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*Posthuma Christiana ;*  
 O R, A  
**COLLECTION**  
 O F S O M E  
**P A P E R S**  
 O F  
**William Crouch.**

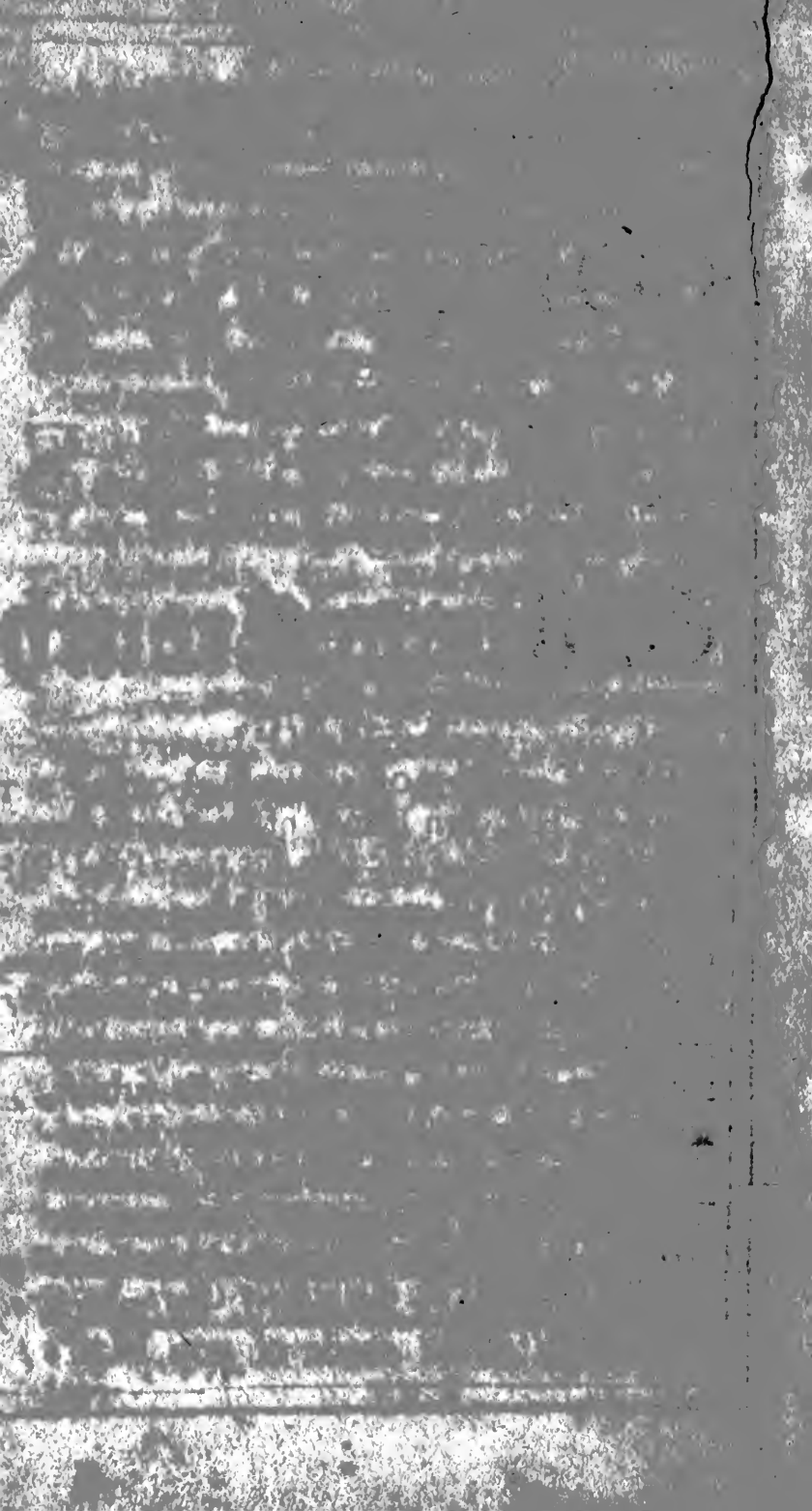
BEING  
 A Brief HISTORICAL ACCOUNT,  
 under His own Hand, of his *Convincement*  
 of, and *Early Sufferings* for the TRUTH.  
 WITH  
 REMARKS on sundry *Memorable Trans-*  
*actions*, relating to the People call'd *Quakers*.

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Psal. 145. 4. *One Generation shall Praise thy Works to ano-*  
*ther, and shall declare thy Mighty Acts.*  
 Heb. 11. 4. — *He being dead yet speaketh.*

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SOME

# ACCOUNT

Of the AUTHOR

*William Crouch;*

By way of PREFACE

TO THE

# READER.

**A**S the Real Happiness of Man consists in being truly Religious, or Holy; in our Measures, as God is Holy; for Holiness and Happiness are so nearly related, that the one cannot be, or subsist, without the other; Holiness being Happiness begun, and Happiness being Holiness in Perfection: So Religion, Godliness or Holiness, three Names of one and the same thing, is the Rule or Standard, by which an Estimate is to be made of any Man's

## The Preface.

real and intrinſick Worth. 'Tis therefore a great Miſtake, notwithstanding, it's too general Currency and Reception in the World, to value Men according to their extrinſick Circumſtances; whether Learning, Power, Grandeur, Riches, and the like outward Tranſitory Enjoyments. For every Man's true Worth in the Sight of God, ſtands in his Likeneſs unto God; in his partaking of the Divine Nature, according to the Meaſure of the Grace of God which bringeth Salvation, and hath appeared unto all Men. The preſent Enquiry then, after a Man's real Worth and Value, is to be reſolved, not into his outward Acquirements, but inward Qualifications; not into his Wealth or Greatneſs, but into his Holineſs and Goodneſs.

(a) *Seneca* hath an excellent Saying to this Purpoſe. ' We do not, ſaith he, account ' a Ship good, becauſe it is curiouſly Paint- ' ed and Guilded, or Carv'd, or Inlay'd, or ' Richly Laden; but becauſe it is Strong, ' and well Built, and fitted for all the Ends ' of Navigation: So concerning a Man, 'tis ' nothing to the Purpoſe to ſay, he poſſeſſeth ' ſo many Manours, he hath ſo much Mo- ' ney at Interest, he hath ſo many to Ad-

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(a) *Epist.* 76.



‘ dress or Complement him; he lieth in  
 ‘ such a Rich Bed, or drinketh in the finest  
 ‘ Glasses; but the grand Question is, about  
 ‘ his Virtue and Goodness. For Virtue, as  
 ‘ (b) *Juvenal* saith, is the true and only No-  
 ‘ bility. The Best Man, saith (c) *Velleius*  
 ‘ *Paterculus*, is the most Noble. To excell  
 ‘ in Virtue, saith *Hierom*, is in God’s Ac-  
 ‘ count the chiefest Nobility. In compari-  
 ‘ son of which, all outward Pomp and Grand-  
 ‘ deur, are Insignificant, Empty Trifles.

Vice on the other hand, is an ignoble  
 Thing, and so degrades a Man, who was  
 made to Glorifie his Creator, that it sinks  
 him below his First and Principal End, and  
 ranks him among *Dogs*, *Swine*, and other  
 Filthy Creatures. Hence saith *Solomon*: *A*  
*Wicked Man is Loathsom, and cometh to Shame,*  
*Prov. 13. 5.* His very *Thoughts* and *Sacrifice*  
 are an *Abomination to the Lord*, *Prov. 15.* But  
 Good Men are called, the *Excellent of the*  
*Earth*, *Psal. 16.* *A Chosen Generation, a Royal*  
*Priesthood, an Holy Nation, a Peculiar Peo-*  
*ple*, *1 Pet. 2. 9.* *Jewels*, *Mal. 3. 17.* *Elect*,  
*Rom. 8. 33.* *Precious*, *Lam. 4. 2.* *Anointed*  
*ones*, *Psal. 105. 15.* *Sons of God, Children of*  
*God, Heirs of God, and Joynt-Heirs with Christ*,  
*Rom. 8. 14, 16, 17.*

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(b) *Lib. 2.* (c) *Ep. ad Celantiam. Tom. 1.*

## The Preface.

And tho' they do many times suffer Hunger and Thirst, Cold and Nakedness, and are exposed to variety of Hardships; and are tried with Cruel Mockings and Scourgings, Bonds and Imprisonment, — being Destitute, Afflicted, Tormented, Heb. 11. 36, 37. Yet even then they are the Beloved of God, Dear and Precious in his Sight, and so highly esteemed and valued by him, that the Apostle expressly declareth to their Everlasting Consolation and Honour, *the World is not worthy of them*, ver. 38. And as an Addition to the Value the Great God sets upon them, he hath promised by his Servants, that *the Wise* that is, the Godly, *shall inherit Glory*, Prov. 3. 35. *Shine as the brightness of the Firmament*, — and as the Stars for ever and ever, Dan. 12. 3. The Holy Scriptures are full in setting forth the Happiness of the Righteous. I shall at present mention but these few Passages more. *Blessed is the Man that feareth the Lord, that delighteth greatly in his Commandments. — His Righteousness endureth for ever. Unto the Upright there ariseth Light in Darkness. — The Righteous shall be had in everlasting Remembrance*, Psal. 112. 1, 3, 4, 6. *Blessings are upon the head of the Just*, — And his Memory is Blessed, Prov. 10. 6, 7. But the Case is otherwise with the Wicked; his Way is as Darkness,

Prov.

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Prov. 4. 19. *The Curse of the Lord is in his House,* Prov. 3. 33. *His Desire and Expectation shall perish,* Psal. 112. 10. Prov. 10. 28. *His Remembrance shall perish from the Earth,* Job, 18. 17. *And his Name shall Rot,* Prov. 10. 7. *But a Good Man's Name is as a precious Ointment, and leaves a fragrancy behind it; even as the Wise Man said of Josiah, His Remembrance is like the Composition of the Perfume, that is made by the Art of the Apothecary; it is sweet as Honey in all Mouths, and as Musick at a Banquet of Wine,* Eccclus. 49. 1. *Therefore as Wicked Men leave an irksom Unfavouriness behind them; so Good Men transmit a sweet Memorial of their Vertues to Posterity. Sin and Wickedness fasten a perpetual Ignominy upon the Ungodly; But Piety and Vertue, stamp an Immortal Honour upon the Righteous; for the Righteous is an everlasting Foundation,* Prov. 10. 25.

But to leave this general, and come to a particular Consideration; we have an evident Proof of the powerful Operation and excellent Effects of Religion in the Person Commemorated in this Preface. As he was early convinced of, and received the Truth, as it is in Jesus, who is the Way, the Truth and the Life; so he was enabled by the Grace of God to walk in it, and to keep up a faithful Testimony to it in Life

and Conversation, according to the measure of the Gift bestowed upon him. In him, both the Form and Power of Religion met together. Profession answered Practice, and Practice corresponded with Profession. He knew the Name *Christian*, tho' an Honourable Appellation, would stand him in little stead without being changed into the Nature of it. For to be a Christian indeed, is to be in Christ, and to be in Christ, is to be a New Creature. And therefore his main Concern was, to witness Christ formed in his Soul, the Life of Jesus made manifest in his Body; and to know himself a living Branch of the true Vine, a lively Stone in the Spiritual Building, whereof Christ is both the Foundation and Chief Corner Stone: Not resting in the Beginnings of Regeneration, where too many content themselves; but waiting for, and labouring after, through the Assistances and Influences of the Holy Spirit, the Gradual and Progressive Work of Sanctification, till he might come in the Unity of the Faith, and of the Knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect Man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; not as tho' he had already attained, either was already perfect; but he followed after, if that he might apprehend that for which also he was apprehended of Christ Jesus; not counting him-

self

self to have apprehended ; but this one thing he did, forgetting those things which were behind, and reaching forth unto those things which were before, he pressed toward the Mark for the Prize of the high Calling of God in Christ Jesus.

Such was the Heavenly Frame of his Mind ; such the Spiritual Travel of his Soul ; he had a State of Perfection in his View, and believing it attainable by the Grace of God, he desisted not the Pursuit, till, through the same Grace, we hope, he was made a Partaker of it. He was an Humble, Self-denying Man, and own'd no State above a watchful One ; nor did he assume to himself the Attainment spoken of, but continued in Faith, Humility, Watchfulness, and Prayer ; looking unto Jesus, that he who had begun the good Work in him, would confirm it unto the end ; relying always upon the Grace of God, and not upon any Duties or Performances of his own. For his Desire was to be found in Christ, not having his own Righteousness which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of Christ, the Righteousness which is of God by Faith. And to know him, and the Power of his Resurrection, and the Fellowship of his Sufferings, being made conformable unto his Death ; if by any means he might attain unto the Resurrection of the Dead : That being Risen with Christ,

and

*The Preface.*

and having his Affections set on things above, he might live as a Pilgrim and Stranger here, as to the things of this World, and as a Fellow Citizen with the Saints, and of the Household of God.

I had some knowledge of him for some Years, before Divine Providence cast my Lot to live so near him in the Country; where I came to be more intimately acquainted with him, and to have frequent Opportunities of receiving from, and returning Christian Visits to him, during the last Four Years of his Life. When I found him grown in Years and Grace together, and like ripe and weighty Corn, ready to be gathered into the Heavenly Granary. His Bodily strength was much impaired, through Age, and Infirmities usually attending that Scene of Life; but this affected not his better Part; his Soul was strong in the Lord, and in the Power of his might: His Understanding Bright, and his Judgment Sound, and his Discourse seasoned with Grace, and was of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. I was always glad when I could enjoy his Company; for I still received some Benefit by it. Tho' he was unacquainted with Humane Arts and Languages; which is a poor empty Knowledge in comparison of the Excellency of the Knowledge.

ledge of Christ Jesus : yet having learnt that Wisdom which is from above, and maketh Wise unto Salvation, he was enabled to speak many things, to the Comfort and Edification of me, and others that heard him. *In the Lips of him (saith Solomon) that hath Understanding, Wisdom is found, — The Lips of the Righteous feed many, Prov. 10. 13, 21. And know what is acceptable, ver. 32. In the heart of the Righteous is much Treasure, — and the Lips of the wise disperse Knowledge, Prov. 15. 6, 7. Again, The Wise in heart shall be called Prudent, and the sweetness of the Lips increaseth Learning, Prov. 16, 21.* The Sense of which Passages, as it is plain, so the Application is obvious. Our Deceased Friend was one of the wise in Heart, where the Heavenly Treasure lay, from whence his Lips dispersed Knowledge, and fed many with that which was acceptable. Yea, such a sweetness accompanied his Words, that his *Lips dropt as a Honey-Comb, Song 4. 11.* And convey'd not Doctrine only, but a Fragrancy also with it to the Hearers. And indeed, so far as my Observation could furnish me, I think I may say, his whole Conversation, was full of Sweetness and Kindness. I never heard him speak Diminutively of other Men, nor in Praise of himself; such was his Love to his Neighbour,  
and

## The Preface.

and such the Modest and Humble Thoughts he had of himself. An hearty Zeal he had for God and his Truth, but 'twas not Hot or Fiery, but Cool, Meek and Temperate. When any Disputes or Differences happen'd among his *Neighbours* and *Acquaintance*, or among *Relations*, he endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reconcile them, and to quench those Heats, which otherwise might have broke out into a Flame. He loved all Men, but especially those in whom he saw Love towards God appearing; and of these, they were nearer to, or farther from him, as he saw them more or less impress'd with the Image and Superscription of Christ. The Sincere and Upright Hearted were very near him; and tho' he could have no Unity with *Hypocrites*, *Formalists*, and *Loose Walkers*, yet such he pitied, and, as opportunity presented, he reprov'd and exhorted them, Praying for their Recovery and Amendment.

As to the Things of this World, he esteem'd them as they are in themselves, perishing Enjoyments; and therefore placed not his Affections upon them. As it was his Duty to provide for himself and Family; so he was Diligent and Industrious in his Calling, in order to that End, and not to that End only; but that he might also have  
where-



wherewith to minister to the Necessities of others according to his Ability. The Household of Faith partook largely of his Charity ; but others came in for a share, as he saw Occasion. For he did not confine his Bounty within the Limits of his own Perswasion, but was a Benefactor to many others, how different soever in Opinion from him. That Person was his Neighbour that stood in need of his Help, and he in a Capacity of helping him.

He looked upon himself, not so much a Proprietor, as a Steward, and having received a Stewardship, expected to give an Account to the great Lord and Master of the Universe. And therefore his Desire and Endeavour was to be found Faithful, in discharging the Trust committed to him.

*The love of Money, which is declared by the Apostle, to be the Root of all Evil, 1 Tim. 6. 10. being the Foundation of Uncharitableness, he had such an Aversion to, that he emitted a Treatise under this Title, The Enormous Sin of Covetousness Detected; informing the Reader in his Preface there-to, that it was not Ambition to appear in Print, that moved him to that Undertaking; but a sincere and just Abhorrence of that Crying Sin. The Book treats of a Subject which*

which Wise Men in all Ages have Condemned, and yet most Men are or have been more or less in love with it. That Covetousness is a Sin, yea, a grievous Sin, who is there that denies it? But then the Distinctions about it, the Apologies and Excuses made for it, are so many, and so subtilly contrived; that tho' no Sin is so general and apparent, yet there are very few among the vast numbers of Delinquents, that will acknowledge themselves Guilty. Our *Worthy Friend* hath made such a Detection of it, that notwithstanding all the Cunning of its Advocates and Abettors, and the various fair Colours they put upon it, 'tis still whatever it was, an Odious Monster in the sight of God and Good Men; a complicated Evil, that carries in its Bowels, the Seeds of all Iniquity. I have given a Recommendation of the Book already in an Epistle prefix'd to it; and I adventure once more to Recommend it, as a Means, through the Blessing of God, to Cure the Malady of past and present Avarice; and to Antidote it for the Future. It was a Notable Observation, which One made concerning Covetous Persons. (d) 'We read not  
'saith he, of any Good Man, in all the Hi-

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(d) *Samuel Fairclough*, in *Clark's Lives of sundry Eminent Persons*,

‘ *Story of Scripture, or of the Primitive Times,*  
 ‘ that was Covetous : And it is a Shame,  
 ‘ that any that do now pretend to Christian  
 ‘ Religion, should Degenerate.

But to return from this, if it may be call’d  
 a Digression. As to our *Friends* Clearness  
 in this Matter, we have beside his own Te-  
 stimony against Covetousness in that Book,  
 the Testimonies of several Credible Persons,  
 that had knowledge of him for several  
 Years, who unanimously agree, ‘ That his  
 ‘ Treasure was in Heaven; and for the  
 ‘ Treasures of this World, he put no value  
 ‘ upon them any further, than to be his Ser-  
 ‘ vants for necessary Uses, and to do Cha-  
 ‘ ritable Acts therewith towards others.

‘ That his Charity was large, and many  
 ‘ ways; being ready to assist such as were in  
 ‘ Trouble, or under Affliction of any sort,  
 ‘ where either his Advice or Purse was  
 ‘ wanting. For he spared neither Purse  
 ‘ nor Pains, when he was called to serve  
 ‘ others who needed them. That he Pra-  
 ‘ cticed the Pure Religion, and Undeiled  
 ‘ before God, and the Father, *that is,* he  
 ‘ frequently visited the Fatherless and Wi-  
 ‘ dows in their Affliction, and kept him-  
 ‘ self Unspotted from the World. That  
 ‘ he was in particular a great Support to  
 ‘ the Poor of the Neighbourhood where he  
 ‘ Liv’d

‘ Liv’d in the Country, oft Distributing by  
 ‘ other Hands, Largely of his Charity to  
 ‘ them. Nor did the Strangers in Distress, go  
 ‘ empty Handed away from his Gates.

And as he was Exemplary in shewing  
 Mercy to the Poor, and in Helping and  
 Supporting the Weak and Afflicted ; so  
 was he no less Remarkable, in doing Justice  
 towards all Men. ’Tis one of the first  
 Lessons that Truth teaches her Disciples, to  
*do Justly. I, saith Wisdom, lead in the way*  
*of Righteousness, in the midst of the Paths of*  
*Judgment, Prov. 8. 20.* And plainly, Justice  
 is a Virtue of so large Extent, that a *Hea-*  
*then Man* said, (e) *It is the Complex of all*  
*other Virtues ; and that every Good Man is a*  
*Just Man.* He that makes a Shew of Re-  
 ligious, without doing Justly to his Neigh-  
 bour, is a Hypocrite ; and does but Mock  
 God, whilst he pretends to Honour him.  
 To be truly Religious, is to be truly Just.  
 This is positively asserted by the Apostle, in  
 his Caution against those Deceivers, who  
 spread this Poysonous Doctrine among the  
 People, that Men might Live as they list,ed,  
 provided they believ’d aright. *Little Chil-*  
*dren, saith he, let no Man deceive you ; he*  
*that doth Righteousness is Righteous : — He*

(e) *Theognis*, ver. 147, 148.

that committeth Sin is of the Devil, 1 John 3. 7, 8. He that doth Righteousness: The intendment of which Expression, is not to be limited to One, or a few Good or Righteous Actions; for a Wicked Man may go so far; but *doing Righteousness*, imports as much as *doing Justly*; and denotes a constant Course of Well-doing, derived from a Divine Principle of Righteousness planted in the Soul; which the Apostle expresseth by the Word *Seed*; from which Springs the Immortal Birth, called, a *being Born of God*, ver. 9. For every one that doth Righteousness, is Born of him, 1 John 2. 29. Or, as he elsewhere declareth, *he that doeth Good, is of God*, 3 John ver. 11.

Now as *doing Righteousness*, or *doing Good*, according to the Apostle, is a certain Proof of *being Born of God*; so is it vain for any Man to conceit he is so Born, in whom the Fruits of Righteousness are not Conspicuous. But where we see those Fruits apparent, there we have good Grounds to infer, the Person is *Born of God*. And whosoever acts from this Principle, acts as a New Creature; and feels a necessity upon him to keep his Word, perform his Lawful Contracts, pay his Just Debts, and do to all Men, as he would have others do to him.

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That this was the Rule our *Friend* walked by, I have heard him often declare; and have also seen several Testimonies from those, that knew his Dealing for many Years, in Confirmation of the Truth of it.

What he was in his *Family*, whether consider'd as a *Husband*, *Father* or *Master*; his *Children* and *Servants*, who were immediately under his Care, give an ample Testimony of him, and spake him to have been a *Singular Pattern of Piety and Virtue*, in the Discharge of all those Relations, and worthy to be Recommended to Imitation. And because a *Good Example* is an excellent Thing in every Station, wherein our Lot is cast by Divine Providence, I shall speak a little to that Subject. A *Good Example* hath a great Influence upon those amongst whom we are; and of more Efficacy many times than Precept. For this only layeth down Rules, and giveth Directions about the way of Virtue; but the other goeth before, and sheweth it, saying as it were, this is the Way, walk in it. Therefore the Apostle propounds his own Example to the *Corinthians*, *Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ*, 1 Cor. 11. 1. And to the *Philippians*, *Be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so, as ye have us* for

for an *Ensample*, Philip. 3. 17. For tho' he was an Eminent Apostle, and Minister of Christ; yet he thought it not enough to deliver Sound Doctrine, unless he also Lived the Truths he Taught, exemplifying in his own Practice, the Duties he recommended unto others. Of the same Import are those words of Christ, *Follow me*, so often mentioned by the *Evangelists*; and *Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in Heart, and ye shall find Rest unto your Souls*, Mat. 11. 29. *Leaving us an Example, that we should follow his Steps; who did no Sin, neither was Guile found in his Lips*, 1 Pet. 2. 21, 22. Again, when he had Washed his Disciples Feet, and instructed them in the Mystery of it, he added, *I have given you an Example, that ye should do, as I have done to you*, John 13. 15. That ye should, in imitation of me, exercise Humility, Condescension, and Brotherly Love to one another. *He that saith he abideth in him, ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked*, 1 John 2. 6. His Example ought to be a Rule to us in our Walking; for he was not a *Legislator* only, but a *Pattern*; he not only delivered most Excellent Precepts, but most exactly also practised them; and thereby shewed us the Possibility and Practicableness of that Holy Religion, which he Taught us.

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When he said to his Disciples, *Ye are the Salt of the Earth, Mat. 5. 13. And the Light of the World; a City that is set on a Hill cannot be hid, ver. 14.* It is as much, as though he should have said, ye are to Season the Earth, and Enlighten the World, both with your Doctrine and Example. Therefore, *Let your Light so shine before Men, that they may see your good Works, and glorifie your Father which is in Heaven, ver. 16. A City that is set on a Hill cannot be hid:* Your Examples will be as Visible as your Persons: Men's Eyes will be upon you, and observe you; and if your Lives and Doctrines agree, you will be as Salt to preserve the World from Putrefaction, and as Lights to scatter the Gross Darkness, that hath covered the People.

The plainest Proof that we can give to Men of our Sincerity in Religion, is a Demonstration by the good Effects it produces. A good Life is more convincing than any Verbal Declaration; because Men come to see *then* with their Eyes, what they heard with their Ears; see those Virtuous Actions Performed, which they heard Recommended. And certainly, tho' Religion is a very beautiful Thing, even in its Description or Portraicture; yet 'tis set forth or express'd most to the Life, in the Person that



is truly Religious, and shews his Faith by his Works.

O the Excellency of that Faith which keeps the Commandments of God! 'Twas this that rendred the *Holy Patriarchs, Prophets* and *Apostles* so Famous, not only in their Day, but throughout all after-Generations. Nay, what if I should say, Well-doing is the Life and Soul of Religion, I have the Apostle *James*, to justify the Expression, who saith, *As the Body without the Spirit is dead, so Faith without Works is dead also*, Jam. 2. 26. The Improvement that we ought to make of this *Discourse*, is to apply it impartially to our selves, and see that we be *Holy Livers*, as well as *Sound and Orthodox Believers*; that we not only had the Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, but adorn it also by a Godly Conversation.

(f) ' Let us consider, saith One, whether or no this Religion doth govern our Lives; which we must learn, not by our Acquaintance with *Systems* and *Models* of Divinity, but by our keeping its Commandments: For unless *Christ* be inwardly found in our Hearts, the *Notions* of Religion can save

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(f) *Hartcliffe's* Preface to his Treatise of Moral and Intellectual Virtues. P. 28, 29.

## The Preface.

' us no more, than *Arts and Sciences*, whilst  
 ' they lye only in *Books and Papers* without  
 ' us, can make us Learned: For Christ Je-  
 ' sus did not undergo a *Reproachful Life*  
 ' and *Death*, merely to bring in a *Notion*  
 ' into the World, without the *Changing,*  
 ' *Mending and Reforming* it; so that Men  
 ' might be as *Wicked* as they were before,  
 ' and as much under the *Power* of the  
 ' *Prince of Darkness*. Indeed, Christ came  
 ' to *Expiate and Aton*e for our *Sins*; but  
 ' the *End* of this was, that we might *for-*  
 ' *sake all Ungodliness and Worldly Lusts*.

' 'Tis true, there be some that dishearten  
 ' us in this *Spiritual Warfare*, and bring  
 ' an *Ill Report upon that Land*, which we  
 ' are to *Conquer*, telling of nothing but  
 ' *Strange Gyants, the Sons of Anak*, that we  
 ' shall never be able to *Subdue*; others  
 ' would suggest, that it is enough for us,  
 ' if we be but *Once in a State of Grace*, we  
 ' need not take so great *Pains to Travel* any  
 ' further; or, that *Christ* hath done *all* for  
 ' us already *without us*, and nothing need  
 ' more to be done *within us*. Harken not  
 ' to them (I beseech you) but hear what  
 ' *Caleb and Joshua* say; *Let us go up at once*  
 ' *and possess it; for we are able to overcome*  
 ' *them*, the hugest *Armies of Lusts*, not by

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‘ our own Strength, but by the Power of the  
‘ Lord of Hosts : Hear also the wholesom  
‘ Words of St. Peter ; Give all diligence to  
‘ add to your Faith, Virtue ; and to Virtue,  
‘ Knowledge ; to Knowledge, Temperance ; and  
‘ to Temperance, Patience ; to Patience, Godli-  
‘ ness ; and to Godliness, Brotherly Kindness ;  
‘ and to Brotherly Kindness, Charity : For if  
‘ these things be in you, and abound, they  
‘ make you, that ye shall neither be Barren,  
‘ nor Unfruitful in the Knowledge of our  
‘ Lord Jesus Christ. For Holiness hath  
‘ Something of God in it, and therefore it  
‘ must needs be a Victorious and Triumphant  
‘ Thing.

And as our *Friend* had been a Good Ex-  
ample in his Family, both to Children and  
Servants, so his Care was for the Welfare of  
them all : And particularly, he wrote a  
*Paper of Christian Advice to his Children,*  
the Year before his Death, which might re-  
main as a Testimony of his Dear Love to,  
and Affectionate Concern for them, and is  
as followeth.

WILLIAM  
The  
but  
The

The 7th of the 2d Month, 1709.

**Y**OU my Children all, I charge you Love God above all; Love one another, Live in Peace one with another; avoid all Appearances of Discord; remember you are Brethren; see that you fall not out by the way in your Travel and Pilgrimage; seek not a Rest here, but pass on to that City of Rest, which God hath prepared for his People: Be Exemplary in your Lives and Conversations; keep Truth, and it will keep you, and give you an Inheritance with the Saints in Light: Be watchful over one another for Good; and as much as in you is, endeavour to Live Peaceably with all Men. And the God of Peace Bless you, and Prosper you, and make you a Comfort to your selves, and one to another, which is the earnest Prayer and Cry of my Soul to God;

Your Loving Father,

WILLIAM CROUCH.

The things here given in Charge are few, but very Comprehensive; Short and Plain, but Weighty and Sententious; and

I pray God, that not only they to whom they were directed; but all others, whether Parents, or Children, that shall read them, may take so much Notice thereof, as to Transcribe them into their Practice.

He was Enrich'd with a large Stock of Experimental Knowledge, which he had been gathering and treasuring up for many Years. And though he lived not upon his former Experiences, but upon *Christ the Living Bread*, and *only Nourishment* of the Immortal Soul; yet those Experiences of the Loving Kindness of God, were comfortable to him to remember, and helpful to him in giving Advice and Counsel to others. So that his *Old Age*, being an Age of great Experience, Wisdom, Counsel, Judgment and Understanding in the things of God, I may apply those Words of the Son of *Sirach*, and say with him; *Oh, how comely a thing is Judgment for Gray Hairs, and for Ancient Men to know Counsel! Oh, how comely is the Wisdom of Old Men, and Understanding and Counsel to Men of Honour! much Experience is the Crown of Old Men; and the fear of God is their Glory*, Ecclus. 25. 4, 5, 6. For the *Hoary Head is a Crown of Glory, if it be found in the way of Righteousness*, Prov. 16. 31.

There is an Honour due to the very Age  
of

of Old Men ; Thou shalt rise up before the Hoary Head, and Honour the Face of the Old Man, and fear thy God ; I am the Lord, Lev. 19. 32. i. e. saith a late Annotator : (g) 'Shew all manner of Respect to them ; for God requires this Reverence, and has bestow'd this Old Age as a singular Blessing. The Glory of Young Men is their Strength : and the Beauty of Old Men is the Gray Head, Prov. 20. 29. 'Every Age, saith the same Author, has its peculiar Ornament and Advantage, for which it ought to be respected. Where 'tis said, *The Sinner being an Hundred Years Old, shall be accursed*, Isa. 65. 20. We must distinguish between the Sinner and the Old Age ; the Curse being threatned to the former, not to the latter ; for 'tis the Person that is Culpable, not the Age. But tho' there is an Honour due to the Age of Old Men ; yet when they are not only laden with Years, but enrich'd with Religion and Virtue, which is, to be found in the way of Righteousness, then their Honour is much the more and greater ; then it is, as the Wise Man saith, *a Crown of Glory* : And to allude to the Apostles Expression, 1 Tim. 5. 17. They are *Elders*, that are worthy of

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(g) Clark's Annotations upon the Place.

*double Honour. For them that honour me, saith the Lord, I will Honour, 1 Sam. 2. 30. And if God will Honour them, who is he that shall presume to Reproach them? For the Righteous live for evermore, their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them is with the most High, Wisd. 5. 15.*

'Tis a great Fault, and yet grown too common, *namely*, to be ripping up the former Weaknesses and Failings of Men, which through the Grace of God they have repented of, and forsaken; but this Practice, as it is contrary to the Method of Divine Mercy and Goodness: for when God is graciously pleased to pardon Sin for the sake of Christ upon true Repentance, he is said to *Blot it out, and to Remember it no more, Isa. 43. 25. and 44. 22. Jer. 31. 34. Heb. 8. 12.* So is it repugnant to all the Rules of Justice and Charity among Men. Thou would'st think it hard and unkind, to be so upbraided by another: See then that thou beest not guilty of the same Fault.

Again, there is another Error that should be cautioned against, and that is, when some Men are not so good as they should be, to catch at any *Story*, tho' never so groundless, that reflects upon those who are better than themselves; and thereby endeavour,

as Arch-Bishop Tillotson observes, (b) ‘ to  
 ‘ bring Men to a Level, hoping it will be  
 ‘ some Justification of them, if they can  
 ‘ but render others as bad as themselves.

P. 15. Add to this another Passage of his, ‘ Men  
 ‘ look with an Evil Eye, saith he, upon  
 ‘ the Good that is in others, and think that  
 ‘ their Reputation obscures them, and that  
 ‘ their Commendable Qualities do stand in  
 ‘ their Light; and therefore they do what  
 ‘ they can to cast a Cloud over them, that  
 ‘ the *Bright Shining* of their Virtues may not  
 ‘ scorch them.

And because Evil Speaking is become almost an Epidemical Fault, take these *Rules* and *Directions* which he hath laid down for the Prevention and Cure of it.

P. 24. 1. ‘ Never say any Evil of any Man, but  
 ‘ what you certainly know.—He that  
 ‘ easily credits an Ill Report, is almost as  
 ‘ faulty as the First Invenor of it: For  
 ‘ tho’ you do not make, yet you commonly  
 ‘ propagate a Lye. Therefore never  
 ‘ speak Evil of any upon *Common Fame*,  
 ‘ which for the most part is false; but almost  
 ‘ always uncertain, whether it be true  
 ‘ or not.

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(b) Sermon against *Evil Speaking*, p. 14. Edit. 4to, 1694.



2. ' Before you speak Evil of any Man, P. 25.  
' consider whether he hath not obliged you  
' by some real Kindness; and then 'tis a bad  
' Return to speak Ill of him, who hath  
' done us Good.

3. ' Let us accustom our selves to pity P. 26.  
' the Faults of Men, and to be truly sorry  
' for them, and then we shall take no plea-  
' sure in publishing them. And this com-  
' mon Humanity requires of us, consider-  
' ing the great Infirmities of Humane Na-  
' ture, and that we our selves also are liable  
' to be tempted.

4. ' Whenever we hear any Man evilly *Ibid.*  
' spoken of, if we know any good of him,  
' let us say that. It is always the more  
' Humane and the more Honourable Part,  
' to stand up in the Defence and Vindica-  
' tion of others, than to accuse and bespat-  
' ter them.

— ' They that will observe nothing P. 27.  
' in a Wise Man, but his Oversight and  
' Follies; nothing in a Good Man, but his  
' Failings and Infirmities; may make a  
' shift to render a very wise and good  
' Man very despicable. If one should heap  
' together all the Passionate Speeches, all  
' the Froward and Imprudent Actions of  
' the best Man; all that he had said or  
' done

done amiss in his whole Life, and present it all at one View, concealing his Wisdom and Virtue; the Man in this Disguise would look like a *Madman* or a *Fury*: And yet if his Life were fairly reported, and just in the same Manner it was led, and his many and great Virtues set overagainst his Failings and Infirmities, he would appear to all the World to be an Admirable and Excellent Person.

P. 27. 5. ' That you may not speak ill of any, do not delight to hear ill of them. Give no Countenance to *Busy Bodies*, and those that love to talk of other Mens Faults.

P. 28. 6. ' Let every Man mind himself, and his own Duty and Concernment. Do but endeavour in good earnest to Mend thy self, and it will be Work enough for one Man, and leave thee but little Time to talk of others.

*Ibid.* 7. ' And lastly, Let us set a Watch before the Door of our Lips, and not speak but upon Consideration: I do not mean to speak *finely*, but *fitly*; especially when thou speakest of others, consider of *whom*, and *what* thou art going to speak: Use great Caution and Circumspection in this Matter; look well about thee—— before thy Words slip from thee; which when

when they are once out of thy Lips, are for ever out of thy Power.

The Reducing these *Rules* to Practice, would be an especial means to purge out that Leaven which sowers Conversation; and renders it so dangerous and unsociable.

I should have had no occasion to mention them here, but because the Tongues of some Men run into that unbridled Liberty, as to spare neither the Living, nor the Dead.

Our *Friend* shewed us a better Example; he knew a Bridle to his Tongue, set a Watch before the Door of his Lips, remembering, that *If any Man offend not in Word, the same is a perfect Man, Jam. 3. 2. But if any Man seem to be Religious, and bridleth not his Tongue, he deceiveth his own Heart, and his Religion is vain, see Jam. 1. 26.*

In his *Illness*, which sometimes was severe upon him, being sorely afflicted with *Fits of the Stone*, about the space of two Years before it pleased the Lord to remove him hence, he bore it with much Patience, meekly submitting himself to the Will of God. He was still, and opened not his Mouth in Murmuring or Complaining, because he knew it was the Lord's doing. About *Nine Months* before his own Departure, and at a time when his Distemper was sharp

sharp upon him, a great Tryal beset him. His *Second* Wife, whose Name was *Ruth*, a Woman of Singular Piety and Virtue, with whom he had lived for *Fifty Years* and upwards, in the Fear of God and true Affection, was by Death removed from him. The parting with so *Near* and *Dear* a Relation, of whom he left this Testimony, That *she would deny her self to a very great Degree to serve him, beyond what he could ask or expect from her*; could not but make a deep Impression upon him: But such was his Resignation to the Will of his Heavenly Father, that he possess'd his Soul in Patience, acknowledging with Holy *Job*, that *the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: Blessed be the Name of the Lord, Job. i. 21.*

Now drew on the Time of his own *Dissolution*, which the Lord had graciously prepared him for, and which he patiently waited the Accomplishment of. He often admired the Goodness of God to him, in enclining his Mind to seek after Good from his Youth, and in preserving of him through the whole Course of his Life to Old Age; he also often *Retired in Prayer*, and waited upon the Lord for support under his daily Exercise: He had attained, through Divine Grace, to that Inward Peace and

Satis-

Satisfaction of Mind, that he declared, *He had now Nothing to Do but to Die.* When he saw his Children concerned for him, he often exhorted them, *Not to desire his Life, for he was through Age and Weakness incapable of being Serviceable according to his Desire; and that he had done his Days Work in his Day.* The Day before he Died, a Friend, who had made him several Visits in his Illness, went to see him; whom he found very Weak, and sitting sometime with him waiting upon the Lord, he was moved to Supplicate the Lord on his behalf, who was pleased to Answer the Cry of his Servant, and they were greatly comforted together, in a Sense of the Lord's Presence and Goodness. After Prayer, he express'd his great Satisfaction in that Heavenly Visit, and said as before, *He had now Nothing to Do but to Die, and Waited for the Time,* when it should please God to call him out of this Miserable World, and take him to his Eternal Rest. The Night following he took his Solemn Leave of his Children that were then present, telling them, *He now thought he had but a little Time, and the Time which he so greatly Desired and Waited for was near at Hand;* which was matter of Joy to his Soul, desiring the Lord to make his Change Easie, that

*The Preface.*

that so his *Patience might hold out to the End.*  
And the Lord granted him his Request.

Thus Died *He* in a Good Old Age, an Old Man and full of Years, Rich in Faith, Fruitful in Good Works, and Replenished with Hopes of Enjoying a Blessed Eternity.

William { *Crouch* } departed { 13th 11 M. Ag. 82 Y. }  
Ruth { } this Life { 20th 2d M. Ag. 72 Y. } 1710

*Thou shalt come to thy Grave in a fall Age, like  
as a Shock of Corn cometh in, in his Season,*  
Job. 5. 26.

*Mark the Perfect Man, and behold the Up-  
right, for the End of that Man is Peace,*  
Psal. 37. 37.

RICHARD CLARIDGE.

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T H E

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THE  
AUTHOR  
TO THE  
READER.

Friendly Reader,

**I** Having in the time of my Pilgrimage in this World, had some Knowledge, and some inward Observation of the Two Mystical Kingdoms of Light and Darkness: In which all the Sons and Daughters of Men upon the Face of the whole Earth are comprehended, and will be Eternally Concluded as Subjects of one or the other. I am drawn forth in the Love of God, according to my Measure, to give some hints, by way of Description of them both; having for some time had my Conversation amongst the Subjects of the Kingdom of Light, Peace and Consolation; as in times past I had amongst those in the Kingdom of Darkness, where Sin and Iniquity bears Rule.

*In these Kingdoms are two Capital Cities, the one Jerusalem, a City that is compact together, Psal. 122. 3. They shall call it the Throne of the Lord, Jer. 3. 17. A City of our Solemnities, and a quiet Habitation, Isai. 33. 20. The other is of Babylon, or Confusion, the City of Desolation and Astonishment, Jer. 50. 13, 15.*

*These Kingdoms are in continual Opposition one to the other, even as Light and Darknes. In the one there shall be no Night, they need no Candle; for the Lord God giveth them Light, Revel. 22. 5. The other is the Seat of the Beast, and his Kingdom is full of Darknes, Revel. 16. 10.*

*Of the Original of these Kingdoms and Cities there are Records in Sacred History, a History of undoubted Verity. The City Jerusalem hath Foundations whose Builder and Maker is God, which Abraham looked for, Heb. 11. 10. And unto this City the Faithful in all Ages have their Eye, and they desire to be made Citizens of this City.*

*The other City of Babylon, or Confusion in the Type, was begun and carried on by Nimrod, the Rebel and Tyrant of the Race of Cursed Ham, Gen. 10. 6, 8. 1 Chron. 1. 10.*

*Between these two Kingdoms, there is always War, and continual Enmity in one against the other, which Proceedeth from the Contrariety of the*

*the Natures of the Seeds which govern their Inclinations, Gen. 3. 15. Rom. 8. 7. Jam. 4. 4. And as they are under distinct Kings, so their Government is distinct.*

*The one is governed by Just and Righteous Laws, Ordained and Established by the Great Law-giver; even G O D Almighty: The other by Corrupt Will and Power, which Naturally tends to Oppression and Cruelty.*

*The General, and Universal Law of one Kingdom and City of Light and Peace, is Love, and the Fruits and Effects thereof are manifold.*

*The Laws of the other Kingdom of Dark-ness, are altogether Arbitrary, and the Effects are answerable thereunto.*

*The Subjects and Inhabitants of Jerusalem, delight in Acts of Justice, Mercy, Charity, and they do good to all; they love Enemies, and pray for them that misuse them, or despitefully treat them: They render not Evil for Evil, but overcome Evil with Good, according to the Command of Christ Jesus their King and Governour, Matth. 5. 44. Luk. 6. 35. Rom. 12. 21.*

*The Subjects and Inhabitants of the other Kingdom and City Babylon, act quite contrary, they render Evil for Good, Hatred for Love, Envy, Malice and Bitterness, for Good-will and Kindness.*

What I here presented thee with, respecting these Kingdoms and Cities, is not what I have only heard by the hearing of the Ear, nor is it a Draught from the Copy of any who have pretended to describe them; perhaps from the Copy of another, and so by Tradition: But what in Measure I know from Experience, having, with some Application, sought to know, and be acquainted with the Nature, Laws, Discipline, and Government of the City New Jerusalem; as I was in some Degree unwarily Subjected to the Laws and Customs of the Opposite City of Darkness and Confusion.

In the City of Jerusalem, here is one only Judge and Law-giver, His Laws most just and equal; they are not couched in Ambiguous Terms and Sentences, but Plain and Legible to every Understanding, being written in the Fleshly Table of the Heart, so that the Way-faring Man, though a Fool, shall not Err, Isai. 35. 8.

An Interpreter is also always near at hand, Job. 33. 23. none need to spend their Money for Counsel, nor Fee Advocates: The Lord of the Country hath given and appointed a Free Advocate, 1 Joh. 2. 1. who pleads our Cause, and maketh Intercession freely, Rom. 8. 27. and 34. Heb. 7. 25.

And as there is but one Principal Judge, so in all Causes there is but one Chief Witness to give

give Evidence; which Witness is always present, and beholds all Actions; yea, the very Thoughts, 1 Sam. 2. 3. Rom. 2. 15. So that there can be no Hiding, or Covering, nor pretending for an Appeal to any other Judgment-Seat, Behold the Judge standeth before the Door, Jam. 5. 9. There can be no going in nor out; no escaping or avoiding this Judge; no Bribe, or Gift can blind the Eye of this Judge; but before him all things are Naked, and opened unto the Eyes of him, with whom we have to do, Heb. 4. 13. No covering or hiding from him; it is in Confessing and Forsaking our Sins, that we obtain Forgiveness and Cleansing, 1 Joh. 1. 9. Here is Opportunity for Christ the Advocate to appear, and to interceed with the Judge, the Father, who heareth and accepteth the Son, John 11. 41, 42. And him that cometh to me, saith Christ, I will in no wise cast out, Joh. 6. 37. And this is the Will of him that sent me, That every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have Everlasting Life, Ver. 40.

And after this Manner, is the Order and Government of this Kingdom, Universally over all the Sons and Daughters of Men, upon the Face of the whole Earth.

I shall now take some notice of the Travel and Progress, made by the Subjects of this Kingdom, towards the City of Rest and

Peace; and of the Treatment, Interruptions, and Discouragements, which they have met with from the Inhabitants and Subjects of the other Kingdom of Darknes and Confusion: Which for thy Observation and Information, I refer thee to those few Remarks I have gathered, for the most Part, from my own Knowledge and Experience, and are as follows.

The Discouragements we met withal in our Progress and Travels, were not only from open Enemies; but from some who pretended to be setting forward, and Travelling to the same Country and City, as the Spies did in the Days of Old, when the Israelites were Travelling under the Conduct of Moses their Leader, who sent out Spies to discover the Country, Num. 13. 16, 17. Now of Twelve that were sent, only Two brought a good Report, Two honest Men, Caleb and Joshua, Men of another Spirit than the rest: These Encouraged the People, whereas the greatest Number discouraged them, by telling them the Inhabitants of the Country were Gyants, the Sons of Anak, and we were in our own Sight as Grasshoppers, and so we were in their Sight, Vers. 33. We be not able to go up against the People, for they are Stronger than we, Vers. 31. The Cities are Walled and very great, Vers. 28. And thus being betrayed and overcome with Unbelief, a Fear entred them: And these  
Evil

*Evil Spies discouraged the People, and caused them to murmur against the Lord, and against Moses their Leader, Chap. 14. 2. 3. But Caleb and Joshua not being over-awed with Slavish Fear of the Sons of Anak, they stilled the People, Chap. 13. 30. and encouraged them, saying, Let us go up at once and possess it, for we are well able to overcome it: Only Rebel not ye against the Lord, neither fear ye the People of the Land: For they are Bread for us, their Defence is departed from them, and the Lord is with us; fear them not, Chap. 14. 9. But those Ten Unbelievers, altho' they were made to confess, that the Land Flowed with Milk and Honey, Chap. 13. 27. Yet having begot Unbelief in the People, they were all set against Caleb and Joshua, and bid stone them with Stones, Chap. 14. 10.*

*Now to bring this Relation as a Comparison home to our Times, and our own Native Country, the Nation of England: Will it not run Parallel with the Practice in our Remembrance, of the Unfaithfulness of some, who pretended to some Interest in Spiritual Canaan, the Land of Rest and Peace, promised to Spiritual Israel, (under the Conduct of our Spiritual Moses, Christ Jesus) who have brought an ill Report upon that Good Land, through their Unbelief, and their being over-awed by slavish Fear?*

But the matter will differ here, Those Spies which brought an Evil Report upon the Good Land of Canaan outward, were yet sent by Moses; as were Caleb and Joshua: But these in our Days that have brought an Evil Report, and endeavoured to discourage Spiritual Israel in their Travel, have taken upon them to go, but were never sent; and altho' they undertake to tell, The Land is good, and that it floweth with Milk and Honey, as the unbelieving Spies of Old did: Yet there is just Cause to suspect they cannot give a Description from any true Knowledge of the Country, having, it may be thought, never Travelled one Day's Journey in it, nor gathered one Cluster of Grapes from the True and Living Vine, Christ Jesus.

But as in the Days of Old, the Unbelieving Spies Discouraged the People, by representing to them, That the Inhabitants of the Land were Gyants, the Sons of Anak, Men great of Stature, we are in our own Sight but as Grasshoppers, &c. So these Pretending Spies in our Days being over-awed with slavish Fear, they tell of the Sons of Anak: This and the other tall Sin of Lust and Evil Concupiscence, Inhabitants of the Land, who dwell in the Heart and Body of the Country, and are Great of Stature: It is true the Land is good, say they, and floweth with Milk and Honey; but the Inhabitants of Sin and Iniquity that  
dwell



*dwell in it, are stronger than we, and the Cities are Great and Walled with Custom and long Continuance; and moreover, we see the Sons of Anak there, those mighty Gyants of Pride, Ambition, Vain Glory, Love to the World, Honour, Riches, Preferment, Self-Love, Self-Preservation, and Self-Interest; Favour and Friendship of Great Men, &c. We cannot engage with these Sons of Anak; alas! we are in our own Sight but as Grasshoppers.*

*These have been, and are the False Treacherous Spies, who have withstood the Valiant and True Hearted in the Spirit of Caleb and Joshua in our Days, and who being over-awed by Unbelief and slavish Fear in their own Hearts, they by this their Evil Report, have, and do Discourage the People, and cause them to Murmur and Rebel against our Spiritual Moses, Christ Jesus, who appears in the Hearts of the Sons of Men in these Days, to lead them out of Spiritual Ægypt, the Land of Bondage in Sin and Iniquity, into Spiritual Canaan, the Land of Freedom, Rest and Peace.*

*And when at any time the Courageous Spirit which dwelt in Caleb and Joshua, hath arisen in any in our Days, to encourage the People to Engage and Overcome their Enemies, saying, The Land is an exceeding Good Land, and*

*if*

if the Lord delight in us, then he will bring us into this Land, and give it us: Only Rebel not ye against the Lord, neither fear ye the People of the Land; Their Defence is departed from them, and the Lord is with us, fear them not, *Numb. 14. 7, 8, 9.* *Hath not this been the Language of the Honest in the Spirit of Caleb and Joshua in our Days? But as then they bade Stone them with Stones, So in like manner have these, like Caleb and Joshua, been treated in our time.*

And the Glory of the Lord appeared in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before all the Children of Israel, and the Lord said unto Moses, How long will this People provoke me? I will smite them with the Pestilence, and disinherit them, *Ver. 10. 11, 12.* *Who can but say these things have been brought to pass in our Days? But Meek Moses besought the Lord, and pleaded with him, saying, The Lord is Long Suffering, and of great Mercy, forgiving Iniquity and Transgression, Pardon I beseech thee the Iniquity of this People, Ver. 18, 19.* *And in like manner our Spiritual Moses, Christ Jesus, hath moved in the Hearts of his Suffering Servants and Children to Pray for the Forgiveness of their Enemies: But the Lord said, Those Men which have seen my Glory, and my Miracles, &c. And have tempted*

me, and have not hearken'd to my Voice, surely they shall not see the Land, Neither shall any of them that provoked me, see it, *Numb. 14. 22, 23. Vers. 24.* But my Servant Caleb, who had another Spirit, and Joshua the Son of Nun, *Ver. 30.*

*I would to God that the Example and Punishment which followed upon the Israelites of Old, as the Consequence of their Murmuring and Rebelling against God, may be weightily considered by all in this and succeeding Generations, lest that they be cut off as those Israelites were, and never suffered to enter the Good Land of Promise, of Peace and Rest, under the Conduct of our Spiritual Moses, Christ Jesus, the Light of the World, given for Salvation to the very Ends of the Earth.*

*And I pray God, the consideration of the Rewards which attended Faithful Caleb and Joshua, and the particular Regard God had unto them, and how he signalized his Favour in sparing them, when the Carcasses of so great a Multitude fell in the Wilderness, and none suffered to enter the Land of Promise, save Caleb and Joshua, of those that were Numbered, from Twenty Years Old and upward; may be as a Motive to Encourage the Faithful to Perseverance in their Faithfulness to the End.*

*And*

And now Reflecting upon the various Exercises, Tribulations, and Afflictions which have attended us in our Travel; and remembering also, the manifold Deliverances, which God hath mercifully wrought for us; I have made some short Collections of both; and also taken notice, how from a Small Beginning, G O D hath Enlarged his Sanctuary, and Carried on his own Work (through great Opposition) by his own secret Arm of Power, to his own Praise for ever. The Remembrance of which, being at this time fresh upon my Mind, I cannot but recommend the same to the serious Consideration of the Reader: And with an earnest Breathing to God, that he will be pleased, through his own Divine Grace and Spirit, to encline many more to seek him, as he hath done my Soul; Blessed be his Name and Power for ever, and to love his Appearance above all External Objects, of what Nature or Kind soever, and that in Simplicity of Heart, they may give and ascribe all Glory, Honour, and Praise to Him over all, as my Soul doth,

W. CROUCH.

A BRIEF

*Historical Account, &c.*

## SECTION I.

*Of my Birth, Parentage, and  
Convincement of Truth.*

**I** Was Born, according to my best Calculation, on the fifth Day of the Second Month, called *April*, 1628. In a small Village called *Penton*, by *Weyhill*, near *Andover* in *Hampshire*: My Father was a Substantial Yeoman, of Good Repute in the Country, and well beloved of his Neighbours: My Mother was a Religious Woman, and had Conversation amongst the People in that Day called *Puritans*; she was very watchful over her Children, to preserve us from Committing any Evil, either in Word or Action, and would often get us together, and be with us on our Knees in Prayer to God, sometimes in the Day time, and some-

w
 Sometimes in the Night Season, as she had Opportunity : My Father was taken from us in the Prime of his Years, leaving his Children Young. And by reason of the Wars which happened in *England*, with the Unsettledness of our Family by frequent Removings, I was deprived of a great Part of what fell to my Share, by the Will of my Father; and by sundry Interruptions was prevented of that Education in *Grammar Learning*, which otherwise I might have enjoyed.

In the Year, 1646. I came to *London*, and bound my self Apprentice in *Cornhill*, near the *Old Exchange*; and my time being out, I seated my self, after some time, in *Spread-Eagle-Court* in *Finch-Lane*, near *Cornhill* aforesaid.

And now to speak something particularly, with respect to my own State and Condition from my Childhood: God was pleased in his abundant Grace and Favour, to place his Witness near, even in my Heart and Conscience; so that when I was a Child, I was preserved from many Evils incident to Youth, and an Awe continued with me as I grew up; and God did often visit me in Mercy, and preserved and delivered me from many Great Temptations and Evils; for which my Soul gives Thanks and Praise unto his Excellent Name, in the continued Remembrance thereof.

And as I did encrease in Years, the Lord's Care was over me, so that I did not accompany my self with the Rude and Extravagant Youth of the Times; but rather took Pleasure in a sober

sober Sort of Company, and such as were Religiously inclin'd, and my Desire and Endeavours lead me to hear such *Publick Preachers* as were most Esteemed and Followed by the most Religious, as I apprehended: And I did often Write the Sermons, and was sometimes greatly affected, and would return Home in the time of my Apprentiship and retire my self, and offer up my Prayers to God: But, alas! I did not know and consider that the Lord was so near unto me, and that these his Visitations were as a Hand held forth, or as the Star, which the Wise Men followed, until they came where the Child *Jesus* (given for the Saviour) was, whom they fell down before and worshipped: But I being Ignorant, and not bowing to, and worshipping God in that Appearance, or Manifestation so near unto me, as I ought to have done, I knew little Growth or Encrease of Grace in my Heart, or Power over my Affections and Lusts: And now in this time of my Ignorance of God being so near, I was sometimes overcome with sinful Temptations, and vain Objects too often prevailed upon me, which afterwards proved to be a Burthen and Load upon my Soul: Yet God in his Great Mercy did not cast me off, Blessed be his Name for ever! He with much Long Suffering and Patience followed me with Conviction and Reproof.

And in the Year, 1656. I came to be in some Measure Convinced of the *Everlasting Truth of God*, revealed and made known to a despised People called *Quakers*: As also my  
*Mother*

w
*Mother and Sisters* had been before Convinced in *Gloucestershire*, near to *Bristol*: For by a Good Hand of Providence, I was brought to some Meetings of the said People in *London*: Concerning whom I had heard various Reports; but when I heard for my self the Testimony of Truth declared, it was to my outward Ear as a very Lovely Song, *Ezek. 33. 32.* But I felt not the Power working in my Heart, until it pleased the Almighty to touch it therewith; who did thereby open my Heart, and set my Sins in *Order before me*: Then, Oh then! I saw my Woful State and Condition, although I was in a Profession and Form of Religion, as aforesaid; and that Salvation is *only* in and through Christ Jesus, the *Gift of God and Light of the World*, given of the Father for a *Saviour unto the Ends of the Earth*, *Acts 13. 47.* Now I found him a *God nigh at hand*, a *Discoverer of the Thoughts and Intents of the Heart*, *Heb. 4. 12.* A *Judge standing before the Door*, *Jam. 5. 9.* A *Reprover in secret*, before whom I was made to bow and bend; He in Mercy discovered my State and Condition, and through the Manifestation of his Light and Truth in my Heart and Conscience, shewed unto me the Way to escape the many Snares and Temptations, wherein I had been overtaken, and Captivated by. Now did Sin appear exceding sinful, and the Fire of God's Jealousie now kindled in my Soul, and inward Parts, in the Sense and Feeling of which, I travelled Day and Night, for Months and Years, and sometimes in the Bitterness of my Soul, cry'd



cry'd out, *Hath God forsaken me? Is there no Pardon or Mercy for me? Hath God forgotten to be Gracious? Hath he in Anger shut up his tender Mercies?* Psal. 77. 9.

In this my Journey or Travel, I was often assaulted by Enemies within and without, I was sometimes Exercised with Fastings, and with Watchings, my Sleep being sometimes taken from me; my Bread I eat with Trembling, and my Drink with Complainings: And now was my wandring Mind called Home, and Bounds set to that Nature which had Transgressed the Righteous Law of God: And when the Floods compassed me about, and the Depths closed me round, *Jonah 2. 3. 5.* Yet from thence did I cry, and the Lord heard me, and delivered me: And then I was made sometimes in the Sense and Feeling of the Mercies of the Lord and his Goodness, to say, *Righteous art thou, O God! and thy Judgments are true!* And further cry'd, *O Lord, search me thoroughly; try my Heart, and if Iniquity be found therein, let the Fire of thy Jealousie burn up, and consume every thing that is contrary to thy Holy Will: Let not thine Eye pity, nor thy Hand spare, but in and through Christ Jesus, the only Mediator and Saviour, give me Favour with thee, and Life Eternal, whatever it cost.* And then the Lord would sometimes visit me with his Thunders, and Earthquakes, and his Judgments burning like Fire in my Soul, I have been made to cry out in the Words of the Prophet, *Who among us shall dwell with the devouring Fire? who amongst us shall dwell with Everlasting Burnings?* Isai. 33. 14. The

Answer in my Soul was, *He that walketh Righteously, and speaketh Uprightly; He that despiseth the Gain of Oppression, &c. He that dwelleth on high, his place of Defence shall be the Munition of Rocks: Bread shall be given him; His Waters shall be sure, Ver. 15. 16.*

But the end of my Journey to the Land of Rest was not here, I found a Necessity to continue my Travel, and get forward, for I saw that a Distance is set betwixt Seed-time and Harvest: The considerate Husband-man doth not expect to Reap so soon as the Seed is sown; but he waits the Appointed Seasons, through many Storms and Tempests, until the Blade appears, and then the Ear, and after that the full Corn in the Ear, Mar. 4. 28. according to the Will of God: Even so the Seed of the Kingdom being sown in the Good Ground, Luk. 8. 8. the honest and good Heart, which having heard the Word, keep it, and bring forth Fruit with Patience, Ver. 15. He that believeth, shall not make haste, Isai. 28. 16. Now Patience is a Grace of a most Excellent Quality and Extent, it gives a Man Power, or by and through it he obtains Power to possess or enjoy his own Soul in Peace, Luk. 21. 19. And although it is wrought by or through Tribulation; yet it is followed or accompany'd with Experience, and that with Hope, which maketh not ashamed, because the Love of God is shed abroad in our Hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us, Rom. 5. 4, 5. Here is Encouragement to press forward, although we are assaulted with Temptations and Sufferings, on the Right Hand,

and

and on the Left: Having put our Hands to the Plow, let us not look back, our Happiness and Everlasting Enjoyments in the Kingdom of God, depend upon our Perseverance, *He that holds out to the End shall be saved*, Matth. 10. 22.

What though Persecution, and Affliction of divers sorts and kinds, with the Frowns of Men, their Contempt, Disdain and Reproach, and though Imprisonments, with many other Sufferings and Exercises may attend us; and all manner of Evil be spoken against us, for the sake of Christ and the Gospel, we ought not to despair, or grow faint because of these things, For the Crown of Life Everlasting will be the Reward of all who hold their Confidence unto the End, such are made Partakers of Christ's Power and Kingdom.

And now this I declare in Sincerity of Heart, the things I here write are not the Effects of what I have Read, of the Exercises and Experience of others, mentioned and recorded in Scripture; But from the Knowledge and Experience of the Power and Operation of the same Spirit of Truth in my own Soul, according to the Measure given me of God, that I may Encourage others, who may Read these Lines of mine, to know and believe, that the Lord's Arm is not shortned, that he cannot save, nor is his Ear heavy that he cannot hear in this our Day, even as in the Days of Old: but that he is the same, through all Generations: That He is One, his Name One, his Spirit, his Power, and his Work One: His de-

W sign is the same to all the Sons and Daughters of Men, Blessed be his Holy Arm of Power over all for ever.

As there were inwardly Fiery Tryals, so the Lord permitted outward Exercises to attend the outward Man, such as Imprisonments for not Swearing, Scoffs and Revilings of Men, Loss of Goods by Distresses, for a Good Conscience towards God, for with-holding, or not Paying to the Hireling Priesthood, and for Meeting with the People of God to worship him, &c. Of all which it is in my Mind to give some particular Instances of what was Inflicted upon me, for the Testimony of a good Conscience, and obeying the Truth: Through all which the Lord supported me, and bore up my Head, so that the Storms and Tempestuous Floods of Persecution prevail'd not over me: But God gave me Power, Strength and Courage, to undergo with Joy and Gladness whatever he was pleased to permit and suffer to come upon me; He preserved me from murmuring at his Providence, or to repine at the Losses which Evil-minded Men, through Envy and Rage brought upon me, for my Testimony to the Truth in that Day. And although one Suffering was added after another; yet God of his Infinite Mercy and Favour (to whom be Praises and Thanksgiving for ever) took from me all Care and Fear of what Man could do unto me: But instead thereof he begat a Cry in my Soul, O Lord! Preserve me near unto thy self, let me never forsake thee, nor turn my Back from thy Law; let me never bring dishonour upon thy

by Holy Name and Truth, nor suffer the same to be reproached through me, by my Back-  
sliding from thee, or through an Evil Conver-  
sation of any sort or kind whatever: The  
Lord hath Mercifully had regard to my Prayers,  
and hitherto hath kept me: Oh to him let my  
soul for ever give Praise, Honour and Glory.

After the Death of my First Wife, by whom  
I had two Children, a Son and a Daughter; I  
took to Wife, in the Year 1659. *Ruth Brown*, 1659.  
Daughter of *John Brown*, and *Ruth* his Wife  
of *Wood-street, London*: We first Publish'd our  
Intentions of Marriage at a Meeting of the  
People called *Quakers*, in *Tower-street, London*,  
(to wit) at the House of *Humphry Back*; and  
sometime after at a solemn Meeting of a few  
Friends for that purpose, at my House in *Finch-  
Lane*, aforesaid, we took each other as Husband  
and Wife, by whom I had two Sons and three  
Daughters.

S E C T. II.

*Is a Narrative of the Beginnings and Pro-  
gress of TRUTH, among us in this  
Nation, and about the City of LONDON:  
And whom God made Use of, as Instruments  
in those Early Days.*

**T**HE First whom it pleased God to raise up  
in this Latter Age, as a Chosen Instru-  
ment in his Hand, to bear Witness to the *Spiri-  
tual Appearance of Christ Jesus, the true Light;*

who lighteth every Man coming into the World was George Fox, who being like Ezekiel among the Captives of Israel, who saw the Visions of God, Ezek. ch. 1, 2, 3, 4. And lo a Whirlwind came out of the North, a great Cloud and a Fire infolding its self, and a Brightness was about it, God sent him to a Rebellious Nation, impudent and stiff-hearted, and like Briars and Thorns, or as Scorpions; yet God gave him Courage, and he was not daunted at their Words, nor dismay'd at their Looks; he was not Rebellious like them, but opened his Mouth, and Eat that which God gave him; and he did Eat the Roll, and his Bowels were filled therewith, and the Spirit lifted him up, and he went in Bitterness in the Heat of his Spirit, but the Hand of the Lord was strong upon him: And though God sent him not to a People of a strange Speech, yet they would not hearken unto him; but Evilly intreated him, as their Fathers did the Prophets of Old.

As to the Place of his Birth, and outward Abode, and his Conversation in the Days of his Youth, together with the Dealings of the Lord, in preparing him for the Work and Service of his Day; and also the Progress he made, (the Power and Spirit of God assisting him) in turning many Sons and Daughters from Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan, to the Living God: And farther, also of the hard Treatment and Usage he had, and met withal from the Hands of wicked Men, both Magistrates and Rulers, Priests and People: for the Account of all these, I refer the Reader to the Journal of his Life, &c.

Now,

Now as the Lord had bowed his Heart and Spirit into a Submissive Frame, ready to obey his Requirings; he was made willing to Travel *from one Place to another, and from one Country to another*, where the Spirit of the Lord directed him: He Preached Repentance and Salvation in and through *Christ Jesus* alone, the True *Light*, and the Lord prosper'd the Work he gave him to do, so that many were Convinced, and turned to *Christ Jesus the true Light*, made manifest in their own Hearts and Consciences, and were made *Ministers* thereof unto others: Which Testimony they Published and Declared in great Fear and Power, in *Cities, Towns and Counties of this Nation, in Markets, Streets, and Publick Places, in the Concourse of the People, and in Steeple-Houses, or Parish-Churches* so called; where they bore Testimony against the *Hireling Priests, and Formal Professors* of Religion, who were in an outward Form, but knew not the Power of God, to make *clean the inside of the Cup and Platter*. And now was a time of great Trouble, and some who were a-sleep came to be awaken'd, and according to the Promise to the Prophet *Daniel* of Old, *Chap. 12. Many were made to run to and fro*, and Knowledge was and is encreased, blessed be the Lord for ever.


A particular Account of each *Messenger and Servant*, whom it pleased God by his own immediate Arm and Power, to raise up, and send forth to Publish this his Gospel Day to them, dawned, and shining forth upon the Nations, I cannot undertake to give, the Task being

W
 beyond my Talent or Capacity to perform: But as it pleased the Great Disposer of all things, according to his own Good Will and Pleasure, to order his *Servants* and *Hand-Maidens* into divers and sundry Parts of this Nation, so according to his own Secret Will and Counsel, he moved in the Hearts of many of his Servants to visit Foreign Nations, as *Holland* and *Germany*, and other of those *Eastern Countries*, and also the *English Collonies* and *Plantations* abroad. For particular Accounts of all which, and of the Services, Labours, and Travels they had, and underwent, and what Progress Truth made by the Ministrations of the Spirit in and thro' them, and how they were Received and Treated, as also of the great Sufferings and Hardships they endured; more especially in *New-England*, I refer the Reader to a Book Intituled, *New-England Judged*, &c. as also of the Sufferings and Travels of two of the Lord's Hand-Maidens, to wit, *Kath. Evans* and *Sarah Chivars*, in the Isle of *Malta*.

About the beginning of the Year, 1654. some Workings of the Power of Truth came to be felt amongst some tender People in and about the City of *London*, and some few were Convinced, and Turned; unto the Lord about this Time, two Women coming out of the North to the City, viz. *Isabel Buttery* and her Companion, who (by what Providence I cannot tell) became acquainted with *Amos Stodart*, sometime a Captain in the *Parliament Army*, who when Convinced of Truth had left his Command, and *Simon Dring* of *Moore-Fields*. These

Women



Women having an Epistle or Testimony given 1654.  
 forth by *George Fox*, (to wit, the First inserted   
 in the Volume of his *Doctrinal Books*, Directed  
 To all that would know the Way to the Kingdom,  
 whether they be in Forms, without Forms, or got  
 above Forms) to direct People to turn their  
 Minds within, where the Voice of God is to be  
 heard: Which Epistle or Testimony being Prin-  
 ted, they delivered, or dispersed abroad to such  
 as would receive it. This *Isabel Buttery*, and  
 the other Woman, being in Company with  
*Amos Stodart* and *Simon Dring*, walking in the  
 Fields towards *Stepney*, were overtaken by *Ruth*  
*Brown*, then about *Sixteen Years of Age*, who  
 afterwards became my Wife, as in *Sect. I.*  
 whom *Isabel Buttery* stedfastly looked on, gave  
 her one of the said *Printed Epistles*, in the  
 Reading whereof she was Convinced of the  
 Truth, and added to the small Number who  
 then did believe. After this these Women had  
 Private Meetings at *Robert Dring's* House in  
*Watling-Street*, and at *Simon Dring's* in *Moore-*  
*Fields*, where they did now and then speak a  
 few Words: To which Places my Wife went  
 with great Expectation, and there met with  
*Ann Downer*, afterwards *Ann Whitehead*, a wor-  
 thy Young Woman, who grew in Truth, and  
 became an Eminent Instrument in the Lord's  
 Hand in her Day, as doth, and may appear by  
 divers Testimonies given of her by sundry Men  
 and Women Friends after her Decease, who  
 were Witnesses of her Faith towards God, and  
 Service in his Church.

Moreover

1654. Moreover in the Fifth Month of this Year,  
 W 1654. it pleased God to send two of his faithful  
 Messengers and able Ministers to the City of  
*London*, viz. *Francis Howgil* and *Edw. Burrough*,  
 who were the First that declared Truth publick-  
 ly there, whom he made Instruments in his  
 Hand for the Gathering many, who like Good  
 Old *Simeon*, were waiting for the Consolation of  
*Israel*: These, upon hearing the glad Tidings  
 of the Gospel, the very Babe of Life sprang in  
 them, *Luke* 1. 41. and they Rejoyced even as  
 by a Measure of the same Power and Spirit,  
 which moved the Babe to spring in the Womb  
 of *Elizabeth*, upon the Salutation of *Mary*,  
 Ver. 44. These could say, We have waited for  
 him and we will be glad; and with Good Old  
*Simeon*, who when the Child *Jesus* was brought  
 into the Temple, took him in his Arms, and  
 blessed God, saying, *Now lettest thou thy Ser-*  
*vant depart in Peace, for mine Eyes have seen*  
*thy Salvation: A Light to lighten the Gentiles,*  
*and the Glory of thy People Israel,* *Luk.* 2. 28.

Now as the Lord was pleased to visit a Tender  
 Seed in and about the City of *London*, by these  
 his Chosen Instruments: And as he opened the  
 Hearts of a Remnant to receive the Word of  
 Life, and believe in it; such open'd their Doors  
 for Meetings in their Houses, and for sometime  
 it so continued, that they met from House to  
 House.

And now they having sounded an Alarm,  
 and Proclaimed the Great and Notable Day of  
 the Lord, in the City and Parts adjacent, the  
 Lord moved them to Visit the Nation of *Ireland*,  
 and

and the time being come for their Departure, 1654. and leaving the City, a Meeting was Appointed at *Robert Dring's* in *Watling-street*, there to take their Leave of their Friends and Brethren; at which time there was great Brokenness of Heart, and the Melting Power of God was amongst them, which caused great Sorrow, and abundance of Tears to flow from the Eyes of many Tender Plants. There are yet Living, at the Penning hereof, that were then and there present, who do, in a fresh Remembrance thereof, give Thanks and Praise to God, with a single and upright Heart.

For a particular Account of the Labours, Travels, and Services of these Champions for the Lord and his Truth, and how they were received in that Nation, and how Treated by the Magistrates, Rulers and People, and of the Sufferings and Hardships they endured, and how the Lord preserved them: I desire the Reader for Satisfaction to have recourse to their Printed Works.

In the time of their Absence and Stay in *Ireland*, the Lord was pleased to send others of his Messengers and Servants to the City of *London*, viz. *Thomas Aldham*, *Christopher Atkinson*, *Richard Hubberthorn*, *George Fox*, *Alexander Parker*, *John Stubbs*, *Thomas Salthouse*, and some others, who Published and Declared the Word of the Lord *Freely*. The Meetings now continuing as before, and for some time the Meeting was held on *First Day* of the Week in the *Fore Part* at the House of *Sarah Mathewes*, a Widow in *White-Cross-street*, and in the *After Part*

1654. Part at *Simon Dring's* in *Moore-Fields*, and sometimes at *Glaziers-Hall*, and at the House of *Sarah Yates* a Widow, in a Court in *Aldersgate-street*, where a Meeting doth continue to this Day.

1655. The Lord having Encreased the Number of his People, about this time, in the Year, 1655. some Part of an Ancient Great House, or Building within *Aldersgate*, was Taken for a Meeting Place, the other Part of it, with a Yard, &c. being before made a Publick Inn for *Carriers* and *Travellers*: Which having for a Sign the *Bull* and *Mouth*, occasioned the Meeting held there, to be known and distinguished by the Name of *Bull and Mouth*, or *Bull-Meeting*, which was the *First Publick Meeting Place* Taken and Set a-part for that Service; where Meetings were held on every *First-Day* of the Week, in the Fore Part of the Day, and on the *Fourth Day* of the Week, in the Fore Part of the Day, and so continued until the Dreadful Burning of the City, when the same was laid in Ashes.

1656. And being now come to Time in some degree within my own Knowledge and Remembrance, to wit, the Year, 1656. when I find the two afore-mentioned Friends, to wit, *Francis Howgill* and *Edward Burrough* returned from *Ireland*, and frequenting the Meetings in and about the City of *London*, where their Service was very great, and I may say in the Words of *Paul*, Rom. 11. 13. They were the Apostles of this City in their Day, by whom many were gather'd, both Sons and Daughters, and were Settled through the Grace of God in the Faith of the Gospel, by the

the effectual Working of the Word of Life thro' 1656.  
 their Ministry, and of others, the Servants of  
 the Lord, as aforesaid. And the Lord opened  
 the Mouths of some of the Inhabitants of this  
 City, to bear Witness to the Truth now made  
 known. The first of which that had a *Publick*  
*Testimony* to bear, was *Ann Downer* aforesaid,  
 who was followed by *Richard Greenway*, *John*  
*Giles*, *Sarah Blackberry*, *Ann Gold*, *Rebecca*  
*Travers*, *Richard Davies*, *William Bayly*, *Mary*  
*Booth*, and some others.

Now those Meetings which I found and fre-  
 quented at my *First Convincement*, were at the  
*Bull and Mouth*, at *Sarah Tates's* in *Aldersgate-*  
*Street*, at *Humphry Back's* a Goldsmith in *Tower-*  
*Street*, held on the *First*, and on the *Sixth* Days  
 of the Week, both in the Afternoon: And at  
 the House of *Gerard Robert's*. in a Street called  
*Thomas Apostles*; where sometimes Resorted  
*Travelling Friends*, who came out of the Coun-  
 try upon the Service of Truth, and there was  
 also a Meeting on the *First Day* of the Week,  
 in the Afternoon; and for some time at the  
 House of *Samuel Vaus* in *Basinghall-street*, was  
 a Meeting on first Day, in the After Part of  
 the Day, and at the House of *William Woodcock*  
 in the *Savoy*, was a Meeting on the *First Day*,  
 and on the *Fifth Day* of the Week, at which  
 Place Meetings are continued unto this Day.  
 About this time also a Meeting in the Afternoon  
 was set up at *Horsly-down*, in the House of a  
 Widow there; and the Number of Friends En-  
 creasing, a Piece of Ground was procured to  
 Build a *Meeting-House* upon, and accordingly  
 a Meeting-

1656. a *Meeting-House* was built, and since enlarged, and is the same which continues there. There was also a Meeting at *Stepney*, at the House of one called *Capt. Brock*, which continued there until about the Year, 1665, or 66. in the stead of which a Meeting was settled at *Ratcliff*, and a *Meeting-House* there Built, and since enlarged, as it is at this Day.

We had also Meetings on the First Day of the Week at *Worcester-House* in the *Strand*, where one *Nicholas Bond* had Lodgings, who had some Place, or did belong to the Court: He afterwards taking Lodgings at the Great House at *Greenwich*, called the *Pallace*; we had Meetings there for some time: We had also some Meetings at the House of *Govert Sikes* in *Hackney*; and for some time we had Meetings in the *Pall-Mall* near *James's*, at the House of *Elizabeth Trott* a Widow: We had Meetings also in the *Pallace-Yard*, *Westminster*, at the House of *Stephen Hart*, both which last mentioned were discontinued, and an House was taken at *Westminster* for a *Meeting-Place*, and so continues to this Day.

In this Year, 1656. or near that time, a Meeting was set up in *John's Street*, called the *Peel-Meeting*, which still continues there, and the Meeting in *Westbury-street*, bearing the Name of *Wheeler's-street-Meeting*, which first began in the House of *John Oakly*, in an Upper Room; and being encreased in Number, another Room was added; but the Meeting still encreasing, and both Rooms being too strait, the Meeting was sometimes without Doors, and after

after a Tent cover'd with Canvas, or Sail Cloth, 1656. was set up in the Garden, where the Meeting was kept for some small time, till a *Meeting-House* was there Erected, which hath been since Enlarged for the Conveniency of the Meeting.

About this Time also, *Meetings* were set up at *Hammersmith, Hendon, Kingston, Wansworth, Barking, Ham*, since at *Plaistow*, and at *Wal-  
tham-Abby*.

During which Time and Season, the Lord in a Plentiful manner did shower down his Blessings and Favours upon his Heritage, in and about the City of *London*, and Places adjacent, by sending many of his Messengers and Servants to Visit them, to water and refresh his Plantation, that they may grow and flourish, and bring forth Fruit to his Praise, viz. *George Whitehead, William Dewsberry, Stephen Crisp, John Crook, Josiah Coal, Samuel Fisher, John Whitehead, Richard Farnsworth, George Fox* the Younger, and many others, whom he fitted and prepared for his Work and Service in their Day. These Published Deliverance by and through Repentance to Poor Captive Souls enslaved in Sin, through the Lusts of the Flesh reigning in their Mortal Bodies, through the Temptations of Satan.

Now the many Meetings which were set up and added in these Years, and about this Time, are sufficient Testimonies to the Progress of Truth at that time made, by the Messengers and Servants of the *Most High*, and how it pleased the Great God to prosper his own Work, through

1656. through such, whom he had chosen, and made Faithful Labourers and Ministers, in the Word and Doctrine of the Gospel, whereby many more were brought to believe in, and return to the Great Bishop and Shepherd of their Souls, Christ Jesus the True Light. And although with great Love and Good Will to their Country Men and Neighbours, they did thus Labour and Travel in divers Parts of this Nation, as well as the City of *London*, and Parts adjacent, and were gladly Received by many well disposed People; but were often Evil Entreated by the Wicked, and as the *Primitive Christians* were of Old, sometimes Beaten, Stoned and Imprisoned, and every where Evilly spoken of, and the People often in Uproars and Tumults, when the Servants or Messengers of God were sent amongst them: Even like the *Jews of Thessalonica*, who when *Paul* Preached to them, and Reasoned with them out of the Holy Scriptures, of the Sufferings and Resurrection of Jesus, and that he was the Christ: And as it was then, even so now, those that *Believed not*, Act. 17. 5. *Lewd Fellows* of the baser Sort, did gather together, and assault Houses, and bring Friends there met before the Rulers, crying, *These that have turn'd the World upside down, are come hither also*, Ver. 6. Whom many of the Priests and Hireling-Teachers did often Incense, for fear their Craft, by which they get their Wealth, should be set at nought.

From the Year, 1654. (in the time of *Oliver Cromwell*, who died, *Anno 1658.*) and from thence to 1660. the Sufferings and Exercises of many



many of the People of God : called *Quakers*, 1660. were great and manifold, although no Law was Enacted against us in that Time; yet besides the Sufferings inflicted by the Rude People, we were made great Sufferers by the *Magistrates* and *Rulers*, and that only for the sake of a Good Conscience towards God: For some were Imprisoned for refusing to *Swear*; some for using the Plain and Proper Language of *Thee* and *Thou* to a single Person; and others for wearing their Hats, and not putting them off when brought before *Magistrates*, or in *Courts of Judicature*, have been both Fin'd and Imprisoned: Some for not paying *Tithes* to the Hireling Priests, have been Imprison'd and made great Sufferers; and for Testifying against them, and their Formal Worship; and others for Publishing and Declaring the Day of the Lord in Steeple-Houses, Markets, &c.

And although the Enemy of our Peace and Prosperity did prevail over some particular Persons, who made some shew for a time amongst us; yet the Lord was pleased to preserve a Remnant stedfast in the Truth, and who turned not either to the Right Hand, or the Left, but their Minds and Hearts were kept upright to the Lord, over all the Devices of Satan within, and the Malice of Enemies without.

1660.

## S E C T. III.

*Shews what Care and Good Order the Believers in the TRUTH were led and directed into, both Men and Women, and how they Answered their particular Care and Service in the Church, in those Early Days.*

**A**fter the taking of the House, call'd *Bull and Mouth* for a Meeting-Place, as afore-said, the Ancient Men-Friends about the City did sometimes meet together, to the Number of Eight or Ten, sometimes a few more were added; in an Upper Room belonging to the Place, there to consult about and consider of the Affairs of Truth, and to communicate to each other what the Lord opened in them, for the Promotion thereof; and also to make such Provision to supply all necessary Occasions which the Service of the Church might require.

And now also some Ancient Women-Friends did meet together, to consider of what appertained to them, as their most immediate Care and Concern, to inspect the Circumstances and Conditions of such who were Imprisoned upon Truth's Account, and to provide things needful to supply their Wants: And what did or might more immediately concern Men-Friends, the Women would acquaint them therewith; and all was done in great Love and Unity, no Jarr or Discord amongst them, no Repining or Murmuring; but a sweet Harmony and Agreement was preserved in all things. These Women

men did also enquire into, and inspect the 1660.  
Wants and Necessities of the Poor, who were  
Convinced of the Truth; and they sat not still  
until the Cry of the Poor came to their Houses:  
But where they did suppose or discover a want  
of Help, their Charity led them to enquire into  
their Conditions, and to minister to their Ne-  
cessities.

And thus things were carried on with Cheer-  
fulness and Brotherly-Kindness, in the Infancy  
of the Church: All Whisperings and Backbitings  
were shut out, and Love and Good-will to all  
were promoted and cherished.

And afterwards as Truth grew and prospered,  
and many came to be added to the Faith, the  
*Meetings* came, through the Providence of God,  
to be settled in that Order and Method as at  
this Day.

## S E C T. IV.

*Of the Coming in of King CHARLES the  
Second, and what ensued thereupon: Of  
the Act for Banishment, and Great Im-  
prisonments; with something concerning  
EDWARD BURROUGH.*

**I**N the Year, 1660. in the Third Month King 1660.  
**CHARLES** the Second Returned to Eng-  
land; at which time the Waters swelled mighti-  
ly, and overflow'd the Banks, the Winds blew,  
and the Sea raged; for the People were in Up-

1660. roars and Disorders, and had great Expectations, that now they should have Opportunity to destroy and lay waste the whole Heritage of God: The Roaring, Swearing, Drinking, Revelling, Debauchery, and Extravagancy of that Time I cannot forget, with the Menacings and Threats of the Rabble against all Sobriety, and against Religious People and their Meetings, which they expected should be now totally suppressed and brought to nothing. Soon after the King's return, he was Visited by sundry Epistles, written in great Love and Good-will unto *Him*, and his Council, from several Servants of the Lord, (of the People called *Quakers*) who were moved thereto through the Spirit of his Son, to Admonish and Counsel him in the Fear of the Lord, to avoid those Judgments which had fallen upon those Princes, who, following the Advice of Evil Counsellors, had Persecuted the People of God: Which Wholesom Counsel had little or no Place in his Heart; although upon *Richard Hubberthorn's* Delivering the *Epistle* written by *George Fox* the Younger unto him, called, **A Noble Salvation, and a faithful Greeting, unto thee Charles Stuart, now Proclaimed KING, &c.** He did Promise that none should be Molested, or called in Question for their *Opinions* in Religion, who did not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom: Yet he had little or no regard to his Promise; for although not one of the People called *Quakers*, was at any time found in any *Plot*, or *Contrivance* against the *King* and *Government*; nor could in any wise be suspected in the least

of any Confederacy, or Combination of Evil 1660.  
gainst him or the Government: Yet in a little  
time a *Law* was made to Banish us out of our  
Native Country, for the Exercise of a Good  
Conscience towards God, and meeting to-  
gether to Worship Him, according to our Per-  
wasion.

And so very Severe and Cruel was the Pro-  
secution of this Law, that many were taken up  
at our *Peaceable Religious Meetings* in and a-  
bout the City of *London*, and elsewhere, and  
actually Banished, and sent out of their Na-  
tive Country; Husbands from their Wives, Fa-  
thers from their Children, and House-keepers  
from their Habitations and Families, for no o-  
ther Cause than as aforesaid: And thus the  
KING did Violate his Promise.

During this Persecution, great were the Suf-  
ferings of the *Lord's People* in this City, and  
elsewhere in the Nation. In many Places the  
Goals were filled with the Innocent; but the  
Lord was always near to preserve them, and  
to keep up their Heads, so that the Water-floods  
did not cover nor overwhelm them; he sup-  
ported them with Strength, he opened the  
*Springs of Life*, he made them to drink of  
the Brook by the Way, and refreshed their  
weary Souls; so that they fainted not, nor were  
dismay'd. Everlasting Honour and Praise be  
given to his Excellent Name for ever.

Amongst the many others, who were at this  
time shut up in Nasty Holes and Prisons, in this  
City, was that Eminent and Worthy Servant  
of the Lord, *Edward Burroughs*; of whom I  
think

1660. think my self obliged to say something in particular, with respect to that Spiritual Relation in which I stood to him, even as a Child to a Father; upon which Account he was very dear to me, I Lov'd and Honour'd him in the Lord, and for the Truth's sake: I had many times an Opportunity of Conversing with him, and wrote several Things from him, as he dictated them, which were since Printed in the *Collection* of his Works. He was a Man (though but Young) of Undaunted Courage, the Lord set him above the Fear of his Enemies, and I have beheld him filled with Power by the Spirit of the Lord: For Instance, at the *Bull and Mouth*, when the Room, which was very Large, hath been filled with People, many of whom have been in Up- roars, contending one with another, some Ex- claiming against the *Quakers*, Accusing and Charging them with *Heresie, Blasphemy Sedi- tion*, and what not; that they were *Deceivers*, and *Deluded the People*; that they *Denied the Holy Scriptures*, and the *Resurrection*: Others endeavouring to Vindicate them, and speaking of them more Favourably: In the midst of all which Noise and Contention, this Servant of the Lord hath stood upon a Bench, with his *Bible* in his Hand, for he generally carried one about him, speaking to the People with great Authority from the Words of *John*, 7. 12. *And there was much murmuring among the Peo- ple concerning him, (to wit, Jesus) for some said, he is a good Man; others said, nay, but he de- ceiveth the People.* And so suitable to the pre- sent debate amongst them, that the whole Mul-  
titude

itude were overcome thereby, and became <sup>1660.</sup> exceeding Calm and Attentive, and departed Peaceably, and with seeming Satisfaction.

As his Service was great in this City, so he had a share in Suffering also: In the Year, <sup>1662.</sup> 1662. he was Taken from a Meeting at the *Bull and Mouth* aforesaid, and Committed to *Newgate*, where after some time he fell Sick, and in a few Months finished his Course, being gathered to his Fathers, the Generation of the Just.

In the Time of his Imprisonment in *Newgate*, he gave forth the following *Verses*, which were distributed about; and *John Higgins* having a Copy of them, he put the same into the Hands of one *Sir William Rider*, call'd a Justice of the Peace, at the very Instant when he was brought by a *Constable* and *Watch-Men* before him; at the Meeting at *Stepney* aforesaid, when they came there to take the Names of Friends in Order to Banishment.

*Your Goals we fear not; no, nor Banishment,  
Terrors or Threats can ne'er make us lament;  
For such we are, as fear the Living God,  
Not being vex'd by Persecutions Rod.  
Away Hypocrisie! be gone false Fear!  
Immortal Life's the Crown which we do wear;  
Which cannot be remov'd from us away,  
That makes us Scorn your Threatnings e'ery day.  
These are our Pray'rs, and thus our Souls do cry.  
Let Justice Live, and all Oppression Die.*

1662.

When God sent the Prophet *Ezekiel* against the *Rebellious House of Israel*, he fitted and prepared him for the Work and Service he sent him to do, *Ezek. 3. 8, 9. Behold I have made thy Face strong against their Faces, and thy Forehead strong against their Foreheads, as an Adamant, harder than Flint, have I made thy Forehead, fear them not, neither be dismay'd at their Looks, though they be a Rebellious House.*


Even so it pleased Almighty God, to fit and prepare this his Servant, and many others in that Day, and to give them Boldness and Courage, that they feared not the Face of Man, nor were dismay'd at their Looks; but the Cause of God was more to them than all the World, and the Glory thereof. The Truth of which doth manifestly appear from what is here Related; and that the Cause in which they were engaged, was the Cause of God, is evident from that *Special Assistance of his Spirit and Power* which did always Accompany them.

## S E C T. V.

*Contains some Account of my Early Sufferings for the Truth, in Refusing to Swear, and to Pay the Hireling Priests, &c. With certain Queries upon each, and the Priest's Replies to both.*

**T**HE first Distress that was made upon my Goods, was on the 19th of the Fourth Month, 1660. for Repair of the Parish Church  
of



of *St. Bennet Fink*, so called, by *John Steeven*-1660.  
*on, Joseph Munday, Leonard Doe*, who took   
 from me a *Tapistry Carpet*, cost Three Pounds  
 and Ten Shillings; they demanded Thirty Four  
 Shillings, and about Half a Year after they re-  
 turned Eighteen Shillings: So they detained  
 beyond their Demand Eighteen Shillings.

About the same time I was Cited by Virtue  
 of a *Process* to appear at *Christ Church*, so called,  
 to Answer to the Presentments of the *Church-*  
*Wardens*; and for not appearing was Excom-  
 municated, as I was informed, but no further  
 Proceedings then against me.

But not long after, in the Year, 1661. I was 1661.  
 Chosen a *Scavenger* by the Neighbour-hood in  
*Broad-street-Ward*, and being Summon'd to  
*Guild-Hall* amongst other Ward Officers, an  
 Oath was tender'd me, and I refusing to *Swear*,  
 was committed to the *Poultry-Compter*, where  
 I remained a Prisoner about Eight Days: And  
 for refusing to Pay Prison Fees, and Garnish-  
 Money, as the Prisoners call'd it, I was shut  
 up in the Hole amongst the Common Poor Pri-  
 soners, where I had no Lodging; nor but very  
 little Room to walk, when the Prisoners were  
 Lock'd up in the Night Season, who lay many  
 of them on the Floor, with a Piece of Timber  
 under their Heads for their Pillow: After which,  
 upon Application to the then Mayor, by Name  
*John Fredirick*, I was set at Liberty: And  
 then had a Roll delivered to me, to Collect the  
 Money Rated upon Housekeepers, in order to  
 keep the Streets Clean, and carry the Soil away,  
 and was perswaded to give my Bond to Collect  
 the

1661. the same, (which was an Imposition, it not being Customary) and to Pay the Raker, who Carried away the Soil.

But to my great Surprize, I was about Three Months after Arrested at the Suit of the Pariss called *St. Bennet Fink*, (who had without President, I think, obtained my Bond to Collect the Scavengers Roll) as I was told, for *Tythes*, or Hire for their Priest, named *Samuel Clark*, and was then a Second time made Prisoner in the *Poultry Compter*, under which Confinement I continued about One Year and Three Quarters: But through Favour of the Goaler, I had some Liberty to be at Home to look after my Business, after Two Months, or thereabouts, from my First Commitment, Paying only my Chamber-Rent, which was Three Pence a Night.

Whilst I was thus Confin'd I wrote to the Priest *Samuel Clark*, and charged him with the cause of my Imprisonment, or that at least it was for his sake I was Committed, and I sent him the *Queries* following:

*Query, I.* 'Seeing *Tythes* were commanded by God, and due to the *Levitical Priesthood* only, and intending the *Fatherless, Widow*, and *Strangers* then should have a Share therein, why have they not? Or, how dare you, the Priests, Persecute, and Sue at the Law for *Tythes*, and yet not give or distribute to others, who have by the same Law a Share therein, as well as the Priests had? And is not the Offence as great in you, in that you detain

the

the Share from the Fatherless, Widow and 1661.  
 Strangers, as in those who detain Tythes from  
 you, and if they are worthy Imprisonment, are  
 not you by the same Rule worthy thereof also?

II. ' Whether or no *Tythes*, being proper and  
 appertaining to the Tribe of *Levi* only, &c.  
 have you any Right, or can you lay Claim  
 thereto, by, or according to a Lineal Sces-  
 sion; or if not so, have you then any Interest  
 at all therein?

III. Whether or no *Tythes*, being by Divine  
 Institution Originally, and appointed for a  
 certain Use; if they are by corrupt Men con-  
 verted to other Uses, than they were at first  
 appointed, is it Lawful to Pay them; or at  
 most, is it an Offence to forbear? Or in  
 whom is the Offence greater, in those that  
 forbear to pay them, or in those who do, with-  
 out Right, receive them, and convert them  
 to a wrong Use?

IV. ' Whether or no, seeing *Tythes* were  
 appointed to Men performing such Services as  
 was under the Law: They who perform not  
 the Service have any Right thereto? Or if  
 that Service be at an End, ought not the Pay  
 for that Service be at an End also? Or how dare  
 any to receive Pay, appointed for Work, and not  
 perform the Work for which the Pay was ap-  
 pointed?

V. ' Whether or no, is not their Offence  
 greater who do not perform the Work, and  
 yet Persecute for the Pay, than theirs, who  
 knowing that both the Work and also the Pay  
 are brought to an End, by the same Power  
 which

1661. which first Constituted it, and therefore refuse to pay it? Or in whom is the Offence greater, in those that deny the Pay attending the Work, or in those that deny the Work, intending the Pay?

VI. Whether or no, the whole Work at first appointed ought not to be performed, if any Part thereof ought? Or how comes a Part thereof to be laid aside, and the rest retained? And how can the Wages be retained, or due, when the Work is ceased.

VII. Whether, if it be in one Man's Power to pick the Work, or perform but a Part, or none at all, it may not be in another Man's Power to with-hold the Pay, pay but a Part, or none at all: Or is Non-performance in one, no Offence, and yet Non-payment in the other, an Offence worthy a Prison?

VIII. And if it can be proved, That the Law which Commanded Tythes, and under which it was an Offence to with-hold them, was by *Christ Jesus* ended, before ever Tythes were paid in *England*, can then a Proof remain, or Ground for Argument be, That they are Lawfully paid, or Honestly or Reasonably demanded in this Nation?

IX. And if it be proved, They are at this Day of Humane Invention, and by corrupt Tradition required and made payable in this Nation; and that they are of the Pope's Ordaining, Erecting and Constituting, is it not high time they were totally cast off in *England*, where the Pope is protested against to be Antichristian, and his Doctrines Erronious?

After he had receiv'd my Letter and Queries, 1662: he Reply'd as follows, and with his Answer he sent me a Printed Sheet, called *An Item against Sacriledge, or sundry Queries concerning Tythes.*

Friend Crouch,

**Y**OU suffer as an Evil-doer, and therefore can have little Comfort in it: The Money demanded of you is not due to me, but to the Parish, who bought and paid for it: And therefore if it be Unjust for a Tenant to with-hold his Rent; then it is Unjust in you to deny the Payment of this to the Church-Warden, who is but the Parish's Steward, to receive and dispose of it according to their Appointment: If they give it me; why should your Eye be Evil, because theirs is Good? You wrong me, by charging me with your Imprisonment, I had no hand in it; neither is it in me to Release you. All that you say about Tythes is nothing to this Business; though if I were the Rector, and had Right to these Rates long since set upon Houses, I doubt not but I could prove my Right to them, both by the Law of God and Man! But why should I enter upon a Question which neither concerns you nor me? You blame me for not coming to you: But seeing you never owned me for your Minister, why should I own you as one of my Flock? If you had Scrupled any thing, why came you not to me for Satisfaction, according to God's Command? Mal. 2. 7. Tho' you would not own me as a Minister, much less as your Pastor; yet you might have Advised with me as a Friend and Neighbour; and at least have tried

1662. *tried what Satisfaction you could have received from me. The Lord open your Eyes, and shew you your Error in this, and the danger of the Ways wherein you walk, and (if you belong to his Election of Grace) bring you out of your stragling Ways, unto the Great Shepherd, and Bishop of our Souls, Christ Jesus, which is the Prayer of*  
*Your Friend,*

Samuel Clark.

26th July, 1662.

To which Reply of his, I returned an Answer as follows:

*Friend,*

I Received thy Paper, which seems to be Writ in haste, and that thou didst not consider, thou wert Writing to one that would peruse it, and return thee an Answer.

All Coverings, but that of God's Pure Spirit of Life, will be too short in the Day approaching: And I can tell thee truly, Fig-leaf Excuses will not cover now from the Searcher of all Hearts, any more than in the Days of Old it did him who said, *The Woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave it me, and I did Eat*; and as thou hast said, *The Parish gave it me, and I received it.*

The First Sentence in thy Paper manifests thy haste; to wit, *Friend Crouch, You suffer as an Evil-doer.*

I Query of thee, What Evil have I done for which I now suffer? Or whether my Suffering is not for forbearing to do that which I believe

I believe is Evil? And if I Suffer for that I 1662.  
 forbear to do, because I believe it is Evil; how  
 then do I suffer as an Evil-doer?

‘ Thou sayest, *The Money demanded is not due to me, but to the Parish, and if it be Unjust in a Tenant to with-hold his Rent; then is it Unjust in you, to deny the Payment of this to the Church - Warden, who is but the Parish's Steward, &c.*

‘ I Answer, This Comparison is very improper, and not at all to the Business: I know how and for what the Rent of my House becomes due, and because I pay my Rent for my House, I have my House: Besides my House is mine, (paying my Rent) having Bargained, Contracted, and Entred into Covenants therefore: And a Bargain or Contract gives an Interest, and Covenants Fence that Interest: And that which makes a Man a Debtor, is either by Contract, Promise, or Engagement, or for something Received; none of all which have I done to, or with the Parish; nor received any thing from them, nor from any other appointed by them, whereby to become their Debtor.

‘ All things have their Roots, from which they spring, or Foundation on which they stand: And all things in which Men have Interest, become so, either by Nature, or consequently by Gift or Purchase: Neither the Parish nor thee can claim an Interest in this by Nature, because it is an Oppression, and Nature doth not give to Men Power to oppress one another, though to Beasts of Prey it doth:  
 But

1662. *w* ' But this being an Oppression in the Founda-  
 ' tion, therefore the other two ought to cease,  
 ' and the intent of the Law is to preserve from  
 ' Oppression, and not to oppress: Neither can  
 ' that be called truly a Civil Right, which doth  
 ' oppress.

' And what though Provision be made to  
 ' pass over the Waters by a Ship or Vessel, why  
 ' should any be compell'd to use that Vessel  
 ' when it becomes Leaky, and they have found  
 ' a safer and better Passage: And although  
 ' Impositions have been laid on People to main-  
 ' tain that Ship or Vessel, yet when the Wa-  
 ' ters are dried up, and the Vessel becomes  
 ' useless, ought not those Impositions to  
 ' cease.

' But the time is come and approaching,  
 ' wherein there *shall be no more Sea*; for the  
 ' Waters shall be dried up, and the Trade and  
 ' Traffick by Ships cease: And the Merchants  
 ' of the Earth, who have grown Rich thereby,  
 ' shall Mourn, because no Man buyeth their  
 ' Merchandize any more; and their great City  
 ' *Babylon* must be laid Waste.

' Thou sayest, *If they give it me, why should  
 ' your Eye be Evil, because theirs is Good?*

' I Answer, That Eye which Covets another's  
 ' is not good: What is mine Lawfully, my In-  
 ' terest therein ought to defend me, and nothing  
 ' becomes a Debt, but by Contract, Bargain,  
 ' Promise or Consent; and none of all these  
 ' having passed, what is taken from me to the  
 ' Contrary, is by Violence, and they who give  
 ' it thee, and thou who dost receive it are a-  
 ' like:



like: And it is not the Good but the Evil Eye 1662.  
 which doth desire it, nor the Honest Hand  
 which doth take it, or receive it, either in  
 thee or them: And this you shall assuredly  
 know in the Day of the Lord, when all these  
 Coverings will not hide you.

Thou sayest, *You wrong me with charging me  
 with your Imprisonment, I had no hand in it;  
 neither is it in me to Release you.*

I Answer, I did not Charge thee to have a  
 Hand in it; but I said, It was done for thy  
 sake, and I knew no other: And I say further,  
 If there were none to receive the *Wages of Un-  
 righteousness*, there would be no need to pay  
 it; and if there were not a *Balaam*, there  
 would be no need of a Gift, or Reward.

Thou sayest, *All you say about Tythes is no-  
 thing to this Business; though if I were the  
 Rector, and had Right to those Rates long since  
 set upon Houses, I doubt not but I could prove  
 my Right to them, both by the Law of God and  
 Man: But why should I enter upon a Question,  
 which neither concerns you nor me.*

I Answer, It is not true, that this Question  
 concerns not *me*, or *thee*, for it concerns *us*  
*both*; and for my Concernment, I have been  
 more than Twelve Weeks since *Imprisoned*,  
 and it being for thy sake, thou art Concerned  
 also: And the Demand of me was *Tythes*, and  
 the Statute calls it *Tythes*, and it was intended  
 to satisfie a *Hireling Priesthood* in this City,  
 as *Tythes* do in the Country, and they covet-  
 ing Maintenance, and here being not to pay  
*Tythes in Kind*, a Rate being set on Houses,

1662. ' they receive it to Answer the same End with.  
' But if thou wilt confess, That *Tythes*, which  
' were once Commanded of God, are now put  
' to an End, and ought not to be paid, nor re-  
' ceived: Then much less ought such Gifts and  
' Rewards be received, which were never Com-  
' manded by him.

' Thou sayest, *Thou doubtst not but to prove  
thy Right, &c.*

' I Answer, I have and do doubt it, and  
' therefore I did send to thee to prove it, and  
' although thou art not the *Rector*, and so hast  
' no Right to the Rates, as thou hast said, Why  
' dost thou Receive that which thou hast no  
' Right to? Or however, thou being but the  
' Receiver, art liable to an Account; and it  
' is but Reason, that thou should'st either Vin-  
' dicate their Right who give it thee; or if  
' upon Examination it appear, that they have  
' no Right to give it, then thou oughtest  
' to forbear to receive it: And to this intent  
' was my sending to thee, and in Love, that  
' neither thou, nor the Parish, might do that  
' which Truth cannot Justifie.

' Thou sayest, *You blame me for not coming  
to you; but seeing you never owned me for  
your Minister, why should I own you as one of  
my Flock?*

' I Answer, Thou dost not behave thy self  
' as a Neighbour, much less like a *Minister of*  
' Christ, in that thou dost not Visit the Pri-  
' soner; and to this purpose I said before. And  
' now suffer me to return thy own Argument,  
' and do not give what thou wilt not receive:

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' Seeing thou dost not own me as one of thy  
 ' Flock, why should'st thou receive my Fleece?  
 ' But thou hast said the *Parish gives it thee*:  
 ' Didst thou ever know the Sheep of one Flock,  
 ' contend with, or rob the Sheep of another  
 ' Flock, and give the Fleece to the Shepherd of  
 ' their own Flock? But if it be contrary to the  
 ' Nature of Sheep to do thus, then thy Flock  
 ' are not Sheep.

' Thou sayest, *If you had scrupled any thing,*  
 ' *why came you not to me for Satisfaction, accord-*  
 ' *ing to Mal. 2. 7. though you would not own me*  
 ' *as a Minister, much less as your Pastor; yet*  
 ' *you might have advised with me as a Friend or*  
 ' *Neighbour, and at least have tried what Satis-*  
 ' *faction you could have, &c.*

' I Answer, Whilst I did not scruple any  
 ' thing (within thy Power to resolve) I did not  
 ' offend in that I forbore to come: But now  
 ' when I do come, thou evadest to resolve me  
 ' by General Terms, which prove nothing, nor  
 ' am I satisfied thereby. And whereas thou  
 ' citest *Mal. 2. 7.* which signifies what should  
 ' have been the Priests Office, and the Peoples  
 ' Duty, Read *Mal. 2. 8, 9, 10.* which shews  
 ' that the *Priests were departed out of the way,*  
 ' *and had caused many to stumble at the Law:*  
 ' And so although the Law was delivered to  
 ' the Priests, and the People were to receive it  
 ' from them; yet if the Priests were departed  
 ' out of the Way, and had forsaken the Law of  
 ' the Lord, then according to *Ezek. 7. 26.*  
 ' *The Law shall Perish from the Priest, and al-*  
 ' *though a Vision be sought of the Prophet, yet*

1662. an Answer in Truth cannot be obtained.  
 The Priests who should preserve the Peoples  
 Knowledge, did not, but went astray, and  
 Erred from the Law; the People who did  
 hang on their Lips for Knowledge, were led a-  
 stray also; there was like People, like Priest,  
 according to *Hos. 4. 9.* But saith the Lord, *I*  
*will Punish them for their Ways, and reward them*  
*their Doings*: And because the People were  
 scattered and led astray by the Priests, who  
 sought themselves, and not the Flock; but  
 looking to their own way, every one for his  
 Gain from his Quarter, and they Eat the Fat,  
 and Cloathed themselves with the Wool; but  
 suffer'd the Flock to go astray in the Wilder-  
 ness, and to wander on the Barren Hills, and  
 had driven them away, and not Visited them:  
 (all which doth manifestly appear to be ful-  
 fill'd, and fulfilling in this Day in this Na-  
 tion) Therefore the Lord Threatned and pro-  
 nounced Woes against them, and promised to  
 gather the Remnant of his Flock, and set up  
 Shepherds over them, which should feed them,  
 and they should not be disinay'd, nor be lack-  
 ing, and that he would require his Flock at the  
 Hands of the careless Shepherds, and deliver it  
 from their Mouth; and that he would search  
 out his Sheep, and deliver them, and feed them  
 in a Fat Pasture, and cause them to lie in a good  
 Fold; and that he would bind up the broken,  
 and strengthen the Sick, but destroy the Fat,  
 and the Strong; and would judge between  
 Cattle and Cattle, and the diseased and weak  
 preserve from the Horns of the Strong, and no  
 more.

' more to be a Prey unto them: But said, He 1662.  
 ' would judge between Cattle and Cattle, and set  
 ' up one Shepherd over them, to feed them, and  
 ' would raise up for them a Plant of Renown,  
 ' and they should no more be consumed with Hun-  
 ' ger, Ezek. 34.

This Promise is the Lord making good in  
 ' this Day, and the Work is his own, and he  
 ' will accomplish it: And many are already  
 ' brought to receive their Knowledge at the Lips  
 ' of the One Everlasting and Unchangeable Priest,  
 ' Christ Jesus, with whom their Knowledge is  
 ' Preserved untainted, and without Mixture;  
 ' and their Bread given them, and their Waters  
 ' fail not: So that Refreshment in time of need  
 ' shall not be to seek! And they need not buy  
 ' their Knowledge with Silver, nor such cor-  
 ' ruptible things; neither Spend their Money for  
 ' that which is not Bread, and as many as Christ  
 ' Jesus hath Redeemed and Purchased to him-  
 ' self, they are brought from Stragling, and he  
 ' is become their great Shepherd and Bishop.

' Well Friend, the Lord is Judge of all, and  
 ' nothing is hid from him; and whoever walks  
 ' with a stiff Neck, and stout Heart, such will  
 ' be abase, they that walk in the Strength of  
 ' their own Wills, and bow not to the Manife-  
 ' station of the Spirit of Life in themselves,  
 ' which God hath given to every Man to profit  
 ' with: Such walk in Rebellion against God,  
 ' and Woe and Sorrow will be to all such:  
 ' Wherefore it is good for all Men to consider  
 ' their Foundation, and upon what they Build,  
 ' and also what their Works are, for Profession

1662. *will not cover, it is the Spirit of God, and the Lamb's Life which will find Acceptance, and be Justified in his Sight.*

Seems it a small thing in thy Eyes, that thy Neighbour, who owes thee nothing, should be cast into Prison for a small Parcel of the Unrighteous Mammon? Read the 18th of *Matthew*, from Verse 23, to the End, and Examine thine own Conscience! The Just, Holy, and Meek Principle of Jesus will plead with thee on my behalf, that is my *Friend*, and that is that I would make my *Friend* in all Men, and with it I have Unity in my self, and with it in all Men; the Lord's Purpose is to exalt it to Rule over all, and the Kingdoms of the World, and all Men therein must become subject thereunto. The Lord God, who is Mighty and Terrible, will arise, and the Nations shall know his Covenant is with it, and his Purpose is to Exalt it. I would to God thou wert truly sensible hereof, that thou may'st not be found to Oppose him, whom thou pretendest to serve; as in the Days of Old, there were those who called themselves the *Children of Abraham*, but were found to be of their *Father the Devil*, doing his Works, Persecuting, and Imprisoning the Messengers and Servants of God, and also putting to Death the Lord of Life and Glory.

*I am truly thy Friend, and have unfeigned Love towards thee, and all Men, whose Welfare is desir'd by me,*

W. CROUCH.

Poultry-Compter, the 24<sup>th</sup>  
of the 6th Mo. 1662.

The



The Fore-going Letter I deliver'd into the Hands of *William Wickens*, called the Minister, or Chaplain to the *Poultry-Compter*, who promised to deliver it, but I received no Answer to it. 1662.

Having receiv'd no Answer, I did again Visit him in a few Lines, Written from my own House, having, by Favour of the *Prison-Keeper*, Liberty to look after my Business. Dated the 25th of the 6th Month, 1662.

And with this Letter I sent him two small Books in Print, one the *Great Case of Tythes*, by *Anthony Pearson*, the other a *Touch-Stone*, by *John Crook*: All which were deliver'd into the Hands of his Servant, by a Servant of mine.

The Letter was as followeth:

Friend,

**T**WICE before this, and this is now the Third time, I desire thou wilt clear thy self of my Suffering, by confessing to the Truth. Seems it a light Thing with thee, that I so often desire thee to be inform'd for thy Good, or else for my Benefit, to Convince me? We both ought to seek the Advancement of Truth in each other, or else we are not clear of the Law, nor can come to know him who is the End thereof, to wit, *Christ Jesus the Light of the World*.

It is now come to pass, that thou, and many more, must either deny what you have lately Owned and Preached, and Own and Preach what you have formerly denied, or

By reason of the Act of Uniformity

1662. *W* else you must forgive your Gifts and Rewards,  
 your Tythes and great Benefices, and the  
 Large Incomes of Gain by your Trade and  
 Craft.

Wherefore it will not be thy Advantage to  
 Vindicate his Cause, who is like to undermine  
 thee, or to Justifie him (in Receiving what  
 thou didst formerly receive) whom thou must  
 either count in Error, or else give the Lye to  
 self and Brethren.

If thou confests to Truth, and stand for  
 it, the Advantage will be thy own, if thou  
 oppose it, or slight it in greater or lesser Ap-  
 pearances, thou shalt suffer for it, *God sees*  
*not as Man sees*, it is to Truth and Righteous-  
 ness only that he hath a Regard.

Truth in few Ages of the World hath been  
 free from *Aspertions*, and *Calumnies* cast upon  
 it, yet it hath always kept its Integrity: It  
 is no new thing to brand the *Children of Truth*,  
 with the Nick Names of *Hereticks* and *De-*  
*ceivers*: Hath any in any Age suffer'd as  
 any other? Or, hath it not been under this  
 Glorious Dye, or Scarlet Colour, that all the  
 Saints and Martyrs of Jesus have Suffer'd?  
 when will the time be, that you will come to  
 see, and distinguish between the *Mystery of*  
*Godliness*, and the *Mystery of Iniquity*? From  
 whence is Persecution? Answer me, after a  
 due Pondering, with the meek Principle of  
 Truth in thy own Conscience: I Appeal to  
 God's Witnels there. If thou art my Friend,  
 why contemnest thou my Good-will and Kind-  
 ness? If thou art my Enemy, behold I have  
 sought

‘ sought Reconciliation with thee, and now if 1662.  
 ‘ thou dost Refuse, the Wrong intended me, W  
 ‘ will fall on thee, to the full Measure of thy  
 ‘ Knowledge and Concernment to me ward,  
 ‘ I am thy Friend, and do expect to hear from  
 ‘ thee, that Truth may be Cleared, and People  
 ‘ informed concerning thee, and concerning me,  
 ‘ and the Cause for which I suffer for thy  
 ‘ sake.

To which I Received no Answer.

W. CROUCH.

On each First Day of the Week *William Wickens* aforesaid, being Priest or Chaplain to the Prison, he Preached to the Prisoners, taking for his Text the Words of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, Chap. 4. 2. *And thou shalt Swear the Lord liveth in Truth, in Judgment, and in Righteousness, and the Nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they Glory.* From which Text of Scripture, this Chaplain offer'd to prove the *Lawfulness of Swearing*: But after some time I bore witness against him in the Prison, and afterwards I sent him the *Queries* following:

Friend,

‘ **H**AVING on the 25th of this Instant, heard  
 ‘ thee Affirm the *Lawfulness of Swearing*,  
 ‘ contrary to the Command of Christ and the  
 ‘ Apostle, who hath said, **Swear not at all**,  
 ‘ thereby Clouding and Vailing the Truth, and  
 ‘ to the Deceiving thy Hearers: Wherefore in  
 ‘ the

1662. *W* the Fear of the Lord I was constrained to bear  
 Witness against thee at that time; but thou  
 ceasedst not to go on. Now for thy sake, and  
 the sakes of them that heard thee, that Truth  
 may be cleared, and in pity to the Simple,  
 who Err for want of Knowledge, I do in  
 the Fear of the Lord, give forth these follow-  
 ing Queries.

*Thou shalt Swear the Lord liveth in Truth,  
 in Judgment, and in Righteousness, and the  
 Nations shall bless themselves in him, and in  
 him shall they Glory.*

**Query, I.** Whether or no, he who is out of  
 Truth, can Swear the *Lord  
 liveth in Truth*: Or whether he who is de-  
 parted from true Judgment, can Swear the  
*Lord lives in Judgment*: Or can he who is in  
 Unrighteousness, Swear the *Lord liveth in  
 Righteousness*?

**II.** Whether or no, when the Stealer, the  
 Murtherer, and the Adulterer, do Swear that  
 the *Lord Liveth*, or by the *Lord*, they do not  
 Swear falsely, and do not they take God's Name  
 in Vain?

**III.** Whether or no, by every Oath the  
 Lord should not be Glorified, and whether  
 they who are out of, and departed from that  
 in which God lives, can use his Name to his  
 Glory?

**IV.** *The Lord lives in Truth, in Righteous-  
 ness, &c.* and not out of it: Now whether  
 they who are out of Truth, are not out of  
 that which God lives in; and then in the  
 Falshood;

' Falshood: And can such swear in Truth, 1662.  
 ' And whether at any time a False Oath might  
 ' be Sworn; if at no time, then they who  
 ' are not in the Truth, (in which God dwells)  
 ' cannot Swear in Truth; and whether such as  
 ' cannot Swear in Truth, could, or can at any  
 ' time Swear without Sin; and if not, was it,  
 ' is it, or can it be Lawful they should Swear  
 ' at all?

V. ' Whether it be Lawful now to Swear in  
 ' Truth and Righteousness, though commanded  
 ' by an Outward Law, it being by Christ (who  
 ' is the Truth, and End of the Law for Right-  
 ' teousness) forbidden: Or to Swear in Judg-  
 ' ment, it being said by him, (to whom all  
 ' Judgment in Heaven and Earth is committed,  
 ' Swear not at all?

VI. ' Whether Swearing be needful, and of  
 ' Use among such as are saved from Falshood,  
 ' (the Occasion of the Oath) by Truth the End  
 ' of the Oath?

VII. ' Whether they of Old Time, to whom  
 ' Oaths were allowed, did Sin, who did not  
 ' Forswear themselves, but performed their  
 ' Oaths; and was not the Righteousness of the  
 ' Oath Answer'd in performing it: But is there  
 ' not a Righteousness beyond Swearing and Per-  
 ' forming; namely, *Speaking Truth*?

VIII. ' If Swearing, and performing an Oath  
 ' according to the Law, was a sufficient and  
 ' perfect Righteousness, what need then their  
 ' Righteousness of Old be exceeded: And if the  
 ' Law was full by Swearing and Performing,  
 ' what need of a Fulfiller: But if not, then it

1662. ' is no Contradiction in Truth to say, *Swear*  
 ' *not at all*, for Christ came not to Contradict,  
 ' nor to Destroy, but to fulfil?


IX. ' Whether Rash, Idle, and Prophane  
 ' Oaths, are not Unrighteous Oaths? And whe-  
 ' ther an Unrighteous Oath can be made and  
 ' performed to the Lord; if not, what Oath  
 ' did Christ speak of: But if the Oath which  
 ' was Sworn to be performed to the Lord, was  
 ' a Righteous Oath, a Solemn Oath; what Oath  
 ' did Christ forbid, when he said, *Swear not*  
 ' *at all*?

X. ' Whether Christ intended any Swearing  
 ' at all, seeing he said, *Swear not at all, neither*  
 ' *by Heaven, &c.* And whether an Oath, either  
 ' by the Creator, or by any Creature, is not  
 ' more than these, (to wit) *Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay?*

XI. ' Whether, notwithstanding thou or o-  
 ' thers do say, that the *Angel Swore by him that*  
 ' *lives for Ever and Ever*, is that a sufficient  
 ' Warrant for Man to Swear; seeing it is Writ-  
 ' ten concerning the Son, *When he bringeth in*  
 ' *his First Begotten into the World, Let all the*  
 ' *Angels of God worship him*, who hath said,  
 ' *Swear not at all?*

' Thus have I written something touching  
 ' all that I remember thou said concerning the  
 ' *Lawfulness of Swearing*, notwithstanding all  
 ' which I cannot Believe it Lawful; and there-  
 ' fore I desire thy Answer in Writing, that I  
 ' may see if thou hast any thing further to say,  
 ' for Satisfaction of me, and others who heard  
 ' thee. *I am a Friend to thee, and all Men,*

W. CROUCH.

A Copy of which I deliver'd into his own 1662. Hands, and sometime after I received the  Answer following:

Friend,

**C**HRI<sup>ST</sup> and his Apostle said, Swear not at all, but that was not all they said: Therefore taking but a Part of their Words, and so parting of them, you misunderstand them: Should I say Eat not at all, neither of this or that Dish; it is true, I said, Eat not at all, but I say more also, and he that thereupon Affirms that I bid you not at all to Eat, would do me Wrong, and I am sorry that you should be grieved for my Asserting the Truth.

I. To the first Query I Answer, A Wicked Man may so far Swear in a Matter to which he is called, as to Swear what he knows to be true, advisedly, and for that End that Justice may be done, and therein, so far forth, he doth not Sin, though in many other Respects he may fail, or Sin in Swearing as to Circumstances.

II. To the Second, The Persons there mentioned may in Matter of Fact Swear truly; to Instance, The Stealer is accused of Stealing a Hundred Pounds, when indeed he Stole but Fifty; if he upon Oath affirm he Stole not an Hundred, this is a True Oath, as to the thing it-self.

III. I Answer, The Lord should be Glorified in every Oath, and he that is farthest departed from God, ought to Glorifie him, and may do that whereby God may be Glorified, though he through his Wickedness Glorifie him not as he ought.

IV. To

1662. *IV. To the Fourth, A Wicked Man may Swear that which is true, and in Swearing what is Truth, as he so doth, so far forth Sins not, as if he Swore falsely: As to Instance, A Vile Man sees another Kill a Man, is call'd to Witness and Swear what he saw, in that he Swears, he Swears not falsely, or ill as to the Thing it-self, and so his Testimony may be requir'd upon Oath, though otherwise he may Sin: As for Example, He swearing truly, but out of Revenge; good is the Oath, naught the Revenge.*

*V. To the Fifth, I deny: Swearing, and according to God's Will, is Good, and a Duty: To Instance, A Robber on the Road Kills a Traveller, Two being by behold it, the Robber being taken denies the Fact, those two are called to Witness; it is not Righteous their meer Yea should be sufficient to take away the Robber's Life; but if they witness upon Oath what they saw, the Judge may proceed unto Justice.*

*VI. The Sixth is Answer'd before, Christ hath not forbidden all Swearing, no more than the King saying to English Men, Fight not at all, one with another, hath he thereby forbidden Fighting with any other?*

*VII. To the Seventh, There are more Kinds of Oaths, than Promisory, and a False Witness upon Oath, Sins in swearing falsely; and while we live on Earth, there will be divers just Causes for Men Religiously to Swear, that we may Lead a quiet and peaceable Life, in all Godliness and Honesty, 1 Tim. 2. 2.*

*VIII. To the Eighth, I know none Affirms swearing to be Perfect Righteousness, or that there*



there needs not a Saviour, and still deny Christ 1662.  
forbids all Swearing.

IX. To the Ninth, Christ forbids only Un-  
righteous Oaths.

X. To the Tenth, Swearing is more than Yea,  
or Nay, but more, that is an Oath, ought not  
to be ordinarily by any one, but whom the Nature  
of the thing require it.

XI. To the Eleventh, The Angels swearing,  
shews that in like Case a Rational Creature ac-  
cording to Scripture called thereunto may Lawfully  
Swear; as the Angels worshipping of Christ, may  
be our Imitation to Worship and Obey: Tea and  
Religiously Swear by his Name, Isai. 45. 23. I  
have Sworn by my self, the Word is gone out  
of my Mouth in Righteousness, and shall not  
return, that unto me every Knee shall bow,  
every Tongue shall Swear, Rom. 14. 11. Every  
Tongue shall Confess to God, Phil. from 2. 10. 11.  
That at the Name of Jesus every Knee shall  
bow, &c. and that every Tongue shall Confess  
that Jesus Christ is Lord: Both together strongly  
intimate, that swearing Religiously, rightly by  
God, or by Jesus Christ, who is God blessed for  
ever, isto Confess and Praise him, or a Confes-  
sion of him in his Omniscience, Omnipotency,  
Righteousness and Holiness, to his Praise; there-  
fore we should fear, least denying to Swear Re-  
ligiously before Men, we Defraud God of his  
Praise Irreligiously.

Yours in Christ,

W. W.

To

1662. To this his Answer, I Reply'd as followeth.

*Friend,*

I Received thy Paper, but cannot receive it  
 as an Answer, by reason of its Insuffici-  
 ency, and so little to the Purpose, proceeding  
 from an Earthly Spirit, (*He that is joined to  
 the Lord is one Spirit*, in his Fear and Counsel  
 not out of it) as by thy Words and Sentences  
 contain'd in thy Answer it doth appear:  
 Where is thy dwelling Place? In what does  
 thy Spirit Center? Dost thou know what  
 Root and Stock thou art of, and what bears  
 thee in Opposing the Doctrine of Christ? The  
 Wise Man's Eye is in his Head, and who  
 walks in Light, stumbles not at the stumbling  
 Stone, rejected by the Worldly Wise Builders  
 of *Babel*. But art not thou in the Degenera-  
 tion from the Spirit of Righteousness and  
 Truth? Doth not thy Speech bewray thee to  
 dwell in the Land of Darkness, where Works  
 of Darkness are conceived, and Actions of  
 Night brought forth; where Thieves and Rob-  
 bers attend the Roads, and Murtherers de-  
 stroy the Innocent Traveller, Thieves Rob in  
 the Night, Murthers hate the Light, and  
 chose Darkness for their Covering, with whom  
 Swearing is no Offence, Sin is no Burthen,  
 Iniquity is delighted in, Evil is called Good,  
 Light is put for Darkness, these reject the  
 Light, which lighteth every Man coming into  
 the World, (because their Deeds are Evil) who  
 hath said, *Swear not at all*: But Wo for ever  
 to that Spirit, God's Hand is against it: Where-  
 fore

fore cease to deny the Truth, and the Com-  
 mands of it, Love the Light which discovers  
 Evil in the Heart and Conscience, and brings  
 to Remembrance all former Miscarriages, and  
 Redeems and Saves from Evil: Bow to this,  
 confess to this, perfect Righteousness is with  
 it, Everlasting Peace attends it: In Love to  
 thee I write, receive it in Tendernefs, believe  
 them who have try'd it, it will do the Works  
 none other can; try it also, and believe for  
 the Works sake. I have here written some-  
 thing more for thy Information, and to open  
 thy Understanding, that thou may'st distin-  
 guish between Light and Darknefs, Truth  
 and Error, in the Fear of the Lord, and Love  
 to thee, and all Men.

I. Thou Affirimest a *Wicked Man may Swear  
 without Sin, being called thereunto.*

A wicked Man may Affirm a true thing  
 we deny not, and he may Swear an Oath for  
 Confirmation, and the thing by him Affirmed  
 may be true, and in that he Affirms a true  
 thing truly (so far forth) Sins not; but a  
 wicked Man, if he Affirm a true thing by an  
 Oath, the thing so Affirmed is true, but the  
 Oath is false, *Jer. 5. 2.* It is not whether or  
 no a wicked Man can Speak or Affirm a thing  
 that is true, but whether or no a Man so qua-  
 lified, being departed from God, and out of  
 his Fear, and so knows not the Lord; is it  
 possible he can Swear truly by God, whom he  
 doth not know: And herein, though the thing  
 Affirmed be true, yet the Oath used for Con-  
 firmation is false, and so Truth not at all more  
 evident

1662. ' evident for the Oath; but the Truth of a  
 ' thing truly Affirmed lies in the true Affirma-  
 ' tion; for he that will adventure to speak a  
 ' Lye, is not to be believed though he Swear;  
 ' for a false thing may be Sworn to, and Swear-  
 ' ing cannot make a thing true, which is false  
 ' in itself: But that which is true, is still so,  
 ' though a Lyar Swear to the contrary; and  
 ' that which is false in itself, is false though a  
 ' Lyar should Swear it is true: But he who is  
 ' join'd unto Truth, can Affirm Truth without  
 ' an Oath, and that which he Affirms is true;  
 ' but if he who is join'd to Falshood, does  
 ' Affirm a thing true, and Swear it, it is not  
 ' therefore true because he Affirms and Swears  
 ' it, but it is true, because it is so in itself.

II. ' Thou Affirimest, *He who stole Fifty*  
 ' *Pounds may Swear a true Oath, &c.* But he  
 ' who Stole Fifty Pounds, (if such an one may  
 ' be spoken of to Illustrate Truth by) and is  
 ' accused for Stealing a Hundred Pounds, if he  
 ' Swear that he stole not an Hundred Pounds, it  
 ' may be true if he Stole but Fifty Pounds; and  
 ' here the Truth lies in the Thing, not in the  
 ' Oath, and the thing be true in the Circumstance,  
 ' yet the Oath is false, because he who Steals  
 ' is departed from Truth, and so cannot Swear  
 ' by it, for Truth will preserve from Stealing,  
 ' as well as Lying; but Swearing an Oath pre-  
 ' serves from neither.

III. ' Thou allowest of Swearing in him that  
 ' is farthest departed from God, *and*  
 ' The Lord is not Glorified by a false Oath,  
 ' and a wicked Man, who is join'd to Falshood,  
 ' cannot

cannot Swear a true Oath; but a Righteous 1662:  
 Man, who is join'd to Truth, needs not, nor  
 cannot Swear at all; and herein he Glorifies  
 God: A wicked Man so continuing [cannot  
 Glorifie God, (yet God may be Glorified on  
 him) nor he who is farthest departed from  
 God cannot Glorifie God by Swearing; but  
 the way for him to Glorifie God, is to depart  
 and return from that which separates from  
 God, to wit, Sin and Uncleanness; and when-  
 ever he doth return so as to Glorifie God, it  
 must be by a Measure of Truth, which is that  
 which saves from Lying and Stealing, &c.  
 and is the End of Swearing: And hereby he  
 will come to Glorifie God as he ought, not  
 by his Wickedness, nor his Righteousness nei-  
 ther; for *the Prayers of the wicked are an A-*  
*omination to the Lord,* but through Truth,  
 God's Righteousness, which redeems out of  
 and saves from all the before-mention'd  
 Evils.

IV. and V. 'Thou Affirimest, *A wicked Man*  
*may Swear, and Swearing is according to the*  
*Will of God.*

'Can any Swearing be according to the Will  
 of God? Christ Jesus, who is the Wisdom of  
 God, hath said, *Swear not at all,* and God  
 wills not any Evil, which is that which gives  
 occasion for Oaths; but God's Will is our  
 Sanctification, wherein Stealing and Swearing,  
 which are contrary to Truth, can have no  
 Place: But as thou statest it, the Strength of  
 Justice lies in the Oath, and not in the Truth;  
 whereas thou sayest, *If a Robber Kill a Travel-*  
*ler,*

1662. *ler, it is not Righteous that the meer Yea of two  
 Witnesses should be Warrant for the Judge to pro-  
 ceed to Justice.* But Murther is truly Evil,  
 and the Evil lies in the Fact, and for the Evil  
 of the Fact, he ought to Suffer under the  
 Testimony of two or three Witnesses, *Deut.*  
*17. 6, 7. Numb. 35. 30.* and not for the sake  
 of an Oath.

But from whence comes the Custom of  
 Swearing to take away a Man's Life? I find  
 not any footing in Scripture for it; or are  
 not Men, through long Continuance, even  
 Drunk with Custom, and it doth interpose be-  
 twixt Justice, Truth and Righteousness, and  
 those who ought to be Administrators there-  
 of, insomuch that may it not be said, Men  
 have forgot themselves, and many times  
 deny Justice, and rather comply with  
 Custom.

But that Justice be done on a Murtherer,  
 under the Testimony of two or three Wit-  
 nesses (who are Men that cannot Lye, nor  
 dare not Swear) on their meer Yea, is Righ-  
 teous. See what's said by Bishop *Gauden* (who  
 with many others plead for the Lawfulness of  
 Swearing) in his Discourse concerning Pub-  
 lick Oaths, *p. 17. Nor can indeed much Credit  
 be given (any more than to a Liar) to any Man,  
 that Swears never so solemnly, and in Judica-  
 ture, who is a Common Swearer, and hath no  
 Reverence of the Majesty of God, or the Sacred-  
 ness of an Oath.*

But if the Stress of Justice lies in the Oath,  
 and not in the Evil of the Fact, and every  
 thing



' thing for which an Oath is given, must be  
 ' done for the Oaths sake: An Oath may pre-  
 ' cede many ill Consequences; the Life of an  
 ' Innocent Man may be taken away for the  
 ' sake of a false Oath, Sworn in Malice and  
 ' Revenge by a Wicked Man departed from  
 ' Truth: For instance, for the Oaths sake did  
 ' Herod cause *John Baptist* to be Beheaded,  
 ' *Matth. 14. 9.*

' VI. ' Thou deniest Christ hath forbidden  
 ' all Swearing, and thou allowest of *Strife* and  
 ' *Fighting*.


' But is an Oath the End of Strife, or rather  
 ' not, but many times the beginning of Strife;  
 ' and when Men out of Truth are believed be-  
 ' cause they can Swear, then is Judgment often  
 ' perverted, *Truth falls*, and *Equity cannot en-*  
 ' *ter*; and where *Strife and Contention* are, *the*  
 ' *Law is slacked*, and *Judgment goeth not forth*,  
 ' *Isai. 59. 13, 14. Hab. 1. 3, 4.*

' Let us Examine the Original of Strife,  
 ' with the Fruits and Effects thereof, and in  
 ' what it Ends: The beginning of Strife is  
 ' Wrath, *Prov. 15. 18. and 30. 33.* Wrath in  
 ' *Cain* moved to kill *Abel*, Wrath in *Haman*  
 ' moved to seek Revenge on *Mordecai*, and  
 ' *Wrath killeth the Foolish Man*, &c. Strife is  
 ' the very product of Wrath, whoso loveth  
 ' Strife, loveth Transgression, *Prov. 17. 19.*  
 ' Strife is one of the many Evils which Christ  
 ' came to redeem Men from, and to save them  
 ' out of: *Solomon* saith, *It is an Honour for a*  
 ' *Man to cease from Strife*, *Prov. 20. 3.* But  
 ' Men in these Days count it their Glory to over-

1662. *w* come by Strife: Yet farther, Strife is a Work of the Night, and reckon'd with Drunkenness, Chambering and Wantonness, Strife and Envy, and they who live in these, live in Dishonesty, *Rom.* 13. 13. Strife is among the Carnal, and those who walk as Carnal Men, *1 Cor.* 3. 3. But among those who are Redeemed, and made Spiritual, Strife is come to an End, without Swearing an Oath to End it; Strife is a Work of the Flesh, and join'd with many others, to wit, *Adultry, Fornication, Lasciviousness, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Hatred, Variance, Emulation, Wrath, Seditions, &c.* *Gal.* 5. 19, 20. *&c.* All which Exclude from an Inheritance in God's Kingdom, and whosoever are in Strife, they are in that which shall not Inherit.

Now many being in Strife and Swearing, and eager to uphold the Kingdom of Satan, they fearing to part with Swearing, plead for Strife: And may they not (as too many do) plead for Fornication, Uncleaness, Adultry, Idolatry, Drunkenness, Revelling and Wantonness, which, with many more, being Works of the Flesh, Spring from the same Root with Strife, Envy and false Swearing, and are all Works of the Wicked One, who bears Rule in the Hearts of the Enemies of Truth and Light, which Ends all Evil, and leads out of it: And whosoever consents not to the wholesom Words, even the Words of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath said, Swear not at all, is Proud, knowing nothing, &c. but doating about Questions and strifes of Words, whereof



' whereof cometh Envy, Strife, Railings, Evil 1662.  
 ' Surmisings, Perverse Disputings, &c. 1 Tim.   
 ' 6. 3, 4, 5. All which happen among such,  
 ' and operate in them who count Gain Godliness,  
 ' and who love Money, which Love hath an  
 ' Evil Consequence upon such, who coveting  
 ' much of that, have erred from the Truth, and  
 ' fallen into many Lufts, which have over-  
 ' whelmed them in Blindness and Ignorance,  
 ' and so have lost the Knowledge of Truth,  
 ' which is a Myſtery held in a Pure Consci-  
 ' ence, where all Evil with the Appearance is  
 ' ſhut out and avoided; and they who are  
 ' in Strife, have loſt that Knowledge whereby  
 ' they ought to ſhew out of a *Good Converſa-*  
 ' *tion, their Works with Meekneſs of Wiſdom,*  
 ' James 3. 13.

' And now it may not ſeem ſtrange, that  
 ' Men, whoſe Wiſdom is Earthly, Senſual and  
 ' Devilish; and that are in Strife, Envyng,  
 ' Confuſion, and every Evil Work, and being  
 ' Captivated and Benighted with Ignorance,  
 ' do plead ſo ſtiffly for Swearing and Strife,  
 ' leaſt parting with one, they loſe both.

' But farther, That which ſaves from Strife,  
 ' ſaves alſo from Fighting, which Strife leads  
 ' to, Envy and Wrath being the Root of both,  
 ' and all but the Works of the Devil in the  
 ' Hearts of Men, and whoſoever pleads for Strife  
 ' and Fighting, they plead for the Devil's  
 ' Kingdom, and deny the very End for which  
 ' Chriſt came, even to *Destroy the works of the*  
 ' *Devil.* 1 Joh. 3. 8. The Apoſtle, Rom. 12. 18.  
 ' Exhort to *Live peaceably with all Men:* Now

1662. they who Fight with any, though not with  
 English Men, do not Live peaceably with all  
 Men: I take the Word [all] to be of the  
 largest Extent, to wit, to include the Whole,  
 and not to exclude a Part, for All is not the  
 Whole, if a Part be wanting; and Christ said,  
 Swear not at all, and we believe doth intend  
 not at all, though he hath not particularized  
 every Oath which Men have, or do Swear  
 by; else how canst thou, or any other Man  
 say, he might allow Swearing by some Crea-  
 tures, seeing he did not mention every Crea-  
 ture?

VII. Thou dividest Oaths, and allowest  
 of Swearing as a Means to Peace and God-  
 liness.

We divide not the Oath into Promisory  
 and other kinds, but Question the Lawfulness  
 of Swearing in any kind; also, whether any  
 thing of Worship or Religion be in Swearing?  
 Pure Religion, and Undeiled before God and  
 the Father is this, To visit the Fatherless and  
 Widows in their Affliction, and to keep Unspot-  
 ted from the World, Jam. 1. 27. But the Poor,  
 the Widows and Fatherless have been, and  
 may be oppressed through false Swearing, for  
 a Lye may be Sworn to, and the End for  
 which an Oath is given not obtained: And  
 hereby Truth hath been, and may be obscur'd,  
 and Justice perverted: But that which leads  
 into the Pure Religion, and brings to live in  
 Godliness and Honesty, is that which Re-  
 deems out of the Earth, and from among  
 Swearers, Lyars, Stealers, and Men of Strife  
 and Contention.

VIII. Thou

VIII. 'Thou wilt not Affirm Swearing to be Perfect Righteousness, and yet dost deny that Christ forbids it. 1662.

'The Law requir'd Perfect Righteousness, and if Swearing be not Perfect Righteousness, will ye Swear, and expect to be saved in or by that which is imperfect? And being not Perfect, there is room for Imperfection to interpose: Now how shall that room be fill'd up, or that Imperfection be made Perfect, if not by Christ the Truth, who is the Substance and End of the Oath, and hath said, *Swear not at all?* And although thou dost confess, that Swearing is not perfect Righteousness, yet thou art one of them that will not allow Righteousness to be perfect without it; although Christ, who is the Perfect Righteousness, and forbids and disallows of all Imperfection, hath said, *Swear not at all.*

IX. 'Thou Affirm'st that Christ forbids only Unrighteous Oaths, for want of Answer to my former Query, I yet ask, If the Oath, which was to be performed to the Lord, was to be a Righteous Oath, a Solemn Oath, what Oath did Christ forbid when he said, *Swear not at all?* Yet thou, and many others, do deny he forbid all Swearing: But Christ said, *Swear not at all,* and James the Apostle in Christ's Doctrine said, *Swear not, &c. neither any other Oath,* Jam. 5. 12. is not this to forbid all Swearing?

X. 'Thou hast confess'd Swearing to be more than *Yea* and *Nay*, and more than these cometh of Evil, according to Christ's Words, *Mat. 5. 37.* But

1662. But if Men knew the Truth, and through  
 living in it, were come to do to others, as  
 they would be done unto, they would then  
 come to that which fulfills the Law and Pro-  
 phets, and then according to Christ's Com-  
 mand, *Yea* and *Nay* among them would be  
 sufficient.

XI. Thou wouldst have it Lawful for Men  
 to Swear, because the Angel Swore.

Though the Angel Swear by him that  
 liveth for Ever and Ever, he did not do it  
 by Kissing a Book, as Men do in these Days:  
 But if ye will have the Angel a President in  
 the Matter of an Oath, then lay aside your  
 Superstitious Custom, and take the Angel as a  
 President in the Manner also, else the Angel  
 is no President for Mens Swearing: And if  
 we imitate the Angel in Worship, it must not  
 be with a Bodily Exercise, which profits  
 little; but the Angels, whom God made Mi-  
 nistring Spirits, Worship Christ in Spirit, and  
 such Worshippers doth the Father seek, and  
 out of that no Worship is acceptable.

The Word proceeding out of the Mouth of  
 God, stands sure and returns, but not with-  
 out Effecting the End; and in that God Swear,  
 he is also able to perform, and his Life is in  
 Himself: But what is this to Man's Swearing,  
 whose Life and Breath is in the Hand of the  
 Lord; wherefore Men indeed ought to say,  
*if the Lord will.* That which is in *Isai. 45. 23.*  
*is, every Tongue shall Swear;* in *Rom. 10. 10.*  
*is, Confess,* mark that, and also *Phil. 2. 10, 11.*  
 which thou bringst to prove Swearing, proves  
 rather

' rather the contrary, if to bow and confes to 1662.  
 ' the Name of Jesus, be to Swear by him, then  
 ' to bow to the Authority of a Magistrate, is  
 ' not that to Swear by him? To confes to the  
 ' Name of Christ with polluted Lips is not to  
 ' praise him; but Man with the Heart belie-  
 ' ving in Christ, with the Tongue makes Con-  
 ' fession, and Salvation is to him that so belie-  
 ' veth and confesseth, without Swearing.

' If every Knee should bow to Christ, and  
 ' every Tongue confes to him, then is it not  
 ' a Shame for thee and others to contend for  
 ' that which Christ and his Apostle forbids,  
 ' which together strongly confirms us in the  
 ' Truth of their Doctrine who have said, *Swear*  
 ' *not at all*, notwithstanding what is, or may  
 ' be said by thee and others to the contrary,

W. CROUCH.

### POSTSCRIPT.

*Well Friend,*

**T**RUTH either Preached, Written, or Spoke  
 ken in a Plain Language, or in a Homely  
 Stile, from an Honest Sincere Heart, seasoned  
 with Grace, where Deceit and Hypocrisie are  
 abhorred, and being Enlighten'd by a Mea-  
 sure of Truth, from whence proceeds sound and  
 wholsom Words, is far more acceptable in the  
 Sight of God, and of greater Advantage to the  
 Hearers, than all hidden Expressions in *Hebrew*,  
*Greek* and *Latin*, of all which a Title was writ-  
 ten by *Pilate*, and put on the Cross, when  
 Christ

1662. Christ the Truth was Crucified, *Job. 19. 19, 20.*  
 Men may have Tongues and Languages, and yet be Enemies to the Truth; it is not the Knowledge of Tongues, that gives the Knowledge of Truth; *Tongues they shall cease, but Charity which Edifies seeketh not her own, never faileth.*

We have done by thee, as we would be done by, in that we endeavour to inform thee where-in thou dost amiss, by giving Meanings on the Scripture, in that Mind to which the Scriptures are a *Mystery, a Book sealed*: They were given forth from the Life of Truth, through the Prophets and Apostles, and they who come to know the Mysteries therein contained, must witness a Measure, or Manifestation of the same Life, and Spirit of Truth in themselves, working down that Part which is as a Vail betwixt them and the Truth; the Light is that which makes manifest the hidden Mysteries of Life, which God the Father hath hidden from all Vulturous Eyes, but reveals and maketh known to Babes, to his Children; and although by the World accounted Fools, and as the off-scouring of all things, yet Precious in his Sight.

Wherefore we Advise thee, to mind that Measure of Light in thy Heart and Conscience, which reproves for Sin in secret; stoop to that, it can, and none other can, shew thee, and lead thee through the strait Way, and narrow Gate, into that Life where the Mysteries are open'd and made plain, and to an Inheritance amongst them, who accounted not their  
 Lives

Lives dear for the sake of him that loved 1662  
 them, and gave himself for them: To whom  
 be all Glory render'd, given and ascribed, from  
 his own Innocent Seed for ever.

If thou hast any thing further to us, thou  
 mayst send it in Writing; but if not to us,  
 but to others in the World, we would not  
 straiten thee from Publishing any thing which  
 may be for Benefit; and if thou Print it, do  
 it without Rancour or Prejudice, according to  
 thy Promise.

*From the Poultry-Compter,  
 where we suffer Imprison-  
 ment for bearing Witness  
 to the Everlasting Priest,  
 Christ Jesus, and denying  
 the contrary.*

*Richard Greenway,*

*William Crouch.*

Before I had sent away my Reply to *W. W.*  
 to his Answer of my *Queries*, my Friend  
*Richard Greenway* became my Fellow-Prisoner  
 upon Truth's Account, the particular Occasion  
 I have forgot; but he Approving what I had  
 writ by way of Reply to *W. W.*, he Sign'd the  
 Postscript with me.

The First Day of the Week approaching, *W.*  
*Wickens* coming after his usual manner to  
 Preach to the Prisoners, *Richard Greenway* bore  
 Testimony against him openly; whereupon we  
 were both shut up: After which, what here  
 follows was sent unto him. *Richard Greenway*  
 remained not long in the Prison, but was set  
 at Liberty, and left me alone.

*Friend,*

1662.

Friend,

I Perceive thou art appointed to Minister to  
 the Prisoners of this Compter, to inform,  
 instruct, and teach them, and as such, and so  
 Appointed, thou oughtest to know thy Office,  
 the which rightly to perform is a very weigh-  
 ty matter, not to be done by the Unlearned,  
 or by a Novice; but by one well Taught in  
 Christ's School, by the School-Master (to wit,  
 the *Law which is Light*, known and witnes-  
 sed in the Inward Parts; and they who are  
 hereby Taught, are by it brought to an In-  
 fallible and Sound Ministry, proceeding from  
 the Life of Truth in the inward Parts, from  
 which they Minister Vertue and Substance,  
 and declare to others its Power, from a feeling  
 of the mighty Working and Operation there-  
 of in themselves: This is a Living Ministry,  
 and Life begets Life. That which proceeds  
 from Knowledge and Understanding by Feel-  
 ing, Tasting, and Handling of the Word of  
 Life, is a true Testimony, and a most cer-  
 tain and infallible Ministry, and by this only  
 their Labour becomes effectual.

Much more might be said, if there were  
 an Ear to hear; but whoever Ministers, and  
 not thus qualified, (which as a Charge may  
 be laid on the Ministers of *England*, and let  
 them Examine it) they are no Ministers of  
 Christ.

And farther, As thou art a Minister ap-  
 pointed for this Prison, is it to a Part, or to  
 all the Prisoners herein? If but to a Part, I  
 may not (for what I know) require a farther  
 Answer



Answer from thee; but if to all the Prisoners, 1662.  
 then I Query of thee, if it be Lawful that any  
 one Prisoner, or Prisoners, should be shut up,  
 and excluded from hearing what thou comest  
 here to deliver; pretending for the Good of  
 the Prisoners, for their Learning, Reproof  
 and Instruction; as the Titles of thy Doctrine  
 and Uses signifie, which would not need to  
 be question'd, did some good Fruit appear, or  
 Profit in the People: Give Evidence of thy  
 Ministry from the Good Effects; for the  
 Prophet who stands in God's Counsel shall  
 profit the People.

If thou art appointed for all the Prisoners,  
 as before-mentioned, it is Reason all should  
 have alike Liberty; but some in this Prison  
 having been deny'd that Liberty, (the Know-  
 ledge of which we do not charge upon thee)  
 but do expect thou should'st declare against  
 such Unreasonable Proceedings, which to do,  
 will manifest thy Integrity; but if thou dost  
 not, (being inform'd) the Guilt will lie on  
 thee.

But what may we think, or have just cause  
 to say of such Ministers, and Hireling Teach-  
 ers, who refuse to give an Account of their  
 Doctrine in the Place, where they deliver it,  
 or that sell their Merchandize, and not per-  
 mit a Tryal, or that will be Angry, and Rage  
 at such as cannot receive it in Gross, but  
 like the Clean Beast that chews the Cud, do  
 warrantably examine your Doctrine, and  
 try your Spirits: And what though some  
 through a Depraved Understanding (who like  
 the

1662. ' the Unclean Beast can feed on any thing )  
 ' having lost the Benefit of a Palate to distin-  
 ' guish Tasts; ( must not we therefore, who  
 ' witness and know the good Physician *Christ*  
 ' *Jesus*, who prepares our Stomachs, and begets  
 ' in us a pure Hunger and Thirst after the  
 ' Bread and Water of Life, which alone satisfi-  
 ' es the Soul ) have the Liberty and Benefit of  
 ' our own Taste, the Priviledge of our own Sto-  
 ' machs to digest our own Refreshment, Nou-  
 ' rishment and Strength, without being Im-  
 ' prison'd, or meriting some other Corporeal  
 ' Punishment, for the Sensibility and Tender-  
 ' ness of our inward Man, which without the  
 ' Bread of Life cannot be sustain'd. And there-  
 ' fore also, we dare not spend our Money for  
 ' that which is not Bread, and we call it Op-  
 ' pression on our Consciences to be compell'd,  
 ' imprison'd, or to suffer the spoiling of our  
 ' Goods for the Causes aforesaid.

' Again, what may we think, and have cause  
 ' to say of a Generation of Men, that call them-  
 ' selves, and are by others called Ministers of  
 ' Christ, and that say, *This saith the Lord*, and  
 ' yet do deny that God's Voice can be heard,  
 ' and that Revelation is to be expected in these  
 ' Days? Whence then will these Men fetch  
 ' their Ministry, and from whence their Di-  
 ' vination; from their own Brain?

' To deny Revelation, is it not to deny the  
 ' very Means and Way by which God may be  
 ' known? *For no Man knoweth the Father, save*  
 ' *the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will re-*  
 ' *veal him,* Matt. 11. 27. Do not they who  
 ' deny

deny Revelation, content themselves to live 1662.  
 without the saving Knowledge of God, and  
 consequently Eternal Life? For *this is Life  
 Eternal, that they might know thee the only  
 true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast  
 sent*, Joh. 17. 3. No marvel then that these  
 Men dare not say their Ministry is infallible,  
 and acknowledge themselves Fallible Mini-  
 sters, where Errors are and may be: And  
 thus they shut the Kingdom of Heaven, nei-  
 ther entring themselves, nor suffering others  
 to enter; for they keeping in the Fallibility,  
 where Sin and Uncleanness lodge, and deny-  
 ing Infallibility, which excludes all Errors;  
 suppose at least a Necessity of keeping in Un-  
 cleanness, and no unclean thing shall enter  
 God's Kingdom.

What Darkness, Blindness, and Horrible  
 Confusion! What great Wickedness and De-  
 ceit are here! Is not this to cheat the People,  
 causing them to spend their Money for that  
 which is not Bread? Nor are they fed by it,  
 but are lean starving and famishing, their Souls  
 not nourished and refreshed, notwithstanding  
 so much Preaching for Pay, and so much Pay  
 for Preaching.

Again, what may we conclude of those  
 Ministers that deny Infallibility? Can their  
 Ministry Answer the end for which God gave  
 a Ministry; to wit, to turn from Darkness,  
 and to lead out of it, (because in it the Fail-  
 ings and Stumblings are) into Light, where  
 the occasion of Stumbling is avoided? And  
 to utter and declare the Powerful Word of


1662. ' Life to the Prisoner of Hope, and to lead out  
' of the Pit of Misery, and to beget that Birth  
' which lives in Infallibility, but is slain by  
' Fallibility ?

' Wherefore the Cry is against such Mini-  
' sters, who shut Men up in Darkness and  
' Error, which Destroy the Soul: It is cause of  
' Sorrow to think of it, and our Hearts are  
' sadned in the Consideration thereof.

' Again, Doth not a Fallibility in Ministers  
' declare them to be *Creepers*, and of that Com-  
' pany which creep into Houses, and lead silly  
' Women Captive, laden with Sin, and led  
' away with divers Lusts, ever Learning, but  
' never able to come to the Knowledge of the  
' Truth? 2 *Tim.* 3. 6. *Creepers* are such as a-  
' void the Light, because Light makes manifest,  
' and Truth seeks no Corners; no Defence but  
' its own: But such as seek to be upheld and  
' defended by Goals, Locks, Bolts, Imprison-  
' ments, and the like, who cry to Magistrates  
' and Men in Authority, *Help, Help*; and  
' who hide themselves under their Power, and  
' creep to be defended by them; are not these  
' the *Creepers*, and their Hearers the silly Wo-  
' men, laden with Iniquity, heavy laden  
' with Sin?

' And to thee in particular *W. Wickens*, re-  
' specting the Care thou oughtest to have in  
' this Prison; Oh! the Excessive Drinking,  
' Swearing, Gaming, Unclean Lascivious  
' Talk, Foolish Idle Jestings, Vain Laughter,  
' (which is Madness) and Evil Communication,  
' all which abound here without Controul;

' Are

' Are not these a silly People, and thou their 1662.  
' Leader? 

' Again, what shall we think or say of the  
' Ministers of this Age, if compar'd to the  
' Apostles and Ministers of Christ in former  
' Ages? Oh! that Peoples Eyes were opened  
' to see their Teachers; for the Apostles and  
' Ministers of Christ both had, and have an  
' Infallible, Unerring, and Certain Ministry,  
' and they did and do stand in the Truth and  
' Power, which admit no *Creeping*, they seek  
' no Defence by Magistrates, nor are they pre-  
' served by Man's Weapons; but they appear  
' in the Power of God in the Face of Oppo-  
' sition; and through all Truth did, and doth  
' grow and prosper, and by it shall all who  
' oppose it be subdued and brought under.

' Again, the Apostles and true Ministers of  
' Christ, as they had none of the before-men-  
' tioned Humane Powers, Prisons, &c. either  
' to offend others, or defend themselves, so  
' they *Commended themselves to every Man's*  
' *Conscience in the sight of God*, 2 Cor. 4. 2.  
' They Ministred from that which is Infallible,  
' but the Preachers and Ministers of *England*  
' not Preaching from that, appeal not to the Con-  
' science for Approbation; but have Goals,  
' and the Magistrates Power to defend them,  
' whereby it is manifest they profess that in  
' Words, which they deny in the Life: So that  
' your Ministry is contrary to the Apostles,  
' and you opposite to them; and altho' you  
' Plead your Succession from them, the Pope  
' is before you in that Plea.

1662.



' Well Friend, to thee, and by thee to be  
 ' communicated to thy Brethren the Priests of  
 ' *England*, is this intended; take notice here-  
 ' of, and consider these Lines, awake out of  
 ' your Mid-night Sleep, the Day is approach-  
 ' ing and coming on, which will make mani-  
 ' fest Light springs out of Darkness, and you  
 ' have been called to watch to the Light of the  
 ' Day, so many of you as do arise and im-  
 ' prove your Time in this Day, will be Happy,  
 ' and receive your Penny; but those who do  
 ' not arise and cast off their Night Garments,  
 ' their Shame will appear, Light will discover  
 ' their Coverings to be too short; and then  
 ' the Rocks and Mountains, of which ye now  
 ' boast, and in which ye exalt your selves and  
 ' put your Trust, shall not in the great Day  
 ' of the Lord cover you; what Covering can  
 ' you expect to have, who have, and do de-  
 ' spise the Covering of God's Spirit of Light  
 ' and Life: He hath long wooed and intreated  
 ' you, but ye have resisted; ye Worldly Wise,  
 ' ye Doctors, and outwardly Learned Rabbies,  
 ' you miscall'd Orthodox Divines, accounted  
 ' profound in Learning, great in Wisdom,  
 ' Eloquence and Speech: By you hath the  
 ' Corner Stone, Christ Jesus the Light of the  
 ' World (who *lighteth every Man coming into*  
 ' *the World*) been set at nought, and lightly  
 ' esteemed under the Erroneous Terms of *Natu-*  
 ' *ral Conscience*, and *Natural Light*, &c.

' But doth not the Lord turn your Wisdom  
 ' into Foolishness, and is he not bringing to  
 ' naught your Understanding? And as you  
 ' have

' have lightly esteemed him, you shall be light-  
 ' ly esteemed of him: He is overturning all  
 ' your Lofty Buildings, and goodly Structures,  
 ' wherein ye vainly boasted and blessed your  
 ' selves, as being secure, and never to be re-  
 ' moved: But Oh ye sleepy Watchmen! the  
 ' Light hath discovered your Foundation, and  
 ' is manifesting your Stock and Descent: It is  
 ' laying open the Whoredoms of your Mother,  
 ' and discovering the Abominations of her  
 ' that bare you, and her Attire is stripping off,  
 ' that her Nakedness may appear to your  
 ' Shame; and then shall you appear as you  
 ' are, and People shall come to distinguish be-  
 ' tween Voice and Voice, between the true  
 ' Shepherd and the Hireling, between Truth  
 ' and Error, between Spirit and Spirit: Where-  
 ' fore cease your Blasphemy, who say you are  
 ' *Jews*, and are not, but are found to be Lyars.  
 ' The *Jew* inward is accounted for the Seed,  
 ' and the Circumcision of the Heart in the  
 ' Spirit, gives an Interest in the New and Ever-  
 ' lasting Covenant of Life: Wherefore, Oh  
 ' Friend! Receive our Love, and bend your  
 ' Ears to the Wise Instructor, who utters his  
 ' Voice in the Innermost Parts: Turn in, hear-  
 ' ken unto Wisdom's Voice and Live, which I  
 ' heartily Desire concerning you: And that  
 ' you may be thereby Advantaged, your  
 ' Minds informed, your Understandings opened,  
 ' and your Hearts thereby broken into Ten-  
 ' derness and Feeling after the Lord.

1662. I Write this in that Love to you, which  
 the God of Love increaseth in me daily to  
 the whole Race of Mankind.

Poplry-Compter, Lon-  
 don, 1662. where I  
 suffer Bonds for a Wit-  
 nesses to the Everlasting  
 Priest, who hath loved  
 me freely, and who ever  
 lives to interceed for  
 his little Flock, now in  
 Holes, and Prisons and  
 Dungeons, suffering for  
 Truth, and are scoffingly  
 call'd Quakers.

*I am thy Friend,*

*and Your Friend,*

*in and for the Truth,*

W. CROUCH.

After I had continued a Prisoner near two  
 Years, the Parish chose me *Constable*; to be  
 excused of which I paid, and they accepted a  
 moderate Fine, and so discharg'd me of the  
 Office, and also of my Imprisonment.

But the Adversary did not cease here, nei-  
 ther was this an End of my Tryals, Exercises,  
 and Sufferings for the Truth's sake: And al-  
 though I had some respite, with respect to my  
 own Particular; yet I suffered with them  
 that were in Sufferings of another Nature and  
 Kind.

About this time was made the *Act for Banish-  
 ment* of the *Quakers* to the *English Planta-  
 tions* for Seven Years; which I shall take more  
 particular



particular Notice of hereafter, with some 1662.  
 other things which did occur, and that I did  
 take Notice of, or that came to my Knowledge,  
 which are very scant and short of what I  
 might have furnished my self withal, if I had  
 then consider'd how useful and satisfactory the  
 Knowledge of what then pass'd, would have  
 been to this and future Ages: I should upon  
 that Consideration, with greater Care and Di-  
 ligence, have Collected more Matters of Fact, in  
 order to transmit the same to Posterity: How-  
 ever I must entreat the Reader to accept in  
 good Part what I here communicate, and for  
 farther and more general Account, refer him  
 to what may be Publish'd by others.

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## S E C T. VI.

*A farther Account of the Act for Banishment,  
 and the Proceedings thereupon, with what  
 followed.*

**A**ND now the Enemies and Adversaries 1664.  
 of the Church, were in deep Counsels  
 and Consultations, utterly to Root the *Qua-*  
*kers* out of *England*, by Banishing them into  
 Foreign Plantations, and a Law being made,  
 the Magistrates and Rulers, many of them,  
 were very intent upon Prosecuting it; and  
 many Friends were taken up at our Religious  
 Meetings and Imprisoned, and at their Courts  
 of Assize and Sessions were Sentenced to Ba-  
 nishment,

1664. nishment, and put on Ship-board to be sent away; and some were actually carried to the Plantations abroad! But others that were put on Ship-board, were afterwards set on shore in *England*, by the Masters of the Ships, &c. Something of which I intend to give an Account of, together with some Circumstances of that Unnatural and Violent Persecution.

I once had no Thoughts of being concerned to give any Relation of these Things, which I have herein touched upon; and therefore I intreat the Reader to Accept of my Endeavour, and for a fuller and larger Account, to have Recourse to the Narratives in Print of the Proceedings at the Assizes and Sessions where the same were determined.

But it was not long, before the Lord was pleased to manifest his Displeasure, and to put a stop to these Unnatural, Unrighteous, and Inhumane Actions, by those severe Strokes of his Hand upon the Nation in the Years 1665, and 1666. First the *Great Plague*, which swept away great Numbers of the Inhabitants, and that followed by that *Dreadful Fire*, which reduced to *Ashes*, so great a Part of the City of *London*; and also the Wars with the *Dutch* at that time. And altho' they, like the *Aegyptians* of Old, did pursue the Lord's Chosen *Israel*; yet God took off their *Chariot Wheels*, and they drave heavily; for the Work prosper'd not in their Hands.

The first Proceedings, as I remember, upon this Act, were upon the 12th and 13th Days of the Month called *August*, 1664. at the Af-

size at Hertford, where Eight of the People 1664.  
 called *Quakers* received Sentence of Banishment, by *Orlando Bridgman* Judge of the Court; Seven of which were brought up to London by *William Edmonds* Keeper of the Goal at Hartford; and were put a-board the Ship, called the *Ann of London*, *Thomas May* Commander, in order to their Transportation to *Jamaica*, as I remember; but after they had been some time on Board, the said Master or Commander set them on Shore again, refusing to carry them, and gave them a Certificate as followeth:

**W** *Hereas there are Seven Men, call'd Quakers, brought on Board my Ship, called the Ann of London, by William Edmonds Goaler of Hartford, viz. Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feast, Henry Marshal, Francis Pryor, John Blindel, Jeremiah Hearn and Samuel Trahern, all which have continued waiting upon my Ship from London to Deal, from the 14th of September last, until this Day: And I seeing Providence hath much crossed me hitherto, whereby I perceive that the Hand of the Lord is against me, that I dare not proceed on my Voyage to carry them, they being Innocent Persons, and no Crime signified against them, worthy of Banishment; and that there is a Law in force, That no English-Man shall be carried out of his Native Country against his Will: And also my Men do refuse to go the Voyage, if I carry them, which will be much to my Hinderance; Men being very scarce, by reason of the long continued Press: For these*  
 Reasons

1664. Reasons therefore, and many more, I will not carry them.

These are therefore to Certifie any Person, or Persons that shall question them, or any of them, that they did not make an Escape, but I put them on Shore again, to go whither they please.

All this is Certified under my own Hand, the 10th Day of November, 1664.

Thomas May.

Witnesses  
herunto.

}	John Clement,
	Humphrey Bidleffon,
	John Banks,
	Thomas Holliman.

Next I find three of the said Persons called Quakers, to wit, Connanwel Britton, Bartholomew Croker and Lewis Rogers, who were by John Towgood, Water-Baily, put on Board the Ship Mary Fortune of Bristol, John Lloyd Master, Bound for Barbadoes; and he also refusing to carry them, set them on Shore, giving a Certificate as follows:

These are to Certifie all and every Person, unto whom this present Writing may or shall come, That there were Three Persons called Quakers, viz. Connanwel Britton, Bartholomew Croker and Lewis Rogers, brought on Board our Ship, called, Mary Fortune of Bristol, the 16th of December, 1664, and continued waiting on our Ship until the 23d Day of the same Month, then there came a Stay for all Ships; so we put them on Shore again: And on the 31st of the same Month we received a Pass from His Royal

Royal Highness the Duke of York; to proceed 1664.  
 on our Voyage; and then they were brought on Board again, by John Towgood Water-Bailly; and have continued on Board our Ship until this present Day; and then by reason of the long continued Press, we could in no wise deny the taking of them on Board: But now going to depart, their Cry, and the Cry of their Families and Friends are entred into the Ears of the Lord God, and he hath smitten us, even unto the very Heart, saying, Cursed is he that parteth Man and Wife: And moreover, They that oppress his People, his Plagues shall follow them, where-soever they go; and assuredly, we do in part partake of them already; for our Consciences will in no wise let us rest, or be in quiet, for the Lord hath smitten us with a Terrible Fear, so that we can in no wise proceed to carry them. And moreover we do wholly believe, that Our Most Gracious Sovereign doth not intend in the least to destroy his Subjects, because he hath not made void that Law of the Nation which saith, That no English Man shall be carried out of his Native Country against his Will, and he or they that doth so carry them, shall forfeit great Penalties.

And further, we know there is a Law in Barbadoes, That whosoever doth bring any Person or Persons into the aforesaid Island against their Wills, and not being bound by Indentures, shall be under such Penalties as the Law doth inflict upon them; and also be Enforced to bring them back unto their Habitations again.

And

1664. *And we all know that they are Innocent Persons, and do desire to walk in the Fear of the Lord, and that they are put on Board our Ship against their Wills; neither are they Bound by any Indenture, nor hath any one agreed for their Passage: And we find that our Master hath no Order under any ones Hand to save him and us from coming under such Penalties, that the Law may inflict upon us, for carrying them in this Nature.*

*For these Reasons, and many more, we have put them on Shore; not that they have made an Escape, but that we set them at Liberty, to go whither they will; as Witness our Hands, the 7th of January, 1664.*

*John Lloyd, Master.*

*Thomas Hughes, Master's Mate,*

*Richard Love,*

*William Smith,*

*Thomas Sanders,*

*Philip Phillips,*

*William W. I. Jones, his Mark.*

*Many others were Sentenced to Banishment, at the Sessions at Hicks's-Hall, and the Old-Baily; particular Accounts whereof, and the Proceedings of the Courts against them, being Extant in Print, I refer the Reader to them for further Satisfaction, taking notice of what hath occur'd to my Knowledge and Remembrance, of those Impediments and Obstructions which hindred the Progress of this Inhumane and*

and Unchristian Law, and the Proceedings 1664.  
thereupon. W

And having met with the Copy of a Warrant from the King and Council, to the Governour of *Jamaica*; I will give it as follows:

At the Court at WHITEHALL, the  
13th of *March*, 1664.

Present

The *KING*'s most Excellent *Majesty*.  
His Royal Highness the *Duke* of *TOR K*,

Duke of <i>Ormond</i> ,	Earl of <i>Middleton</i> ,
Marquess of <i>Dorchester</i> ,	Earl of <i>Carberry</i> ,
Lord Great Chamberlain,	Lord Bp. of <i>London</i> ,
Lord Chamberlain,	Lord <i>Berkley</i> ,
Earl of <i>St. Albans</i> ,	Mr. <i>Treasurer</i> ,
Earl of <i>Bath</i> ,	Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,
Earl of <i>Carlisle</i> ,	Mr. Secretary <i>Morrice</i> ,
Earl of <i>Lauderdale</i> ,	Mr. Secretary <i>Bennet</i> .

**W**hereas there are several Quakers  
adjudged to be Transported to his  
Majesty's Plantations; of which,  
Three are by his Majesty's Command put  
on Board the *Jamaica Merchant*, *William*  
*Gaimford* Master, bound for *Jamaica*, and  
he having given Bond for the safe Delivery  
of them into your Custody: It was Order'd  
by his Majesty in Council, That you be  
required, and you are hereby required to  
receive

1664. receive the said Quakers into your Charge; and for such of them as shall defray the Cost of their own Transportation, that you permit them to remain there, and not to return for England, within the Space of Seven Years: But for such as his Majesty shall be at the Charge of Transporting, you are to cause them to be Employed, and kept as Servants in that Plantation for the Term of Seven Years; and this his Majesty's Command you are to see punctually performed,

JOHN NICOLAS.

To Our very Loving  
Friend, the Governour  
of Jamaica.

The Three *Quakers* in this Warrant expressed, were, *Edward Brush*, an Elderly Man of good Repute, an Inhabitant and House-keeper in *Bearbinder-Lane* near *Lombard-street*, *London*, and *James Harding*, a Young-Man well Reputed, and one other whose Name I have forgotten; but he died in his Passage thither, as I remember.

*Edward Brush* and *James Harding* Arrived upon the Island in safety, and were not confin'd by the Governour: After they had remained there some time, they both returned Home to *England*; *Edward Brush* to his Wife and Family, and *James Harding* whilst he abode there, took to Wife a Young Woman, who before they left the Island, was Deliver'd of

Three



*Three Daughters at a Birth*, all which were 1664. brought alive to *England* well and in Health; which being so great a Mark of Providence, I think it worthy to be remembered to Posterity.

And before I leave this, I must take some farther Notice of the Observations, made by many sober considerate Persons, who were greatly Affected with these Proceedings in general, and more particularly how immediately the Just Hand of God followed upon this Persecution and Banishment.

The King's Warrant bears Date the 13th of *March*, 1664. and the next Month following, called *April*, 1665. the *Great Sickness* or *Plague* broke out, which was followed by the *Dreadful Burning* of the City of *London*, and Wars with the *Dutch* at the same time: Three Great Judgments, *viz.* *Pestilence*, *Fire* and *Sword*. Oh Nation of *England*! be awakned by these Judgments, to cease henceforth for ever, to provoke the Lord to Anger against thee, by such Unrighteous Laws and Decrees against his People and Heritage, who are as the Apple of his Eye.

In the time of this great Persecution and Exercise, which attended Friends and their Families, by separating Husbands from their Wives, Fathers from their Children, Masters from their Families, Children from their Parents; for no other Cause but Meeting together to Worship God, as they were perswaded in their Consciences; no Crime being laid to their charge, nor doing Evil to any Man: The Lord was

1664. was at this time very near to support them, and by fresh Visitations of his Spirit, to quicken them, and to Encourage each other to a stedfast and constant Perseverance in their Testimony for God, and the Cause in which they were Engaged; as may appear by the Epistle following, a Copy of which having been preserved by me, I have thought fit to insert in this Place, and remembring when Christ Jesus fed the Multitude, he gave Directions to *gather the Fragments, that nothing be lost.* Oh! the tender Care of the Lord's provident Hand, is comfortable to my Soul, at this very instant to remember and think upon.

‘ **M**Y Dear *Friends and Brethren, Children* of the most High God, whom he hath counted worthy to suffer for his Name and Truth, in that pure Life and Power received, hold forth your Testimony, and in the Innocency and Authority of the Righteous Seed, stand over your Enemies, and the dark Wrath of Man; and all the wicked Devices and Snares, which are devised against the Upright; for the Lord our God will break them in his due time, when his End is Effected, through the Tryal that he suffers his Lambs to be exercised with. And blessed are ye that give up in his Will, and stand your ground in the Power and Authority of his Eternal Spirit, (in which the Righteous Seed lives) over all the Deceits of Men; you having a true respect to the Testimony and Cause of your God; chusing rather to suffer, and to be trodden

‘ den

den upon, than that that should suffer, or be 1664.  
 dishonoured; and herein you will daily feel  
 unspeakable Joy and Peace, in the midst of  
 all your Sufferings: And be able to sing a  
*New Song, as those that follow the Lamb whi-*  
*thersoever he goeth, which are redeemed from*  
*the Earth.*

So all Friends, feel your Habitation in the  
 Power of the living God, waiting in his blef-  
 sed Seed, in which Life, Redemption, and  
 the Blessings are felt, that keeps above all  
 Temptations within, and Sufferings without,  
 and makes dear to the Lord, and precious in  
 his Eye, who hears the Cry of his Elect, and  
 the Supplications of his Chosen Ones; and  
 regardeth the Sighings of his Prisoners, that  
 in the interceeding Spirit, which reacheth the  
 God of our Life, and in which the Upright  
 have Access unto him, in all their Tribula-  
 tions: So that the Seed of *Jacob*, whom God  
 loves, need not fear; nor *Israel*, which pre-  
 vails with him, be dismay'd at the swelling  
 Waves of the Sea, nor at the Rising of the Floods,  
 nor distrust the Lord, because of the Great-  
 ness or Height of the Mountains, which would  
 stand in their Way; for the Lord is with us,  
 who is Mighty to save, and you have no cause to  
 faint, as you trust in his Name, which is a  
 strong Tower, unto which the Righteous flee  
 and are kept safe. There is nothing too dear  
 to give up to him, nor nothing too hard to  
 undergo for his Name and Testimony, in re-  
 spect of that unspeakable Love which he hath  
 manifested and extended unto us: In Him is

1664. *our Refuge and Stay, in whatsoever Tryals,*  
 and how great soever they be that he suffers  
 to come upon us, who hitherto hath not been  
 wanting unto us, for his own Seeds sake, by  
 his commanding Power, which accompanies  
 his own, he will drive the Waters on heaps,  
 and in his own due time stop the Floods, and  
 debase and beat the Mountains to dust,  
 that his Kingdom and Government may  
 prosper.

So the Lord God of Glory keep you all in  
 the Faith and Patience of his own Seed, there-  
 in to be Armed, and given up in his Will, in  
 all your Tribulations, and Crown you all  
 with Life, Dominion and Glory, to his Eter-  
 nal Praise, and your Joy and Satisfaction.

*Your dear Brother in the Faith, and Fellow-  
 Sufferer for the Testimony of God,*

G. Whitehead,

White-Lyon Prison in }  
 Southwark, the 30th }  
 of the 5th Mo. 1664.

I shall next observe to the Reader, the Exer-  
 cises and Hardships, with which some were  
 attended, who were under Sentence of Banish-  
 ment to *Jamaica*, to the Number of Fifty five  
 Persons, Thirty seven Men, and Eighteen Wo-  
 men, all put on Board one Ship; and for a par-  
 ticular Account I refer to the following Rela-  
 tion, which I received from *Degory Marshall*,  
 under his own hand, who was of that Number.

IN the Year 1664. as I remember, we were  
 Sentenced for *Banishment* to *Jamaica*, at  
*Hicks's-Hall* by Judge *Hyde*, and Judge *Twis-*  
*den*, and our Number was Fifty five, Thirty  
 seven Men, and Eighteen Women; I think  
 all Single, but one Widow Woman, who left two  
 Children: We were put on Board the Ship  
 the 4th of the 6th Month, 1665. all except  
 four, which were put on Board the 20th of  
 the 5th Month; and as I remember, I and the  
 rest of this Company were kept Prisoners in  
*Newgate*, before and after we were Sentenced,  
 about Thirteen Months before we went on  
 Board the Ship. The Ship was called the  
*Black Eagle*, and lay at Anchor in *Bugby's-*  
*Hole*, the Master's Name was *Fudge*, by some  
 called *Lying Fudge*. Our Guard on Board the  
 Ship were Red-Coat Soldiers from the *Tower*;  
 we lay in the River of *Thames* about seven  
 Weeks before we got to the *Downs*, in which  
 time there died of our Number Twenty seven,  
 many of which were buried in the *Marshes*  
 below *Gravesend*; Twenty seven survived, and  
 remained on Board the Ship; and there was  
 one other Person of whom no certain Account  
 could be given.

*Fudge* did not himself proceed the Voyage,  
 but, as I am informed, he afterwards going in  
 a *Fire-Ship*, which foundered in the Sea, he  
 and all the Company were Drowned.

We were taken by a *Dutch Privateer*, about  
 three Leagues to the West-ward off *Scilly*, and  
 some of us were put on Board the *Privateer*,


1665. the rest remained on Board the Prize Ship:  
 And as to our Treatment, it was exceeding  
 bad the first Night after we were taken, which  
 can hardly be expressed by reason of our Wo-  
 men: But the Lord was pleased to preserve  
 us out of all their wicked Attempts, which  
 must still be acknowledged with Thankful-  
 ness to God, to be more than an ordinary  
 Mercy. But in all other respects as well as  
 could be expected.

I think we all met in *Holland*, but how  
 long we stay'd there, I cannot exactly re-  
 member; and I think all came to *England*,  
 except *John Claus*, who stay'd at *Amsterdam*.  
 The Friends of *Amsterdam* Hired a Vessel,  
 which brought us to *Middleburg* in *Flanders*,  
 whence we Travelled to *Ostend* on Foot, not  
 questioned by the Magistrates. The Ma-  
 ster of the Ship that brought us from *Ostend*,  
 was put to some Trouble, as I was informed;  
 but Friends stood by him, and assured him, that  
 what Damage he sustained upon our Account,  
 should be made good to him.

*Degory Marshall.*

The Reason why this Person expresseth him-  
 self with so much Caution, as to his Remem-  
 brance, and as he thinketh, &c. is, because  
 he made no Collection of what passed in this  
 their Peregrination, until many Years after,  
 when I desired it of him.

I have been informed that sundry Ship-  
 Masters were treated with, who refused to take  
 them on Board, chusing rather to lay up their  
 Ships;

Ships; but *Fudge* being asked, he readily con- 1665.  
 sented to receive them, and having contracted   
 great Debts to Victual and Fit the Ship, was  
 afterwards Arrested and cast into Prison, and  
*Peter Love* was made Master; but the Sea-  
 men leaving the Ship, a Warrant was obtained  
 to Impress Men, who after they were on Board  
 would leave the Ship also: But it being a time  
 of War with the *Dutch*, and there being some  
*Dutch* Sea-men Prisoners, some of them were a-  
 greed withal to go with the Ship, in Company  
 with some *English*. *John Claus* before mention-  
 ed, being a *German* Born, but for some time  
 had dwelt in *London*, and being convinced of  
 the Truth revealed and made known to and a-  
 mongst the *Quakers*, and by believing in Christ  
 Jesus the true Light, made manifest in his own  
 Heart and Conscience, he received and pro-  
 fessed it; and being taken at Friends Meetings,  
 was imprisoned among others; and upon his  
 Tryal, although he informed the Court, that  
 he was not a Subject of *England*, yet he was  
 Sentenced to Banishment with the rest: He  
 returned not to *England*, but settled in *Amster-*  
*dam*, where he continues to this Day a Witness  
 for that one Everlasting and Unchangeable  
 Truth, unto which he bore a faithful Testimo-  
 ny in that Day by Suffering.

Next follows a Copy of a Letter, written  
 by *Laurence Fullove*, to his Uncle *Amos Stod-*  
*dart* from *Amsterdam*; he was one of the Ba-  
 nished Number that remained on Board the  
*English* Ship, which Copy coming Providen-  
 tially to my Hands soon after it came to  
 G 3 *England*.

1665. *England*, I shall here present the Reader with  
 it.

*Uncle Amos!*

‘ **M**Y endeared Love to thee in the Truth  
 ‘ which changeth not, but is in it self  
 ‘ Everlasting, and every particular, that is,  
 ‘ and hath his abiding in it, is established upon  
 ‘ a Rock that is not to be shaken, Such is the  
 ‘ Wisdom, Knowledge, Might, and Power of  
 ‘ Him that brought it to us, and maintains it  
 ‘ alive in us, that his Glorious Name may be  
 ‘ had in Everlasting Remembrance by all that  
 ‘ Fear before him; for most true it is, there  
 ‘ is no God like to our God, who is come  
 ‘ nigh unto us in a needful Time, and is pre-  
 ‘ sent in us, to refresh and warm our Hearts  
 ‘ with a Measure of his Heavenly Vertue, which  
 ‘ is sweet, and nourishes every part of his  
 ‘ Body or Church, to keep it fresh and  
 ‘ amiable to God’s Everlasting Glory: For by  
 ‘ his great Power it is that we stand approved  
 ‘ in his sight, who exalts the Arm of his Sal-  
 ‘ vation over all, in the Covenant of Life and  
 ‘ Peace, which is matter of great Concernment  
 ‘ to the Particular Birth, which is raised in  
 ‘ the Faith, and makes its Abode in the Light,  
 ‘ and is lead into the Heavenly, which is far  
 ‘ exceeding in Glory the fading Earthly.

‘ I know thou art satisfied in thy Purchase,  
 ‘ and so am I, for being in the Exercise of that  
 ‘ which the Blessing is to, and feeling it in its  
 ‘ Purity and Dominion, I have my End over  
 ‘ all Sufferings: So good is the Lord, and  
 ‘ good



‘ good is the Word of his Grace which he 1665.  
 ‘ Ministers. w

‘ I am satisfied by Friends, that thou hast  
 ‘ heard of our being arrived at *Norway*; but  
 ‘ I shall inform thee more fully, how that after  
 ‘ the great Tempest at Sea, the two Ships that  
 ‘ Friends were in lost one another; the Ship  
 ‘ that we were in kept the Sea four or five Days,  
 ‘ before we saw any Land, and then came in  
 ‘ sight of *Norway*, and had a Day or two of  
 ‘ Calm Weather, where we hovered to and  
 ‘ again, endeavouring what we could for *Hol-*  
 ‘ *land*; but the Wind coming against us, we  
 ‘ concluded to put into *Norway*, and Sailed to  
 ‘ *Bergen*, where we lay in the Harbour about  
 ‘ Twenty Days: When we came first thither  
 ‘ many came to see us, and to them that could  
 ‘ understand *English* we gave Books, insomuch  
 ‘ that many being given out, the *Raters* of  
 ‘ the place took notice of it, and sent Orders  
 ‘ that no more should be given. The Towns  
 ‘ People did importune us pretty much to come  
 ‘ on Shore to refresh our selves, but the Magi-  
 ‘ strates would not suffer any of the Men-  
 ‘ Friends to go on Shore, but the Women-  
 ‘ Friends might, they said; but they had not  
 ‘ Freedom so to do: So we were not any of us  
 ‘ a-shore in that Country. After we came from  
 ‘ thence, we were more than two Weeks before  
 ‘ we came to *Holland*: We were in all two  
 ‘ Months in the *Hollanders* Custody, before we  
 ‘ Arrived at Home; but were set at Liberty  
 ‘ out of the Ship called the *Black Eagle*, the  
 ‘ next Day after we came thither, and we

1665. *W* passed that Night for *Amsterdam*. Our Usage, considering what Mens Hands we were fallen into, as to necessary Food, was pretty well, and Bedding we had to lie on, but left somewhat thin of Cloaths, considering the time of the Year, and the Country we were cast into; but we were generally preserved in Health over all.

There are three gone to *Rotterdam*, and I with the rest of Friends are in *Amsterdam*; and after a little while spent with Friends here, and that we are a little furnished with some necessary things, it is with us to return to *England*; feeling him nigh that justifies, we have Boldness, and the Simplicity of our Hearts this Day is known to the Lord alone, how innocently we suffer; and in a Measure of that Life which is without Guile, are enabled to do and suffer his Will, who sanctifies and keeps clean the Heart, that it may not be defiled with that which is Corruptible and Fading.

So with my Love to Friends, I remain thy Affectionate Relation,

Laurence Fullove.

From Amsterdam, the

27th of the 2d Mo.

1666.

SECT.

## S E C T. VII.

*Meetings Molested, and Meeting-Houses seized by the Magistrates for the KING, and afterwards, Guards of Soldiers plac'd in Meeting-Houses to keep us out, and what ensued thereupon.*

**N**OW ceased the Prosecution of the Act for Banishment ; but during the *Great Plague* or *Sickness*, in the Year 1665, which Raged in the City of *London*, and Suburbs, and other Parts of the Nation, Persecution ceased not, but the Goals in and about the City, were filled with the Innocent Servants of the Lord, and for no other Cause, but meeting to Worship him in Spirit and in Truth ; yet by the Providence of God, Meetings were in that time Continued and Upheld, tho' but by small Numbers that were at Liberty, but frequently interrupted by Soldiers ; and some Friends were Imprisoned ; amongst whom it fell to my Lot, being at the *Peel-Meeting* in *John's Street*, on the Third Day of the Week, according to our usual Manner, where about the number of Sixteen were Assembled ; and One Friend being upon his Knees in Prayer to God, a Company of Soldiers of the Train'd Bands, came in upon us, and haled the Friend from his Duty of Prayer, and took us all that were met together, and had us to the King's Guard, over against *White-Hall*, and there left us, where we were kept all that Night. The  
Guards

1665. Guards were Civil to us, but in the Morning we being all brought out into the Yard, and placed under a Guard of Musketeers, an Officer came to us, as he said, from the Lord General (*George Monk*) the Duke of *Albermarle*, and told us, if we would each of us, pay *Forty Shillings* to the Poor of the Parish, we might have our Liberty; otherwise we were to be committed to the *Gate-House* Prison for Three Months: And accordingly upon our Refusal, to pay the said Demand of *Forty Shillings* each, we were all put into the *Gate-House* Prison, *Westminster*, where were sundry other Friends, Prisoners, committed before us. In the time of our Imprisonment, many Prisoners Died of the Sickness, Four or Five in one Night, as I have been told; yet it pleased God of his Infinite Mercy to spare us; so that not one Friend Died there, during the whole Time.

The next Year, 1666, happened the Dreadful Fire of *London*: These Great and Notable Judgments, did Impede and Obstruct the Persecution intended, and the Design aimed at by the Banishing Act.

The Dreadful Burning of the City of *London*, was a great Unsettlement to the Multitude of Inhabitants; and tho' for some time, such as had no Houses, were eased from Sufferings by the Hireling Priests; yet Sufferings of other Kinds did attend us.

The Meeting-House, called the *Bull and Mouth*, being Burnt down, and Friends having taken part of a Great House without *Bishops-Gate*, called *Devonshire-House*; a Meeting was there

there held on First Days, &c. instead of the 1666 Bull and Mouth; and the Elder Men Friends, had sometimes a Meeting in an Upper Room, as formerly they had at the Bull and Mouth, to consider of the Affairs of the Church, and to order things for the good Government thereof: but the restless Adversaries of our Prosperity, still pursued us, Molesting and Disquieting our Peaceable Assemblies: And One of the Sheriffs of the City, came to the said Meeting Place, pretending to seize it for the King, and having shut the Door, and set the broad Arrow, he hung a Padlock on the Door, which was soon taken off, and Friends held their Meetings as at other Times.

In the time when the City was Rebuilding, a piece of Ground being offered in *White-Hart-Court* in *Gracious-Street*, and approved for conveniency of Scituation, to Build upon; it was taken by Friends, and a Meeting-House was there Built, as at this Day.

In some little time after that the Meeting-House was finished, and Friends held Meetings there: The Officers came thither also, pretending to seize it for the King; after which, a Priest with a Guard of Constables and Watchmen, came there to Read *Common-Prayer*, &c. according to the Form of the National Church; but this held not long, for the Priests Work did not Prosper, and he grew soon weary of it.

After this, the Enemy of all Good, put them upon taking other Measures, and that was sometimes by Guards of Soldiers, who keeping Guard in our Meeting-Houses, would keep us  
out

1666. out in the Streets ; other times, we were kept  
 W out by Constables and Watchmen, whereupon  
 Friends would gather together in the Streets,  
 as near to the Meeting-Houses, as the Guards  
 would suffer them to come ; and so were we  
 exposed to the Seasons of Heat and Cold, Wet  
 and Dry : and if the Lord opened the Mouth  
 of any of his Servants to speak of the things of  
 the Kingdom of God, to exhort to Patience,  
 Perseverance, and Stedfastness in the Faith,  
 such were often immediately taken away with  
 whom else they pleased, and secured by the  
 Guard, until the Meeting broke up ; and then  
 being carried before the Mayor, or some other  
 Magistrate, were committed to Prison until  
 Sessions, and then were Indicted for Riots, Routs,  
 and Unlawful Assemblies, met with Force and  
 Arms, to the Terror of the People, &c. Some-  
 times they have taken to the number of Twenty  
 or Thirty, and had them before the Mayor ;  
 who not intending Severity, hath Fined them  
 at Five Shillings each ; some of which Fines  
 have been paid by Spectators, who waiting to  
 see the Issue of such Proceedings, have followed  
 the Friends to the Mayor's ; and as the *Ser-  
 pent or Dragon cast out of his Mouth, Water as  
 a Flood after the Woman, that he might cause  
 her to be carryed away ; these like the Earth,  
 have helped the Woman, and swallowed up the  
 Flood, Revel, 12. 16.* And some of these Spe-  
 ctators, would pay as many Five Shillings, as  
 they had Money in their Pockets to answer ;  
 and as many as they thus paid for, were Dis-  
 charged, and the rest Committed and Tryed as  
 aforesaid.

aforeſaid. For a particular Inſtance of the 1666. Proceedings of the Court in this Caſe, I refer the Reader to the Printed Tryals of *William Penn* and *William Mead*, and others, at the Sessions at the *Old Baily*, in the Year 1670.

## S E C T. VIII.

*Of the Beginning and Progreſs of the Conventicle Act, with the Form of a Convicting Warrant, and what enſued thereupon.*

**T**HE Rigorous and Severe Proceedings upon the *Act of Banishment*, having met with eminent Rebukes, as the Plague, Fire, and Wars with the *Dutch*, with other Clogs and Obſtructions which happened; and the Perſecution upon that Act ceaſing, tho' during the Sickneſs, Perſecutions of other kinds ceaſed not, as hath been already hinted. Yet as *Pharaoh* of old, would not let *Iſrael* go, ſo this Generation, would not let the People go, to offer the Sacrifice of a Broken Heart to God, and to Worſhip him in his own free Spirit as he required them; and therefore another Law was made, called the *Conventicle Act*, wherein it was provided, That wherever any Meeting or Conventicle was held, under the Colour or Pretence of Religious Worſhip, contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England, where were Aſſembled to the number of Five Perſons, more or over, and beſides thoſe of the Family or Houſhold;

1670. Household ; and should there take upon them  
 to Teach or Preach, &c. The Teacher or Preacher to incur the Penalty of Twenty Pounds ; and in Case of his Poverty or being a Stranger, the Sum Inflicted was Charged on the Hearers ; so as no hearer be Charged above Ten Pounds for his own Offence ; and that of the Preacher, one half to the King, and the other half to the Informers, each hearer might be charged five Shillings for his own Offence, but not less ; and for the Poverty of others, or an unknown Preacher, together with his own, Ten Pounds, and not more.

This *Act* was put into the Hands and Power of Informers, who being a Wicked, Prophane, Loose, Base sort of People, both Men and Women, what woful Work they made, and what Encouragement they had from some Men in Authority, cannot easily be forgotten, by such as Suffered by their Irregular, Unwarrantable, and Fallacious Proceedings ; sometimes Forswearing themselves, giving Informations against Persons that were absent, mistaking in their Informations, the Days and Times of the Meetings, Swearing to Convict a Preacher, altho' the Meeting was held in Silence, and not a Word spoken, except by one of their own Company, taking upon him to utter a confused Sentence or Two, to give Occasion to levy Twenty Pounds upon the Meeting, for a Fine of a Preacher ; and accordingly these Wicked Persons, void of all Fear of God, or Regard to Man as they ought, having Contrived Matter for an Information, they go to a Justice of Peace,



Peace, and there give Evidence upon Oath, 1670.  
 which was a Conviction.

I have read that *Tacitus* complain'd, that his time afforded nothing notable for History, besides the Corruptions of Judges, the Incouragements of Informers and Malicious Prosecutions, and the Laws made for the Peoples Security, turn'd into Snares and Gins, to Catch and Destroy the Brave and Vertuous: of all which, our late Times have afforded Instances more than enough; upon which Conviction, Execution issued, without hearing the Party, and a Warrant forthwith granted for a Distress: The Law allowed an Appeal, but little Relief could be had by it, especially in the City of *London*, where *Thomas Fenner* was then Recorder, and a notorious Incourager of the Informers, and into whose Hands the Effects of Distresses came, and also the Money upon Appeals was paid to him; and he being also sole Judge of the Appeals; upon Tryal of undue Convictions by False Swearing, he would find Ways to Baffle the Appeal; and after this manner he dealt with me; the Informers having Sworn to a wrong Day, upon which I was Convicted for Ten Pounds, which I Deposited, and entred my Appeal, which came in course to a Tryal, where I had retained Counsel to Plead; a Jury being Sworn, my Cause was called among others, and Witnesses being Examined; after which the Jury going forth to agree upon their Verdict, *Thomas Fenner* goes from the Bench, and in some small time returns: The Jury coming in with their Verdicts, and having

The  
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 rials.

1670. having dropt my Cause, it was called over again, in order to a new Tryal; *Thomas Jenner*, saying, *A Slip in the Record should not serve Turn*; whereupon I made Application to my Counsel, who advised me to withdraw my Appeal, to prevent a worse Consequence; for says he, they are resolved to carry it: so I suffered the loss of my Money and all the Charges.

I have been the more particular in this Relation of Fact, that the Reader may take notice of the Combinations of Wicked Men, who joyned Hand in Hand to drive on Oppression; and according to *Isa 59. 13, 14, 15. Conceiving and uttering from the Heart, words of Falsehood; and Judgment is turned backward, and Justice standeth afar off; for Truth is fallen in the Street, and Equity cannot enter; yea Truth faileth, and he that departeth from Evil, maketh himself a Prey, and the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no Judgment.*

The Lord is the same for ever, through all Generations; *his Hand is not shortned that it cannot save, neither his Ear heavy that it cannot hear, Isa. 50. 2.* And altho' Long-Suffering and Patience are very great, yet the Wicked shall not go unpunished, *for God shall wound the head of his Enemies, and the hairy scalp of such an one as goeth on still in his Trespasses.* He is a God of Justice as well as of Mercy; he will in no wise acquit the Wicked, except they repent and return unto him with their whole Heart.

Here

Here followeth the Form of a *Convicting* Warrant.

London. ff.

To all Constables, Headboroughs, Church-Wardens, Tything-Men, Overseers of the Poor, Bailiffs, and all other His MAJESTY'S Officers, within the said City whatsoever.

**W** Hereas by the Oaths of Two Credible Witnesses, before me Sir Jonathan Raymond, One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the City aforesaid. There was a Conventicle or Unlawful Assembly, held the 13th Day of this Instant June, in a certain Meeting in White-Hart-Court by Grace-Church-Street, in the aforesaid City in the Forenoon; wherein were a Company of Persons all above the Age of Sixteen Years, and Subjects of this Realm, to the number of above Sixteen more than those of the Family or Household, contrary to the Act of Parliament in that Case made and provided; amongst whom was William Crouch, Upholsterer, in Grace-Church-Street in the aforesaid City. In which Conventicle or Unlawful Assembly, to these Deponents was a Person unknown, who did take upon him to Teach and Preach under

Jonat.  
Ray-  
mond.

1670. or pretence of Exercise of Religion, in other  
 Manner and Form, than according to the Li-  
 turgy and Practise of the Church of England ;  
 whereby the Penalty of Twenty Pounds was for-  
 feited by the Preacher or Teacher, as aforesaid ;  
 who being unknown, as aforesaid, the Penalty  
 by him forfeited, ought of consequence to be  
 Levied by the said Act, upon the Hearers and  
 Persons there Present, and Convicted thereof,  
 so as not above Ten Pounds be Levied on any  
 one Person, for any one Offence ; for which  
 Cause, I have Imposed the Fine of Ten Pounds  
 for his own Offence, and part of the Preachers  
 Offence.

These are therefore in His Majesties Name,  
 and by Vertue of the said Act, to Command  
 you or some of you, to Levie the said Sum of  
 Ten Pounds, by way of Distress and Sale of  
 the said Offenders Goods above mentioned ; and  
 if you are refused Entrance into the House,  
 or any part of the House or Houses in Possession  
 or Occupation of the said William Crouch,  
 after you have declared your Business in His  
 Majesty's Name, you are hereby required to  
 break open all and every the Doors, Barracadoes,  
 &c. belonging to any part of the House or  
 Houses as aforesaid ; and to Enter and Levie  
 the full Contents of what you can find towards  
 all and every the Warrants that you shall be  
 charged with, during the time you shall be in  
 Possession

Possession of such Premisses in Pursuance of 1670. the said Statute; and that you return the same to me, to be distributed according to the said Act; and for so doing, this shall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal this 23<sup>d</sup> Day of June, Anno Regni Regis Caroli Secundi, 35. &c. Annoque Domini, 1683.

Another Warrant of the like Contents, bearing Date 21<sup>st</sup> of April, 1684, was made against me by *Thomas Jenner*, Recorder, to Levy Ten Pounds upon my Goods by way of Distress, for a Meeting in *Gracious-Street*; upon which I entred my Appeal, and the Proceeding thereupon were as aforesaid.

Thus were we exposed and laid open by a Law, to be Devoured by Beasts of Prey; and neither our own Innocency, nor our own Houses could defend us, or preserve us from being Ruined by Unreasonable and Wicked Men; making Void the Ancient Priviledge of an *English Man*, and the old Maxim, that a Man's House is his Castle: but we had no other Help or Dependence but on the Providence of God, through which only we were Preserved from utter Destruction. These things were sometimes brought to my Consideration, as I was going to my Bed, not knowing, but that Night might be the last Night I might have a Bed to lie on; for I knew not how many Informations were Sworn against me, nor what Warrants were Issued out for Distresses. But blessed be

1670. the Lord, all anxious Care was taken from me, and I was not thoughtful, nor over careful what might befall on the Morrow, but was resigned to the Will of God: The Remembrance of his tender Love and Compassion remains fresh upon my Soul to this very Day, and my Spirit magnifies him, saying, He is the same that ever he was through all Generations, to all that Love and Fear him.

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## S E C T. X.

*The Answer of the BISHOP of Canterbury, to George Whitehead and my self, upon our Application to him, and signifying the Perjury and False Evidence of the Informers, &c. with some Commentaries thereupon.*

**I**T may not be improper in this Place to take notice, that upon the Proceedings against us, *George Whitehead*, and I with him, went to the Bishop of *Canterbury* (Doctor *Sandcroft*, as I take it he was called) at his House at *Lambeth*, to complain of the Irregular Proceedings against us, the *Quakers*, upon the *Conventicle Act* by Informers, who Swore falsely, by which many were Convicted, and Distresses made accordingly, which we informed him of; and that it was a Dishonour to their Church. To which he reply'd, with great Unconcernedness of Mind, and without much regard, *That a Ship*

*Ship could not be Built without some crooked* 1670.  
*Timber.* But is it not great Pity, and cause of Sorrow, that this Metropolitan Bishop, and Overseer of the Church, should be so manifestly overseen, as thus to Reply? For is it possible that Men and Women, who are altogether Immoral in their Actions, and in their Nature and Practice not only inconsistent with, but destructive to Humane Society, can be useful or serviceable in the Church; or contribute to the well-being of any thing that is good, by such unwarrantable Practices? Wherefore these are no necessary Members in a true Christian Church, but in the Church of Antichrist only. Perhaps it will be granted, that crooked Legs, or deformed Members, as such, may be useful or beneficial to a Natural Body; but Men who are corrupt in Principle, and vicious in Conversation, cannot be useful or serviceable in the Church of Christ: This I think is a proper Comparison, and full Refutation of the Bishop's Answer, and a clear Proof or Evidence of his being overseen or mistaken in his Reply, respecting the Usefulness of *Crooked Timber* in the Building of a Ship, to which he compared the Church; which although called a *Christian Church*, yet so qualified cannot be the Church of Christ, whereof he is Head, and all the Members of him are fitly framed, not crooked or perverse; and no Member in that Body can say to another, I have no need of thee; but they are made to serve one another in Love, not to betray or ensnare one another.

1670. But may not this Answer of the Bishop be speak, or some may suppose at least, the Bishop to be a Merchant Trafficking to Sea, and dwelling in the City or Suburbs of *Mystical Babylon*, by his suddain and sharp Reply in the Comparison of a *Ship*, in the Building of which Crooked Timber is of that Use and Service, that a Ship cannot be Built without it. But although Crooked Timber may be useful in Building a Ship, how will the Comparison hold, that Crooked, Perverse, Scandalous, Perjured Persons, can or may be useful to uphold the Church? May it not from hence be concluded, or what else may be the Consequence of his Reply, but that their Church is this Ship? It was to the Church we referred the Dishonour by False Evidences, and it was to that Reference the Bishop made Answer, where Crooked Timber, it seems, is so useful; Crooked, because contrary to Strait, not Upright, not to be squared by an equal Rule, but bending and warping from it, false to Truth, Lyars, and Forswearing themselves; yet useful in the Bishop's sense for the Church, the Ship, to which belongs Store of Mariners to sail her upon the Waters, which are Peoples and Multitudes, Nations and Tongues; these are the Waters where their Ship sails, and where the great City *Mystery Babylon, the great Whore sitteth*, Rev. 17. 15. She is call'd a *Whore*. Rev. 17. 1, 2. *with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed Fornication, and the Inhabiters of the Earth have been made drunk with the Wine of her Fornication. The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him,*



him, to shew unto his Servants, he sent and signified it by his Angel unto his Servant John, Revel. 1. 1. And he being carried away by the Spirit into the Wilderness, there he saw a Woman sitting upon a Scarlet coloured Beast, &c. And he describes how She was Arrayed and Decked with Gold, &c. And having a Golden Cup in her Hand, (a Form of Religion) and upon her Forehead, was a Name written, **Mysterp, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and Abomination of the Earth.** This Woman, this *Mystery Babylon*, he saw drunken with the Blood of the Saints, and with the Blood of the Martyrs of Jesus, Revel. 17. 3, 4, 5, 6.

The City Babel, Gen. 10. which was locally Scituated in the Land of Shinar, Whose Foundations were early, and laid soon after the Flood, in the Third Generation from Noah; where Nimrod, who began to be a mighty One in the Earth, he was a mighty Hunter before the Lord; he wanted Greatness and Grandeur in the Earth, and hunted for Power to Oppress: His name is rendred to signify a Rebel, or Rebellion; a Sinner or Transgressor; a Tyrant, the Son of Cush, and Grandson of Cursed Ham: The beginning of his Figurative Kingdom was there, and is Relative to this City *Mystery Babylon*, as the Figure to the Signification, the beginning of Pride, Ambition, and open Rebellion against God, under the Countenance of a King was there; and the Progress of this Kingdom, was, and is suitable to its Institution; it was begun in Wickedness, and produced Confusion: This mighty Hunter or Tyrant

1670. *Nimrod*, receding from Innocency, came to inherit God's Curse; and whatsoever to this Day hath been acted or done by any Power, setting it self against God and his People, hath been relative to *Babel*, that was the early Figure of that Pride, Ambition, Idolatry and Persecution, which have Reigned and Exalted themselves through Ages and Generations, and still bear Rule in the Mystery or Mystical *Babylon*, sitting upon the Waters, and riding upon the Scarlet colour'd Beast: The Spirit of Contradiction, Pride and Presumption, to comprehend the Secrets of the most High, by Policy, Wit and Contrivance, begun there; they being all of one Language, and united in the strength of their Imaginations, they held a Council to Build a City and a Tower, and they said, *go to*, (which may imply to agree and unite in Strength) *let us Build us a City and a Tower whose Top may reach unto Heaven; and the Lord came down to see the City and Tower which the Children of Men Builde. And the Lord said, behold the People is one, and they have all one Language, and this they begin to do; now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do; go to, let us go down, and there confound their Language, that they may not understand one anothers Speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the Earth; and they left off to Build the City, Gen. 11. 5, 6, 7, 8.* And as then, they in the Strength and Power of their own Wills which prompted them to attempt the Knowledge of the hidden Mysteries of God, by Earthly

ly Policy and Contrivance, and by Materials 1670.  
 formed of the Earth, Brick and Mortar, compacted and bound together by Art and Skill, and work of Mens Hands, to erect and set up a Building, by which, to Peep into Heaven, and make themselves Masters and Judges of the Secrets of the most High. So the Mystery of Iniquity hath continued through Ages; and Proud, Ambitious, Vain Men, have, and still do aspire and contrive by Humane Study, Art and School Learning, formed of Earthly Wisdom, and Comprehension; compacted and bound together, are Building a City and a Tower, whose Top may reach to Heaven, thereby attempting and presuming to make themselves Masters and Dispensers of the Mysteries of the Kingdom of God; but God hath taken notice thereof, and is come down to confound their Language, yea, and they are Confounded: Confusion is over them and upon them. The Mystery of Iniquity, which began with *Babel*, and hath continued through Ages and Generations, shall come to an End, in this the Day of the Lord, which is now Dawned. I do not pretend to know or foretel the Hour, the Day or the Year, according to the common Calculation of Time, but it shall be fulfilled in the Day of the Lord, with whom *One Day is as a Thousand Years, and a Thousand Years as One Day*, 2 Pet. 3. 8.

That Time is approaching and drawing near, Blessed be the Lord for ever: Rejoyce ye Mourners in *Zion*, Sing aloud for Joy of Heart, for the Hour of your Deliverance draweth near.

For

1670. For thus saith the Lord by his Prophet, *I was wroth with my People, I have polluted mine Inheritance, and given them into thine Hand; thou didst shew them no Mercy; upon the Ancient hast thou very heavily laid thy Yoke; and thou saidst I shall be a Lady for ever; I am, and there is none else besides me. I shall not sit as a Widow, neither shall I know the loss of Children. But these two things shall come to thee in a moment in one Day, the loss of Children and Widowhood, they shall come upon thee in their Perfection, for the multitude of thy Sorceries, and for the great abundance of thine Inchantments, for thou hast trusted in thy Wickedness, therefore shall Evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it ariseth, &c. Isa. 47. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.*

Babylon's Destruction is further declared by the Prophet *Jeremiah, Because ye were glad, because ye rejoyced, O ye Destroyers of mine Heritage, because ye are grown fat as the Heifer at Grass, and bellow as Bulls. Your Mother shall be sore confounded, &c. Every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished and hiss at her Plagues, Jer. 50. 11, 12, 13. O thou that dwellest upon many Waters, abundant in Treasures, thine End is come, and the measure of thy Covetousness, Jer. 51. 13.*

So *Jeremiah wrote in a Book all the Evil that should come upon Babylon, and that it shall be desolate for ever; to which Book, the Prophet was commanded to bind a Stone, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates; and thou shalt say, thus shall Babylon sink, Jer. 51. 60, 62, 63, 64. And now by comparing the Prophecy of John, with what*


what is above taken notice of, we may observe 1670.  
 the Harmony and Agreeing Testimonies of the w  
 Spirit of Prophecy in all, to whom God is  
 pleased to reveal and make known his Will,  
 and the Mysteries of his Determination and  
 Counfel.

*And a mighty Angel took up a Stone, like a great Milstone, and cast it into the Sea, saying, thus with Violence shall that great City Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all, Rev. 18. 21.* The Merchants of this great City who have had Ships at Sea, have been made Rich by the abundance of her Merchandise, which are enumerated and reckoned up, amongst which are mentioned Slaves and Souls of Men, *ver. 13.* These they have and do Traffick for, and set to Sale to be Ransomed, Purchased, Redeemed, and Saved from Purgatory, &c. By Ways and Means She hath at her dispose, She hath Pardons, Indulgencies, Dignities, Creations, Promotions, Ordinations, and Benefices to bestow for Money: She hath also Sacraments to Sell; as Sprinkling with Water, calling it Baptism, and pretending to make Persons Members of Christ thereby; and Consecrated Bread and Wine, which She miscalls the Body and Blood of Christ. Here is the Mystery of Iniquity; these are the intoxicating Wines drunk out of her Cup, which have made the Kings of the Earth and Nations Drunk, Reeling and Staggering: They have pretended to have that to Sell for Money, which God by his Prophet offered freely, *Wine and Milk without Money and without Price, Isa. 55. 1.* She

1670. She like a Harlot hath enticed the Nations, and the Kings of the Earth have committed Fornication with her : She hath deluded and deceived them by her Witchcraft, presenting those things to the Eye of their Mind, as Realities, which are but Shadows, and so beguile their Understandings ; they have suffer'd her, and do suffer her to ride them, and they have arrayed her : She hath made them to give her Blood to drink, the Blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Jesus.

But this great City *Babylon* and her Merchants, are come into remembrance before the Lord, and he will render unto her double for all her Iniquity : *Her Plagues shall come in one Day, Death, and Mourning, and Famine ; and she shall be utterly burnt with Fire ; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. And the Kings of the Earth, who have committed Fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her Burning standing afar off, for the fear of her Torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great City Babylon, that mighty City ; for in one Hour is thy Judgment come. And the Merchants of the Earth shall Weep and Mourn over her, for no Man buyeth her Merchandise any more,* Rev. 18. 8, 9, 10, 11.

The Waters are drying up, and there shall be no more Sea ; the Waters where the Whore sitteth, and where her Ships Sail, which are Peoples and Multitudes, Nations and Tongues, these shall be so dried up, as that their Ships the Ships of the Merchants of *Babylon* cannot  
Sail

Sail there, nor shall they Sail there; no float- 1670.  
 ing Vessels with Sails, spread and filled with   
*every wind of Doctrine*, by the Slight and cunning Craftiness of Men: No florid Discourses, or gingling Orations to please itching Ears, framed and compacted by Art and School-Learning, shall be bought and sold in her Markets any more; now her Ship with their Tackle shall cease, and become useles, for no Man buyeth her Merchandize any more; which great and notable Disappointment will cause her Merchants to Weep and Mourn.

In this time of *Babylon's Destruction* is *Zion's Deliverance*; for the Lord is remembering of her, *Look upon Zion the City of our Solemnities, thine Eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet Habitation, a Tabernacle which shall not be taken down, not one of the Stakes thereof shall ever be removed; neither shall any of the Cords thereof be broken: But there the Glorious Lord will be unto us a Place of broad Rivers and Streams, wherein shall no Gally with Oars, neither shall Gallant Ships pass thereby; for the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King, he will save us, Isai. 33. 20, 21, 22.*

God hath been pleased mercifully to let me see in some Measure these Prophecies fulfilled, and fulfilling, and that the great City *Babylon*, the *Mother of Harlots*, and *Abominations of the Earth*, is going into Everlasting Perdition; out of which she shall never return.

*The Kingdoms of this World, are become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall Reign for ever and ever, Rev. 11. 15.*

1670. The Bishop's sharp and quick Reply, to our Appeal to him upon the Irregular Proceedings of the Informers, &c. hath occasioned me to enlarge upon that Subject, beyond what I at first intended; but however I conceive it is no more than what may properly be deduced as the Consequence, and necessarily concluded from the Premisses.

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## S E C T. XI.

*Shews the Sharp and Watchful Eye of the Priests, after their Gain from their Quarter, upon Rebuilding the City after the FIRE.*

**M**Y Dwelling House in *Finch-Lane*, in the Parish of *Bennet-Fink*, so call'd, being amongst others Burn'd, and the Parish Church, so called, also, I was for some time free from the Raking Covetous Priests, who seek their Gain from their Quarter; and Friends, call'd *Quakers*, having taken a part of *Devonshire-House* without *Bishopsgate*, for a Meeting Place instead, of the *Bull and Mouth*, which was Burnt down in the great Conflagration; I had my Dwelling there in that Part, during which time the Parish Priest was paid by the Landlord.

After the City was Rebuilt, and Inhabited, I returned into the City again, and seated myself in *Gracions-street*, where the Parish Church,



so called, being Erected and Finished, and the 1675.  
 Priests hungry and greedy for Hire, they soon  
 obtained Power to *Sheer the Fleece* without  
 taking *Care of the Flock*, or to know them,  
 otherwise than to sheer them; some of them  
 perhaps dwelling many Miles distant, and de-  
 puting Journey-men for Hire to appear in the  
 Publick-House twice or thrice in a Week.

The first Priest that encounter'd me after I  
 return'd into the City, and came into *Gracious-*  
*street*, was *John Cliffe*, call'd *Rector* of *St. Bennet*  
*Grace-Church, London*, in the Year 1675. who  
 by a Warrant from *Robert Viner* Mayor, for  
 Three Quarters of a Year Tythes, reckon'd  
 One Pound Nineteen Shillings, seized Two  
 Pieces of White Serge, value Three Pounds Ten  
 Shillings, and brought in for Charges of De-  
 straining Fifteen Shillings Seven Pence; and  
 some Months after he return'd Fifteen Shillings  
 Five Pence Sealed up in a Paper, with the  
 Account, which when I had opened and Read,  
 I returned the Money, with the following  
 Lines.

Novemb. 1675.

*John Cliffe,*

SOME few Days since (I suppose by thy  
 Appointment) was put into my Hands a  
 Sealed Paper, in which, when I open'd it, I  
 perceived thy unreasonable Proceedings, the  
 Money therein sent I shall not receive in  
 Satisfaction for my two Serges, but hope for  
 a better Account when thy Conscience is a-  
 wakened. The Ministers of the Gospel seek  
 not

1670. 'not to Live by Oppression, nor Cloath they  
 W themselves with Wool, exacted from Sheep  
 'they do not feed.

'I receive not ought from thee, nor do I  
 'want any thing which thou sellest: I never  
 'made Bargain with thee for ought, nor never  
 'consented to pay thee any thing, how then  
 'canst thou intend me thy Debtor? I live not  
 'upon the Labours of others, but with honest  
 'Industry provide for my self and Family;  
 'I covet not my Neighbour's House, nor his  
 'Goods, nor ought that is his: But he that  
 'doth is a Transgressor of the Righteous Law  
 'of God Almighty.

ow 'I herewith return thy Paper of Account,  
 'with what I received in it, being resolved  
 'to make no Peace with him that takes my  
 'Goods by Violence, without Restitution.

*I rest in that which Loves Enemies,*

*Thy Friend,*

W. CROUCH.

What became of this Priest, *John Cliffe*, I  
 know not, whether he did remove to some  
 other Place, or Died, I cannot tell, but I had  
 no more to do with him.

However he was soon followed (not any time  
 lost) by another, in no respect better than I  
 know, or have heard, no Place being left long  
 vacant, where Money can be gained by the  
 Covetous Clergy.

The

The Priest that succeeded *John Cliffe* went 1675. by the Name of *Henry Halstead*, where his outward Habitation was, I believe few of the Parishoners knew, and perhaps as few his Person when they saw him: But he fail'd not to shear the Fleece as fast as it grew, according to his own Calculation.

When he first obtained the Priviledge to stile himself *Rektor of St. Bennet Grace-Church*, he made me a short Visit, and some Discourse passed betwixt him and me, in the which he reflected upon us as a People holding strange Opinions, or of strange Notions; and he instanced among the rest that we *Believed Revelation*: To which I made Answer, That thereby we came to the *Knowledge of God*, none knowing the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son doth reveal him, See *Matt. 11. 27.* Upon which he grew into Passion, saying, *He came for his Tythes, and not to Dispute*; and forthwith he withdrew from me: Since which I have seldom seen him to my Knowledge; but though he came not so near that we might hear him once or twice a Week, if we should have desir'd; yet he hath a way to make us hear from him once a Year, and by his Agents to obtain Warrants from the Mayors of the City successively one after another, whereby Distresses were and are made upon our Goods, most times double or treble to his Demands, rarely returning any thing, selling what was or is taken away much under the true Value, adding great Charges for Destrainging, and other Expences. And thus this Priest

I

hath

1676. hath proceeded from Year to Year, from 1676, to the Year 1705. without the least Reluctancy, but as hard as the Nether Mill-stone.

Judge ye Sons of Men! Ye that are Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, under a Profession of Christianity, judge and consider: Are these Practices consonant or agreeable to the Ministers of Christ Jesus; or the Apostles who Preach the Gospel freely, according to the Command of their Lord and Master, *Freely ye have received, freely give?* Matth. 10. 8.

O Lord God of *Israel!* Hasten the Day of Deliverance to thy Oppressed Suffering Flock, who are driven away by the Idle Shepherds, who according to *Ezek. 34. 3. Eat the Fat, and cloath with the Wool, but feed not the Flock.* O Lord! do thou become the alone Shepherd of thy Sheep, make them to hear thy Voice, and to follow thee! Gather them to their Folds, make them Fruitful, and to Encrease according to thy Promise of Old, *Jer. 23. 3.*

To Instance the particulars of each Distress made as aforesaid, with the Accounts of the Loss sustained, is not what I herein intended; but having signified the Sufferings in general, I shall proceed to give some Account of Matters of another Nature and Kind.

## S E C T. XII.

1676.

*A Caution to* MAGISTRATES.

**W**HEN Magistrates are Assembled in Courts of Judicature, and shall overlook Justice and Equity; and the Ancient Liberties of the People, and prefer their own Arbitrary Wills: Can any thing bespeak a Design to enslave their Neighbours beyond such a Proceeding? And such Men as will suffer themselves to be swayed by Interest, Passion or Prejudice, and to pervert Justice, or to countenance or encourage the doing of it: These very Men, when by a turn of Providence they become liable to the Judgment of others in Authority, are the Readiest to exclaim against, and accuse the Proceedings of others, especially if they apprehend any Injustice to themselves, whatever they might do to others when in Power: This is a manifest and evident token of a corrupt and wicked Heart; such Men are not fit to be Magistrates in a Christian Nation.

*A good Name is rather to be chosen than great Riches,* Prov. 22. 1. And the Value and Esteem that some have had for a good Name, hath animated them to perform just and good Actions, out of a desire to leave a good Name behind them. Now to purchase a good Name to leave behind us, will be to do our Duty Conscientiously in that State, or Condition of Life, in which by Providence we are or may be placed. The steadfast holding, or keeping a good Conscience, is, and ought to be the indispensable

1676. *W*spensable Duty and Qualification of a Magistrate, because the Sword of Justice is placed in his Hand, that he may be a *Terror to Evil-doers*, and a *Praise to them that do well*: Wherefore it is a Violation of his Trust, an Obscuring of his Power, and Blasting of his Reputation, either to protect or connive at the Guilty, or oppress and Discountenance the Innocent: But such a Conversation and Behaviour, (whether in Private or Publick, whether in his Chamber, or in Courts of Judicature) as to deal fairly between Party and Party, to consider and defend the poor Man's Cause, and take Care that that may have as just and equal an Hearing and Determination as that of the Rich, will commend a Magistrate, and gain him that good Name which is better than great Riches. And such as have the Sword of Justice committed to them, being ordained of God, they ought therefore in their Office and Places to imitate his Just and Righteous Administration, (*viz.*) to Protect, Defend, and Succour the Innocent, and to punish Evil-doers only.

It was an Excellent Caution, wholesom Advice and Counsel, which *Jehoshaphat* gave to the Judges, whom he set over the Land, and in every City of *Judah*. *And he said to the Judges, Take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for Man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the Judgment; (the Margin reads, in the Matter of Judgment) wherefore now let the Fear of the Lord be upon you, take heed and do it, for there is no Iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of Persons, nor taking of Gifts,*  
 2 Chron. 19. 5, 6, 7. Had

Had this seasonable Caution, and wholesom <sup>1676.</sup> Advice taken Place, and been considered by the Judges in our Days, which *Jehoshaphat* gave to the Judges he appointed in every City, so much Injustice, and wrong Judgment would not have taken that Effect, which woful Experience doth testifie and bear Evidence hath been done in our Time, by not being guided by the Fear of the Lord, as all Judges ought to be.

The true way to fence out all Injustice and Wrong-doing, is, for all Men in their present Capacities, whether in Authority, or otherwise, to oppose and withstand all Injustice in themselves: The Rule which our Saviour Christ hath laid down, *Matth. 7. 12. Whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you, do ye even so to them,* will allow room enough for a Christian Magistrate, if he will rightly and truly apply his Power. None, who are not wilfully or maliciously Ignorant, can pretend to construe this Text, That the Magistrate may forbear to punish an Evil-doer, because he would not be punished himself: But no Magistrate would be wronged, but would enjoy his own Right and Property; and as he accounts it his just Right and Priviledge to be so preserved, he doth not err from the Rule, of doing to another, what is due to himself if he transgress; but to execute his Power upon such as do transgress that Rule, perhaps his interest may excite him to do it; or however his Duty require him. Though Mens Circumstances cannot set them above *doing to others*

1676. *as they would be done to, with respect to Justice ; yet their Innocency, and other their Circumstances, may qualifie them to execute Punishment upon Evil-doers, and be a Praise to them that do well.*

*The Law is good if a Man use it lawfully, knowing this, that the Law is not made for a Righteous Man, but for the Lawless and Disobedient, for the Ungodly and for Sinners, for Unholy and Prophane, for Murtherers of Fathers, and Murtherers of Mothers, for Man-slayers, for Whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with Mankind ; for Men-stealers, for Lyars, for Perjured Persons ; and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound Doctrine, 1 Tim. 1. 8, 9, 10. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would Men should do unto you, do ye even so to them, Matth. 7. 12.*

That Magistrate who doth Conscienciously believe it is his Duty to use the Law upon such Offenders and Evil-doers, cannot but think it his Duty also to defend, and be a Praise to them that do well.

The Apostle saith, *Rom. 13. 3. Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil, and Ver. 4. But if thou dost that which is Evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in vain ; for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil : Mark, it is upon him that doth Evil, by Punishment suitable to the Merit, and a Praise to them that do well, by defending them in all their Civil and Religious Rights. This Rule is a most Excellent Rule, an unerring Guide, the only Rule*



Rule for Christian Magistrates to govern themselves by. 1676.

If Men in Authority were but as inclinable to encourage doing well, as they are to punish some Evil, though not all, (the more the pity) they would thereby promote Christian Religion, in Opposition to all Immorality and Prophaneness: But alas! such Evils as they indulge in themselves, how can they be zealous to punish in others?

To do well, is to do justly, to walk inoffensively, *to do unto all Men as they would they should do unto them, to render to Caesar the things that are his, and to God the things that are his; to love God with all thy Heart, and thy Neighbour as thy self:* Such who regulate their Lives and Conversations in this manner, they give no cause of Disquiet or Trouble to the Magistrate: Why then, or how can the Magistrate disquiet, or give Trouble to such, without abusing the Power wherewith he is intrusted? Mark, it is but a Trust, for he is the Minister of God, not for himself, to satisfy his own Lust, Ambition, Pride, or an Exalted Mind, nor his Greedy Covetous Desire after Gain or Honour, nor to gratify himself, nor others, in any unlawful thing whatever; but a *Terror to Evil-doers.* But when the Sword is put into the Hands of Persons of Evil Inclinations, such will not consider how to use it as they ought, but will dispense with, and overlook the Evil-doer, and turn their Power upon such as do well: Our Experience hath told us thus much.

1676. But however, notwithstanding the Magistrate hath abused his Power, and turned Judgment backward, by afflicting the Innocent, and Encouraging the guilty; yet, blessed be the Lord, who furnished us with Patience, to bear their Injustice and wrong-doing, and with Resolution to persevere in the *Way of the Lord*, according as he hath perswaded our Hearts, maugre all their Force and Violence; and our God did, and hath still kept us to a strict Observation of Conformity to that most Excellent Rule before-mentioned, to wit, of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, *To do unto all Men, what we would they should do unto us.* We have not rendred Evil for Evil; but on the contrary Good for Evil, loving our Enemies, and praying for them that have used despite against us: We have not withheld from *Cesar* the things which are his; and according to our Understanding and Knowledge, in our Measure, have render'd to God the things that are his, and all by the Divine Assistance of his Grace in our Hearts, which he in great Loving Kindness and Favour, did, and still doth, plentifully bestow upon us, by which we have been made willing to obey his Commandments, and they are not grievous unto us; Blessed be his Everlasting Name and Power for ever.

It hath been always the Practice of meer Pretenders to Religion, being settled in an External Form, without the Living Power, to Persecute every Appearance of *Light* and *Truth* differing from their Form, to Rage, Hate and Persecute

Persecute, and as much as in them lies, to hinder and obstruct the Work of God; and as in the Days of Old, when *Jerusalem* was trodden down by the Uncircumcised, who knew not God, nor were in Covenant with him, but in Enmity against him and his People, and the Walls thereof were broken Down, God gave them Courage and Strength to Repair their Walls. So now in a wonderful Manner God's Chosen *Israel*, have been Assisted with his Power in their return to *Spiritual Jerusalem*, to repair her Walls, and mend the Breaches even in Troublesom Times. And altho' *Sanballat* and *Tobiah*, with others, have laughed at the Work, and with Scorn mocked these *Inward Jews*, saying, *Will they fortifie themselves? Will they continue to meet together to Worship their God? Will they Sacrifice to him? Will they revive the Stones out of the Heaps of the Rubbish?* Neh. 2. 10, and 4. 1, 7. We esteem their Labour of no greater Force, or Strength, than what shall be broken down if a Fox go up, Neh. 4. 3. The *Fox-like Informers* will soon overturn their Work, and break down their Wall: But yet notwithstanding, the Work hath been carried on, and the Walls are built and join'd together; for as the Prophet *Nehemiah* hath observed concerning the outward *Jews*, the People had a *Mind to work*, Ver. 6. And God hath Encouraged them; the Work hath prospered, and they have witnessed the Lord to be their Wall, and strong Tower of Defence; so that no Assaults from the Enemy have prevailed against them, but we are yet a People to his Praise.

## S E C T. XIII.

*Is a Collection of the Observations and Remarks of Gerard Croese, Dedicated to Nicholas Witsen, Burgo-Master of Amsterdam, concerning Quakers*

**I** Have already given some Account of the *first Instrument*, whom it pleased God to raise up in this our Age, to Publish *the mighty Day of the Lord* now broken forth, concerning whom, and of the Progress of the *Truth*, and *Gospel of Jesus Christ*; and of others the *Messengers and Servants of the great God*, there have been, and will, I doubt not, be many Testimonies given.

But having met with a Discourse in Print, written Originally in *Latin* by *Gerard Croese*, and Dedicated to *Nicholas Witsen*, Burgo-Master, and Senator of *Amsterdam*; stiled a *General History* of the *Quakers*, wherein he pretends to give an Account of the *Lives, Tenets, Sufferings, Tryals, Speeches, &c.* Of all the most *Eminent Quakers*, both Men and Women, from their *first Rise* to the Year 1696; and having Read it over, and compared it with my own Knowledge and Remembrance: What I have observed to be Written or Collected Impartially, and without Prejudice, I have Transcribed, at least, so much of it as may be useful and necessary to inform the Reader with the design of Publishing the History; purposely dropping

as unworthy of Notice, what I know to be false in Fact, or misrepresented. And I cannot but wonder, that any Man who will undertake to write an History, and pretend to give a Relation of Fact (respecting the Original, and the honest and sincere Proceedings upon the same; the Innocency, Patience and Long Sufferings, attending such as were engaged in that Cause, and their constant Perseverance through the utmost Tryals and Hardships, with all due Care and Caution accompanying the whole Progress, to preserve and defend themselves, and the Cause wherein they were engaged from all just Blame or Reproach) should at the same time drop Malicious, Base and Scurrilous Reflections, causelessly and without good Ground; and mix and interlard the same with the body of the History, and relate them as Matters of Fact; when he confesses he made his Collection, partly from others Reports, partly from Writings and Manuscripts. p. 5.

This Author undertakes in the first place, to give an account of *George Fox*, his *Birth, Parentage, Education, Country and Occupation*, no ways disreputable to him; all which I pass over, as not being to my present Purpose; because that which I intend, and more particularly aim at, is to observe how God was pleas'd to deal with him, to prepare and fit him for that great Work and Service he called him to, and assigned him to perform. The Author proceeds thus.

This *George Fox*, while yet a Child, discover'd a singular Temper, not coveting to play with p. 12.

with his Brethren or Equals, nor giving himself to any of those things which take with Children; but shunning their Company, and disdainning their Childish Customs, he loved to be much alone, spoke but little, or if at any time he chanced to speak, both his Countenance and Speech bewrayed a sadness of Spirit; his Words were more Interrogatory, shewing great Attention and Consideration, and making many Observations; unto all which was added, Modesty in all his Actions, and a diligent Pursuit of the early Rudiments, of Piety and Devotion; so that even in his *Infancy*, his Actions and Demeanor seemed to pre-signifie those Qualities of Mind, which in progress of time, he discovered upon the publick Stage of the World.

He being then a *Young Man*, did behave himself Honestly and Modestly among Men, walking Devoutly towards God, keeping close to that sense of Religion, and Worship taught him by his Parents. He dwelled much upon the Scriptures, and when at leisure, from the exercise of his Trade, (as also when about it, taking this Advantage of his sedentary Work) he meditated upon, ruminated in his Mind, and recollected what he had Read: He had an *Infallible Memory* for retaining any thing he knew, especially what he Read in the *Bible*. And having thus incessantly continued in the study of the Scriptures from his *Infancy*, to his *Latter End*, he became so exactly versed in them, that there was no Remarkable Saying in all the

the *Holy Writings* that escaped his Knowledge or Remembrance.

And tho' he had been always diligent in *Reading* and *Meditating* on the *Holy Scriptures*, and had frequently *set Times* apart, for *Fasting* and *Praying* unto God; yet then being engaged in so Difficult and Important a Design, in compliance to the *Divine Will*, he went about the same *Christian Duties* with more Application, Fervour, and Frequency, especially, having by *Experience* Learned, that there was no Means more effectual, than these, for taming Mans Vicious Nature, and suppressing his unruly Appetite.

But he complained heavily that there were so many who extoll'd the *Holy Scriptures*, and that *Profession* of *Faith* and *Manners*, that they had suck'd from those very *Scriptures*, and yet were destitute and ignorant of that Holy Spirit that Indicted them, and so great Strangers to that Purity of Life and Conversation, which is so oft recommended in the *Scriptures*.

He acknowledged, that though School and Colledge Learning, &c. were very useful Accomplishments, yet the Spirit of God was to be the *Chief Teacher* and *Conductor*, and the Operation of this *Divine Spirit*, though without *Learning*, is of more *avail* than *Learning*, without the *Assistance of the Spirit*. He would sometimes of his own accord, go to those he thought *Men of Integrity*, and who seem'd to walk reverently towards God, and confer with them. He always so order'd

his

his Discourse, that what he spoke was about the Condition or State of other Men in general, or of Christians; and this was the whole and only *Tenor* and *Context* of all his Discourses.

P. 27.

This Author pretends to date the *Nativity*, as he miscalls it, of the *Quakers Church*, to have been in the Year, 1649. As tho' it had had no Being before, which is a *gross Mistake*: For the *Quakers Church* (to use his Terms) is not of so late a Date, but is a Part or Member of the true Church of Christ which was from the beginning of the World. And though it hath been in many and great Dangers, and suffer'd very much through the Enmity of Satan, and the Rage and Violence of Wicked Instruments, raised up by him; yet the Lord hath wonderfully preserved it through all Ages unto this day, and will preserve it; for it is Built upon Christ the true Rock, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. That then which the *Quakers* say of the true Church, respects not the Essence or Being of it, but the Dispensation it is under; not its *Nativity*, but its Restitution from those manifold Corruptions which the Apostacy introduced. For they say, that God hath raised up in former Ages at several Times, many faithful Witnesses against several Errors and Corruptions, which were crept in among the Professors of Christianity, both in Doctrine and Worship; but all former Reformations fell short of this in our Day, wherein the Lord hath called, qualified, and sent forth able Instruments, to lay the Ax  
of



of the Gospel not to the Branches only, but also to the Root of the Apostacy; to cut it down, and grub it up; that it might no more cumber the Ground. In short they say, that the Lord hath eminently appeared in this latter Age of the World, in his chosen Servants, amongst whom *George Fox* was a Principal, to turn People from Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God; to restore Eclipsed Christianity to its Original Lustre, and Degenerated and Apostatized Churches, to Primitive and Apostolical Purity.

He says, the *Quakers* Commemorate it, that P. 29. they did so multiply and increase after this Year, and maintained so much *Concord* and *Unity* among themselves, that they now became an *Orderly and Settled Church*, Conspicuous, not for external Splendor and Magnificence, but for eminent *Innocence* and *Simplicity*. P. 30. Their *Doctrines* were short and plain; they contained few necessary *Articles of Faith*; none of them related to the contemplation and speculation of Abstruse and Difficult Things, which are more Curious than Useful, to Piety and Goodness; they were all concerning the *Light which shines in every Man's Soul, and the Word of God within them*: Of inward Communion with God: Of the Reverence, Love, and Obedience due to him and his Reveal'd Will; and of the relative Duties of Men one to another. When they Assembled together for Divine Worship, their manner of Worshipping, and all sorts of Sacred Exercises, were free from any *External*  
Accou-

*Accoutrements, Rites, or Ceremonies* : All was wrapt up in a *deep Silence*; and *tacit waiting upon the Spirit*, till it rais'd them up to speak, and when they spoke, their Discourses were exhorting every Man to Self-Examination, and a serious Consideration of the Operations of the *Spirit, the Light within them, and the Word of God which was in their Hearts*; admonishing them to study to deny themselves; subject themselves to God, and endeavour to repent and amend their Lives; to be Modest, Temperate, True, and Constant in their Words and Actions, as became Men; and advance Peace and Concord in the World; and so far as could be observed by the strictest Enquirer, they seem'd to lead Lives, conformable to their Principles.

Their *Moderation and Temperance* was such, as that it became their *Character*, whereby they were distinguish'd from all others. In the management of Commerce and Trade with the rest of the World, they were *Meek, Mild and Moderate*; in their Countenances Severe and Slow in Speech; but they were mean in their Clothing, and their Houses not

P. 31. Richly Furnished, tho' there were among them, Men of large Substances.

The most conspicuous Vertue of all, was a diligent Love, Care and Watchfulness over thole of their Faction, especially as to their Religious Concerns; for they narrowly enquired how every one behaved himself in Religious Matters. As to the ordinary Actions of Humane Life, they were *free from Pride*

or *Ostentation*, *Affable*, *Familiar*, *Bountiful* to those of an inferior Station. They were *Merciful*, *Liberal*, and *Compassionate* to the *Afflicted*, either in *Body* or *Mind*; every one helped another, either with his *Substance*, *Counsel*, or *Assistance*, as his *Capacity* allow'd; and the necessity of his *Neighbour* required; so that none of them wanted for any thing. Their chiefest Care and Business was, so to accommodate all their Actions, as that they might seem not to introduce any *New Upstart Religion*, but to resemble *the Ancient Primitive Church*; imitating their *Simplicity*, *Gravity*, and *Vertuous Demeanour*; by all which it came to pass, that many were added to them.

*George Fox* was ill treated at *Mansfield*; P. 32. Imprisoned; then set at Liberty, and Encountred by the rude Mob.

He was committed to Prison at *Derby*, where P. 33. Friends were first call'd *Quakers*, and upon P. 34. this Occasion, to wit, that he exhorted the Magistrates before whom he was brought, to *fear God* and *tremble at his Word*; and from observation of the People, that sometimes in performing their Duty and Exercise to God, they would *Tremble* and *Quake*.

This Author informs, that in the Year P. 37. 1650, *Elizabeth Hooten*, was the first of her Sex that attempted to Preach.

In the Year 1652, the *Quakers* did wonder- P. 41. fully increase; and now were added unto them, Men of Dignity and Fame; and whereas, such as had any thing to speak to the People, were obliged to take the Opportunity

of *Market Places, Streets* or *Casual Conflux* of the *People*; upon which, oft times followed *In-surrections, Imprisonments*; and being bound in *Chains*, now they began to *meet in Houses*.

P. 42. He gives some account of *William Dewsberry*, and *James Naylor*; of *Thomas Aldham*, *Richard Hubberthorn*, *Thomas Taylor*, and *Christopher Taylor*; next, of *Richard Farnsworth*, *John Audland*, and *Francis Howgill*, joyned to this Society, and becoming Preachers.

P. 44. He takes notice of *Edward Burrough*, about 16 or 17 Years of Age, but equal to a Man, and designed for great things; and next of *George Whitehead*, who he says, at this time joyned himself to this *Sect*, (as he stiles it) taking upon him the *Office* of a *Teacher*; one talked of among the *Learned* for his *Skill* in both *Tongues*; his *Piety* and *Modesty*, and *Famous* at this very Day, though stricken in Years, for his *Dexterity in Disputing* and *Managing Controversies*, both with *Tongue* and *Pen*.

Those of them that were better Accommodated than others, fitted their *Houses* and other *Places* for receiving their *Assemblies*, when Congregated for *Divine Worship*; they did not Exclude those who were not of their *Party*.

P. 47. This *Author* gives some Account of *James Parnel*, a Youth of Fifteen Years of Age, well skill'd in the *Tongues*; and of no *Obscure Birth* or *Condition*. That he was a *Preacher*, and came into the *County of Essex*: In the Year 1655, went to *Colchester*, and Preached there;

had

had many Disputations, and by One Days Work, Converted many to his Religion. At *Colchester* he was Imprisoned in an *high craggy Place*; where having endured *Hunger*, want of *Sleep* and *Cold* for a long time, becoming benumb'd in that *nasty Dungeon* he misfortunately falling and bruising his whole Body, he finished his Days. It is reported, that before his Death, he was heard to say, *One Hours Sleep shall put an End to all my Troubles*; when Death approached, he said, *Now I go away*; then he fell asleep, and about an Hour after he awaked and yielded up the Ghost. P. 48.

He gives some Account of *Thomas Lawson* and of *John Wilkinson*; and of the great Increase of the *Quakers* in the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and in *Scotland*; and of the Imprisonment of *James Naylor* and *Francis Howgill*, at *Appleby*, and *George Fox* at *Carlisle*. P. 49.

He Notes, that *William Caton*, and *John Stubbs*, were Whip'd at *Maidstone* in *Kent*. And that in the Year 1654, *Francis Howgill* and *Edward Burrough*, Men of great Authority and Esteem, Preached at *London*, and in *Wales*. P. 50.

He takes notice of *Peter Price*, and of *John Ap-John*, who being a Member of an *Independent Congregation*, was sent by his Pastor *Morgan Lloyd*, into the North, to inform himself, both by seeing and hearing what sort of a Man *George Fox* was, (who was then in those Countries) what People the *Quakers* might be, and what were the Doctrines they Taught. He performs the Journey, and returns Possessed P. 51.

with *their Principles*, and shortly after, undertakes the Office of a Preacher amongst them: Some few Years after, he Travelled through all *Wales*, Preaching and Teaching every where, in *Towns* in the *Fields*, in the *Publick Roads* and *Streets*, *Market Places*, *Inns*, &c. Exhorting Men to Repent.

P. 52. Edward Burrough comes to *London*, and in the Year 1662, being Block'd up in *Prison*, and having patiently and constantly, grappled with many tormenting Evils that surrounded him, he yielded up the Ghost.

While he was in *London*, he bended all his Thoughts and Cares how he might be most Serviceable; and because he could not always meet with Opportune Places and Occasions of Preaching, he improved every Occasion to that Effect, thinking no Time nor Place unseasonable or improper, for promoting the Salvation of Mankind, of which I subjoyn one Example.

All that are acquainted with the City of *London*, cannot but know that vulgar and frequent Custom, among the meaner *Trades-Men*, and their *Apprentices*, and *Journey-Men*, of getting together, and *Wrestling one with another*. Burrough accidentally passes by the Place, where a whole Band of them were at this Exercise. He draws near, and looks on: A lusty Young Fellow, and a dextrous *Wrestler* being there, who had thrown several: Burrough enters the Ring, and moves towards the *Triumphant Victor*; and looking austerely and gracefully upon him, in some few severe Words, checks his *Fury* and *Fortitude*, so that his Cou-  
rage

rage and Strength were Vanquished. Then turning himself to the Circle of the By-Standers, addresses himself to them after this manner. *It is a Barbarous and Cruel Spectacle, to see Men delight so much in this Exercise, fitter for, and more becoming Brutes than Men; which the wildest of the Irrational Creatures abstain from, unless provoked and irritated to the same. We have another Conflict to mind, which is more Consonant to our Natures, and allowed of God; nay, which both the Law of Nature and the common Law implanted within us by God, and his Divine Word Revealed from above, do Approve, Command and Encourage. I mean, that Fight wherein we are all engaged, as being the Soldiers of Jesus Christ, and Fellow-Soldiers one with another; striving with all the endeavours of our Souls and Bodies, to encourage and invite one another to pursue this Fight of Faith and Piety, that at length we may become Victors, and obtain Eternal Life: Which being spoke, though most of the Multitude gave little heed to what he said; yet some of them being moved with a sudden heat of Reverence and Fear of God, and afterwards, bethinking themselves more diligently of those Words, began to understand their Duty aright, and abstain from such Vain Exercises and Spectacles, altering the whole Scene of their Lives, and afterwards Conforming to the Doctrine and Religion of the Quakers.*

The Author again cites George Fox, with a Relation of his great Application and Diligence, maugre all the Difficulties and Dangers which stood in his way; Visiting, not only

Places of Religious Worship, but Military Men, boldly and freely reprovng them to their Faces, not only for what he found faulty in their Religion, but for the Vices of their Lives: And further adds, That it is no Wonder that he met with such Indignities and Affronts every where; but Wonderful, that he who was so often sought after, Apprehended, Imprisoned, and Delivered into the Hands of his Enemies, should have escaped so oft, or survived so great and many Troubles. However, he always acknowledged and returned Thanks to the Almighty, for that Divine Assistance, which he said, he never wanted in time of his Bitterest and Severest Afflictions. There happened a Memorable Accident, both at *Whetstone* in *Leicestershire*, and at *London*. *George Fox* being in that Country, and in that Place, where he was in a Congregation of his Brethren about Sacred Service, Independent and Presbyterian Ministers, Address *Francis Hacker*, an Officer in the Army, to send Soldiers to Suppress the Meeting; accordingly they come, and Apprehend *George Fox*, and bring him to the Officer, who sent him Prisoner for *London*, to be Judged there.

P. 54.

P. 55.

P. 56.

After some Years, *Hacker* acknowledged, that he did this by the Instigation and Influence of the Ministers, which Confession he made, the very Day before his Death.

*George Fox* being brought to *London*, is Imprisoned, and in some time is carryed to Court, to appear before *Cromwell*, then *Protector*; who after having entertained long Discourses with him, and given him many Evidences of his good



good Will to him, and those of his Perswasion, set him at Liberty.

*Cromwell* by an Edict, Discharges the *Quakers* to Assemble or Congregate together Publickly, P. 57. having observed that to be the Mind of all the *Publick Churches*; but forbids the *Ecclesiasticks* or any other Men to do them Harm, while they committed nothing against the Government. But this order of the *Protector*, had little or no Effect; for their Adversaries never wanted Occasion of Accusing them of the Crime of Celebrating their forbidden Assemblies. Hence ensued many Miseries upon the *Quakers*, and oft times *Bonds*; which they endured with the P. 58. greatest Constancy imaginable; of which for Instance: *George Fox* continuing to disperse his *Books* and *Letters*, and keeping *Meetings*, notwithstanding the *Protector's* Edict to the contrary; choosing rather to undergo the Greatest Miseries, nay, the loss of Life it self, than to desert his Office: Is cast into Prison at *Lanceston* in *Cornwall*, and Bound with Chains; under which *Affliction* he continued a long time.

Now the Adversaries of the *Quakers*, did not want Occasion of Accusing and Arraigning them for being guilty of Rebelling against the Magistrate, for there were at that time a great many Pretenders to Religion, but of Turbulent and Factious Spirits; striving to Innovate and Confuse all things, either upon a Religious or Civil Pretence; and if any such Crimes were committed, the *Quakers* presently were Accused as being the Authors, or at least, Abettors thereof. But the *Quakers* did so Ener-

W Enervate and Nullifie this Calumny, that all  
 Judges pronounced them Innocent. About this  
 P. 59. time, many Converts were added to this New  
 Church, and invested with *Ministerial Function*,  
 who became Famous, not only enlarging their  
 own Credit and Reputation, but that of their  
*Sett*, both in the Island of *Britain*, and in the  
 United Provinces of *Holland*. *William Ames*  
 flourished at this time, a Man Acute, and In-  
 defatigable in *Teaching, Preaching, and Writing*,  
 and much admired in *Holland*.

P. 60. This *William Ames* was a Soldier in the *Par-*  
*liaments Army* in *Ireland*, and had joyned him-  
 self with the *Baptists*, and resided in *Waterford*,  
 when *Francis Howgill*, and *Edward Burroughs*,  
 came into *Ireland*, and to that Town, and  
 came into their Meetings. *Ames* gave great Ear  
 to all their Discourses, and in short time ad-  
 heres to the *Quakers*, among whom he became  
 P. 61. a Preacher. He Wrote a *Traſſate*, Entituled,  
*A true Declaration of the Witness of God in*  
*Man*; in which he relates and explains what  
 Sense he had of the *Divine Light* within him,  
 from his *Infancy* to his *Conversion*.

Contemporary with him, was *Stephen Crisp*,  
 an Acute and Polite Writer; who if he had  
 added the Study of those Arts and Sciences,  
 called *Liberal*, to the Promptness and Agility  
 of his Wit, he had given wonderful Specimens  
 of Learning: He Lived in *Colcheſter* in *Essex*,  
 a *Weaver* by Trade; he served in the *Parlia-*  
*ments Army* some Years, having abandoned his  
 Trade, not so much for Love of a Military Life,  
 as for the Defence of Liberty and Religion; so  
 that

that he did not suffer himself to be tainted with the Vices of Soldiers, but lived honestly and devoutly: At length wearied with Fatigue and Labour, returns again to his Trade, professing himself a *Baptist*; at which time *James Parnel* aforesaid came to that Town, (who was the first of the *Quakers* that Preached their Doctrine in that Place) *Crisp* and his *Father* hearing him, and being moved with his Discourses, turn *Quakers*. The Son became a Preacher, and he *Died* at *London* in *September* 1694. (Observe, He did not die at *London*, but at *Wansworth*.)

Contemporary with them was *Thomas Green* and *John Higgins*; as also *John Crook* a Gentleman of *Bedfordshire*, a Justice of Peace, Famous for Learning, Eloquent and Neat in his Discourses and Writings

*Josiah Coal*, who in his Youth, coming with P. 62. other Companions to a *Quakers* Meeting to Ridicule and Mock them, was so taken with their Discourses, that he forsook that Course, and was so moved by the Counsel and Advice he received, that he incorporated into their Family, undertaking the Office of Teaching others, while he was yet but Twenty Years of Age. It is said of him, that in Prayer and Supplication, he did it with such Efficacy, and without Affectation, that he surpassed many others: He spent most part of the rest of his Life in Travels, extending his Doctrine to several Parts of the *New World*, resolutely encountering all Dangers, even of Life it self.

Another

Another Contemporary was *Isaac Pennington* the Younger, a Gentleman of Good Birth, much exercised in Learning, and spent not his Youth as many do, whose Fortunes are large, in Idleness and living intemperately, but in pursuing diligently his Studies. After he became a *Quaker*, he wrote several *Treatises*, in a Grave, Plain *Scriptural* Stile.

P. 63.

After these the Author mentions *Charles Marshall* of *Bristol*, and then adds, These were the Men that have over-run all *Britain* and the *Netherlands*; which he says he selected not as the Periods and Order of Time conjoined them; but as they were Noted and Famous among the *Quakers* and others.

The Author forbears to mention many others, but says he cannot pass by *Samuel Fisher*, a Man Learn'd and Eloquent, because of his Accurate Knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin Antiquities*, which stuck so to him, even after he changed his Religion and Life, that the Writings which he Published since, relish much of the same, though (says he) I believe it fell out contrary to his Will and Design.

P. 64.

He had a Living in *Kent*; and while he was there, one of his own Acquaintance and Friends called *Howard*, solicited him frequently about his Religion, and many *Rites* and *Ceremonies* used in the Church; and about the same time came to him a *Baptist*, by whose Arguments being overcome, he joined to a Society of that Perswasion, and having cast off his Living of a Parsonage, he farmed a Piece of Ground, and contented himself with the little he had to live

live upon, until he became a Minister among the *Baptists*.

About this time *William Caton* and *John Stubbs* came into that Country, and went to visit *Samuel Fisher*, who received them kindly, treating them as his Friends. After some time he forsakes the *Baptist's* Society, and shortly after became not only a *Professor*, but a *Preacher* and *Zealous Propagator* of *Quakerism*. He wrote some Books in defence of that Religion, among which is a Noted One, Entitled, *The Country Man, to the University Scholars*, in which he refutes the Arguments of his Adversaries.

This Author gives Account that in the Year P. 69. 1658. a *General Assembly* was held at the House of *John Crook* in *Bedfordshire*, which continued for three whole Days.

He undertakes to shew the Cause, Occasion, P. 73. and Original wherefore so many Men should so suddainly fall away every one from his own Church and Religion, to that of the *Quakers*, which he does in these Words:

The principal Reason hereof, says he, seems to be, in that Men, among whom there were really many who were desirous to live Piously and Religiously, and to lead a truly Christian Life, did imagine, that they saw so much Corruption every where, if not in *Doctrine*, yet in *Rites*, and most assuredly in the Manners of all Societies, that would be accounted or called *Christians*, and even *Protestants*, that if any one Persisted in Communion with any of them,

them, he might very well diffide and despair of his Salvation.

- P. 74. He goes on further, to fix a true Cause of Dissent, and forsaking the National Church, viz. The Magnificence and Pomp, Gross Idleness, Remissness and Delicacy, both of their *Prelates*, and all the rest of their *Clergy* or *Ministers*: Moreover such a bundle of Ceremonies, or Rites in their Churches, and Sacred Communion, and Collection of Lessons, Singings and Prayers, the Forms whereof to be strictly followed, with the Observation of Holy Days. And besides this, the Sloth, Incontinency, and Lasciviousness of the whole People in Words and Deeds, that from hence
- P. 75. it came, that not only the *Quakers* now at length, but many other Societies of Men, long before the *Quakers* were born or known, separated themselves from the Communion of that Publick Church. Now as these Men had just cause to separate from the *Episcopal Church*; so had they also good Reason to withdraw from the *Presbyterians*, whom from the beginning of their Church they did own to be no bad *Christians*, and that some of them did excell, and continued to be such as all ought always to be, both in *Faith* and *Rule of Life*; but that afterwards they became by Degrees to be changed, and that neither that Care and Attention to *God's Spirit*, nor to the Word which they professed to have, was to be met with amongst them, but that they were found to be puffed up with much Confidence, Hope, and Assurance in their own External Performances; and

and that many of them had more the Shadow, than real Vertues of Christians, and more Vices under a shew of Vertues.

Now tho' among all the Parties, they entertain'd the most Esteem for those *Independents* which they call *Brownists*; yea, and for those whom they call *Baptists*; yet they objected against these, That they had indeed great Love and Affection for their Religion, but that they were very much wanting in a Spiritual and True Love to God, and Unanimity and Agreement amongst themselves; and that they were Rash and Morose towards such as Dissented from them, and sometimes full of Cruelty. P. 76.

As to the *Independents*, they looked upon them to have a shew of Religion in their Countenances, and at their Tongues Ends, and who while they saw many Vices in others, and resented them with much Clamour and Scorn, were themselves inwardly full of secret Vices.

And as the *Quakers* did thus think of the *Churches* of *England*; so they did also of those, whom these *Churches* looked upon as their *Guides*, *Teachers* and *Pastors*, who, while they Professed it to be their Business to discharge their Office of *Teaching* and *Guiding* Men in their Spiritual Concerns, and seemed to give up themselves entirely thereunto, did some of them desert their Work, others were slothful and negligent; others did with a loud Voice discharge their Office, but had privately more regard to their own Profit, preferring that before the Common Good of the *Church*.

There

There were two Things which these Men could not bear in those *Rulers* and *Ministers* of the *Publick Churches*; one was, That in lieu of their Preaching, and discharging their Office among the People, they did not only receive a Reward; but such an one as was certain, and by *Compact* almost always of a great, sometimes of a greater Sum, not only from the Annual Publick Profits, but also from the Incomes of Private Persons, and that even of such who had scarce of their own whereon to set their Foot, from the *Fruits, Cattle, Annual Profits, Marriages, Christenings, Funerals*, and other things; where some in gathering of those Profits, were so *Severe* and *Hard-hearted*, that they reduced the poorer Sort to Beggery; such as were Able and not willing they *subdued by Force*, and so from a Desire of Lucre and Gain, Lived upon their *Ministry*, like Rude Fellows always craving.

Another thing which these Men, the *Quakers*, complained of, was, That among the several before-mentioned, there were, and are still some, who cannot endure some of their own People and Citizens, differing from them in Matters of Religion, to live amongst them, though very Docible, but throw them out and eject them; others they *Vex, Torment* and *Fine*, when the same Persons for such Severity have called upon God and Man to bear Witness, and when they were able, shook off that Yoke from their Necks, and esteemed, and do still esteem their Liberty a great Blessing from God. These things the *Quakers* did the more complain



complain of, because they were at this time most touched and affected therewith. To this came to be added afterwards the Complaint and Lamentation of their Fellows and Companions in *New-England*, where they suffered variously, and *some unto Death*.

But those things which they [the *Quakers*] P. 78. generally and universally blamed, both in the Church of *England*, and in other *Protestants* abroad, were these. That this is the Doctrine, Faith, and Profession of all those who are called by this specious Name, and Love, and take delight to be so called, viz. That the Grace of God hath shined upon all Men, by the coming of Christ, and ought now to be preached throughout the whole World; and that all Men, who are made Partakers of Christ and of the Gospel, should, as much as in them lies, both by Words and good and pious Works, gain over and present unto Jesus Christ, and unto God, and bring unto a salvable State, all those who are yet Christless: That such as do heartily and sincerely worship God, they are truly Christians, chosen by Christ, accepted with God, who worship God in the Spirit, and rejoyce in Christ Jesus, and have no Confidence in the Flesh: And this now P. 79. is pure Religion, and undefiled before God and the Father, to bridle the Tongue, so as to speak ill of, villifie or ruin no Man, but charitably to Teach, Edifie, and Help our Neighbours; and besides this, to visit the Fatherless and Widows, and to help as much as may be the Poor, Miserable and Distressed; and to keep himself unspotted from the World. But all *Protestants*,

restants, their Rulers, and Members of their Churches, were so little concerned about that *Grace of God brought in by Jesus Christ*, and daily offered by him in the *Gospel*, that they had scarce one serious Thought of their own, and not at all of the Salvation of others; and that they either declined to do any thing, or did what they could most slightly towards the instructing of their own People, confuting of others, convincing of Strangers, and enlightning of Foreign and Remote Countries and Nations, where gross Ignorance hath prevailed, for delivering them out of the Jaws of Death, for the destroying of the Kingdom of Satan, and promoting the Kingdom of Christ in all the Parts of the Earth.

Moreover, that they followed in those things which belong to the Knowledge and Observation of Divine Matters, *not the Holy Spirit*, who is the *True and Genuine Master and Guide*, whom indeed they knew not, but their *own and others Instructions*; or their own Understanding and Sence, drawn, if it happen'd so well with them, from the single and bare Reading of the *Scriptures*; that they bore in their *Mouths the Name of Christ*; but know not *who this Christ is*, what it is to have Communion with him, nor spake from their Hearts those things they talk'd of, nor were actuated in those things that were done by them from an *Inward Principle, Motion and Instinct*, but put their trust in *Ceremonies, External Rites, Sacraments, and Bodily Exercises*, and to embrace a *Shadow*, neglecting the thing it self:  
And

And that they gaped after, and strove to accommodate themselves for the attaining all *Honours, Riches, Pleasures*, and such sorts of *Vanities*; and were at least so conformable to the *Fashions* of this World, that they could not be acknowledged to be the true Disciples and sincere Followers of *Jesus Christ*. And these things they said were so clear and manifest, that if any one was conversant among such sort of Men, he should presently find Work or Occasion to interrogate his Eyes and Ears thereupon. Moreover, they did lay this to their Charge, that there is scarce any Footsteps left among these *Protestants* of that *Ancient Ecclesiastical Discipline*, as well in respect to the *Rulers* and *Ministers* of the *Church*, as to the whole Church it self; so that now that *Teacher*, who in his *Pulpit*, does that Work not undecently, is reputed a *good Pastor*: And as to the rest, as long as any one owns his *Religion* with his Mouth, though he be given to Worldly and Vain Lusts, this same is accounted to be a good Member of the Church, and easily admitted to participate of all the Mysteries thereof. P. 81.

From hence these Men went on to Doctrinals; and when they had particularly reprov'd many Things in single Persons, this was generally to be reprehended in all, as if it were a common and received Opinion; *That Christ did all things for Man; and that this only is to be done by Man; that when any one Sins in the course of his Life, he must lay hold on Christ as a Mediator and Saviour; and lay claim to him without Works.*

L

Finally,

Finally, these Men went up higher, and came to the *Schools* and *Universities*, those *Seminaries* of the *Church-Ministry*, and *Future Props* of the *Church*; of all which, this was their *Complaint*; that those *Places* were *Vicious*, and that they alone, or one with another, as much as they could, pursued *Pleasures*; or that they who endeavoured to excell the rest, were taken up with more remote and subtil *Meditations* and *Disputes*; and exercised their *Minds* therein; and did not improve the *Domestick Knowledge* and *Discipline* of their own *Minds*, and cultivate their *Thoughts* and their *Affections*, with the true and absolute *Knowledge* and *Use* of *Godliness*, and a *Spiritual Life*, &c. And some who have the knack of *Speaking*, and are furnished with *Oratorical Sentences*, tho' they have no other commendable *Quality*, do prevail; and so the *People* are indeed taught some things, but not such, or very carelessly and negligently that which ought mostly to be insisted upon, and appertain to *Faith* it self, and tend to the amendment of *Life* and to *Holiness*; and so the *People* are as it were, defrauded of their *Just Right*.

This Author having at large and effectually shewed the *Ground* and *Causes*, wherefore the *Quakers* Dissented from the *Church* and other *Professors* of *Religion*, he now undertakes to shew, what manner of *Life* and *Doctrine* they set up and maintain.

P. 85. Now the *Doctrine* of these Men, consisted chiefly of *Four Kinds*; the *First* whereof was the *Principle of Religion*; another, the *Subject* of

of the Divine Benefits : The Third, the embracing of them : The Fourth, the way and manner of Communion.

The First was therefore, that which belonged to the Principle of True and Saving Knowledge ; this with them was a Clear and Distinct Revelation of the Holy Ghost, either without the Written Word, or by the Written Word, which we call the Holy Scriptures ; for the Holy Scriptures are not to them the only and compleat Rule of Faith and Manners ; by which you may easily see how far they differ from those, who while they own the Scriptures take away the Spirit, and substitute Reason in the room thereof ; and how much from those who acknowledge the Scripture, as the only necessary Instrument and sole Rule of Faith and Manners, but that the assistance of the Spirit, is required towards our having a certain Knowledge of the Divine Will, and performing the same. P. 86.

The Second Head contained the Subject on which the Divine Benefits are bestowed ; concerning which, they thus Judge and Determine, that all Mankind were depraved and lost by the Sin and Fall of Adam ; but God in his Universal Love to Mankind, gave his Son Jesus Christ, and constituted him to be the Peace-Maker betwixt God and Man. Hence God bestowed upon all Men, his Holy Spirit, the Light and Word within ; and did by the same, stir up their Minds in a peculiar Measure, to understand and perceive their Misery ; and did excite them to seek after God, and to be Converted unto him ; which was sometimes made Effectual, by the lively Preaching of the Word

without them; but then that *Light and Word* was to be received of Men; and that God indeed joins himself to such as do their Endeavour, and helps them. The next Article respects those who do not resist the aforesaid Illumination, but obey it; and this is that they would have, that Christ having Performed his Obedience, and Suffer'd Death, obtained for all Men indifferently, to be brought into such a State, wherein they are capable of receiving Christ into them; who being altogether Holy and Just, and the Spirit of Christ Existing and Operating in them, the Depravation and Malice of their Nature, is gradually laid aside, and a greater Proficiency daily made in Justice and Goodness.

P. 88. The last Division of this their Doctrine, consists in the Measures and Mediums of receiving the Benefits, and how much these Men differ from those of whom I have spoken, will be no hard Matter to Judge: They allow no other Mediums and Aids, but Watchfulness of Mind, and Attention to that Light which shines in the Heart of every Man, and to the Oracles of the Holy Spirit in the Scripture, or Admonitions and Exhortations of Spiritual Persons; and thus indeed did they admit and receive the Ministry of the Gospel; and such a Ministrations, as every one ought to undertake, though in a different Degree; being by the Holy Spirit alone, without the Vocation of Men; without Price and Reward; and that Women should not be excluded from Teaching.

And this they would now have and require, that all Christians ought frequently to meet at certain

certain Times and Places, to the end they might Worship God with Brotherly and United Minds, to Instruct and Admonish one another to the Exercise of Vertue, &c. And this Worship to be performed by the Impulse and Assistance of the Spirit alone, who acts freely. They admit of no *Sacraments, Signs* or *Seals* that are perceptible by the Senses; but that Baptism and the Supper, are something that is Inward and Spiritual.

Now as the *Doctrine* and *Faith* of these Men, P. 89. was Admirable and Singular, their Life and Conversation was no less; for this chiefly consisted in Abstinence and Continency; they said, all Publick and Private Wars are forbidden by the Law of God; and they shunned all Acts of *Revenge* and *Resistance*, from all *Oaths*. Moreover, they abstained from *Pleasures, Gay Cloaths, and Superfluous Attire*; and hated such Ways and Artifices as tended to *Vanity* and *Pastime*: as also all *Shows, Play-Houses, Plays*; and all manner of *Joaking* and *Laughter*; and besides these, they declined to use such *Voices, Faces, Gestures, Motions, Salutations, Blandishments, and Obsequious Practices*, which are common in Societies, and counted *Good Manners and Breeding*. And they require, that every One look after, practice and perform in a serious Manner, all that which the Dignity, Honour, and Excellency of a Christian doth require; and this, both in Words and Deeds: This is that Method of Living, which the *Quakers* from P. 90. the very first Rise of them have retained constantly to this very Day.

And they were always sensible themselves, how the Men of this World hated them, and made a Laughing Stock of them, accounting them as the Scum and Off-scouring of Men, and upbraiding their Folly; all which they bore with great Constancy of Mind, and said, that they feared nothing, or shunned nothing, but what is really a Sin against God or Men.

But they do not deny; and Experience doth make them confess, that some among them, are not such as they could wish they were, and as they would have all Men to be; but do not only transgress those Limits of Severity and Gravity which they ought to observe, but do allow themselves in those Vices of *Malice, Fraud,* and *Evil-Dealings* with Men, by which they set their Profession to Sale, and accommodate themselves to the present Times.

But they say such Men are a Loathing to them, and they make diligent search after them, and if they find they will not be Reclaimed nor Repent, they exclude them their Community.

Now after all that this *Author* hath related, and with some seeming Approbation and Consent, that the Reasons and Grounds of the *Quakers* Dissent from the *Church*, &c. and also the Account he hath given of their Life and Doctrine, to be all Sound, Christian, and Apostolick; why he should yet Write ought against them, in Contradiction of what he hath so freely and effectually done, in their Vindication and Favour, is indeed Matter of Wonder.

However, I will, as I have premised in the beginning of this Collection, pass over and drop



drop all the Ill, Scurrilous and Base Reflections, which he hath raked together and heaped up, as favouring more of Malice, and Prejudice, than from any Just Ground or Cause; and proceed to his Account of the continued *Sufferings*, *Constancy*, and *Patience* of the *Quakers*; and through all, still adhering to their Principles; which I intend, as hitherto, to relate, as he hath delivered it, without variation from his Sense, though sometimes I may not use his Expressions.

This became a great Crime, that they would not Swear before a *Magistrate*, Pay *Tithes*, nor do many more things, by Reason of Scruple of Mind, and Fear of God: for which Practice of theirs, though none of the *Quakers* were at any time in *England*, put to Death publicly by Executioners, by the *Magistrates* Command; yet many of them were so handled in Prisons, and so injured with Stripes and Wounds, by Wicked and Villainous Men, that they Died thereof.

This was their daily Fate, that some of them were committed to Prison by the *Magistrates*; some Fined, some Banished, and Reproached by the Common People; and were Cuffed, Kicked, Cudgeled, and Stoned. In the mean time, the *Quakers* Suffered and Endured all these things from the very Beginning, with so much Patience and Resolution of Mind, that they not only wearied many of their Enemies, but also excited and enclined many People to become of their Communion, thus judging with themselves, That Men neither would nor could undergo and

W sustain such intolerable Troubles and Miseries, unless they were well assured in their Consciences of the Truth of those Things for which they suffered.

P. 121. George Fox and Edward Pyot underwent an hard and troublesome Imprisonment at Lan-ceston in Cornwall, and when at the Quarter-Sessions they refused to uncover their Heads, and to Swear Allegiance to the Government, (though they did not avoid to declare it in Words) the Judges for these slight Matters would remand them back till the next Quarter Sessions: In the mean time the Goaler, a merciless and Inhumane Wretch, that was never taught Humanity, but always conversant among Thieves, did treat and entertain these his Prisoners in a barbarous and wicked manner.

King Charles the Second being now returned to England, the Author continuing his History, I intend to follow him after the Method which I have hitherto observed, and to take notice of Matter of Fact only, with respect of the Sufferings and Constancy of the Quakers, and to do it as briefly as may be, contracting the Matter into as narrow a Compass as may consist with a true Relation of the Design intended.

The Author would insinuate, that upon the King's Return, it was the Aim and Endeavour of the various Assemblies, or Churches, to defend their own Orders and Constitutions from Damage, and to vindicate their Practices, and so to trim them up, as might recommend them to others; and he would suggest, that the

*Quakers* did also conform themselves to such Methods; but the following Account will shew, that they never baulked their Testimony, but continued constant to the *Doctrine, Principles, and Practice* which they Professed, through great and manifold Sufferings.

*George Fox* and his Colleagues, as the Au- P. 148.  
thor stile them, every one in his Place and Station did Advise by Letters and otherwise, that all Friends should make it their Business and Endeavour to *do nothing against the King's Authority, and the Commonweal*, and to allow of nothing in that kind which might be avoided by them.

They *Wrote and Published Books* in England, in P. 149.  
which they handled the Heads of things not *confusedly, but distinctly*, and did Argue in them: First, against the *Opinions and Tenets* of the Principal *Episcoparians*, and then against other *Dissenters*; and this in a neat and orderly Way, not by *Wrangling*, but *Examining* every Proposition, and coming up to the *Merit* of the *Cause*, and by admirable Skill arriving at their designed Conclusion; neither did they urge those things which they Taught and Believed by a rude and disjointed way of Reasoning, but clearly and openly, and explicated the same at large, and strenuously defended it; which Method was vigorously pursued by *Samuel Fisher*.

From hence forward these People called P. 150.  
*Quakers* began gradually to stand up, and to Encrease in Number and Strength, and to be reckoned

reckoned and used as one of the *Setts* of the  
*Christian Religion.*

Things were at the same pass with these  
 Men in *Scotland*, saving that their Affairs did  
 not thrive so fast there till the Arrival of *George*  
*Keith* and *Robert Barclay*, by whom the *Do-*  
*ctrine* of the *Quakers*, their *Principles* and  
*Fundamentals* were much Illustrated and Con-  
 firmed.

P. 154. The Author Relates, that King *Charles* did  
 from *Breda* Write very lovingly and tenderly  
 to the *Parliament*, and also to the City of  
*London*, That he would give to, and preserve  
 the *Liberty of tender Consciences and Opinions*  
 in *Religion*, provided it were without endanger-  
 ing the *publick Peace*. Which thing was again  
 repeated by the *King* after he was Established  
 in his *Throne*: Wherefore the *Quakers* con-  
 ceived great Hopes of their Affairs; and be-  
 ing full of good Will towards the *King*, they  
 went to him and implored his Favour, Pro-  
 tection, and Help, against the Cruelty of their  
 Enemies. The *King* grants them their Desire,  
 and for some time they met to perform their  
 Religious Worship: Hereupon did these Men  
 industriously proceed in their Affairs, and  
 Exercises for the common Good; neither did  
 it they unknown to their Adversaries, but  
 openly.

P. 155. But it was not long e're all this Matter fell  
 out much otherwise; for they who were the  
*Quakers* Adversaries, amongst other Pretences  
 which they made use of to repress and ensnare  
 these

these Men, turned the Name and Power of the King to their Molestation and Destruction; and as often as they met together to celebrate their Worship, they were apprehended as Disturbers of the Peace, and although they had no *Weapon*, yet they were treated as if they were *Armed Men*.

There was an *Oath*, called, *The Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance*, this *Oath* being put to the *Quakers*, they refused, holding it unlawful to *Swear at all*; yet were always ready to promise solemnly to be faithful, and did not refuse to subscribe the same with their Hands, that they did Abominate the *Pope*, and his wicked Adherents, and their *Pride and Treachery* against *Kings*; and that the *King* could fear no danger from the *Quakers*, and that they were ready, if they proved false, to undergo such Punishments as they who violate their *Oath*. But this procured them no Favour, but they were looked upon as Men, either Unfaithful, Wavering or Treacherous, and to be deprived of all Protection and Favour of the *King*.

And as a superaddition to the rest, they to whom *Tythes* were allotted, and the *Farmers* of *Tythes*, were also very sharp upon the *Quakers* for refusing to pay them, and they were hardly and severely used every where. Moreover when they were shut up in Prison, and had little or no Relief from without, those that kept them, used them for the most part as they pleased; neither was there any thing whereby they might ease themselves; of which things there

there are very memorable Instances, and almost without Number.

At *Sherborn* in *Dorsetshire*, a Number of *Quakers*, being Met together to worship God, in an Innocent Manner, were halled out by the Towns-men, &c. entertained with Curses and Blows, and carried before the Magistrate, who condemned them as *Rioters*, and what they offered in their own Defence to clear themselves availed nothing; but some were sent to *Dorchester Goal*, others promised to appear at the next *Affizes*.

P. 158, Many other particular Sufferings are re-  
& 159-lated.

P. 160. This *Author* relates, That the *Quakers* did Address themselves to the *King* and *Parliament* then Sitting, setting forth their very great Sufferings through Imprisonment, and many other Calamities received from their own *Country-men* and *Neighbours*, and did exhibit a *Catalogue* in Writing, that during the time of the *Two Cromwells*, no less than *Three Thousand, One Hundred and Seventy Nine* of their Society had been Imprisoned in *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*, and other of the *King's Dominions*, and of them *Thirty Two* died: And they farther add, That from the *King's* coming in, to the present Time, there had been, and were still kept in Prison *Three Hundred and Seventeen*; they named every Place of their Imprisonment, and gave the Names of the People, and did signifie for what Causes they formerly did, and now do suffer.

They

They did also the next Year present to the *King* and *Parliament* a fresh Complaint of the Addition to their Sufferings by Imprisonment, that the Number of Sufferers were now increased to *Five Hundred Fifty two*, many of whom had sustained many other Afflictions, and did now undergo many Miseries in the Places where they were Confined.

This Author also adds, That many *Ministers* P. 161. of *Churches* in several Counties, seeing the *Quakers* refused to Pay *Tythes*, came and took out of their Houses and Fields for those *Tythes* much more than they ought to have done, nor did they afterwards restore the Overplus.

He farther adds, *This Writing*, which was full of Truth, was partly neglected, and partly despised by the *King* and *whole Assembly*.

This Author (though somewhat out of Order, being not sooner done) takes notice that *Richard Hubberthorn* a *Quaker*, was admitted to talk with the *King* in the Presence of some *Noble Men*; in which Conference, when the *King*, and some of his *Nobles*, ask'd *Hubberthorn* sundry close Questions concerning the *Doctrine* and *Religion* of the *Quakers*, that he P. 162. made Answer to every thing that was asked, the *King* and those that had interrogated him, said, *It is so indeed as thou sayest*, saying also one to another, *He Offers nothing but the Truth*; whereupon the *King* uttered these Words to *Hubberthorn*, *I do assure thee, That none of you shall Suffer any thing for your Opinions and Religion, provided you live Peaceably: you have the Word and Promise*

wise of a King for it, and I will take Care by Proclamation to prevent any farther Prosecution of you.

But seeing some Men did put an ill Construction upon this Conference, *Hubberthorn* did a little while after Publish it in Print; but how the King did afterwards perform these Promises, the Event will soon shew.

P. 168. Now were People generally enjoined to take the Oath of *Allegiance* to the King, and the Judges had orders to shew Favour to none; and if the *Quakers* would not Swear, they should not Hold their Meetings any where; and thereupon was a Law made to Prevent *Seditious Conventicles*, viz. That no Meeting should be held, under a Shew or Pretence of Divine Worship, that was not approved and Ratified by the Liturgy of the Church of England, nor more Persons Meet together at one Place than five; but if any above the Age of Sixteen did Transgress herein, and being a Subject of the Kingdom, such an one should be Punished for the same.

This Law seemed to have been Enacted to restrain all *Sects*; but did more especially Affect the *Quakers*; and none could but understand it was a Snare for them, and tended to Shipwreck their Affairs: So that it came thereby to pass, that such of them as were in Prison, were kept more closely, and used more severely by the *Goalers*: And the rest of them had one Tryal and Affliction upon another; and when they were shut out of their Meeting-Houses,



*Houses*, and met together in the Streets, they were entertained with Ignominy and Reproach, and were Harrass'd by *Soldiers*; and being required to *Swear*, they were upon Refusal thrust into *Prison*, among *Wicked* and *Profligate Wretches*, *Thieves*, &c. And being thus oppress'd with many Miseries and Calamities, some were freed therefrom by *Death*.

The *Quakers* did again in an *Humble Manner* make Application to the *King*, setting forth their *Great Sufferings*, and that since his *Restoration* to that Time, there were *Four Thousand* and *Five Hundred* of them imprisoned, and *Fifty six* were *dead*, through the *Hardships* they endured.

Sometime after it being observed, that the *Quakers* could not be charged with any *Crime*, nor were they found to be in any respect *Disloyal to the King*; and the Clamour of the *People* vanishing, he did set many of them at *Liberty*: But such was the Severity and *Hardness* of some of the *Magistrates*, that though they did not reject the *King's Authority*, yet they did indeed fulfil it either not in earnest, or but slowly: And in this Year 1662, the *Quakers* do count several Examples of their severe Usage. P. 170

Moreover, the *Quakers* do in this Year P. 171  
 Commemorate the *Death* of two of their *Eminent Leaders* or *Teachers* who died in *London*, upon the *score of Religion*; the one is *Richard Hubberthorn*, who was taken from a *Meeting* or *Assembly* of the *Quakers*, and brought before the then *Mayor*, who used him as if he had  
 been

been the greatest Villain, beating him with his own Hands, &c. and then Committed him to Prison, where after he had laid some time, he fell Sick and died.

P. 172. The other was *Edward Burrough*, who also stood firm to his Religion, and died for it a Prisoner; of him they say, That being at *Bristol*, and upon his Departure for *London*, took leave of his Friends with these Words, *That now he was directing his Course for London, that he might there, together with his Brethren, suffer for the sake of the Gospel, and to lay down his Life.* When he came to *London*, he goes to the Meeting and there Preaches, esteeming he could not otherwise satisfy his Conscience, discharge his Duty, and use the Gift he had received, from whence he was, by the Command of the same Mayor, with much Violence haled to Prison, where, after some time he fell Sick, and his Weakness increasing upon him, he at length died, as he had lived, Supporting and Comforting himself and his Friends, after this manner: *I have preached the Gospel in this City freely, without*

P. 173. *being Burthensome to any, and have spent my Life therein, and now part with my Life for it: And that I have truly and sincerely behaved myself herein, is known to Him who knoweth all things: And Thou, O God! hast loved me, when I was shut up in the Womb, and I have served thee from my Childhood and my Youth to this very Day; and though this Body of mine return to the Dust; yet I assuredly know, that my Soul shall*

shall return from whence it came; I pray God, that he will Pardon, if it be his Will, the Sins and Evil Practices of mine Enemies.

The Author proceeds to give a Relation of Friends Sufferings at Worcester, and the Occasion and Manner of Proceeding against them. And also of the Apprehending Francis Howgill in the Market Place at Kendall, and tendring him the Oath of Allegiance, but he denying that he could with a safe Conscience, take the Oath, was committed to Prison: After some time, he was again tendered the Oath, which he again denied, and with Constancy, and great Modesty declared, *That as to what belonged to the Substance and Matter of the Oath, he did not refuse to promise the Performance of it, yea, and Subscribe it; but could not do it by an Oath, that being not lawful for a Christian, &c.*

But all this prevailed nothing; the Envy of the Judges were such, that they Sentenced him Guilty, and to have all his Lands Forfeited as long as he lived, and Moveables for ever; and that he himself was out of the Kings Protection, and ordered to perpetual Imprisonment: And it so fell out, that at Appleby-Goal he continued Prisoner for Five Years, then fell Sick, and shortly after ended his Days by Death: At his Death, he made his Appeal to God and Men, that he Died in that Religion for which he had suffered so many Afflictions.

While the Quakers were thus Disturbed and Molested, a Law was made against them, yet more severe, even to Banishment.

P. 179. The City of *London*, had not the least share in this Persecution, where they were driven sometimes like Sheep into the nasty Prison of *Newgate*, among *Thieves*, *Rogues*, and *Highway-Men*; when they were crowded up, and ready to be stifled; and some of them being so straitned, that they might enjoy a free Air, got to the Top of the Place, or Leads; where being not sufficiently clad, were much incommoded with the Cold and Sharpness of the Air, by which many of them grew Sick and Weak, and some Died.

P. 180. The Author informs the Reader of some Sufferings in the *Isle of Wight*, with the Occasion and Manner of Proceeding, and of the Ceremony used among other People in Burying their Dead; and compares the plain Custom

P. 182. and Manner of the *Quakers*, with that Pompous Vanity used by others; he adds also, a Relation

P. 183. of a *Quaker* who was Imprisoned for *Tythes*, by the *Countess of Derby*, and there Died; with the manner of his Burial.

P. 184. A new Persecution attended the *Quakers* at *Colchester*; where their Number being Increased, the *Mayor* of the *Town* having for some time winked at them, began to think his Connivance might bring him under some Disgrace, and therefore upon a *Lord's Day*, when many of the *Quakers* were met together to Worship God after their usual Manner, he hasted thither with his *Officers*, and declares he came there according to the *King's Laws*, to Disperse their *Conventicle*; some they Apprehended and Lead to *Prison*; this was on the 25th of the Month called

called *October*; and on the 29th following, they repeated the same thing.

On the First Day of the Week following, they being met together again, the Officers came and proceeded as before; and on the *Tenth* Day of the Month following, they being Solemnly met again, the *County Troop of Horse*, came and Beat, and Thump'd some; others they Committed to *Prison*, and then Ranfack-ed the Meeting-House; Pull'd down the Seats and Windows; after which, a Man was order'd to stand at the Door and keep them out; upon which, the *Quakers* stood in the Yard, in the Open Air; at which time came *Forty Horse Men*, with *Swords, Carbines and Pistols*, with Order, that if they did again attempt to meet, they were forthwith to Fall upon them, but not to Kill them out right.

The *Quakers* came again on the *Fifth* of *December* following, upon which the *Troop* Approach'd, and immediately with *drawn Swords*, Riding up and Crying aloud, as if that were their Signal, *What a Devil do you do here?* They Set upon them, Beat, Knock and Wound some with their *Swords*; sparing neither Age nor Sex, nor the Grey and Wrinkled; and drove them from one Place to another: But neither did this deter them from *Meeting* again, but they returned the next Day to the same *Place*, whither came the *Horse Men* Armed again; and some (besides the Weapons they had) brought heavy *Clubs*, and so Set upon them, Threw them on the Ground, Beat them with that Violence, that they drew Blood from many of them;

some they left as Dead upon the Ground ; some so used, they could not lift an Hand to their Mouths, nay, could not use any Member of their Body for a long time after.

P. 187. One of the *Horse Men*, struck at a *Quaker* with so much Violence, that his *Sword Blade* flew out of his *Hilt*, which the *Quaker* took up and delivered to him, saying, *Take thine own ; but as for me, that which is Ours, and a Christian Part, I beseech and pray to God, that the Work of this Day, may not be laid to thy Charge.*

And so on this side, Fury and Cruelty, and on the other, Constancy and Gentleness, seemed to outvy one another. But all this Violence could not Repress or Hinder the *Quakers* meeting together ; and therefore they were handled again as formerly : For upon the 27th Day, the same *Troop* came up, and placed Centinels at the Passes, and the *Horse Men* brake in upon them, and with their *Clubs* and other Weapons, did so Beat and Bruise the Heads and Limbs of these People, that there was scarce any part of their Bodies free from Wounds and Bruises ; and these Punishers did intermix so many *Maledictions* and *Curses* with their *Blows*, that the *Quakers*, who are a *People of few Words*, *Awful*, and *Modest*, affirmed, that they were not so much hurt with their *Swords* and *Clubs* in their Bodies, as they were troubled at their *Wicked Words*, in their *Hearts*.

P. 188. But these People still continuing to *Meet*, the *Troopers* came again and Assaulted them, and instead of using their *Arms*, they made use of their

their *Clubs*, into which they drove *sharp Nails* at the end, wherewith they wounded them ; some to their very *Reins* ; using many *Railings* and *Cursings*, which Persecution lasted *Six Weeks*.

These Cruel Usages not prevailing to hinder them from Assembling together, the *Mayor* with the *Recorder*, endeavoured in a Mild and Gentle Way, to Dismiss and Break their *Meetings* ; and when that would not do, he sent Soldiers again to Molest them : But after all, finding they were resolved to *Live with this Freedom of meeting together to Worship God, or to suffer Death for it*, the *Mayor* ceased to disturb them. These things I have gathered, not only from the *Author*, but from themselves and the Testimonies of others, and they are worthy of Admiration now, as they were then ; when the Sober People of the Town, who had a sense of Pity and Humanity, did express great Indignation and Detestation of such Horrid Severities.

I have taken more notice of this Relation of Cruelty and Suffering, than of many others, which I have met with in this *History* : I having had Opportunities to receive an Account from some of the *Inhabitants* of the *Place*, of the truth and reality of the Fact in general, and for the most part, with the particular Instances as here related.

This *Author* continues the *History*, in a Second Book 2. Book, and tells us, that seeing all former Methods could not prevail to suppress them, and P. 1. that it would be Impracticable to keep them always in *Close Confinement* : A Law was made to *Banish* them from their *Houses and Livings*,

to the *American Colonies*, Subject to the *English*.  
 Accordingly, there were *several Decrees made*  
 P. 2. *in several Courts and Judicatories*, for their being Transplanted to *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica*, for the Term of *Seven Years*; but if any of them would Ransom themselves, by Paying *One Hundred Pounds*, they might have their *Liberty*; but it was never heard, that any of them attempted this Redemption. He observes, that at their Tryals, Things were superficially carried, and Matters soon made ready for passing Sentence; and gives an Instance of the Proceeding against them at *Hertford*. The Witnesses there deposed, that they saw the *Quakers* Assemble together; and that in their Assemblies they were sitting Quiet, without any *Speaker*. The *Quakers* replied, that as they use to do at other times, they met together, but not Tumultuously, nor in a Disorderly Manner: However, this was accounted a Crime sufficient to demerit Banishment.

Some few Days after, Courts were held at  
 P. 4. *London* about the same Business: The *Quakers* being shut up in Prisons for having Congregated themselves, were Arraigned before the Court, and Accused for Transgressing the *Laws* in meeting more than Five at a Time, under pretence to Worship God, dissonant from the *Liturgy of the Church of England*; the Informers being mostly the Officers that Apprehended them.

The *Quakers* did not deny their Meeting together, but said, that their *Meetings* tended to no Disorder, nor were in Contempt of the  
 P. 5. *King and Government*; adding, that the *Liturgy*  
 of



of the Church, did not *Forbid*, but *Commanded* to Worship God in that Manner, to wit, in the *Spirit and Truth*.

This Author intimates some Disagreement amongst the *Jury*, and the Displeasure thereby of the *Judges*, which I pass over; but however, relates, that *Sentence* passed for their being P. 6. Transported.

Shortly after, *Two and Thirty Persons* were P. 7. Condemned and Banished their Country.

He gives several further Relations, and that p. 8. Judge *Hide Sate* Judge of the *Court*; and afterwards *Windham*; and proceeds with his Account of Passages, &c.

He goes on: Since I have already given you P. 12. a Taste of their Condemnation, it will not be amiss to trace their Sentence to the Execution, and take a View of the Events.

The First of the *Quakers* Adjudged to Banishment, were the Seven Condemned at *Hertford*, from whence they were carried Prisoners to *London*, to Embark in a Ship lying in *Thames*; and being put on Board, the Master of the P. 13. Ship, after some time, sets them at Liberty, and gave them a Testimonial under his Hand, that they did not make an Escape, but were freely Dismissed by him: The *Quakers* immediately return Homewards. Next to the *Seven*, other P. 15. *Three* at *Bristol*, were put on Board a Ship for the same End; but the *Seamen* considering their Case and Condition, and of the *Laws* against such *Exportations*, set them at Liberty, giving them a Certificate to remove all Suspicion of their making any Escape.

After this, he goes on with his Relation, but with some *Mistake* in the Circumstances, saying, these and many others, who had received the *Sentence of Banishment*, were put altogether into one Ship (now that many were put on Board one Ship, who were under that Sentence, is true ; but those before mentioned were not put on Board the same Ship with them) this Ship when at Sea, was taken by a *Dutch Privateer*, in the time of the Wars between *Holland* and *England* ; and the Captive *Quakers* were put on Shoar in *Holland* ; some of whom returned again to their own Habitations, being afraid of nothing, but resolved to undergo all manner of Afflictions, in Defence of their Religion.

P. 16. The *Quakers* at this time, complained of the Cruel and Inveterate Malice of the *Ecclesiasticks* and *Ministers* against them, who should have been *Meek*, following the Example of their *Lord* and *Master* while on Earth, who was tender to his Enemies : They also complained of the *Bishops*, who were supposed to have so great Influence in the Nation, as to be the Authors of all the severe Laws made against them.

P. 17. They further complain, that Justice was done them no where ; that this *Persecution* was *Universal*, insomuch, that every *Town* rung with the *Persecution* and *Affliction* of the *Quakers*. And because this was their Principle, that Resistance was not to be offered to any, not to ward off Force, by Force, but receive them with Chearfulness and Willingness of Mind, while it was for *Conscience Sake*, they thought they had Cause to Complain ; that upon this Account,

Account, the Malice of the World was the more Excited against them, and Censured this their Constancy, in Suffering, proceeded from some Stubbornness and Contumacy.

The *Church-Men* endeavoured to Purge and Clear themselves what they could, alledging, that seeing the *Quakers* did so obstinately as they term'd it, forsake and separate from the Publick Religion, and endeavoured to render Ineffectual, the Laws and Constitutions of the Church; and Stopped and Diminished their Revenues, Incomes, and Advantages; there was therefore no Remedy left to Curb and Check them, but the severe Method they had Chosen; and that they had done but their Duty in Discharge of their Function, which was to Correct and Punish them, tho' contrary to the Doctrine of the Gospel. This Author takes some Notice of the *Quakers* Sufferings upon Writs, *de Excommunicato Capiendo*; because they did not Frequent their *Parish Churches*, nor Observed the *Set Holy Days*; nor Abstained from *Work- P. 18.*  
*ing*; because they with-held their Children from *Water-Baptism*; did not Receive the *Bread and Wine*; were not Married by their *Parish Ministers*, nor any others of the *Church*; nor Joyned together according to the *Common-Prayer- P. 19.*  
*Book*; which deprived the Ministers of the *Advantages, Fees, and Allowances* they were wont to have on such Occasions.

It was also alledged against them, that they sent not their Children to *School*, to be Taught by the *Parish School-Masters*, but had *School-Masters* of their own Perswasion, to whom they  
commit-

P. 20.
 committed the Education of their Children; that they refused to pay their *Quota* for Repairing of the *Churches*; that they omitted to give the *Easter Offerings* to the *Curates* and *Ministers* of the *Parishes*: And lastly, that they refused to pay the *Tythes* of their *Cattle, Lands, Trees, Honey, &c.* to the *Ministers*.

P. 21.
 The *Quakers* had Liberty to have made their Defence in some Cases, but being not allowed to do it otherwise than by *Proctors* and *Solliciters*, and that not without giving *Money*: They thus reasoned with themselves, That if their Business succeeded well, it was well, if not, it would be multiplying expences in vain; besides their Allegations would not be accepted without *Oaths*, which they could not comply with; so that no Favour could be obtained, and great Numbers were Condemned and Imprisoned, some Rich, some Poor, some for the Value of *Six Pence*, or *Ten Pence*; not that they were so *Poor* that they could not, or so *Niggardly* that they would not part with so much; but that they did believe the *Prosecutors* had no Right to it: So they were promiscuously Imprisoned, and in the mean while the *Prosecutors* would take by *Force* from their *Houses, Embezelling* and *Spoiling* their *Barns, Stacks, Harvest*, and taking their *Horses, Cows*, or what they could be Masters of, destroying what the diligent Men had honestly got together, by the Sweat of their Brows and living sparingly, leaving little or nothing almost for the Sustenance of their Families.

Yet the *Quakers* continued stedfast and immovable, resolving to suffer to the last Extremity, rather than recede from their Integrity. w

In the Year 1664, the *Quakers* by a *Writing* P. 22. Presented to the King and Parliament a *Summary* of their most remarkable Sufferings, through all the several Counties of the Kingdom.

A *Blacksmith* in *Hampshire*, by Name *Thomas Penford*, for refusing to pay *Three Pence*, to the Repairing of the *Parish Church*, was *Excommunicated*, and Imprisoned in the *Goal* at *Winchester*, where after three Years and a P. 23. half Imprisonment he died.

A *Farmer* in *Oxfordshire*, who for refusing to pay *Tythes* was Imprisoned, in the mean time the Minister goes and seizes upon his *Horses*, which were much more Valuable than what he demanded; yet continued the Poor Man in Prison a long time, where he ended his Days.

A *Farmer* in a small Village in *Berkshire*, who maintained his Family very comfortably by what he had gotten by his Labour and Diligence, but refusing to pay *Tythes*, a Man that had bought the *Tythes* caused this Man to be haled to Prison, and in the mean time Pillaged and Harrassed his House, taking his *Horses*, *Kine*, and other things, which he Sold for about 40 *l*. And afterwards, in the Year 1666, and 67, attacked him again, and took from him his *Horse*, *Four Kine*, and all the Cattle he had, and the Beds they lay on, and greatly

greatly impoverished the Poor Man: He proceeds in his Relation of this. And some time after the Poor Man having gotten a *Couple of Cows*, by help of which he sustained his Family, the *Minister* of the Parish pursued him by an *Excommunication*, by which he was cast into Prison, and in the Year 1672, he was set at Liberty by the *King's Favour*. This Man thereupon returned to his Habitation, and having by his Industry and hard Labour compass'd something again, the former *Tytbe-Master* fell upon him again, and took all he had, leaving him nothing. The whole that was taken from him at several times was upwards of 150 Pounds: And in the Year 1675. he was Imprisoned among *Thieves* and *Robbers*, where through the Noisomness of the *Prison*, and Inhumanity of the *Goaler*, he sickned and died in the Year 1677.

P. 24.

P. 25.

P. 29.

The Author having given some Account of the many hard and miserable Sufferings of the *Quakers* proceeds thus:

It will not be amiss to take a view of what the *Quakers* wrote by way of *Prophecy* and *Prediction*, concerning the future State of the *Kingdom*.

P. 30.

A *Quaker* did clearly foretell the *Pestilence* that befell the City of *London*, saying, *That the Streets, which were then filled with People, should have Grass growing in them.*

P. 31.

There was a *Quaker* (saith he) at *Hereford*, who before the Burning of the City, saw it clearly represented to him in *Flames*, not in a *Dream*, but awake, and a Voice from Heaven,

Warning

Warning him to go to *London* and publish what he saw: He presently takes his Horse and rides thither, and when he came at the Town, he uncovers his Head, throws away his Hat, and having girded up his Breeches, he looses all his other Cloaths, and pulls down his Stockings, and having put up his Horse he runs to a Meeting two Days before this thing happen'd; and sometime after the Fire began, he was overcome by a Temptation, and grew Presumptuous: *Which in Fact is certainly true, but is not truly related by the Author in all the Circumstances; for he did not set up his Horse, but turned him loose in the Street; nor did he go to any Meeting of the Quakers directly, but through the Streets of the City, crying in the Zeal and Heat of his Spirit, Fire, Fire, Fire; he was accompanied and followed by many Light Rude People, who did in some Places offer him some Abuse, accounting him under some Discomposure, or Distraction: Nor was he of the Town of Hereford; but that he was afterwards overtaken with Temptation, and Presumption prevailed over him, and captivated his Reason, for want of Humility, and abiding in the Fear of God, and under a Sense of the Power where-with he was visited, is true: And the Author of this History doth candidly in this, to Remember that he was afterwards sensible of his Error, and did acknowledge it. The Author proceeds:*

This *Double Calamity* upon the City of *London*, did inject a Fear and Terror into the Minds of most Men every where in the *Kingdom*,

dom, so that they were more solicitous about their own Condition and Danger they were in, than busie to afflict and oppress others; which did not a little allay the Ardour and Fury of their Minds against the *Quakers*, at least for some time.

P. 33. Whilst these Things happen'd in *England*, the *Quakers* were not altogether free from Persecution in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, though it was not so hot in the *former* as in the *latter*, in *Scotland* there was but a small Number of *Quakers*, they were more Numerous in *Ireland*, and not in *One County* or *Two*, but through the *whole Nation*, and they Imitated the *English Quakers*, in withdrawing from, and neglecting the *Publick Ordinances* of the *Church*, holding Conventions and Assemblies among themselves, refusing to pay *Tythes*, or to the Repair of Churches; or to give Oath upon any Occasion, &c. For which Reasons they were Persecuted as in *England*, severe *Penalties* and *Fines* being inflicted upon them, for refusing to pay them they were cast into Prison, and so hardly used that some of them Died; and many other Hardships and severe Handling they met with from Soldiers, who were conni-  
 P. 34. ved at by their Commanders.

The Authors Account of *George Keith*, from Page 34, to P. 40. I purposely omit, considering his Apostacy from the Truth he once professed, and his inveterate Enmity against the *Quakers* ever since.

*William Penn* he calls a Man Famous all over *England*, and Renowned among Foreigners that



that are not Ignorant of the *English Affairs*; and subjoins an Account of the Occasion and Manner of his Conversion to this Truth, his Love and Zeal for it, and of his Wit and Conversation. P. 41.

*William Penn* his Father was *Vice-Admiral* to the *English Navy*; he took Care to have his Son instructed in Learning, and sent him to the *University of Oxford*; then afterwards he went to *France*, and being after sometime returned into his own Country, he went into *Ireland*, where he heard many things of the *Quakers*, their *Doctrines* and *Conversations*, and frequented their *Meetings*; This was in the Year 1666, and of his Age 22. It happened that when he was present at their *Meeting*, the *Magistrate* of the Place came and took him, and the rest of the Company *Prisoners*: But he was not frighted at this suddain and unexpected Accident, but applied his Mind to understand their Opinions and Doctrines more fully. P. 42.

The Father was not a little Angry at his Son, who was the only Hope of his Parents, and paid the greatest Respect and Reverence to them imaginable; but express'd his severe Resentment both in Words and Deeds, and threatned to Disinherit him.

Unto this his *Father's Anger* were added the Reproaches and Reviling of his *Father's Domesticks*, and his Ancient Companions both at Court and elsewhere, with whom he was Educated; and also of the *Ecclesiasticks* who formerly rendered him all manner of Love and Friendship.

Unto

Unto all which Disadvantages, *William Penn* opposed this one Remedy, the *Integrity of his Life*, to the ill Reports that were scattered abroad of him, and the Constancy of his Mind and Body, to counterballance that Weight of Afflictions that surrounded him.

And by these two *Properties* he brought his Affairs to that pass, that his *Father* not only received him into Favour again, and became kind to him, comforting and refreshing his Afflicted Son; but also left him Heir of all his Riches, encouraging and commending his Singular *Piety and Fortitude of Mind*, exhorting him to persist in the same. And it is not here to be omitted, that his *Father* lying upon his *Death-bed*, and drawing near his last *Exit*, took leave of his Son in these his last Words:

*My Son, Remember to serve God the Omnipotent King so constantly, as to prefer the same to the Service of Earthly Kings, and all things besides: Which if you do, and if you and your Friends persevere in your Simple and Innocent way of Preaching and Living; verily ye shall make an End of the Priests to the End of the World.*

Now as to the Wit and Spirit of *William Penn*, his Dexterity and Accuteness, his Knowledge of Tongues usual amongst the Learned, his Temper and Conversation of Life; I had rather the *Quakers*, or any Body else should give an Account than I.

But certainly, though my Pen were silent, his own Writings will speak him forth, to accommodate all to the Capacity and Understanding

standing of the vulgar; and the Variety and Abundance of things therein contained, his neat Language and Stile, the Gravity of Words and Sentences, which are connected and Intermixt with whole Chains of Quotations from the *Holy Scriptures*, do so evidently testify of him, that unless one be Maliciously Envious of the Vertue and Praise of another, he must acknowledge that he is an Eloquent and Well-spoken Author.

He takes notice how most *Christians* that P. 46. imagine with themselves that they know any thing, bend their Faculties to Speculation and Contemplation of what they know; whereas a *Speculative Life* is not so becoming and necessary for a Christian, as an *Active and Practical Life* is; and that all manner of Knowledge is but a meer Shadow, that doth not tend to Action.

When now the Adversaries of the *Quakers* P. 47. slackened their Persecution against them, the *Quakers* took Occasion not only to Assemble and Congregate together, but to prepare all things necessary or conducive to their mutual Help and Establishment, and introduced a more accurate *Oeconomy*, and *Administration* of all their Affairs.

As to the *Church*; these People believed it P. 48. to be all one Body, of which each Particular Member has its Office in defending and edifying the *Church*, according as they are capable or useful, either to the Publick or their Neighbours; and that since no Gifts are given by

God in vain, there be as many Offices in the Church as he hath given Gifts; even as in the Humane Body, all the Members bear some Proportion in advancing the Good of the whole, so it is in the *Church*. And from that time the *Quakers* were of these Thoughts, which they maintain to this Day.

P. 49. They take Care to manage all their Religious Concerns, and to observe all Accidents that may fall out in the Church, and to see that all things proceed in good Order; and that if any commit an open Sin, or be suspected of some Crime, or have done any thing Culpable against his Neighbour: If any thing be wanting for the Promotion of Unity, Concord and Peace among themselves; they presently endeavour to rectifie it, or send those they repose Trust and Confidence in, to do all that is necessary for advancing the End desired, and removing the Evil that troubles them.

They also visit the Poor and Needy, and relieve their Necessities; they take Care of Orphans, Widows, Old People, the Afflicted and the Sick, unto whom they afford what is needful for their Sustainance and Relief; for which they make Contributions, and distribute them as there is Occasion.

P. 53. When they meet together, after a long Silence, and quiet recollecting of their Thoughts, they make it their whole Care earnestly to wait for the *Coming of the Spirit*; and being moved thereby, they *Pray* or *Preach*, according to the *Spirit's Impulse*, the rest sitting still to hear in the

the Place where they Worship ; and bending their Thoughts inwardly, with regard to the Spirit, they look what he dictates within, and thither they direct their Attentions, and searching themselves, they bring all home to their own Consciences; sometimes they all depart without uttering a Word, and even then they say they lose not their Labour.

They are greatly devoted to the Publick P. 56. *Worship of God, but very averse to all Superstition; they indeed acknowledge it very necessary that a Time be set apart for assembling to Worship God in Publick.*

They acknowledge the Understanding of P. 58. Languages, especially of *Hebrew, Greek and Latin* formerly was, and still is very useful; yet they take them not therefore to be necessary, to make a *Minister*, nor so profitable as that one unacquainted with them, must be stiled an *Idiot, Illiterate*, and of no *Authority*.

They Account *Philosophy*, as it is generally taught in the *Schools*, and *School Divinity* from thence arising, not only useles, but pernicious, P. 59. and destructive of *Sound Doctrine*, and an Hinderance to the *Knowledge of God*, and *Godliness*.

They like not the distinguishing Titles of Ecclesiastick Dignities, as *Masters, Licentiates, Doctors, Professors*, &c. saying, they only tend to swell them to a farther *Caprice*, and to affect *Lording* it over their Fellows.

They charge the *Protestant Churches* for maintaining their Pastors profusely with *Salaries*,

ries; they deny not sufficiency of *Food and Ray-ment* for such as Preach the Gospel, and all things necessary and convenient for Life; nay they own it to be suitable to the Command of Christ.

P. 60. They would not have *fixed Stipends*, nor Pactions betwixt *Pastor* and *People*; they decry driving Ministers to their Duty for Gain, that they may only work for Wealth, which when got, enclines them to little or nothing; yea, it gives rise to *Avarice, Lust, Idleness, &c.* whose Houses seem deckt with an almost *Royal Magnificence*, who call themselves *Preachers of Christ* for *Christ's* sake; when they become so *Pompous*, neglecting their Office, despising their Inferiours oppressing with Tyranny their People, they shew how *Antichrist* of Old got first Entrance, and then *Footing* in the Church.

These the *Quakers* oppose, by a bare mention of the Order and Manner of their Ministry, which they reason for thus: Since all in the Church, as Members of the Body, have their proper Gifts, they may also have proper Operations for the Good of the Whole; and that each may Minister to others, according to what he hath received.

P. 62. As for their *Marrying*, they often Admonish the Younger Sort, not to rush on a Matter of such Moment without consent of their Parents; and such as encline to *Marry*, when they present it to the Church, they are asked if they have Consent of their Parents or

P. 63. Guardians; or if Widows, if they have order'd their Estate before they proceed: Then they

ask

ask the *Meeting* if they know any thing against them. After the *Contract* there is mention again made of the intended Marriage twice at *Monthly-Meetings*; and when the time is expired, the *Bride* and *Bridegroom*, with Friends and Acquaintance come to an *Assembly*, where each of them promise to perform their Reciprocal Incumbent Duties, and never to Part till Death divides them, and subscribe their Names to a Certificate, as do others also, as Witnesses, who are willing.

A fresh *Persecution* was raised against the P. 68. *Quakers* in the Year 1670, for frequenting *Meetings*, not paying *Tythes*, and refusing to *Swear*; upon which Account they were variously Oppressed and Afflicted in *England*, as if there were a General Combination to Ruin them in their Estates. In one Place the *Magistrates* themselves, in another their *Officers*, in another *Soldiers*, in another *Informers*, in another the *Ministers* with their *Wardens* and *Beadles*, who coming upon them, when met in their *Assemblies*, took a Note of their *Names*, that by a *Warrant* they might deal with them according to Law; some were Imprisoned, a Pecuniary Mulct being laid upon their Heads according to the Quality or Estate of the Person, where the *Meeting* was held, or of him that spoke in the *Meeting*, and others that were present were Fined more or less severely: So that Much was taken from the *Quakers* by Covetous Officers, and Prophane Citizens: The *Informers* treated them most uncivilly and basely, sometimes they that

were not present at the *Meeting* were Fined, upon a Supposition or Presumption that they were never absent, And tho' the *Meeting* were silent without uttering a Word, yet it is reported, that one of the *Informers*, where the *Quakers* were silent, got up and began to speak, and the Goods of the House were thereupon seized.

P. 69. In this Persecution the Destruction of their Estates might easily be affected, since none of the *Quakers* would *Bribe* or *Oppose* their Persecutors Violence, who took away their *Oxen*, *Cattle*, *Instruments for Husbandry*, *Merchandize*, *Household-Stuff*, *Feather-Beds*, *Blankets* and *Rayment*; yea their very *Food*, carrying away *Waggons* loaded with their *Goods*, leaving *nothing* that was either *portable* or *moveable*: These Goods were often put to Publick Sale; but some were so honest that they *refused* to *buy* what had been lost with *Grief*, and could only be purchased with *Shame*. While they were thus *Ravaged* the *Tythers* were not *asleep*, but also ready on *Foot*: So that there was a threefold Sum exacted, one for the *Exchequer*, another for the *Priest*, and another for the *Informer*.

P. 70. These Men being often shut out of their *Meeting Houses*, stood often in the open Air before them, sometimes *saying nothing*, and sometimes *speaking*, but either all, or they whose Voice was heard, were punished with a *Mulct* or *Imprisonment*.

P. 80. In the Year 1672, a War happened betwixt the two Confederate Kings of *Britain* and *France*,



*France*, and the *Dutch*; during which time King *Charles* granted a *Toleration* to all Religions except *Papists*: So that the *Quakers* had sometime of respit, but the *Wars* being over in two Years space, the *Quakers* were again tossed with new Storms and Tempests: For P. 89. *England* being now at Leisure from *War* with the *Dutch*, and Peace again Established, the long-gathered Grudge against the *Quakers*, and the Anger that was sometime restrained and forborn, began to be revived and strengthened.

The *Author* mentions some particular Persecutions in the County of *Nottingham* and P. 90. *Somersetshire*, and of great Sufferings in the 91. Northern Parts of *Scotland*: But among all the Calamities and Sorrows they endured, it was their great Grief to see and understand their *Religion*, *Behaviour*, and *Actions* to be so *Execrably* and *Maliciously* Defamed and Reviled; for so they were every where, in *Libels* and *Verses*, *Base* and *Reproachful Pictures*, described and designed by the vilest Sort of Men. There was scarce a *Talkative*, *Prating*, or *Babbling* Fellow, that loved to talk or act P. 92. *Comically*, but must reduce his Discourse and Gesture to Redicule the Sincerity and Simplicity of the *Quakers*.

In the Year 1685, King *James* being In- P. 105. stalled in the *Throne*, he granted a *Common Priviledge* to all to Exercise their *Religion* as they pleased.

About that time the *Quakers* detained in *Prison* in *England*, were generally set at Li- berty.

W berty. Moreover the King gave in Charge to his *Courtiers* and *Servants*, that none should molest or trouble a *Quaker*, altho' he passed by him with his *Head covered*.

P. 110. After the Abdication of King *James*, in the Year 1688, King *William* the *Third* was advanced to the *Throne*, a Prince of that great *Moderation*, that it was manifest he desired rather to be *Loved* than *Feared*: The *Parliament* which he called after his *Inauguration*, Ratified a *Liberty in Religion*, granting *Immunity* to all, except the *Papists*.

P. 123. The Author having dispatched his *Second Book*, enters upon a *Third*, where he gives an Account of the *Quakers* going to *New-England*, and of their cruel Treatment and Usage there, &c. which I shall wholly omit, and refer the *Reader* to a Book intituled, *New-England Judged by the Spirit of the Lord*, wherein the whole is particularly and at large set forth: Then he proceeds to a Relation of the *Quakers* going to *New-York*, *Pensilvania*, *Virginia*, &c. and of *George Keith*, and the Disturbances his Contentious Spirit occasioned in those Parts, and at *London*, and of the *Quakers Travels* in *Holland*, *Germany*, &c.

And here I take leave of this Author, referring the Preceeding Abstract to the Judgment of every indifferent Reader.

## S E C T. XIV.

*Contains a Description of the Ground and Cause from whence Persecution for Religion doth arise; and also the Qualifications of the Persecuted.*

**H**AVING said something of the Persecution for Conscience sake toward God, which the Children and Servants of the Lord underwent in this Age; and of the Beginning and Progress of *Truth*, in the first Appearance of the Power of God amongst us, his despised *Little Flock*: It is in my Heart to Discourse of the *Ground and Cause* from whence this Unnatural Violence did arise, which I intend to discover, as the Lord hath been pleased to manifest it to me.

To Persecute for Religion, and to suffer for the same, are not, nor have been the Works of this Age only; but they are of Ancient Date, even as Old as *Cain and Abel*.

*Adam and Eve* being driven out of *Paradise*, for transgressing of the Law of their Creator, God placed a *Flaming Sword* which turned every way to keep the way of the *Tree of Life*, Gen. 3. 24.

Then *Adam* knew his *Wife*, and she conceived and bare *Cain*, and said, I have gotten a *Man from the Lord*, Gen. 12. 10. But said no farther; she did not say a *Seed from the Lord*, as she counted *Abel* to be, v. 25. nor did she tell

W tell what manner of Man he would be; but certain it is, he proved to be of the *Seed of the Serpent*, who beguiled his Mother, or else he would not have slain his Brother about Religion.

And she again bare his Brother *Abel*, Ver. 2. who tho' he had the same Father and Mother according to the *Flesh*, yet differed in Nature and Quality, even as *Seeds* do; and that *Abel* was a *Seed* is plain from the Words of *Eve*, Ver. 25. After she had conceived again, and bare another Son, she called his Name *Seth*; for God, said she, hath appointed me another *Seed* instead of *Abel*, whom *Cain* slew.

Now as from this *Seed*, Mystically speaking, sprang, springeth, and for ever shall spring all the Righteous, through all Ages of the World; and from this *Seed*, according to the *Flesh*, came the *Messiah*, the promised *Seed of the Woman to bruise the Head of the Serpent*, Gen. 3. 15. So, Mystically speaking, all the Ungodly, the Rebellious and Wrathful, who Persecute and Slay their Brethren about Religion, have and do spring, and are of the *Seed* and Off-spring of *Cain*: And as his Wrath did alter his very Countenance, Gen. 4. 5. *And Cain was very wroth, and his Countenance fell*: So in like manner doth it alter the very Countenances of his *Seed* in all Ages, inclining them to be *Bloody* towards their Brethren by Creation, and not only to kill and slay them about Religion, as *Cain* did his Brother; but also to endeavour to evade their Crime by *Lyes* and *Falshood*, as *Cain* did when the Lord asked, where

where is Abel thy Brother? He answered, I know not, and with an Unconcernedness of Mind added, *Am I my Brother's Keeper?* Ver. 9. And thus it is, as if Men were not to be Accountable for what they have done and do to their Brethren, to whose Offerings God hath respect. *John* in his First Epistle, Chap. 3. Ver. 15, saith, *Whosoever hateth his Brother, is a Murtherer; and ye know that no Murtherer hath Eternal Life abiding in him.*

What did ever prevail with Men to Hate, Kill, or to Murther the Innocent, but Wrath and Envy? *Wrath is Cruel, and Anger is Outrageous; but who is able to stand before Envy,* Prov. 27. 4.

*Pilate* could discern the Strength and Force of Envy, and the Malice that did accompany it in the *Jews*, when they asked him to release *Barabbas*, and Crucifie *Jesus*: For he knew that for Envy they had delivered him, Mat. 27. 18. Where we see plainly, that the Root, or Source of their Persecuting of Christ was Envy: For though the *Chief Priests* and *Elders* Accused him of, and witnessed many things against him before *Pilate*, Mar. 15. 3, 4. yet *Pilate* was so well satisfied of his Innocency, that he was willing to have Released him; *Will ye,* said he, *that I release unto you the King of the Jews?* Ver. 9. *Why, what Evil hath he done?* Ver. 14. *I find in him no Fault at all,* Joh. 18. 38. and 19. 4, 6. But the *Multitude*, or *Mob*, grew so Insolent, through the Instigation of the *Chief Priests*, who perswaded them to ask *Barabbas*, and to destroy *Jesus*, Mat.

Mat. 27. 20. that nothing could content them, but the releasing of *Barabbas* a Murderer, and the Crucifying of *Jesus*, in whom *Pilate* found no Fault. And therefore when *Pilate* saw that he could prevail nothing with the Multitude, or Mob, but that rather a Tumult was made, he took Water and washed his Hands, saying, I am Innocent of the Blood of this just Person, see ye to it, Ver. 24. As to the Poor People, they were indifferent till they were moved by the Chief Priests, see *Mar.* 15. 11. but when the Chief Priests had Inflamed them, they soon became as mad as Furies. 'Tis evident those Priests were filled with Envy against *Jesus*; and what was the Pretence for it? Why, it was the Destruction of their Temple, *Mat.* 26. 61. Their Church it seems was in Danger, and therefore Christ must be put to Death; and because they were doubtful of effecting their wicked Design by a Legal Prosecution, they raised the Mob to assist them with their Noise and Clamours; that what the Priests could not do by Law, might be done by Tumult.

Now were not these Priests that Persecuted Christ to Death of the Seed of *Cain*, and Sacrificers too as he was? They pretended Religion, and yet Murdered the Lord of Life and Glory; and to secure (as they imagined) their False Church and Worship from danger, they Crucified Him who is the Head of the True One.

The sad Effects of Envy were very remarkable in *Joseph's* Case, when his Brethren Conspired

*spired against him to slay him, Gen. 37. 18. But being delivered out of their Hands by Reuben, Ver. 21. He was cast into a Pit, there to have Perished, ver. 24. But Judah prevailing with them to take him out of the Pit, he was sold to the Ishmaelites, and they brought him into Egypt, ver. 26, 27, 28. But notwithstanding their Envy against him; yet God, saith Stephen, was with him, Acts 7. 9. to Favour and Bless him.*

This may serve both for Information and Caution, and also for Comfort: First, for Information and Caution to the Envious, not to envy the Innocent; for *God is with them*: And secondly, it may administer Comfort to such as are innocent, and under Afflictions, that their Enemies through Envy cannot hurt them, because *God is with them*.

Solomon observes, that Envy is *Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*, being from a wrong Notion and Original; *I considered*, saith he, *all Travel, and every right Work, that for this a Man is envied of his Neighbour, Eccles. 4. 4.*

And was it not Envy and Prejudice against Daniel, that moved and excited the Presidents and Princes to seek an Occasion against him, that he might be cast into the Lions Den for Worshipping God? For said these Men, *We shall not find any Occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the Law of his God, Dan. 6. 5.*

Now from the foregoing Instances it plainly doth appear, that Envy is the Cause of Persecution.

But

But to return to the Distinction of Seeds, (which I spake of before) it hath an early Remembrance, *Gen. 3. 14, 15.* and the Enmity between them, *viz. The Seed of the Woman and Seed of the Serpent.*

The Serpent in all Ages hath been bruising the Heel, an Exteriour Part of the Body; but never could, nor can, nor ever shall reach the Life, *for that is hid with Christ in God, Col. 3. 3.*

The Enmity which in *Cain* moved him to slay his Brother, was about Sacrifice and Religion; and the same doth still continue to exert its Power through Wrath and Envy in his *Seed* to this very Day, against the *Seed of the Woman*, whose Offerings unto God are accepted; but the Offerings of the *Cainish Seed* are rejected as an Abomination.

God reasoned with *Cain*, *If thou dost well shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou dost not well Sin lieth at the Door, Gen. 4. 7.* which doth plainly and evidently set forth and declare, that God hath not a Respect to the Persons of Men, but according to the Seed that dwells in them, and by which they are governed, and to the Fruits and Effects that spring therefrom hath God a Regard.

By Faith *Abel* offered unto God a more Excellent Sacrifice than *Cain*, by which he obtained Witness that he was Righteous, God testifying of his Gifts, and by it being dead he yet speaketh, *Heb. 11. 4.* Faith made *Abel's* Offering to excell *Cain's*, whose Offering being made without Faith, it was a despicable Offering,



fering, and he himself is remembered with Infamy, *to be of the wicked One*, Joh. 3. 12. tho' he offered Sacrifice.

How ought these things to affect the Minds and Spirits of all Men that offer Sacrifice to God, that so they may have a Witness from him, an Answer that he hath respect to their Offerings; and not to think, that because they offer, they must be accepted barely for the Offerings sake. The Lord by his Prophet *Isaiah* declareth how Men should be qualified, whose Offerings he will have a respect unto, *To this Man will I look, even to him that is Poor, and of a contrite Spirit, and trembleth at my Word*, *Isaiah* 66. 2.

The Reading the foregoing Passages, with a due Observation of the Consequences, how ought they to affect the Children of Men with a weighty Consideration of the wonderful Providences of God, and his Favourable Regard to his own Seed, the Generation of the Just in all Ages, and the Displeasure he hath expressed, and the Vengeance he hath executed upon their Persecutors and Oppressors: But God did not forget the *Kenites*, who shewed Kindness unto *Israel*, in their Travel out of *Egypt* towards *Canaan*, for *Saul* caused them to depart from among the *Amalekites*, whom he destroyed, *1 Sam.* 15. 6. God is still the same God, and my Soul magnifies his Glorious Arm and Power in the Remembrance thereof; and such as in our time have been moved to shew Kindness in the day of our Exercise and Travel towards Spiritual *Canaan*, God will remember them. All

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 All Men, who being United and Comprehended in the *Seed of the Serpent*, called the *Devil* and *Satan*, are derived in that *Line* from Age to Age, even to this very Day ; and are Subjects and Citizens of that Kingdom and City, *Mystery Babylon*, spoken of by *John* in his *Revelation* ; and amongst these, the Spirit of Persecution is found, being principally Promoted and Encouraged by the *Merchants* thereof, who are the Great Men of the Earth, and having Ships at Sea, they are made Rich by the Abundance of her Delicacies: Here is found *the Blood of the Saints*, and *the Blood of the Martyrs of Jesus* ; here is found the Persecution of the *Remnant of the Womans Seed*, which keep the *Commandments of God*, and have the *Testimony of Jesus Christ* ; such as from a tender Conscience to God, cannot Conform to the Image which they, *the Seed of the Serpent*, set up ; upon these the *Burnings, Wrackings* and *Torments* have been Inflicted, and where Havock hath been, and is also made upon Mens Persons and Estates, that do not put into their Mouths, who for Covetousness do run, and are not sent, against such the *Priests* prepare War.

There will not need much more Labour to distinguish them ; their own Works and Conversations make them Manifest, their Actions and Behaviour point them out ; however, let them be referred unto the Description given by our Saviour Jesus Christ : *Then spake Jesus to the Multitude and to his Disciples, saying, the Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses Seat, Mat. 23. 1, 2. Is not Sitting in Moses Seat, to undertake,*

take, or at least pretend to Expound the Law given by him, and to set themselves in his Place, to instruct others? But mark the Caution that is given; *Do not ye after their Works; for they say and do not; But all their Works they do to be seen of Men, &c. ver. 3. 5. And they love the uppermost Rooms at Feasts, and the chief Seats in the Synagogues, and Greetings in the Markets; and to be called of Men, Rabbi, Rabbi, ver. 6; 7. But be not ye called Rabbi; for one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are Brethren; neither be ye called Masters, for one is your Master, even Christ, ver. 8. 10.* We read, that where Christ spake to the Multitude in Parables, he saith, *Behold a Sower went forth to Sow, &c. Mat. 13. 3.* He describes four Sorts of Ground, into which the Sower cast his Seed, but it took Root, and brought forth Fruit to Perfection; but in one of the Four, viz. *He that beareth the Word and understandeth it, &c. ver. 23.* Note, here is but One Seeds-Man, nor but One Seed, viz. The Good Seed of the Kingdom; which brought forth Fruit, by Hearing the Word and Understanding it.

*Another Parable put he forth unto them, and likened the Kingdom of Heaven unto a Man that sowed good Seed in his Field; but while Men slept, his Enemy came and sowed Tares among the Wheat, and went his way: But when the Blade was sprung up, and brought forth Fruit, then appeared the Tares also: Which being observed by the Servants of the Householder, they appealed to their Master, and said unto him, Sir, didst thou not sow good Seed in thy Field? from whence then hath it Tares? he saith unto them, an Enemy hath*

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*W* hath done this. After which, Christ's Disciples came unto him, saying, declare unto us the Parable of the Tares of the Field. He answered and said unto them, He that soweth the good Seed is the Son of Man, the Field is the World; the good Seed are the Children of the Kingdom; but the Tares are the Children of the wicked one; the Enemy that sowed them is the Devil. ver. 24. 25, 26, 27, 28, 26, 27, 28, 29.

Here are described the Two Seeds, and who the Seeds Man is; and under the Government of these Two Seeds, viz. The good Seed of the Kingdom, and the Tares, are those Two Mystical Kingdoms or Cities of Jerusalem and Babylon comprehended; and the Subjects of each Kingdom, and Citizens of each City are known, and are distinguished according to the Nature and Quality of each Seed. Before I proceed further to describe the Natures and Fruits of these Seeds, it may not be amiss to take notice and remember the final End and Conclusion, which shall attend each Seed; which as they differ in Nature and Quality, so they shall in the End and Determination, according to the Saying of Christ, in his further Answer to his Disciples in the before-mentioned 13th Chapter of *Mat.* when he told them that the Devil was he that sowed the Tares: He tells them, the Harvest is the end of the World, and the Reapers are the Angels: As therefore the Tares are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be in the end of this World. The Son of Man shall send forth his Angels, and they shall gather out of his Kingdom all things that offend, and them that do Iniquity, and shall cast them into

*into a furnace of fire ; there shall be wailing and gnashing of Teeth : Then shall the Righteous shine forth as the Sun, in the Kingdom of their Father. Who hath Ears to hear, let him hear. ver. 29. 40, 41, 42, 43. Under these Two Seeds of the Wheat and the Tares, are comprehended all Mankind ; for all are of the one, or other : And as they differ in Nature and Kind, so they do also in Operation. The Fruits of the Evil Seed, which the Apostle calls the works of the Flesh, are, among several other Evils, mentioned by him, Hatred, Variance, Emulation, Wrath, Strife ; of the which, saith he, I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God, Gal. 5. 19, 20, 21. But the Fruits of the Good Seed, which he calls, the Fruit of the Spirit, are Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance ; against such there is no Law, ver. 22, 23. But tho' there is no Law against such as bring forth these good Fruits, yet those that have been in the Hatred, Variance, Emulation, Wrath and Strife, have Persecuted them. The Apostle gives an Example of this in Abraham's Two Sons, (representing the Two Seeds I am speaking of) the one [Ishmael] by a Bond Woman [Hagar] the other [Isaac] by a Free Woman [Sarah] saying, He who was of the Bond-Woman was born after the Flesh : but he of the Free-Woman, was by Promise, Gal. 4. 22, 23. And then to show the different States and Conditions of them both, and in them of all Mankind, he adds, But as then, he that was born after the Flesh, Persecu-*

ted him that was born after the Spirit ; even so it is now, ver. 29. Persecution is no New Thing ; there was a Persecuting *Ishmael* in *Abraham's* time, and a Persecuted *Isaac*. The *Fleshly* Birth could not endure the *Spiritual* ; nor can it at this Day ; but where it can, it will manifest its Malignity.

Our Saviour alludes to these *Two Seeds*, in that Passage of his concerning the *Two Trees* ; the *Natures* and *Qualities* of which are discernable by their *Products*. *Every good Tree bringeth forth good Fruit, but a corrupt Tree bringeth forth evil Fruit*, Mat. 7. 17. And this is so agreeable to their *Natures*, that while the *good Tree* retains its *Goodness*, and the *corrupt Tree*, retains its *Corruptness*, it can be no otherwise ; for a *good Tree*, saith he, cannot bring forth *evil Fruit* ; neither can a *corrupt Tree* bring forth *good Fruit*, ver. 18.

To this *good Tree* may be referred that of the Prophet *Ezekiel* ; *It shall bring forth new fruit according to his Months, —and the fruit thereof shall be for Meat, and the leaf thereof for Medicine*, Chap. 47. 12. and that in the *Revelation*, 22. 2. which tho' *Primarily* understood of *Christ the Tree of Life*, yet *Secondarily*, hath respect to all his *Members*, as *Branches*, deriving all their *Spiritual Sap* and *Nourishment* from him. The words are these : *In the midst of the Street of it, [the New Jerusalem] and of either side of the River, was there the Tree of Life, which bore twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every Month ; and the leaves of the Tree were for the Healing of the Nations.*

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Where observe, that as Christ is the Tree of Life, who gives Life to his People, and therewith, as with Fruit, daily Feeds and Sustains them; so there is Vertue issuing from him, to Heal all the Maladies that Sin hath caused among the Children of Men; and to put an end to Hatred, Cruelty, and Persecution; and to make Men Meek and Gentle, and kindly affectioned one toward another.

Now all Nations, and People in every Nation, that Envy their Brethren by Creation, and Persecute such, as out of a Conscientious and Tender Regard to God, differ from them in the Modes and Fashions of Worship, are Strangers to this *Tree of Life*; its *Fruit* is no Meat, nor are its *Leaves* Medicinal to them: They take no Pleasure to behold it, nor have any desire to partake of it, or to be *healed* by its *Leaves of Meekness, Patience, Long-suffering, and Forbearance*: But their Envy excites them to *Bitterness and Persecution*.

*The Lord God formed Man of the Dust of the Ground, and he breathed into his Nostrils the breath of Life, and Man became a Living Soul, Gen. 2. 7. And so it is written, the first Man Adam, was made a Living Soul, 1 Cor. 15. 45.* Let us observe, that the Soul of Man hath its Original from God, the Creator of all things. *Behold all things are mine, Ezek. 18. 4.* Now if Nature doth incline all things to their Centre, how should it be otherwise with the Soul of Man, that is not obstructed with things of a contrary Nature and Quality? But that Soul that is Laden with Sin and Iniquity, is Buried,

as it were in a Grave, and cannot ascend or move towards its true Centre, until the Grave be opened, and the Load of Iniquity done away; and that cannot be effected or brought to pass otherwise, than by the Power of God, the Gift of God, the Son descending from the Father, to Redeem lost Man: He alone can open the Grave, and set the Soul at Liberty, which Groans under Oppression and Crys for Deliverance; but this is an Inward and Spiritual Deliverance, peculiar to the *good Seed*, and Heirs of the Promises of God. But there are outward Impediments from the contrary Seed, who through Envy and Hatred, do Molest, Imprison, and Afflict their Brethren, like as the Tares, which do incommode the Wheat or *good Seed*: and although it be the good Pleasure of the *Houholder*, that the *Two Seeds* shall grow together in the *Field*, the World, till the *time of Harvest*; yet it is his Pleasure also, that they shall then be differently disposed of, and separated. And I would to God, that the Consideration of the woful End appointed to that *Ill Seed*, the *Tares*, which the Enemy Sows, might have such an Effect upon the Sons and Daughters of Men, who are or shall be found to be of *this Seed*, that they may from a Sense and Dread of their own State, come to Repentance, and know a Change of their Nature, by being renewed in the Spirit of their Mind: And that there is a Possibility that they may so be, the many Invitations, Cautions, Warnings, and Instructions in the Holy Scriptures contained, are an ample Testimony and Confirmation: *Let the Wicked forsake*



*take his Way, and the Unrighteous Man his Thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have Mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly Pardon, Isa. 55. 7.*

Did not God say unto Cain, the First Persecutor, if thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou dost not well, Sin lieth at thy Door? Gen. 4. 7. If we enquire into the Reason of this Proposition and Conclusion, the Text will resolve us, that it was, because he was wroth with his Brother, to whose Offering or Sacrifice God had respect, but not to his own Offering, ver. 4. 5. Wherefore he was wroth, and his Countenance fell, and he being united to the Seed of the Serpent, his complexion of Duty and Kindness to his Brother, was changed into Envy and Hatred; from whence proceeded Murder, and from which Seed, have also proceeded the like Fruits and Effects in all Ages. And as its beginning was about Sacrifice and Offerings made unto God, so hath it, and so doth it continue in that Seed and amongst that Generation to this very Day: *The wicked in his Pride doth Persecute the Poor, Psal. 10. 2. The Wicked plotteth against the Just, and gnasheth upon him with his Teeth, Psal. 37. 12. The Wicked watcheth the Righteous, and desireth to slay him, ver. 32. The Wicked desireth the Net of evil Men, Prov. 12. 12.* The Margin hath it, continually imagineth Means how to do Harm to others.

*Habakkuk* complaining of the Iniquity of the Land, expresseth himself in this manner, Chap. 1. Ver. 3, 4. *Why dost thou shew me Iniquity,*

quity, and cause me to behold Grievance? for spoiling and Violence are before me, and there are that raise up Strife and Contention. Therefore the Law is slack'd, and Judgment doth never go forth; for the Wicked doth compass about the Righteous, therefore wrong Judgment proceedeth.

Will not the preceding History of the late Rigorous Proceedings, against an Harmless, Innocent, and Righteous People, by Spoiling and Violence, Cruel Persecutions, Confiscations and Banishment compassing the Righteous, and the Proceedings of wrong Judgment revive the Cause for Complaint which the Prophet had in his Day, and be a Demonstration of the Contrariety that dwelleth in the two Seeds; the Cause of Violence being the Nature and Disposition of the Evil Seed? And did not the late Violence and Persecution begin about Worship and Sacrifice to God, forbidding by a Law to meet together for that End, and prohibiting all Worship contrary to the Form Established by Law? Was not that commanding to bow to an Image? For whatever is enjoined by Man, as a Part of Divine Worship, which God hath not commanded, is but an Image: All the Forms invented and prescribed by Men, to be used as the Worship of God, are but Images; and the sincere in Heart to God can never bow down to them, but will retain the holy Resolution, which we Read was in the *Three Children* in *Dan. 3. 18.* *Be it known unto thee (said they) O King, that we will not serve thy Gods, nor*  
*worship*

worship the golden Image which thou hast set up.

Now if I believe God to be what indeed he is, viz. a Spirit, and that he will be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth, which he requires, and is the Duty of all that believe in him; who then shall prescribe Rules and Forms for that Worship? Is it not great Presumption in any Man, or Men assembled in Council, as a Synod or Convocation, to intermeddle in the Things of God, and in their own Wills to Ordain how he shall be worshipped? For Christ Jesus said, *All things are deliver'd unto me of my Father, and no Man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any Man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest: Take my Yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your Souls, Mat. II. 27, 28, 29.* Will any be so Irreligious and Prophane as to insinuate, that when God the Father delivered all things unto his Son Christ Jesus, that he did leave the Manner how he would be worshipped to Synod or Convocation, acting in their own Wills? Or, was the Apostle under a mistake when he wrote to the *Hebrews*, telling them that *God who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed Heir of all things, &c. Heb. I. 1, 2. Wherefore Holy Brethren, Partakers of the Heavenly Cal-*  
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ling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our Profession Christ Jesus, who was faithful to him that appointed him, &c. Chap. 3. 1, 2. And no Man taketh this Honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron; so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High Priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to day have I begotten thee. As he saith also in another place, Thou art a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchisedec, Heb. 5. 4, 5, 6. Now of the Things which we have spoken this is the sum: We have such an High Priest, who is set on the right Hand of the Throne of the Majesty in the Heavens; a Minister of the Sanctuary, and of the true Tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not Man; Chap. 8. 1, 2. And the Apostle having spoken in the three next Verses of the Changeable Ministry and Priesthood under the First Covenant; proceeds to speak of Christ and his excellent Ministry and better Covenant: But now hath he obtained a more excellent Ministry, by how much also he is the Mediator of a better Covenant, which was established upon better Promises, &c. For this is the Covenant that I will make with the House of Israel; After those Days, saith the Lord; I will put my Laws into their Mind; and write them in their Hearts, &c. And they shall not teach every Man his Neighbour, and every Man his Brother, saying, Know the Lord, for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest, Ver. 6.—11.

Whoever then take upon them to invent Forms and Modes of Religion and Worship, and enjoin the Observation of them under Penalties

ties and Forfeitures, and forbid People meeting together to wait upon and worship God, (as they are perswaded by his Holy Spirit, according to the Scriptures of Truth) who hath promised to write his Law in their Hearts; and put his Spirit in their inward Parts, and will become their Teacher: Such, I say, as do interpose their own Will and Power to hinder the Work of the Spirit of God, they do as much as in them lies, make void and deny the Office and Ministry of Christ Jesus.

I say, there are none amongst the wise Rab-  
bies, the Great and Learned Doctors, the Ex-  
alted and Dignified Clergy of the Church, that  
can by their Worldly Wisdom make known the  
Father, and reveal the Son, who alone can  
give Rest to the heavy laden, and to the Souls  
of such as learn of him to be meek and lowly  
in Heart; and seeing they have not Power to  
do this, will they account themselves Privi-  
leged to molest, disturb, or hinder those  
who, in their humble Addresses to God in and  
through Christ, are made Partakers of his  
Virtue? How can such answer it to God and  
their Neighbours? Will the Forbearance of the  
Good Householder, in permitting the Tares to  
grow with the Wheat, be any Advantage to  
them in the Time of Harvest, if they are found  
to be Tares?

May not the Question be propounded unto  
such, which God put to Job, Knowest thou the  
Ordinances of Heaven? Canst thou set the Do-  
minion thereof in the Earth? Who hath put Wis-  
dom into the Inward Parts? Or, who hath given  
Understanding to the Heart? Job. 38. 33, 34.

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Are not Men presumptuous and vain in their taking upon them to direct and make Rules for others, in things whereof they themselves are Ignorant? It may be said to such, as Christ said to the Woman of *Samaria*, concerning the Worshippers in that Mountain, *Ye worship ye know not what, John 4. 22. But the Hour cometh, and now is, when the true Worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit, and in Truth, &c. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth, Ver. 23, 24.* Unto which Worship, the Worship at *Samaria* and *Jerusalem* also, with all other Formal Worships must give Place.

Is it not great Pity, nay a Shame, that so many who pretend to Christianity, and would be called by that Excellent and Honourable Name, and make a great Shew of worshipping of God, should yet retain the Form only, but deny the Power of Godliness, as all such do, as Envy, Hate, and Persecute their Brethren, who worship God in Spirit and in Truth, believing the Time to be come, which Christ said should come, wherein the true Worshippers should after that manner worship the Father?

God never did, nor doth he reveal his Secrets to any, but to such as fear him: *The Secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his Covenant, Psal. 25. 14. In thy Fear will I worship towards thy Holy Temple, Psal. 5. 7. If I be a Father, where is mine Honour? And if I be a Master, where is my Fear? saith the Lord of Hosts unto you, O Priests,*  
that

that despise my Name, Mal. 1. 6. The Margin hath it, *Besides the rest of the People*: He condemneth the Priests chiefly, because they should have reprov'd others for their Hypocrisie and Obstinacy against God, and not have harden'd them by their Example to greater Evils.

*The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom, and the Knowledge of the Holy is Understanding,* Prov. 9. 10. Surely they who do truly Fear God, are thereby made Wise, and by the Knowledge of the Holy they get Understanding; and such as these will not, dare not Envy, Hate, Afflict, Oppress, Persecute, Banish, Kill, and Destroy their Innocent Neighbours; for whoever do so, they rebell against God, and their Works declare them to be of the Seed of Cain, Ishmael, Esau, Nimrod, &c. *By Mercy and Truth Iniquity is purged, and by the fear of the Lord Men depart from Evil,* Prov. 16. 6. *The fear of the Lord is his Treasure,* Isai. 33. 6. *The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him, &c. Psal. 147. 11. His Mercy is upon them that fear him, from Generation to Generation,* Luk. 1. 50.

I cannot but further observe to the Reader the Nature and Disposition of such as do not fear God, and also the End and Reward of Persecutors: *Then came Amalek and fought with Israel in Rephidim,* Exo. 17. 8. Note that *Amalek* was a cruel Persecutor of the Israelites, one that feared not God; but when the Israelites were in their Travel towards the Promised Land, He met them by the way, and smote the

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the hindmost of them, even all that were feeble, faint and weary; and therefore his Remembrance was to be blotted out from under Heaven, *Deut.* 25: 18, 19.

Can any, that pretend to have a Value for the Scriptures, and will call them their Rule, read this Passage, and conclude that it is without Signification to this Generation, and related only to *Amalek*, as *Amalek*, and to *Israel*, as *Israel*, in their outward Travel out of *Egypt*? And because the Text says, *I will utterly put out the Remembrance of Amalek*, *Exo.* 17. 14. Will they thence conclude he may now be forgotten? I advise such to consider the following Verse, *And Moses built an Altar, and called the Name of it Jehovah Nissi*: The Margin reads, that is, *The Lord my Banner*. This will have, and doth require a perpetual and lasting Signification and Remembrance: For he said, *Because the Lord hath sworn, that the Lord will have war with Amalek from Generation to Generation*, *Ver.* 16. The Margin reads, *because the hand of Amalek is against the Throne of the Lord; therefore, &c.*

*Amalek* is rendred to signifie a *Licking People*, or, a *smiting or striking People*; he was the Son of *Eliphaz* by *Timnah* his Concubine; which *Eliphaz* was *Esau's* Son. *Timnah* is rendred *Forbidding*, or *Perturbation*. See *Gen.* 36. 12.

Here we may observe of whose *Seed*, and of what *Stock* and *Race Amaleck* was; and although the Person of *Amalek* is long since removed, yet his *Seed* and *Stock* remain from  
Genera-



Generation to Generation, with whom, *that is*, with his Seed the Lord will have War for ever. They who are in this Generation doing the Works of *Amalek*, may be concluded without Contradiction to be of his *Seed and Stock*; and no better Fruits are to be expected from such *Roots and Trees*, than *Violence and Oppression, Smiting, and Striking, Forbidding, Perturbation and Trouble*; these being their Natural Qualities, derived from their Originals: But let them not flatter or deceive themselves, for God will have War with them for ever: *The Lord is slow to Anger, and great in Power, and will not at all acquit the wicked, &c.* Nahum. 1. 3. *There is no Peace saith the Lord unto the wicked, Isai. 48. 22. Their feet run to Evil, and they make hast to shed Innocent Blood; their Thoughts are Thoughts of Iniquity, wasting and destruction are in their Paths. The way of Peace they know not, and there is no Judgment in their Goings; they have made them crooked Paths; whosoever goeth therein shall not know Peace, Isai. 59. 7, 8.*

Now of all that hath been said, I charitably believe that some are more sincere in their Worship to God than others, and those who are most sincere, are least Envious; but the more Superstitious and Bigotted, the more Wrathful, Envious and Hateful; and their blind Zeal for their Forms excites them to compell and Force others to fall down to their *Image*. They Regard not their Brethren, to whose Offerings God hath respect; but they hate them for that Cause, and Persecute, Im-  
prison,

prison, Banish, Kill and Destroy, such as cannot join with them in their Humane Inventions; but have their immediate Dependence upon God, whose Presence filleth Heaven and Earth, and whom they witness to be near them, and his Word to be even in their Mouth and Heart. What is Salvation, but to be saved from Sin and Iniquity? They that are not so saved, their Pretence to Christ, or an Interest in him will be of no Benefit to them, *The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken Heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite Spirit*, Psal. 34. 18. *For I am the Lord thy God, the Holy one of Israel, thy Saviour; &c.* Isa. 43. 3. *I, even I am the Lord, and beside me there is no Saviour*, Ver. 11. *Thou shalt know no God but me; for there is no Saviour besides me*, Hof. 13. 4.

Men may have their Dwelling in the Fatness of the Earth, and enjoy the Dew from Heaven above, and never know nor consider from whence those Blessings come, or who it is that gives them: But according to their Wills, Power, and Strength in their first Nature, so they behave themselves, being of the Stock of *Rough Esau*, who is also called *Edom*, Gen. 25. 30. and 36. 1.

The *Edomites* refused to permit *Israel* to pass peaceably through their Country, from *Egypt* to the Land of *Canaan*; although they promised to pass neither through their *Fields*, nor *Vineyards*, but to go by the *King's Highway*, and not to turn to the right Hand, or to the left, Num. 20. 17. *And Edom said unto him,*  
*Thou*

*thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the Sword, Ver. 18.* Hence we may further observe of what Race and Stock they are that Persecute for Religion, that molest and refuse the *Seed of Jacob, and Israel of God,* to pass through the *High-way of the King of Heaven,* in their Journying and Travel towards *Spiritual Canaan,* the Place of Peace and Rest; but these came out against them with the *Sword,* exercising their Power and Cruelty here, by *Stoning, Beating and Imprisonment; Confiscation of Goods, Banishment, &c.* And in *New-England* by *Whipping, Cutting off Ears, Banishment,* and *putting to Death by Hanging;* which Cruelty, Inhumanity, Persecution and Bloodshed, will be remembered to the Actors Dishonour in future Generations: However the Lord hath made way for his Chosen to pass, notwithstanding the Unkindness of *Edom:* And his People whom he hath delivered can say with the *Psalmist, The stout hearted are spoiled: At thy rebuke, O God of Jacob, both the Chariot and Horse are cast into a dead sleep: Thou, even thou art to be feared, and who may stand in thy sight when once thou art angry? Thou didst cause Judgment to be heard from Heaven, the Earth feared and was still. When God arose to Judgment to save all the Meek of the Earth: Selah. Surely the Wrath of Man shall Praise thee; the Remainder of Wrath shalt thou restrain,* Psal. 76. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

There will need no other Demonstration, to distinguish the Seeds in their Natures and

Qualities, than the Fruits they bear and bring forth; for as *Innocency, Simplicity, Meekness* and *Humility*, are the Natural Fruits and Effects of the *True* and *Elect Seed*; so contrary-wise, *Envy, Wrath, Malice, Hatred, Strife, Contention, Persecution*, and *Blood-shed* are the natural Fruits and Effects of the Seed of *Cain*. What need Men now be Ignorant of this, that are not willfully so? But when the Wills of Men are guided by their Passions, and their Reasons Captivated by their Lusts, then Envy and Wrath prevail, and Hating, Killing, and Destroying the Innocent without cause, are too often the Effects. But to Persecute, Vex, and Oppress the Innocent without Cause, is it not Envious, Unreasonable, Illegal and Unjust? To Condemn a Man to Death, who is not found Guilty of any Immoral Action, is doubtless the Effect of Envy.

How is it that Men are so Presumptuous, to take upon them the Name of Christians, and account themselves Sons or Servants of God, who act so contrary to his Nature and Commands, and to suppose themselves of the Seed of *Abraham*, the Father of the Faithful, whilst yet they are doing the Works of *Cain*? Is it not because they suffer themselves to be overcome by the Temptations of the Wicked One, and so put *Darkness* for *Light*, because their Deeds are Evil?

But notwithstanding all these, their Unnatural and Unchristian Proceedings, they will reckon themselves injured and abused,

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to say that they are no Christians, that they do not Love and Fear God ; and will perhaps say, We live in a Nation where Christianity is the Professed Religion, and how can we but love God, whose Parents were Believers, and we believe as we have been Taught and Educated : And thus by Traditional and Formal Education, many People insensibly slide into an outward Garb or Shew of Christianity : But as he only is a *Jew* that is one inwardly ; so he only is a true Christian who is Born again, *not of Blood, nor of the Will of the Flesh, nor of the Will of Man, but of God,* John 1. 13.

If Men can give no better Reason for their Christianity, than that they are born in a Country where Christ is talked of, and Professed, and where *Jews, Infidels, Turks, and Papists* are decry'd, and are told that this is the best Religion, and that the Laws have Established it ; with other like Pleas and plausible Pretences, which run down like a Stream from Father to Child : Their Religion is nothing but an empty Title ; yea it is a most peremptory Presumption, for People to think they shall be saved only because they Fancy themselves to be Christians ; and so depend upon God's Mercies, without any Regard to those Gracious Qualifications in themselves, which would incline them to believe and trust in him, to Fear, Love, and Obey his Laws and Precepts, recorded and made known not only in and by the Scriptures, but also

revealed by his Spirit, unto all such as do truly Love and Fear him: This would restrain them from all Violence and Oppression; for the Apostle hath observed, that the whole Law of God is comprised in the Word *LOVE*, Rom. 13. 10.

Our Saviour hath reduced all the Law and the Prophets, to these two Heads, *viz. To love God above all, and our Neighbour as our selves*, Mat. 22. 37, 38, 39, 40. If Men were once come truly to love God, and one another, there would then be an End of all Envy, Hatred, Malice and Uncharitableness; then the Swords would be turned into Plow-shares, and the Spears into Pruning-hooks; then no more Noise of the Warrior, nor rolling of Garments in Blood; no more Oppression nor Persecution, but an Universal Lasting Peace and Concord.

## S E C T. XV.

*Concerning* MAGISTRATES *and their Office, and of the Obedience due to them.*

**L**ET every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God: the Powers that be, are Ordained of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, &c. For Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil; wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power, do that which is good, and thou shalt have Praise of the same; for he is the Minister of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is Evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in vain: For he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake. For, for this cause pay you Tribute also, &c. Render therefore to all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour; Owe no Man any thing, but to love one another, &c. For this, Thou shalt not commit Adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false Witness, thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other Commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self: Love worketh no ill to his Neighbour: therefore Love is the fulfilling of the Law, Rom. 13. from Ver. 1, to 11. The

The Margin paraphraseth upon this Text, after this Manner, or to this Effect. That Subjection is owing to Magistrates, and first from the Reason of the thing it self; Their being placed in higher Degrees, implies a Subjection from Inferiours. Secondly, Because God is the Author of this Order. And, Thirdly, from the End, *viz.* To preserve the Good, and to bridle and restrain the Wicked, for which Purpose God hath given him a Sword, to Revenge and Execute Wrath, &c. The Conclusion is, That we must be subject to the Magistrate, not only for fear of Punishment, but for Conscience sake: Notwithstanding he hath no Power over the Conscience, for that is God's Prerogative; yet because he is God's Minister, so far as we lawfully may, we ought to be subject: But if unlawful things are Commanded, we ought then to obey God rather than Men; yet if we order our selves so, as that no Man may require ought of us, but what we owe one to another; namely, LOVE, as there would be no occasion, so there would be no fear of Punishment; *For Love is the fulfilling of the Law, Ver. 10.* Now where the Law is fulfilled, there is safety, for it justifies those that do what it requires; *Let us walk honestly* (or as the Margin hath, *decently*) *as in the Day, not in Rioting and Drunkenness, not in Chambring and Wantonness, not in Strife and Envyng: But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the Flesh, to fulfil the Lusts thereof.* The Margin reads, *To put on Christ, is to Possess Christ, to have him in us, and us in him.*

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By this Rule or Advice of the Apostle, both Magistrate and Subject, may see and behold as in a Glass, each one his own Bulk, Proportion and Shape, and also the Order and Distance which they ought to keep and observe; and also the same in each other. And if they will but observe that good Order each to other, which Duty and Conscience, as this Rule directeth, require, all things will proceed to mutual Quiet and Satisfaction: But when Disobedience on one Hand, and Pride, Prejudice, and Passion on the other, are suffered to take Place, daily Experience shews the sad Effects that follow, by Violence, Outrage and Blood-shed; all which are provided against in the foregoing Text, and it is a Shame to any Christian Nation, that there is no more Regard had to the Doctrine of the Gospel.

However to begin with those that are to be subject, let them see that they answer their Duty to Magistrates, as unto the Ordinance of God, and then they need not to be afraid; for the Ruler is not, nor ought to be a Terror, but a Praise to, and an Encourager of them that do well: But the Evil-doer may be afraid of the Power, *for he beareth not the Sword in vain; he is; or ought to be the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath against him that doth Evil.*

Now as to Magistrates and Rulers, it is as well their Place and Duty to be a Praise, and Encouragers of those that do well, as it is to Correct and Punish those that do Evil; but if they

they shall suffer Pride and Passion to govern themselves, they cannot be the *Ministers of God* for Good to others.

If Magistrates and Rulers would consider by whose Ordinance they are Appointed, and for what End and Purpose; surely they could not but reckon themselves under a Necessity, to behave themselves with great *Moderation* and *Evenness of Temper* unto all; which would magnifie and adorn that Office, and the Power committed to them: But on the contrary, whenever they shall Oppress, Punish, and Afflict the Innocent for *Well-doing*, and Countenance and Encourage the Evil-doer in his *Evil Deeds*; they then turn *Justice backward*, and *bear the Sword in vain*: Let Magistrates therefore remember, that the Powers ordained of God, are to Revenge and Execute Wrath upon them that *do Evil*, and not upon them that *do Well*.

This Glass will yet further discover to all Magistrates, Rulers and Governours, in a more particular manner, what their Work and Business is, *viz.* What the Disorders are which they are to Correct and Restrain, as *Adultery, Murther, Theft, False Witness, &c.* Now where-soever these Evils are brought forth and practised, it is the proper and peculiar Work and Business of the Magistrate to Correct and Punish the Offenders suitably to their Demerits: And hereby he may become a *Terror to Evil-doers*, who being brought to Fear the Power, the Magistrate doth not then *Bear the Sword in vain*.

It is certainly a great Mistake in Rulers and Governours, to think their Office can qualifie, and their Power Warrant them in the Execution of whatever their Will and Power may prompt them to: And because they are invested with *Legal Authority*, to Imagine they may therefore use that Authority Arbitrarily and Illegally, to the Prejudice, Injury, and Oppression of those that are Innocent and Harmless in their Conversations. If Magistrates and Rulers shall, from a misguided Notion in themselves, or by the false or malicious Information of others, be led by such indirect Practices, to inflict Punishment upon those, who walk inoffensively both towards God and all Men; let such Magistrates know, that they act contrary to the End of their Institution, and contract that Guilt upon themselves, which cannot be wiped away, but by unfeigned Repentance.

Is it not a Shame and Reproach to Christianity, for Magistrates, Rulers, and Governours to inflict Punishment upon an Innocent Man, that cannot be justly Charged with any Crime, nor is guilty of any Immoral or Dishonest Action? But this was too much the Practice of some Magistrates and Rulers concerned in the former Violent Persecutions: And as it was, so it will be the Unhappiness of those Magistrates, Governours and Rulers, who may be under the Influences of the *Evil Seed, the Seed of the Serpent*, spoken of before in this Treatise.

## The CONCLUSION.

THE Preceding History, or Relation of Sufferings and Persecution for *Good Conscience sake*, which are referr'd to as Matters of Fact within my own Knowledge and Memory, contains Passages of what was acted upon the Publick Stage of the World, from the Year 1656, until the Death of King *Charles the Second*: But as to the great Violence and Oppression of divers Kinds, which were inflicted upon *Friends* in the time of *Oliver Cromwell*, &c. being related by other Hands, I therefore have omitted them, and taken Notice of no more than my own Observation furnished me with, those only, which I have Collected out of *Gerard Croese*, excepted.

After King *James* came to the Crown, He put forth a Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, whereby the Proceedings upon the *Conventicle Act*, and other Prosecutions, except for *Tythes*, &c. did abate; and the *Quakers*, amongst other *Dissenters* from the Church, had some Ease and Liberty, which was a Time of Refreshment unto us.

And in the First Year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, an Act was made for *Exempting Their Majesties Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from*

from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws. About this time also some Ease was given in the Case of Oaths and Swearing, being thereunto required by Authority: But this not fully answering the Doubts and Scruples of many Tender Consciences in that Case, it is hoped that some further Ease may yet be obtained.

And since the Accession of Queen Anne to the Crown, we have enjoyed our Liberty, according to the Act of Toleration, which she hath with great Zeal, Indulgence and Care, preserved from Violation.

And now that which further remains upon my Spirit from the Lord, is, to Caution, Forewarn, and Advise all Persons, of all Degrees and Ranks, who are come to Years of Understanding, that they do make a right Use of this Great Favour, which God hath by his Providence inclined the Government to Grant and Establish: And I pray God that we, who are made Partakers thereof, may walk in all Humility of Mind and Heart before the Lord, and in due Subjection to the Government, as becomes the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; that Men seeing our Good Works, may Glorifie God on our behalf: And I also hope, that the Government may, from the good Effects which have followed the Toleration, be Encouraged not only to continue it, but farther to Confirm and Enlarge it; and that they may, through the Good Providence of God, be made sensible, that Favour and Indulgence

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 indulgence on the one Hand, and Duty and Subjection on the other, are stronger Obligations for Uniting the Kingdom, than Impositions upon *Tender Consciences*, Enforced by severe Penalties, let the Pretence be what it will, or by what Instrument soever Promoted or Attempted.

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F I N I S.

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*Errata sic Corrigenda.*

THE Author's *Preface*, p. iii. l. 10. r. *of the one*, Book. p. 5. l. 10. r. *and drank*. p. 31. l. 23. r. *have they*, & l. 24. after *Service*, dele *have*. p. 32. l. 34. for *Antichristian*, r. *Antichrist*. p. 54. l. 25. r. *if the*. p. 70. l. 25. dele *Wo*. p. 100. l. 25. r. *alibo* h̄a: p. 118. l. 8. r. *who preached*. p. 134. l. 9. r. *joining*. p. 138. l. 20. r. *some Independent*. p. 150. l. 20. r. *such as*. p. 165. l. 20. r. *was*. p. 188. l. 28. r. *preceding*. p. 201. l. 16. r. *its*.

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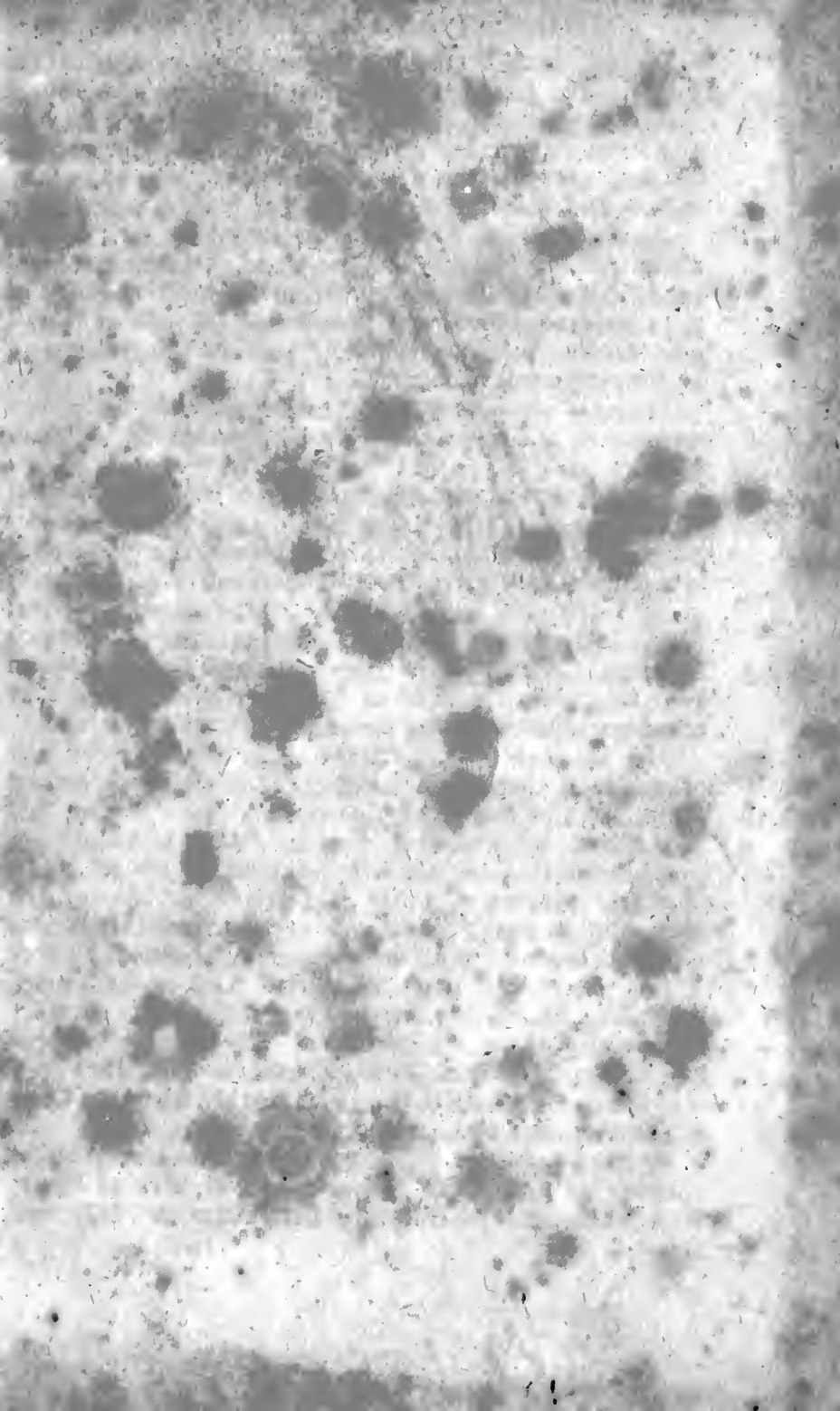
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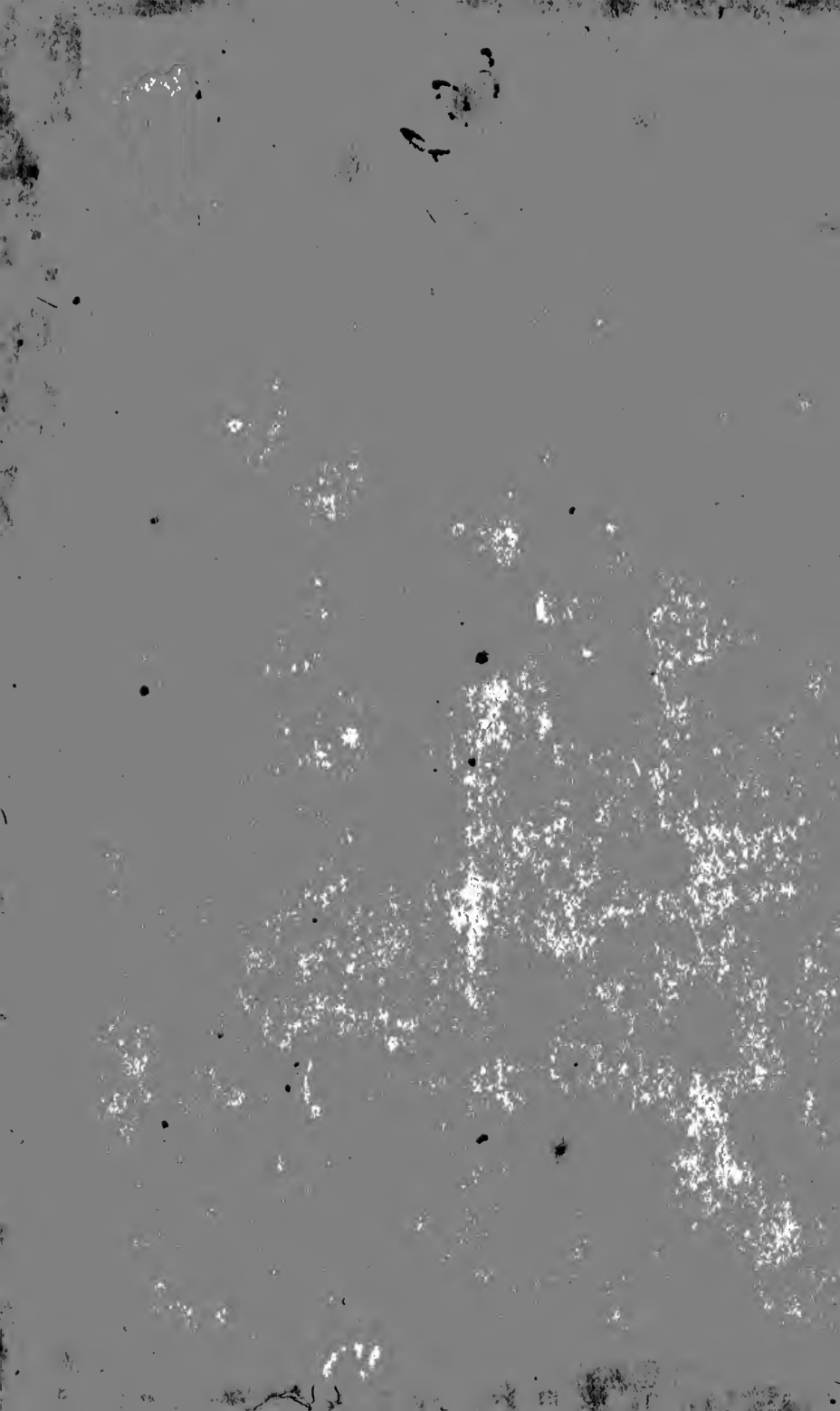
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