor, assembled in council without arms ; the old men sit in a half moon upon the ground ; the middle-aged are in a like figure at a little distance behind them ; the young foresters form a third circle in the rear. Before them stands William Penn, graceful in the summer of life, in dress scarce distinguished by a belt, surrounded by a few Friends, chiefly young men, and, like Anaxagoras, whose example he cherished, pointing to the skies as the tranquil home to which not Christians only, but

‘————— the souls of heathen go
Who better live than we, though less they know.’

In the following year, 1683, Penn often met the Indians in council, and at their festivals. He visited them in their cabins, shared their hospitable banquet of hominy and roasted acorns, and laughed, and frolicked, and practiced athletic games with the light-hearted, mirthful, confiding red men. He spoke with them of religion, and found that the tawny skin did not exclude the instinct of a Deity. *“The poor savage people believed in God and the soul without the aid of metaphysics.”* Penn touched the secret springs of sympathy in the red men, and succeeding generations on the Susquehannah acknowledged his loveliness.”

William Penn made treaties of peace with nineteen Indian tribes. “We will live,” said they, “in love with

William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon shall endure.”

Contrast this spirit of the Quakers with the persecution and bigotry of the early New England Puritans, and we have a sufficiently telling criticism of the faults and errors of the persecutors of the Quakers, both in their treatment of the Indians, and of the people of their own race, because of difference of religious belief.

William Penn, during a series of religious travels before coming to America, paid a visit to Peter the Great, then Czar of Russia, at St. Petersburg, where he was received in a very different manner from the reception his fellow Quakers met in “Puritan” Massachusetts. Afterwards, when Peter went to England, the visit was reciprocated, the Czar holding a friendly conference there with Penn and other Quakers, during which Peter the Great was presented with copies of books explanatory of the religious views of the Quakers, in answer to inquiries, and the Czar manifested his interest therein by attending one of their religious meetings. Afterwards, when Peter the Great went to Holland, he inquired of one of the burgo-masters whether there were any Quakers there. Upon being told that there were, and that they had a meeting-house in that place, he directed information to be given to them that if they would appoint a meeting to be held while he was there, he would attend it. Being informed that the meeting-house was just then occupied by thirty of his soldiers, Peter sent positive orders for the soldiers to vacate the house without delay and take their baggage with them, and a Friends’ meeting was immediately held there by notification, which the Czar attended, and listened with great

interest to the preaching, taking occasion, as Penn says, to "commend the doctrines of the gospel as they were professed and declared by 'humble members of the Society of Friends.'" The Czar is reported as attending several other Quaker meetings also, "conducting entirely as a private person."

These references are made to show the difference between so called "Puritanic" and what some call "uncivilized" and "barbaric," if not "heathen," charity in reference to religion.

The poetess, Hannah F. Gould, has the following beautiful and truthful picture of the Quaker state of Pennsylvania, founded by William Penn and his associates:

Her laws were as righteous, pure, and plain,
 As the warm in heart and the pure in brain,
 'To bind the strong in a silken chain,
 Could in wisdom and love devise.
 The tongue needed not the bond of a vow,
 And man to his fellow worm did not bow,
 Nor doff the screen o'er his open brow,
 To any beneath the skies.

The Quaker passed on from land to land,
 With the lowly heart and the open hand
 Of one who felt where he soon must stand
 And his final account give in.
 For long had he made up his sober mind
 That he could not depart to leave mankind
 With the ample field of the earth behind
 No better than he had been.

And bright was the spot where the Quaker came,
 To leave it his hat, his drab, and his name,
 That will sweetly sound from the trump of fame
 Till his final blast shall die.

The city he reared from the sylvan shade
 His beautiful monument now is made ;
 And long have the rivers their pride displayed
 In the scenes they are rolling by.

Cotton Mather, author of the "Magnalia" and other literary monstrosities of religious bigotry and superstition, defending the terrible persecutions and witchcraft delusions of 200 years ago in Massachusetts, described the colony of Rhode Island where no such evils existed, and where all sects in religion stood equal before the law, as "a colluvies of Anabaptists, Quakers, Antinomians, Armenians, Socinians, * * * * everything in the world but true Christians!" Yet there are some persons even at the present day antiquated enough to quote from the "Magnalia" in their stress for the defence of the disgraceful proceedings against the Quakers.

The most charitable light in which we can view the doings of our offending forefathers, above criticised, is that the Puritans exemplified the spirit of the past, while the Quakers and others acting with them, foreshadowed that of the future. The Puritans we should view in the light of by-gone centuries, the Quakers in that of the present age which has adopted their principles.

The principle of Calvinism was merely a substitution for Popery of Calvin's dogma of church supremacy, which required that "civil magistrates must be subordinate to the church, submit to it their sceptres of power, and throw down their crowns before it, yea, as the prophet speaketh, lick the dust of the feet of the church." On this same principle the Pope of Rome, in the height of the papal power, reduced even kings and emperors to the humiliation of having their necks trod-

den upon and their crowns taken from them by the Pope.

“*In haereticos gladio vindicandum est,*” (“heretics must be punished with the sword,”) was a motto of Calvin as well as of Rome, and the Calvinistic Puritans of Massachusetts acted too closely on this principle when they sought to extirpate the “heresy” of Quakerism from their midst. The burning at the stake of Servetus at the instigation of Calvin and others, at Geneva, three hundred years ago, Oct. 27, 1553, because Servetus would not retract certain “opinions” held by him regarding the Trinity, was but a precursor of the hanging of the Quakers in Massachusetts a century later, for their religious views. And it is not strange, that in pursuance of the light and progress of modern times, the orthodox churches are now gradually becoming ashamed of the name of Calvin, the second oldest orthodox society in Worcester having within a few years very wisely changed its corporate name, by petition to the General Court, from the “Calvinist Society,” to the “Central Society,” eradicating the obnoxious name, a step taken soon after the coming here of the present pastor, ten years ago, whose ideas of Christian fellowship, and it is believed of most others of his contemporaries, are too broad to be cooped up within the narrow limits of Calvinism.

“*Judicio seculari possunt licito occidi,*” (“Secular justice can legitimately put heretics to death,”) is said to be still the motto of the Romish church, and it is high time every vestige of such tyrannical doctrine, so subversive of every principle of liberty, civil as well as religious, under whatever name it may appear, was obliterated.

ated. The Calvinist John Norton maintained the right of the civil power, as the agent of the church, to use the sword, when necessary, in order to put down "heresy," a doctrine allied to that of the church of Rome, and on this ground he acted his part in the persecution of the Quakers. Norton taught that "the will of man is an instrument disposed and determined unto its action according unto the decree of God, being as much subordinate to it as the axe is to the hand of the hewer; that man, even in violating God's commands, fulfils God's decree; that the infallible ordering of the existence of sin for a better end, and the forbidding of sin, are not at all inconsistent, but accord with the volition of God which cannot be resisted or defeated; that God has elected whom in his wisdom and mercy he pleased to eternal life, and others to eternal condemnation." This ridiculous theology blasphemously makes the Almighty a wilful tyrant, responsible for all the iniquity in the world.

Hardly more than 150 years have elapsed since a spirit of persecution similar to what is above criticised, though not so bad, was manifested by those of the Calvinistic puritanic faith in the first church of Worcester, towards those of another shade of religious belief, when a company of Scotch Presbyterians organized a society and undertook to build a meeting-house here to worship God in their own way, and the frame-work of the new structure was hardly completed, when such was the prejudice against the new-comers by the adherents of the "established church," that a mob by night tore the structure down and the enterprise was in consequence abandoned. Later still, only 75 years ago, when the movement was being made for the organization of the

First Baptist Church here, with what bitterness was the project opposed by the then pastor of the Old South Church, Rev. Dr. Austin, he regarding the starters of the new enterprise as "breaking in upon his charge, and as drawing awakened inquirers in his congregation away from the path of duty, and it was to be feared, from the path of salvation." As a consequence, he refused the ordinary courtesies due under such circumstances towards other denominations, and by invitation of good old Dr. Bancroft of the Unitarian Church, the recognition services of the new church and the installation exercises of its first pastor, Rev. Wm. Bentley, were held in Dr. Bancroft's church, Dec. 9, 1812, and attended by him. Coming down to our own times, in the march of progress, in the contrast with the past, we happily find the present Presbyterian church of Worcester worshipping under the same roof with the successors of their former persecutors, in a building erected by the combined contributions of members of all religious denominations.

These references to the past are made to show the progressive advances in religious freedom, and the contrast of past times with the present, in the grand principles of Christian charity and free religious toleration of which the Quakers and Baptists were the pioneers.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EARLY QUAKERS.

The greatest fault of the early Quakers, was, that they found themselves so far ahead, in views, of the people among whom they first came, but they found themselves more at home in the places to which they afterwards went, and their persecutors here were soon afterwards obliged to recognize their right to a denomi-

national existence. Wherever they have lived, in the old world or in the new, the Quakers have ever been found on the side of every great reform, civil and political, as well as moral and religious, which reforms they have always sought to bring about in a peaceful way, by appeals to the people. They were among the first to espouse the cause of the enslaved African, to plead for the rights of the wronged Indians, and for a more improved and humane system of prison discipline for criminal offenders. They were the first to maintain and put in practice, in all their church relations, as members, officers, and preachers, the equal rights of the sexes; and it was a Quaker preacher named Cooper, in New Jersey, in 1776, who made the first move in this country for civil suffrage for woman, on an equality with man, and on his motion, as a member of the constitutional convention, the principle was incorporated in the first constitution of his state, and under it women voted there with men for thirty years, till the party opposed to Quakers (the democratic party) came into power. The voices of the Quakers were loudly raised from the beginning in behalf of the philanthropic movement for the abolition of the inhuman institution of negro slavery, in both continents; and long anterior to, and side by side of, Clarkson and Wilberforce in the old world, and Garrison, Phillips, and other anti-slavery pioneers in the new, they urged on the movement till its final accomplishment. The first memorials presented in Congress for action against slavery, soon after the organization of the government in February, 1790, were from the yearly meetings of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland,

and Virginia, signed to an accompanying memorial for the same object being the name of Benjamin Franklin, the grandson of a Quaker, as President of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, in its behalf. It was on the presentation of a petition of the Society of Friends in New England, as a body, through their official representatives, for the abolition of that monstrous enormity, the Fugitive Slave Act, that Charles Sumner made his first great speech in the United States Senate against slavery, Aug. 26, 1852, when he stood almost solitary and alone in that body in defence of human freedom, against such tremendous odds, in the then darkest days of pro-slavery domination,—in which speech Sumner sounded the prophetic knell of the doomed institution of slavery. And it is a very significant fact, that the President of the United States who wrote the Proclamation of Emancipation, and whose signature to it gave it its effect, was himself a descendant of Pennsylvania Quakers. It was a Quaker preacher, William Martin, in Cork, Ireland, fifty years ago, who started the first temperance movement in that country, and through his persuasive appeals made a convert, among others, of the celebrated “apostle of temperance,” Father Mathew, whom the Quaker, by his persistent urgings, induced to sign the total abstinence pledge and become a missionary in the cause, and to enter upon that remarkable career for good in which Father Mathew afterwards became so successful in the conversion of so many others of his race, both in Ireland and in America, as attested by the innumerable Father Matthew Total Abstinence Societies organized all over this and the old country, with their beneficent results for humanity. It was an English Quakeress, Elizabeth Fry, who

inaugurated the grand philanthropic system of prison discipline reform, the establishment of schools for the reformation of the depraved, and devoted her whole life and energies for the cause, including frequent visits and preaching to the inmates of jails, hospitals, etc. And what friend of his race, what lover of poetry devoted in its most enlivening strains to the promotion of all humane causes, can but experience genuine satisfaction, if he is connected with any religious sect, at a denominational association with America's Poet of Freedom and Humanity, John Greenleaf Whittier, whose name is synonymous with all that is noble, and pure, and inspiring in elevated sentiment.

The Society of Friends, or Quakers, as an organized body, may be lessening in numbers, but its members have the proud satisfaction of seeing the grand principles on which they started, more and more permeate other denominations and the world. Rising superior to the proselyting spirit which has too often animated other religious bodies, the Quakers have looked more to the advancement of the truths they have uttered than to a numerical increase of their denomination, trusting to the working of the Spirit of God in the hearts of those whom they would influence through the inspiration which they have received themselves from on high, rather than to the more common sensational method of appeals for special effect. The Quaker method, being broader and deeper, and less selfish, is more lasting in its influence on the world, for permanent good.

The Quakers have not thus, it is true, exhibited that wisdom so generally utilized in a selfish world, of paying sufficient attention to the building up or repair-

ing of their denominational fences, for the increase of their numbers; in fact, they have no fences to repair, preferring rather to have their views go forth untrammelled before the people, whenever and wherever they utter them, trusting in God for the results. Would that there was more of this unselfish spirit in the religious world, like that of the Quakers of old, who sought more the advancement of the kingdom of righteousness and peace upon the earth, than the mere building up of a sect; seeking thus unselfishly to advance this kingdom, at the sacrifice even of their own lives, when menaced with the pains and penalties of a series of persecutions hardly ever before paralleled in the history of religious persecutions for opinions' sake.

I cannot better illustrate or enforce the views I have tried to express regarding the Quakers in the past, than in the words of one of the truly inspired men of this generation, whose poetic strains fall as harmoniously and melodiously upon the ear, as the sounding of the majestic waters of the beautiful Merrimac, by the side of which he was born and has so long dwelt :

The Quaker of the olden time !
 So calm, and firm, and true,
 Unspotted by its wrong and crime,
 He walked the dark earth through ;
 The lust of power, the love of gain,
 The thousand lures of sin
 Around him, had no power to stain
 The purity within.

With that deep insight which detects
 All great things in the small,
 And knows how each man's life affects
 The spiritual life of all,

He walked by faith and not by sight,
 By love, and not by law ;
 The presence of the wrong or right
 He rather felt than saw.

He felt that wrong which wrong partakes,
 That nothing stands alone,
 That whoso gives the motive, makes
 His brother's sin his own ;
 And, pausing not for doubtful choice
 Of evils great or small,
 He listened to that inward voice
 Which calls away from all.

Oh ! Spirit of that early day,
 So pure, and strong, and true,
 Be with us in the narrow way
 Our faithful fathers knew ;
 Give strength the evil to forsake,
 The cross of truth to bear,
 And love and reverent fear to make
 Our daily lives a prayer.



Who scoffs at our birthright? The words of the seers
 And the songs of the bards in the twilight of years,
 All the foregleams of wisdom in santon and sage,
 In prophet and priest, are our true heritage.

The Word which the reason of Plato discerned ;
 The Truth, as whose symbol the Mithra fire burned ;
 The soul of the world which the Stoic but guessed,
 In the " Light Universal " the Quaker confessed !

No honors of war to our worthies belong ;
 Their plain stem of life never flowered into song ;
 But the fountains they opened still gush by the way,
 And the world for their healing is better today.

There are those who take note that our numbers are small,
 New Gibbons who write our decline and our fall ;
 But the lord of the seed-field takes care of his own,
 And the world shall yet reap what our sowers have sown.

The last of the sect to his fathers may go,
 Leaving only his coat for some Barnum to show ;
 But the Truths which he taught will expand with the years,
 Till the false dies away and the wrong disappears.

Meanwhile, shall we learn, in our ease, to forget
 To the martyrs of Truth and of Freedom, our debt ?
 Hide their words out of sight like the garbs that they wore,
 And for Barclay's apology offer one more ?

Shall we fawn round the priest-craft that glutted the shears
 And festooned the stocks with our grandfathers' ears ?
 Talk of Woolman's unsoundness, count Penn heterodox ?
 And take Norton, or Wilson, in place of George Fox ?

Mather's creed for our faith which embraces the whole,
 Of the creeds of the ages the life and the soul,
 Wherein letter and spirit the same channel run,
 And man has not severed what God has made one.

For our sense of God's goodness revealed everywhere,
 As sunshine impartial, as free as the air ;
 For our trust in humanity, heathen or Jew,
 And our hope for all darkness "The Light" shineth through.

I cannot better close what I have to say in illustration of the distinguishing characteristics of the Society of Friends as a religious denomination in the past, than by reference to an eminent practical exemplar of their principles in the old world, the late Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, England. Well do I remember the time, fifty years ago, when he came to this country, and in company with his American friend and co-adjutor in every good work, the poet Whittier, visited Worcester, and attended the Friends' meeting, soon after the beginning

of the holding of regular Friends' meetings here, in an "upper chamber," near the corner of Main and Walnut streets. In my mind's eye I recall their appearance in that meeting as they sat side by side with the leading Quakers of that time in Worcester, John Milton Earle, Anthony Chase, Edward Earle, Charles Hadwen, Samuel H. Colton, Elisha Harkness, and others, including my own father and mother, all of whom have passed to their reward on high. If I remember rightly, there was no vocal expression of the "Inner Light" on that occasion, but the Spirit of God was fully, if not audibly, manifested in the hearts and countenances of all present, as they sat in silent worship and communion with Him who said, "Behold, I stand at the door, and knock; if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." Joseph Sturge was one of the most devoted workers in behalf of those grand distinctive Quaker principles which recognize the universal brotherhood of man, and oppose all wars between nations as well as strife between individuals, laboring for the coming of that good time when "swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning-hooks," and when the oppressed and depraved of every race and clime shall be elevated to the stature of true manhood. Besides his warm sympathy and active efforts for the relief and benefit of the unfortunate and down-trodden in his own land, he extended his aid for the amelioration of the condition of suffering humanity in other countries. After the death of this noble man, the following beautiful and just tribute to his memory was written by his friend Whittier. The allusion to "war's worn victims" refers to Sturge's

efforts for the relief of those who had suffered in consequence of the devastating war in which England had been engaged with other European powers, by which the people of Finland, Holstein, and neighboring territory had so terribly suffered :

Silent for once the restless hive of labor,
 Save the low funeral tread,
 Or voice of craftsman whispering to his neighbor
 The good deeds of the dead.

For him no minster's chant of the immortals
 Rose from the lips of sin ;
 No mitred priest swung back the heavenly portals
 To let the white soul in.

But Age and Sickness framed their tearful faces
 In the low hovel's door,
 And prayers went up from all the dark by-places
 And dwellings of the poor.

The pallid toiler and the negro chattel,
 The vagrant of the street,
 The human dice wherewith in games of battle
 The lords of earth compete,

Touched with a grief that needs no outward draping,
 All swelled the long lament
 Of grateful hearts, instead of marble, shaping
 His viewless monument !

For never yet, with ritual pomp and splendor,
 In the long heretofore,
 A heart more loyal, warm, and true, and tender,
 Has England's turf closed o'er.

And if there fell from out her grand old steeples
 No crash of brazen wail,
 The murmurous woe of kindreds, tongues, and peoples
 Swept in on every gale.

It came from Holstein's birchen-belted meadows,
 And from the tropic calms
 Of Indian islands in the sun-smit shadows
 Of Occidental palms ;

From the locked roadsteads of the Bothnian peasants,
 And harbors of the Finn,
 Where war's worn victims saw his gentle presence
 Come sailing, Christ-like, in,

To seek the lost, to build the old waste places,
 To link the hostile shores
 Of severing seas, and sow with England's daisies
 The moss of Finland's moors.

Thanks for the good man's beautiful example,
 Who in the vilest saw
 Some sacred crypt or altar of a temple
 Still vocal with God's law ;

And heard with tender ear the spirit of sighing
 As from its prison cell,
 Praying for pity, like the mournful crying
 Of Jonah out of hell.

Not his the golden pen's or lip's persuasion,
 But a fine sense of right,
 And Truth's directness, meeting each occasion
 Straight as a line of light.

His faith and works, like streams that intermingle,
 In the same channel ran :
 The crystal clearness of an eye kept single
 Shamed all the frauds of man.

The very gentlest of all human natures
 He joined to courage strong,
 And love outreaching unto all God's creatures
 With sturdy hate of wrong.

Tender as woman ; manliness and meekness
 In him were so allied,
 That they who judged him by his strength or weakness
 Saw but a single side.

* * * * *

And now he rests : his greatness and his sweetness
 No more shall seem at strife ;
 And death has moulded into calm completeness
 The statue of his life.

Where the dews glisten and the song-birds warble,
 His dust to dust is laid,
 In Nature's keeping, with no pomp of marble
 To shame his modest shade.

The forges glow, the hammers all are ringing ;
 Beneath its smoky vale,
 Hard by, the city of his love is swinging
 Its clamorous iron flail.

But round his grave are quietude and beauty,
 And the sweet heaven above,—
 The fitting symbols of a life of duty
 Transfigured into love !



